A Grammar of Motuna
(Bougainville, Papua New Guinea)

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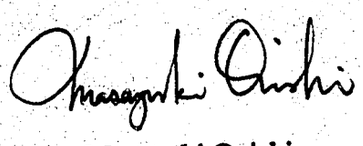
Except where it is otherwise stated in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.



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I am a late comer in the arena of linguistics. Although I had long been interested in languages, I had never studied linguistics seriously until I came to Canberra in 1989. In that year I was taught an introduction to linguistics and sociolinguistics by Elisabeth Patz in the University of Canberra, as a TESOL student. Her excellent lectures determined the direction of my study. In the following year I was enrolled in the ANU, and since then, I have had ample opportunities to investigate different areas of linguistics with the assistance of teachers, fellow students and visitors. Among them were Anna Wierzbicka, Phil Rose and Harold Koch, and my supervisors mentioned above. My debt is to all the people I encountered in the course of my linguistic studies. This thesis is in a way a summary of what I have learned from them in the last few years in Canberra.

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Abstract

This thesis is a descriptive grammar of Motuna, a Non-Austronesian language spoken by several thousand people in the south-western part of Bougainville (called Siwai), Papua New Guinea. It belongs to the Buin Family of the Eastern Bougainville stock, in the Bougainville Phylum. This grammar is based on the analysis of narrative texts provided by four speakers of the standard Motuna.

Motuna is a both head and dependent marking agglutinative language with complex morphology. Like most Non-Austronesian languages in Papua NewGuinea, it is verb final, and has medial and non-medial verbal categories. In addition, verbs have basic voice distinction between active and middle voices, and have extensive tense/aspect/mood categories. Nouns have six genders and are also classified by fifty-one classifiers.

Chapter 1 discusses the typological characteristics, as well as the genetic relations and dialectal variations of Motuna. It also briefly summarises previous work done on this language, and provides the scope and data base of this thesis.

Chapter 2 deals with phonetics, phonology and orthography. It includes an introduction to morphophonemics which will be discussed fully in later chapters, particularly in Chapter 4 (nouns), Chapter 8 (classifiers, numerals and the 'all' quantifier), and Chapter 13 (verbal morphology).

Chapter 3 outlines the word-classes and the clausal syntax of this language. Chapters 4 - 9 deal with the mopho-syntax of all the word classes except for verbs, participles and verbal nouns. Chapter 10 discusses the internal structure of the NP, and Chapter 11 possessive, kinship and other constructions.

Chapter 12 outlines the morpho-syntax of verbs. I give a gist of verbal morphology in this chapter, so that readers may skip Chapter 13 which is a lengthy discussion of complicated verbal morphology. Chapter 14 discusses valency of verbs including valency-changing derivations (stimulative, causative, applicative and reciprocal). Chapter 15 deals with tense/aspect/mood. Chapter 16 deals with two word classes derived from verbs --- verbal nouns and participles.

Chapter 17 discusses the interclausal relations in Motuna, mainly chaining of medial verbs and relative clauses.

Finally, three narative texts of this language are provided in Appendix.

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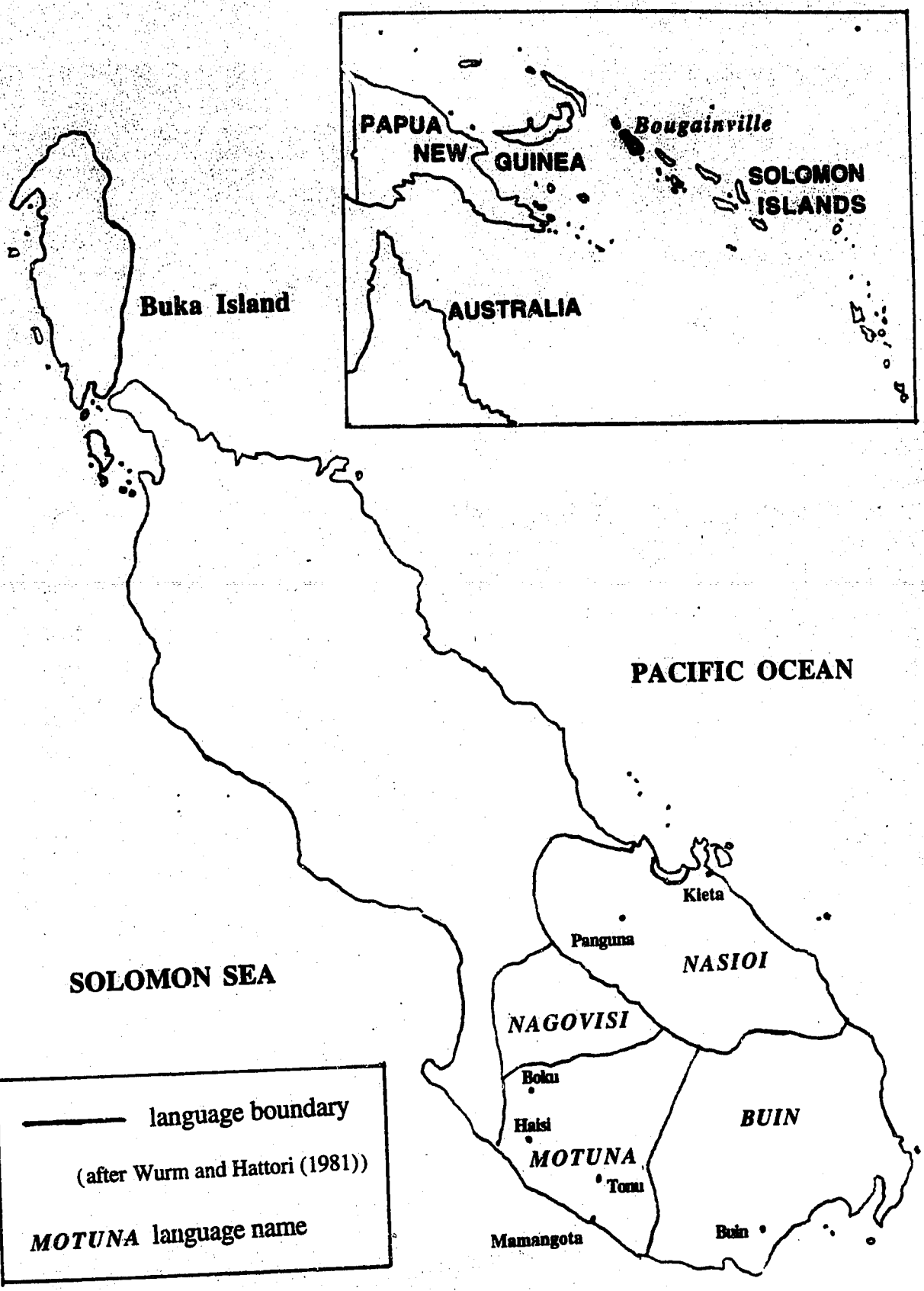
A	transitive subject
ABL	ablative case
APPL	applicative derivational suffix
ART	article
CAUS	causative derivational suffix
CL	classifier
COMIT	comitative case
CONT	Continuous TAM
COP	copula
DEFFUT	Definite Future TAM
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive gender
dl	dual number
DP	dual-paucal gender
DS	Different Subject
EMPH	emphatic suffix
ERG	ergative case
exc	exclusive
F	feminine gender
FUT	Future TAM
GEN	General TAM
HABPAST	Habitual Past TAM
IMAG	Imaginative TAM
IMFUT	Immediate Future TAM
IMP	Imperative TAM
inc	inclusive
L	local gender/derivational suffix
LINK	linker
LOC	locative case
M	masculine gender
MAN	manner gender
MID	middle voice suffix
NEG	negative infix
nonsg	non-singular number
NRPAST	Near Past TAM
O	transitive object
OPT	Optative TAM
NEGOPT	Negative Optative TAM
PART	participle
pc	paucal number
pcl	paucal or plural number
PERF	Perfect TAM
pl	plural number
POSS	possessive pronoun
POSS[...]	Possessor clause
PRES	Present TAM
PRESPROG	Present Progressive TAM
PURP	purposive case
RECIP	reciprocal derivational suffix
REDUP	reduplication
REL[...]	relative clause
RMPAST	Remote Past TAM
S	intransitive subject
sg	singular number
SIML	similative case
SS	Same Subject
STML	stimulative derivational suffix
VN	verbal noun
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
sb	somebody
sth	something



Map of Non-Austronesian Languages in Southern Bougainville

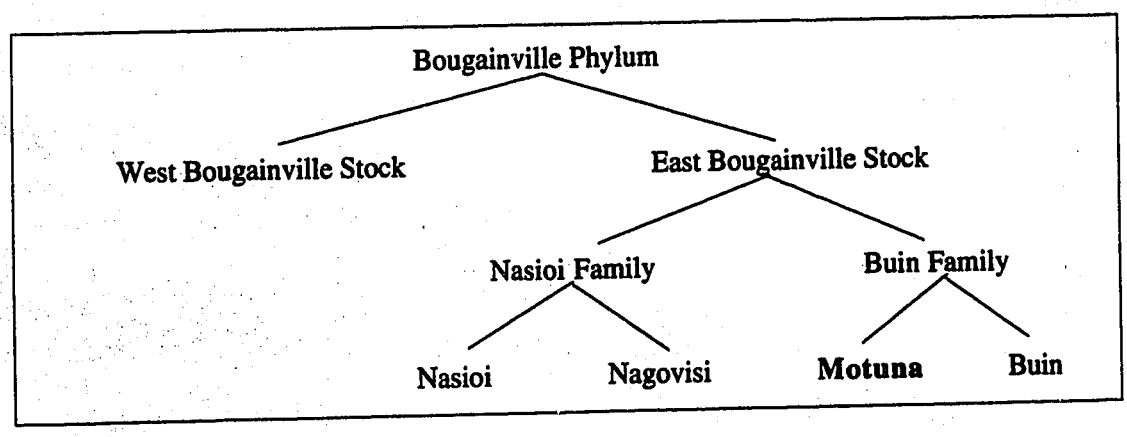
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE LANGUAGE AND THE PEOPLE

Motuna is a non-Austronesian language, spoken by several thousand people[1] in the southwestern region of the Bougainville Island in Papua New Guinea. The region where this language is spoken is called Siwai, and the language itself is often mentioned as Siwai (or Siuai)[2] in the literature. However, all my informants prefer the name Motuna to Siwai. Thus I will use the former name in this thesis. Motuna means "the middle". It seems to indicate that the language is spoken by the people who live in the middle region, i.e. either between the coastal area or where Buin is spoken, and the mountainside or where Nagovisi is spoken (cf. Map in page xxiii).

At present eight non-Austronesian languages are attested on this island. Based on a lexico-statistical analysis (Allen and Hurd 1965), Motuna is grouped with Buin to constitute the Buin family of the East Bougainville stock, which, with the West Bougainville stock, constitutes the Bougainville Phylum. Wurm (1982: 237-240) and Wurm and Hattori (1981) follow this classification.

Diagram 1-1



[1] The figure 6,600 (among which 600 speak Baitsi dialect) is given by Allen and Hurd (1965) and Wurm (1975). The figure given by Wurm (1975) is based on 1970 census. The most recent census of Bougainville population was in 1980, but it does not give any specific figure of Motuna speakers. Wurm and Hattori (1981) give the figure 6,600 for "Siwai dialects" and 600 for "Baitsi dialect", and Crowley and Lynch (1983) give the figure 6,600 for "Siwai". The sources of theses figures are not known.

[2] It is usually pronounced as [sɪɷwaɪ], but the variant [siwaɪ] is also heard.

1.2 DIALECTS OF MOTUNA

Accoding to Gasaway (1987) there are perhaps four or more dialects in the Siwai area. It seems that the Pouko (referred to as Pokwo in her paper) dialect spoken in the Huyoono area, the western part of Siwai (which centres around Haisi), is fairly distinct from the other dialects among which there is only minor difference. According to my informant who speaks the Pouko dialect, people in the Huyoono area call the dialects in the eastern side of Siwai categorically Mokuta, or *korokoro tunupah* 'straight language' (due to their straightforward intonation patterns), in contrast with their own which is called *korokoro mikurah* 'crooked or bent language' (due to its intonation with much more modulation). I will call the eastern dialects "standard Motuna" in the rest of my thesis. Apart from intonation, the Pouko dialect differs from the standard Motuna in the following features:

(1) There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction in the 1st person nonsingular pronoun in the Pouko dialect, while other dialects distinguish them. The S and O pronominal suffixes also do not distinguish inclusive/exclusiveness in 1st person paucal/plural in the Pouko dialect.

(2) In some words, the high vowels *i* and *u* in the standard Motuna correspond to the mid vowels *e* and *o*, respectively, in the Pouko dialect. e.g. *tii* <-> *tee* 'article in feminine/local gender', *impa* <-> *empa(ta)* 'now', *tuiong* <-> *toiong* 'they are'. Intervocalic nasals *m* and *n* in the standard Motuna also sometimes correspond to *p* and *ng*, respectively, in the Pouko dialect. e.g. *hongoponongu* <-> *honomonongu* 'some old people', *poopito* <-> *poomito* 'eastwards'. Other frequently encountered pairs include: *ua* (standard) <-> *pou* (Pouko) 'what', *koho* (standard) <-> *koiso* (Pouko) 'down', *meekuhing/meekusing* (standard) <-> *meekuhni* (Pouko) 'really', *ho-i/so-i* (standard) <-> *ho-ingi/so-ingi* (Pouko) 'article in masculine gender - ergative case suffix', etc.

There is another dialect or language called Baitsi spoken in further west, around Boku (cf. Map). Allen and Hurd (1965) refer to it as a sublanguage of "Siwai Proper Dialect". However, I have no data of this variety.

This thesis is based on the data provided by four informants from the central regions of Siwai (cf. §1.5). The data of the Pouko dialect will be mentioned wherever relevant, but the full analysis of this dialect is left for future research.

1.3 PREVIOUS WORK

The Roman Catholic and the Methodist missions started to work in the Siwai region early in this century. Some of the missionaries studied Motuna and attempted to translate biblical texts into Motuna. According to Allen and Hurd (1965), Rev. A. H. Voyce, Fr. Schlieker and Pamela Beaumont translated some biblical texts and hymns. Fr. Schlieker also worked on a elementary grammar, and Pamela Beaumont on a dictionary.[3]

In addition to the work done by the missionaries, American anthropologist Douglas Oliver (1949, 1955) describes the Siwai life and culture with rich linguistic information based on the data collected in his first field work in 1938-39. Although he is not a professional linguist, his phonemic transcription is fairly accurate, and the linguistic data he provides is invaluable.

Linguists belonging to the Summer Institute of Linguistics conducted field work on the languages in Bougainville including Motuna. Among them, Allen and Hurd (1965), as mentioned above, did lexico-statical survey of all the languages in Bougainville including Motuna. Gasaway (1987) provides lexical data of the dialects of Motuna and Nagovisi based on her field work. She also puts forward phonological analysis of these data.

1.4 TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MOTUNA

Motuna is an agglutinative language with considerable morpho-phonological fusion. It is both head-marking and dependent-marking. NPs are marked by case suffixes. Core case markings are ergative/absolutive. In addition, there are five more cases --- comitative, purposive, locative, ablative and similative. Motuna has no prepositions or postpositions. Verbs, kinship terms, classifiers and numerals show extremely complex morphology, with both suffixing and prefixing.

The phoneme inventory of Motuna is relatively simple. It has five vowel phonemes. Stop and nasal phonemes are distinguished in three places of articulation. In addition, there are two fricatives and glides, and a rhotic. The most interesting part of the phonology of Motuna is the three archi-consonants which are "underspecified" as regards the places of articulation, and which always occupy the coda position in the

[3] I had no opportunity to examine their work except for the translations of the Gospel of Mark (*So Gospeli Maka*, 1952) and the Gospel of Matthew (*So wasiih mirahu Matiu ki kehurung*, 1968). The latter was translated by Famela Beaumont.

syllable. The alternations of CV syllables and these archi-consonants under specific morphological environments constitute the core of the complex morphophonemics of Motuna.

Word order is determined by both syntactic and pragmatic factors.

In a verbal clause, an NP, usually in absolutive case, which provides "given"[4] information occupies the first position, and the verb the last position. SV, OAV and AOV[5] are commonly found constituent orders in my corpus. The first core or local NP in absolutive case tends to be a sentential topic. (If A is a topic, it is not marked by ergative case.) However, core NPs are often left unexpressed if understood from the context, because they are obligatorily cross-referenced on the verb. Furthermore, any NP which provides "new" information can be placed after the verb.

The basic order of major NP constituents is:

Determiner (Article/Demonstrative) + Local Noun + NP Head
NP Head + Adjective + Classifier/Numeral/Quantifier

Motuna distinguishes kinship, classifier, and other possessive constructions. The first two types of possessive constructions are basically head-marking, and the last type dependent-marking. Possessors in kinship and classifier possessive constructions are always placed before the head, while those in other possessive constructions can occupy either pre-head or post-head positions.

Relative clauses can also occupy pre-head or post-head positions. Motuna has internal relative clauses as well.

A gender system and classifiers coexist in Motuna. Five genders --- masculine, feminine, dimunitive, local and, marginally, manner --- are distinguished in singular nouns, but these distinctions are neutralised in nonsingular number.[6] They are obligatorily cross-referenced by modifiers within the same NP and/or by the predicate. In addition, most nouns are classified into fifty-one semantic types, which can be indicated by classifiers modifying them. Nouns distinguish four numbers --- singular, dual, paucal and plural.

Personal pronouns distinguish singular and nonsingular number. In 1st person

[4] The terms "given" and "new" information are according to Chafe (1976).

[5] The terms S, O and A are according to Dixon (1979, 1994). cf. Ch 3.

[6] Plural nouns are marked by masculine gender, while dual/paucal nouns are marked by a distinct gender, which I call "dual-paucal gender". cf. Ch 4.

nonsingular there is also an inclusive/exclusive distinction (the Pouko dialect lacks this distinction, cf. §1.2). There is no 3rd person free pronoun, and the article and the demonstrative are used as deictic/anaphoric pronouns instead.

The verbal morphology of Motuna is extremely complex. All the verbs mark the person and number of core argument(s) – S, in the case of intransitive verbs, and O and A, in the case of transitive verbs. They also distinguish active and middle voices, similar to those found in classical Indo-Aryan languages.[7] A periphrastic agentless passive construction is formed by participles and the auxiliary 'to become', which is mainly used when the speaker addresses or refers to someone in a special kin relation.

Similar to many other Papuan languages, Motuna has "medial" verbs which usually occupy sentence-medial positions and are marked by switch-reference morphemes. The endings of fully inflected "non-medial" verbs, on the other hand, mark the gender of the topical argument of the sentence.

Motuna has an extensive tense/aspect/mood system. Non-medial verbs distinguish fourteen tense/aspect/mood categories, while medial verbs distinguish three for the same subject forms, and two for the different subject forms.

As for derivational morphology, verb stems may undergo four valency-changing processes --- stimulative, applicative, causative and reciprocal. They can also derive verbal nouns and participles.

Clause coordination is mainly achieved by chaining medial verbs. Medial verbs, by their tense/aspect and switch-reference suffixes, track the themes of the whole discourse. Thematic coherence is further maintained by a rich array of conjunctions and discourse markers. Due to these pragmatic factors, it is not sufficient to choose the sentence as the linguistic unit of description, in the case of this language.

1.5 SCOPE OF STUDY AND LANGUAGE DATA

This grammar of Motuna is based on narrative texts, most of which were provided by two main female informants, Dora Leslie from Kaakotokori village, and Therese Minitong Kemelfield from Panakee village. They are native speakers of the standard

[7] Basic voice distinction may well be a typological feature common to most Non-Austronesian languages in Bougainville. It is attested in Nasioi (middle voice corresponds to "reflexive" in Hurd and Hurd 1966, 1970), in Nagovisi (middle voice corresponds to "reflexive" in Hunt and Hunt 1973) and in Konua (middle voice corresponds to "passive and reflexive" in Müller 1954). The existence of distinct "reflexive" category in Buin verbs is also suggested in Wurm (1975: 794).

Motuna. Both of them are in their forties. They speak English and Tok Pisin fluently, and apart from these languages, Dora speaks her father's language Roviana (Austronesian) in the Solomon Islands, and Therese her first husband's language Tinputz (Austronesian) in Bougainville. They also speak neighbouring Non-Austronesian languages such as Nagovisi and Buin to some extent.

There are other texts by two elderly speakers, Sirou Korikee (female) and Puuwa Paurarai (male) from Haarii village, which were recorded by Therese when she was herself collecting narratives and accounts of Siwai tradition from old people.

In all, my main corpus consists of twenty-three texts, in total duration of 138 minutes. As mentioned in §1.2, there is very little dialectal variation among these texts. The texts (I), (VIII) and (XVII) are given in Appendix for illustration. This grammar is inductively formulated by examining the language data in these texts.

In addition, I use three texts of the Pouko dialect obtained from Agnes Kennedy (in her thirties) for supplement. The reason why I did not use these texts in the same way as the main texts mentioned above is that the Pouko dialect is quite distinct from other dialects (cf. §1.2). The former are also characterised by many more loanwords and incomplete sentences than the latter.

There are four more recorded texts. Two of them are recorded from the telephone conversation of Therese with another Motuna speaker. One is a free conversation between Therese and her three daughters. And the last one is a personal history told by a male speaker, Alex Dawuia (in his forties), from Mamangota village. All these texts are characterised by loanwords from English and Tok Pisin, and loose conversational style with lots of incomplete sentences. Sentences and vocabulary (especially loanwords) found in these texts are occasionally used to illustrate particular aspects of the grammar.

Four short conversational texts, and a collection of 166 short sentences, written by Dora Leslie, are also used to illustrate some grammatical points.

All the examples cited from the above-mentioned data are identified at the end of English translation in brackets. For example, (XI-13) indicates that it is taken from the thirteenth sentence of the text (XI). If there is no number in brackets, the given example is from elicitation. All the elicited examples were checked carefully by the two main informants. Gaps in some areas of grammar --- especially in the paradigms of nouns, classifiers and verbs --- are checked through elicitation. They were also checked carefully by my two main informants.

The main aim of this grammar is to present major characteristics of this language for language typologists and linguists in general. It is not exhaustive, but it covers all the grammatical aspects found in the narrative texts mentioned above. I give examples quite generously whenever I discuss important grammatical points. Sometimes the

same examples are used in different chapters. Wherever it is relevant, the use of the same example in different chapters is referred to in the text or in brackets after the data identification number.

Some aspects of the grammar --- such as the paradigms of numeral classifiers, the use of the agentless passive construction --- are incomplete. These areas of grammar, as well as detailed analysis of complex sentences and discourse organisation, investigation for sociolinguistic variation and genetic relationship with neighbouring languages, are left for further research.

CHAPTER 2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Motuna has the following phones:

Table 2-1 Consonant Phones

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Voiceless Stops	[p]	[t]		[k]	[k^w]	[ʔ]
Voiced Stops	[b]	[d]				
Voiceless Fricatives		[s]				[h]
Voiced Fricatives	[β]	([z])[1]	[ɟ]			
Voiceless Affricate			([tʃ])[2]			
Voiced Affricate			[dʒ]			
Glides	[w]		[j]			
Nasals	[m]	[n]	[ɲ]	[ŋ]		
Trill		[r]				
Flap		[ɾ]				
Lateral		([l])[3]				

Table 2-2 Vowel Phones

	Non-back	Back
High	[iː] [ɪ]	[uː] [ʊ]
Non-high, Non-low	[e(ː)]	[o(ː)]
Low		[a(ː)]

[1] This phone occurs in the utterances of only one informant. cf. §2.2.4.

[2] This phone occurs only in loanwords.

[3] This phone occurs optionally in loanwords.

The inventory of phonemes in Motuna is set up as follows:

Table 2-3 Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Coronal	Back	Archiphoneme
Voiceless				
Stops	p	t	k	Q
Fricatives		s	h	H
Voiced				
Nasals	m	n	ng	N
Glides	w		j	
Rhotic		r		

In addition to the phenemes set up above, three phnemes /b/ (for [b]), /l/ (for [l]) and /ch/ (for [tʃ]) occur only in loanwords. The symbol /j/ is also used for [dʒ] which occurs in loanwords.

Table 2-4 Vowel Phonemes

	Non-back	Back
High	i	u
Non-high, Non-low	e	o
Low		a

Note that:

(1) Consonants are phonetically contrasted by five places of articulation and one place of coarticulation, but phonemically only by three places of articulation. The three archiphonemes in the fourth row, i.e. /Q/, /H/ and /N/, have a special status in Motuna. They are the only consonants which can occupy the coda position in the syllable. (Syllable structure of Motuna is $(C_1)V(C_2)$, where C_2 is one of the three archiconsonants discussed here. cf. §2.4.1.) The first two archiphonemes, /Q/ and /H/, are characterised as a voiceless stop and a voiceless fricative, respectively, without any oral gesture.[4] (Note that [h] before vowels, on the other hand, is a back phoneme /h/.) The archinasal /N/ is a nasal without any specification of place of articulation. It may be realised as one of the nasal phones [m], [n], [ɲ] and [ŋ] before certain consonants or in word-final position (cf. §2.2.3).

[4] cf. Lass 1984: 113-117 for a discussion of "gesture".

In general, the places of articulation of consonant phonemes are contrastive only before vowels.

(2) Phonetically there are voiced stops, but they are all allophones of the rhotic or glide phonemes.

(3) The labio-velar [k^{w}] is an allophone of /k/ between rounded /u/ and /o/ (cf. §2.2.1).

(4) The glide [w], the voiced fricative [β] and the voiced stop [b] are the allophones of the phoneme /w/, while the glide [j], voiced dorso-palatal fricative [ʝ] and the affricate [dʒ] are the allophones of the phoneme /j/. One of my main informants pronounces the voiced fricative [z] as well. Note that although /w/ and /j/ have fricatives, stops and an affricate as allophones, they are classified as glide phonemes due to their (morpho)phonemic behaviour (cf. §2.2.4). The phones [w] and [j] can also occur as phonemically non-distinct transitional phones between two vowels (cf. §2.3).

(5) The alveolar trill [r], flap [ɾ], and voiced stop [d] are the allophones of the rhotic phoneme /r/.

(6) Phonetically we find many types of vowel sequences in Motuna. I regard all of them as combinations of short vowels, each of which constitutes the nucleus of a distinct syllable (cf.§ 2.2).

"Long vowels" are regarded as sequences of two identical vowels. However, the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are phonetically more tense and closer to cardinal value in such sequences than when they stand alone.

Distinctive features of phonemes in Motuna are tentatively set up as follows:

Table 2-5 Distinctive Features of Phonemes

	p	t	k	Q	s	h	H	m	n	ng	N	r	w	j	i	e	a	o	u
syllabic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
voiced	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-					
continuant	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+					
strident	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
labial	+	-	-		-	-		+	-	-		-	+	-					
coronal	-	+	-		+	-		-	+	-		+	-	-					
back	-	-	+		-	+		-	-	+		-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
high	-	-	+		-	-		-	-	+		-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
low	-	-	-		-	-		-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
rounded	-	-	-		-	-		-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+

These features are relevant to the (morpho)phonemic analysis in this chapter and in Chs 4, 5, 8 and 13. However, I do not attempt to write (morpho)phonemic rules only in terms of the distinctive features set up above. They are written with terms such as "C(onsonant)" instead of [-syllabic], "Stop" instead of [-syllabic], [-continuant], "o" instead of [+syllabic], [+voiced], [+back], [-high], [-low], etc., wherever convenient. Also, I do not attempt to give coherent accounts of all the phonemic and morphophonemic processes in any specific theoretical framework.

Throughout this thesis, I will use the following symbols:

1) a form in square brackets, i.e., [x], shows a phonetic representation.
2) a form in slashes, i.e., /x/, shows a phonemic representation.
3) a form in italics, i.e., *x*, shows an orthographic representation.

Orthographic representations are mostly the same as phonemic representations, except for the three archiphonemes /Q/, /H/ and /N/. /Q/ and /H/ are represented by ' and *h* respectively, and /N/ by one of the three nasal symbols (*n*, *m*, or *ng*). See further discussion in §2.2. Allophones may also be indicated by orthographic representations, rather than by phonemic representations.[5] I will use phonemic representations when I discuss (morpho)phonemic processes (especially in this chapter, Chs 4 and 13). In other parts of my thesis, I will mostly use orthographic representations.

2.2 CONSONANTS

2.2.1 Stops

The phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ are realised as non-aspirated, or slightly aspirated voiceless stops. They occur in word initial or medial position before a vowel, but cannot occur word-finally, except in loanwords such as *kaap(u)* 'cup' (from English or Tok Pisin) and *hausiik(i)* 'hospital' (from *haus sik* in Tok Pisin[6]). e.g. *pau* 'food', *kompaka* 'heron', *tuu* 'water', *mahkata* 'dog'.

The phoneme /k/ is realised as a labialised velar stop when it is preceded by the high back rounded *u* and followed by the non-high/non-low back rounded *o*.

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[5] For example, the 1st person singular pronoun /ni/ is realised as [ni:] when it is not followed by any suffix. In such a case it is represented as *nii* in orthographic representation. cf. §2.3.

[6] Unless otherwise stated, original Tok Pisin words are taken from Mihalic (1971).

Rule 2-1 Labialisation of /k/

k -> [+labial] / u _ o

Examples:

kiuruko [kɪɷrɷkʷo][7]	'two (humans)'
tuko [tɷkʷo]	'ants' nest'

The phoneme /k/ may be realised as [ŋ] and [j] in certain morphophonemic environments. cf. Chs 4, 5 and 6.

The archiphoneme /Q/, realised as a glottal stop [ʔ], occurs word-medially before a consonant, or word-finally, but never in word initial position. I will use the symbol ' for this phoneme in orthographic representation. e.g. /tuQki/ *tu'ki* 'all', /moniQmo/ *moni'mo* 'woman', /kinaaQ/ *kinaa'* 'yesterday', /imoQ/ *imo'* 'my relatives'.

A glottal stop can also be non-phonemic when it occurs as an intervening consonant between two vowels across a phonological word boundary "=", or across a grammatical word boundary "#" if the grammatical words on both sides constitute a syntactically tight unit.[8] See examples below. A non-phonemic glottal stop can also occur between two vowels across a grammatical word boundary in rapid speech, or after a vowel-final word when the speaker makes a deliberate pause (for hesitation, looking for a next word, etc.).

Rule 2-2 Glottal Stop Insertion

ø -> [ʔ] / V _ = V
V # _ # V (when two words constitute a tight syntactic unit)
ø ~ [ʔ] / V # _

Examples:

aru=aru [arɷʔarɷ]	'cane basket'
ii=iirong-ee=uru-kee [iːʔiːrɔŋeːʔɷrɷkeː]	'they get angry with one another'
Maawo onoku [maːwoʔonɔkɷ]	'Maawo and his mother'
uwimo uruking [ɷβɪmoʔɷrɷkɪŋ]	'they used to keep going'

The third example consists of a proper name and a kinship root with a bound demon-

[7] The rhotic phoneme /r/ is realised either as [ɾ] or [ɾ] ([ɾ] is more common) intervocalically. cf. §2.2.5. I will use [r] in the examples below where this distinction is irrelevant.

[8] See §2.6 for more precise definitions of different types of morpheme boundaries in Motuna.

strative, and the fourth one consists of a medial verb and the Past Habitual form of an aspectual verb. In either case, the two morphemes are separate words both on phonological and syntactic grounds, although they constitute a tight syntactic unit. Phonologically, a pause can be made after the first morpheme and stress may fall on each morpheme separately in slow speech, although the two morphemes are more likely to be pronounced in one string with only one stress on the third from the last mora of the second one (cf. §2.5 and §2.6). Syntactically, another word may intervene between the two.

As mentioned in §2.1, /b/ [b] occurs only in loanwords, such as *balusu* [balɷsɷ ~ barɷsɷ] 'aeroplane' (from *balus* in Tok Pisin), *boom* [boːm] 'bomb' (from English or Tok Pisin).

2.2.2 Fricatives

The fricative /s/ [s] occurs in word initial or medial position before a vowel, but cannot occur word-finally or before a consonant, except in loanwords such as *kalabuus* 'prison' (from *kalabus* in Tok Pisin), *stoa* 'store' (from English or Tok Pisin). e.g. *saa* 'side', *siro* 'song', *harusu* 'female turtle', *musi'ka* 'pain'.

Distributionally, the occurrence of /s/ is restricted. In the majority of indigenous words which contain /s/, /s/ is followed by /i/. A sequence of /s/ and /i/ in a loanword corresponds to an alveolar or a postalveolar fricative or affricate in the original word. For example,

sikuuna [sɪkuːna]	'schooner' (English or Tok Pisin)
raisi [ɾaɪsɪ]	'rice' (English or Tok Pisin)
siipi [siːpɪ]	'ship' (English or Tok Pisin)
sengsi [sẽsɪ] ~ *senisi* [senɪsɪ]	'change' (English) ~ 'senis' (Tok Pisin)

Sometimes an affricate [tʃ] or [dʒ] in the original word is retained. e.g. *Dachi* [datʃɪ] 'Holland', *tiicha* [tiːtʃa] ~ *tiisia* [tiːsɪja] 'teacher', *Siapani* [sɪapanɪ] ~ *Japani* [dʒapanɪ] 'Japan/Japanese'.

The other fricative /h/ [h] occurs much more commonly than /s/. e.g. *hame* 'taro', *heewa* 'thing', *iihaa* 'fire'. As mentioned in §2.1, the phone [h] in coda position is regarded as an archiphoneme /H/. Thus: /peHkita/ *pehkita* 'small', /muH/ *muh* 'bush', /waasiiH/ *waasiih* 'story'.

In the following words, /s/ and /h/ are in free variation:[9]

soo ~ hoo	'Article in masculine gender'
meekusing ~ meekuhing	'true'

The article in masculine gender *soo ~ hoo* occurs very frequently in texts. I will use the more common form *hoo* in all the examples, except for those in the Pouko dialect, in this thesis.[10]

The sequence /si/ may be realised as [h], and /H/ as [sɪ], in certain phonemic and morphophonemic environments (cf. §2.7.2 and Ch 13). The sequence /t(i)/ may also be realised as [h] or [sɪ] in certain morphophonemic processes (cf. Ch 13).

Diachronically, [s] seems to have been an allophone of /t/ before /i/. This is precisely the situation in Nasioi and in the Lamane dialect of Nagovisi. cf. Hurd and Hurd (1970: 37) and Gasaway (1987a: 3). The /ti/ sequence in the standard Motuna, on the other hand, seems to derive from *te or *de, which is still preserved in the Pouko dialect, Nagovisi and Nasioi. For example, the article in feminine gender *tii* in the standard Motuna corresponds to *tee* in the Pouko dialect and Nagovisi, and *te* in Nasioi. The dual suffix *ti* in Motuna and the Pouko dialect corresponds to *de* in Nasioi.[11]

The main source of the phoneme /h/ in word-initial position, on the other hand, is *p. For example, the underlying form of the article in masculine gender /ho/ has the same source as the 3rd person singular bound pronoun /po-/.

2.2.3 Nasals

Three nasals, /m/, /n/, and /ng/, are distinctive only before vowels. Homorganic nasals occur before consonants except before [s] (where the preceding vowel is

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[9] Another word which suggests the correspondence between /s/ and /h/: *hiisia ~ hiihmaa* 'beach'. Note also that *koiso* in the Pouko dialect corresponds to *koho* 'up' in the standard Motuna. cf. §1.2. According to Gasaway (1987c: 6), *si* sequences in Nagovisi fairly regularly correspond to *h* in the standard Motuna.

[10] The distinction between *soo* and *hoo* is retained in the texts given in Appendix.

[11] According to Gasaway (1987c: 2), three non-low vowels in Motuna are in many cases one level higher than those found in the corresponding words in Nagovisi. Thus /i/, /u/ and /o/ in Motuna fairly regularly correspond to /e/, /o/ and /a/ in Nagivisi, respectively. The same relationship is observed between the high vowels in the standard Motuna and the mid vowels in the Pouko dialect in some words; cf. §1.2.

nasalised), and [ŋ] occurs word-finally.[12] (Note, however, that [m] could occur word-finally before a word with an initial bilabial consonant in rapid speech.[13]) Thus: [ɪmpa] 'now', [honna] 'big', [kʊ̃sa] 'black', [hɪnra? ~ hɪnda? ~ hɪnra?] 'thunder', [hɪɲjoː ~ hɪɲdʒoː] 'moon', [moŋkaː] 'forehead'; [ŋoŋ ~ ŋom pʊrɪ ~ pʊrɪ] 'my head', [napaŋ ~ napam maː] 'possum's droppings'.

Since the behaviour of nasals before consonants and in word final position is predictable as above, they can be represented by the archiphonemic symbol "N" in such environments. I will use this symbol when I discuss (morpho)phonemic processes, as is the case with /H/. In other parts of my thesis I will use the orthographic representations *m*, *n*, and *ng*.

The rules of the realisation of the archinasal /N/ are summarised below. These rules apply after all the morphophonemic processes discussed in Chs 4, 8 and 13.

Rule 2-3 Realisation of Archinasal

N –>	[m] / _ Labial Consonant	(transcribed as *m*)
	[n] / _ Coronal Stop/Rhotic	(transcribed as *n*)
	[˜] / _ s	(transcribed as *ng*)
	[ɲ] / _ j	(transcribed as *ng*)
	[m] ~ [ŋ] / _ # Labial Consonant	(transcribed as *m* ~ *ng*)
	[ŋ] / Elsewhere	(transcribed as *ng*)

The words/phrases exemplified above are represented respectively as:

[ɪmpa]	*impa* (/iNpa/)	'now'
[honna]	*honna* (/hoNna/)	'big'
[kʊ̃sa]	*kungsa* (/kuNsa/)	'black'

[12] These two facts --- that nasalisation of the preceding vowel occurs instead of [n] before [s], and that the velar nasal occurs in word-final position --- may suggest that the preferred tongue position to pronounce /N/ is in the back.

In Motuna, the back vowel /o/ is most commonly used among the five vowels, and is also phonologically the most neutral one (cf. §2.3 below). The back stop /k/ is also the commonest non-nasal stop in Motuna. (Among the non-nasal stops used in three texts chosen at random, /k/ accounts for 55%, while /t/ and /p/ account for 29% and 16% respectively.) These facts seem to suggest that the tongue position in articulation is predominantly in the back in Motuna.

Among nasals (before vowels), the coronal /n/ is most commonly used, and the back /ng/ least. However, if we regard that the archinasal is essentially a back nasal, this order of frequency is reversed.

[13] According to Gasaway (1987b), *m*, *n* and *ng* alternate word-finally. In her data, the speakers of the Pouko dialect usually use *n*, while those in other dialects of Motuna use either *m* or *ng*. All my infomants (including the one who speaks the Pouko dialect), however, consistently use *ng* in word final position, except for the environments described below where *m* is used.

[hɪnra? ~ hɪnda? ~ hɪnra?]	*hinra'* (/hiNra'/)	'thunder'
[hɪŋɪdʒo: ~ hɪŋjo:]	*hingjoo* (/hiNjoo/)	'moon'
[moŋka:]	*mongkaa* (/moNkaa/)	'forehead'
[ŋoŋ ~ ŋom pɑɾɪ]	*ngong ~ ngom* (/ngoN/) *puri*	'my head'
[napaŋ ~ napam ma:]	*napang ~ napam* (/napaN/) *maa*	'possum's droppings'

2.2.4 Glides

The glide phonemes /w/ and /j/ occur before vowels.

The phoneme /w/ is realised as [β] before /i/. When it is preceded by an archinasal, it is realised as [b], and the preceding archinasal is always realised as [m] (cf. Rule 2-3 above). Otherwise it is realised as [w], occasionally with slight friction.

Rule 2-4 Realisation of /w/

```
w -> [b] / N _
     [β] / _ i
     [w] / Elsewhere
```

Examples:

/miNworo/	[mɪmboro]	'I wish we (paucal/plural inclusive) would go'
/paaNwooi/	[pa:mbo:ɪ]	'before you (sg) cry'
/uwiing/	[uβi:ŋ]	'they went'
/keewi/	[ke:βɪ]	'tooth'
/tiwo/	[tɪwo]	'like that'
/heewa/	[he:wa]	'thing'

My informants, except for the one from Kaakotokori, pronounce the phoneme /j/ as the palatal glide [j] in most cases. After /N/ the affricate [dʒ], and before a front vowel the fricative [ʝ], occurs as a free allophone.

Rule 2-5a Realisation of /j/ (a)

```
j -> [dʒ] ~ [j] / N _
     [j] ~ [ʝ] / _ V
                 [+front]
     [j]       / Elsewhere
```

Examples:

hingjoo	[hɪŋdʒoː ~ hɪŋjoː] (cf. §2.2.3)	'moon'
jii	[jiː ~ ʝiː]	'and'
hoojo	[hoːjo]	'for it'
u'josing	[ɷʔjosɪŋ]	'I shouted'
haajeewah	[haːjeːwah]	'like (participle)'

Only the informant from Kaakotokori pronounces it as [z] in most environments:[14]

Rule 2-5b Realisation of /j/ (b)

j ->	[dʒ]	/	N _
	[j] ~ [z]	/	o _ o
	[z]	/	Elsewhere

Examples:

hingjoo	[hɪŋdʒoː]	'moon'
hoojo	[hoːjo ~ hoːzo]	'for it'
jii	[ziː]	'and'
u'josing	[ɷʔzosɪŋ]	'I shouted'
haajeewah	[haːzeːwah]	'like (participle)'

2.2.5 Rhotic

The rhotic /r/ is generally realised as an alveolar flap [ɾ] or trill [r]. It has, however, an additional free allophone [d] in word-initial position and after the archinasal /N/.

The extent to which these allophones occur differs from speaker to speaker. In my observation, the informant and her children from Panakei village tend to pronounce /r/ with a relatively strong trill, while the informants from Kaakotokori and Huyoono village tend to pronounce [ɾ] or [d] more frequently. I am not sure whether this reflects regional difference or not.

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[14] It may reflect the dialectal variation of Motuna. Or it may be due to the influence of Christian education in her family — [dʒ] and [z] are common pronunciations in the biblical texts. Gasaway (1987b: 4) notes that /j/ is realised as [j] between vowels, and [dʒ] elsewhere.

Rule 2-6 Realisetion of /r/

r –>	[ɾ] ~ [d] ~ [r] / {#, N}_
	[ɾ] ~ [r] / Elsewhere

Examples:

raa	[ɾaː] ~ [daː] ~ [raː]	'sun'
hin 'ra'	[hɪnɾaʔ ~ hɪndaʔ ~ hɪnraʔ] (cf. §2.2.3)	'thunder'
iri	[ɪɾɪ ~ ɪrɪ]	'blood'

The lateral /l/ in loanwords is pronounced interchangeablly either as an alveolar lateral [l] or flap [ɾ] by all my informants, as in *balusu* [balɷsɷ ~ baɾɷsɷ] 'aeroplane', *Tonolei* [tonolɛɪ ~ tonoɾɛɪ] 'Tonolei (a place name)'.

The phoneme /r/ cannot occur in word final position. The phoneme /l/ occasionally occurs in this position in loanwords such as *sikuul* [sɪkuːl] 'school' (from English or Tok Pisin), though the version with a vowel after /l/ (*sikuulu* [sɪkuːlɷ ~ sɪkuːɾɷ] or *sikuluu* [sɪkɷluː ~ sɪkɷɾuː]) is preferred.

2.3 VOWELS

Motuna has a typical five vowel system.

Among the vowels, /o/ is most susceptible to the influence of adjacent vowels, and /a/ most stable (cf. §2.7.1, §4.4.4 and Ch 13). The vowel /o/ is also by far the most commonly used among the five vowels. In three texts (I, VI, and XXIII), chosen at random, by three different speakers, /o/ accounts for 34%, while /i/, /a/, /u/ and /e/ account for 24%, 18%, 17%, and 7% respectively.

Motuna has many types of vowel sequences, including two identical vowels in succession. In any vowel sequence, each member behaves independently from other members as far as stress and prefixing reduplication are concerned (cf. §2.4.2). Therefore, there seems to be no motivation to assume that Motuna has phonemically any long vowels or diphthongs.

Single vowels and sequences of two identical vowels[15] show surface contrasts in all environments except in open disyllabic words. Motuna has no open monosyllabic

[15] Oliver (1955) does not distinguish between single short vowels and sequences of two short vowels. *So wasiih mirahu Matiu ki kehurung* (1968) occasionally distinguishes the former from the latter, but not systematically.

words. For example:

Examples of V - VV contrasts are:

turong	'you (masculine) are, he/it is'
tuurong	'he/she hit him'
narang	'ten'
naraang	'one limb'
pih	'bamboo container, you/they (two) have already gone'
piih	'canarium almond'
pana	'his wife'
panaa	'ancestress'

but:

mii	'name, knee, I have already gone'
(**mi*)	
nee	'O.K.?, we (inclusive)'
(**ne*)	

There are, however, reasons to assume that sequences of two identical vowels in some open disyllabic words underlyingly constitute just single vowels.

In Motuna, the article and most personal pronouns have CVV forms when they are in absolutive case. However, when they take the ergative suffix /-ki/, some of them retain the original two identical vowels, while others take single ones. For example,

	in absolutive case	in ergative case
'I'	*nii*	*ni-ngi*
'we (inc)'	*nee*	*nee-ki*
'you (sg)'	*roo*	*ro-ki*
'you (nonsg)'	*ree*	*ree-ki*
'who'	*paa*	*pa-i*
'ART (M)'	*hoo ~ soo*	*ho-i ~ so-i*
'ART (F/DIM/DP)'	*tii*	*tii-ngi*
'ART (L)'	*tii*	*ti-ki*

The last two examples are particularly interesting. The article in feminine, dimunitive or dual-paucal gender has the same form as that in local gender, in absolutive case. However, their forms are different in ergative case.

In the above cases, morphological analysis will be simpler if we assume that the difference of surface vowel length in ergative case comes from that of the underlying

vowel length, i.e.:[16]

	underlying forms	in absolutive case
'I'	/ni/	*nii*
'we (inc)'	/nee/	*nee*
'you (sg)'	/ro/	*roo*
'you (nonsg)'	/ree/	*ree*
'who'	/pa/	*paa*
'ART (M)'	/ho ~ so/	*hoo ~ soo*
'ART (F/DIM/DP)'	/tii/	*tii*
'ART (L)'	/ti/	*tii*

The following phonological rule forces the underlying vowels of open mono-syllabic words to surface as a sequence of two identical vowels:

Rule 2-7 Vowel Lengthening of Underlying Open Mono-syllabic Words

$$V_i \rightarrow V_iV_i \;/\; \#(C)_\#$$

In addition to sequences of two identical vowels mentioned above, Motuna allows many types of sequences of two or more vowels. All the combinations attested so far are given below:

1) Sequences of two vowels (include all the sequences which end with /i/, /u/ and /a/):

/ai/, /ui/, /ei/, /oi/
/au/, /iu/, /eu/, /ou/
/ia/, /ua/, /ea/, /oa/
/io/

---

[16] There are other pieces of evidence which support this assumption:

(1) all singular personal pronouns, in their bound forms, take short vowels, while nonsingular pronouns take long vowels. This applies to possessive and reflexive pronouns as well. cf. Tables 4-7, 5-3 and 5-4.

(2) When the emphatic suffix /-ko/ is attached, only the vowel of the masculine form of the article, *hoo ~ soo*, can optionally be shortened (cf. §9.3).

As regards other mono-syllabic words with long vowels, there are no reason to assume that they have different underlying forms, since the forms with short vowels never occur. They include:

maa 'faeces', *haa* 'thing, I wonder', *mii* 'name, knee, before I have gone', *jii* 'and', *tuu* 'water', *kuu* 'inside', *nee* 'O.K.?', *noo* 'possibly'

2) Sequences of three vowels (the sequences which end with /i/ frequently occur in verbal forms, but others are found only in a few words):

/aai/, /uui/, /eei/, /ooi/
/aau/, /iau/
/aia/, /uia/, /eua/
/aio/, /uio/, /oio/, /iuo/, /uuo/

3) Sequences of four vowels (rare):

/aaui/, /eeui/, /iaai/, /iuai/,
/aauu/, /eeuu/
/uiaa/
/aioo/
/aiee/, /uiee/

Note that a phonemically nondistinct glide is heard in the following environments:

Rule 2-8 Glide Insertion

$$\emptyset \rightarrow [j] \,/\, i _ \begin{matrix} V \\ [\text{-high}] \end{matrix}$$

$$[w] \,/\, u _ \begin{matrix} V \\ [\text{-high}] \end{matrix}$$

Examples of words which contain sequence(s) of two or more vowels:

1) Sequences of two vowels:

iarau [ɪjaraɷ]	'kind of sugarcane'
kiakia' [kɪjakɪja?]	'morning'
potuana [potɷwana]	'place'

2) Sequences of three vowels:

maainong [maːɪnoŋ]	'I am crying'
puuina [puːɪna]	'you/she died'
kiaukuung [kɪjaukuːŋ]	'he/she tore it'
maiara [maɪjara]	'deep sea'
mareua [mareɷwa]	'mareua plant'
Hoio [hoɪjo]	'Hoio (ancestor's name)'
kuuo [kuːwo]	'wing'

3) Sequences of four vowels:

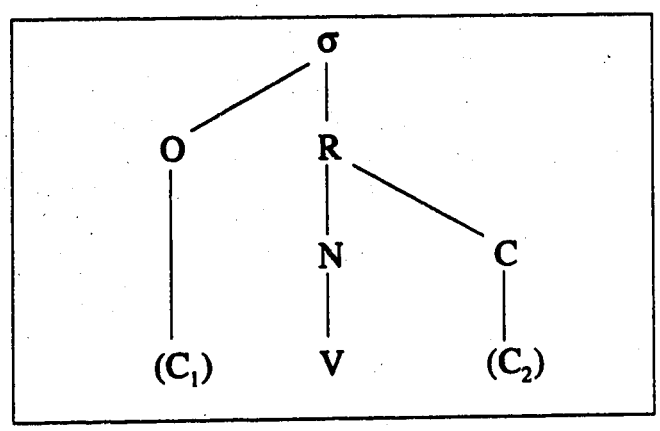
Moopiaai [moːpɪjaɪ]	'Moopiaai (river name)'
Siuai [sɪɷwaɪ]	'Siuai (place name)'
haauung [haːuŋ]	'he wants/wanted'
aaruiaa [aːrɷɪjaː]	'sound'
peekaiooro [peːkaɪjoːro]	'their two maternal grandfathers'
maimaiee' [maɪmaɪjeːʔ]	'countdown'

2.4 SYLLABLES AND MORAS

2.4.1 Syllable Structure

The syllable structure of Motuna is represented as:

Diagram 2-6 Syllable Structure



C_1 can be any consonant except /H/, /Q/ and /N/. C_2 can be either /H/, /Q/ or /N/. As we have seen in §2.3, all vowel sequences are analysed as sequences of single vowels, which constitute the nuclei of separate syllables.

C_2 consonants are not followed by a vowel.[17] Now, the underlying forms of some suffixes may have an archinasal at the beginning.[18] When such a suffix is attached to a word ending with a C_2,[19] C_2 must be "articulated" to a C_1V sequence, in order to avoid an unpermissible C_2N sequence. cf. §2.7.3.

[17] The interjections *ehe'ehee* 'hi, hi, hi (imitation of laughter)', *u'uung* 'yes', *he'ee* 'no' and *hu'uung* 'no' are exceptions. The glottal stop /Q/ is directly followed by the vowel /e/ and /u/ in these words. cf. §9.5.

[18] I allow sequences, which are not permissible in surface syllable structure, in the underlying forms of bound morphemes. For example, many verb roots end with consonants which can not occur in coda position. e.g. /kuuk-/ 'to know', /hoHk-/ 'to throw sth towards sb', /tokis-/ 'to cut'.

[19] There are no suffixes which begin with /H/ or /Q/.

Phonetically, the residue of a vowel before /Q/ is often heard after the release of the glottal closure (e.g. *naa'ru* [na:ʔ(a)ru] 'lazy').[20] The residue of a vowel before /H/ is also occasionally heard after the pronounciation of [h] (e.g. *ihkita* [ɪh(ɪ)kɪta]). This vowel after [ʔ] or [h] is not considered as phonemically distinctive, because: (1) the vowel in this position is always the repeated version of the vowel before /Q/ or /H/, and (2) it does not occur in word final position.

2.4.2 Moras

In Motuna, every vowel or consonant in rhyme position constitutues one mora. That is, every vowel or C_2 consonant constitutes one mora.

Moras play important roles at least in two phonological processes in Motuna.

First, stress generally falls on the third mora from the last in the case of words consisting of three or more moras, and on the first mora in the case of words consisting of two moras, if such a mora is a vowel or an archinasal. If such a mora happens to be /Q/ or /H/, stress falls on the preceding vowel. cf. §2.5.

haawárei	'wanting (verbal noun)'
haáwah	'want (participle)'
miínong	'I (masculine) am going'
míina	'I (feminine) went'
míing	'I (masculine) went'
kúu	'inside'
kúng	'dust'
kú'	'neck'
kuŕgkiro	'black'
máhkata	'dog'

Secondly, in prefixing reduplication, the first two moras of a word or a stem are reduplicated, e.g.:

toko=tokohah	'be hot (participle)'
paki=paki'ku	'when it shook repeatedly'
peh=pehkita	'very small'
kong=konniitong	'you are walking along'
taa=taapu	'help'
awa=awaang	'they gave (it) to him'

[20] Oliver (1955) occasionally indicates this residual vowel after [ʔ] in his phonemic transcription.

2.5 STRESS

Stress is predictable, and thus is not phonemic in Motuna.[21]

(1) Most words[22] consisting of three or more moras are pronounced with a relatively level high pitch from the beginning till the third mora from the last, which is immediately followed by another mora showing significantly steep drop in pitch. The F_0 extract of *arapah* 'bad' in Figure 2-7 illustrates this.[23] The F_0 of the first two syllables is almost level. The F_0 of the second *a* before the closure of *p* is 240 Hz, while the F_0 of *a* in the penultimate *pa* at the onset is 202 Hz.

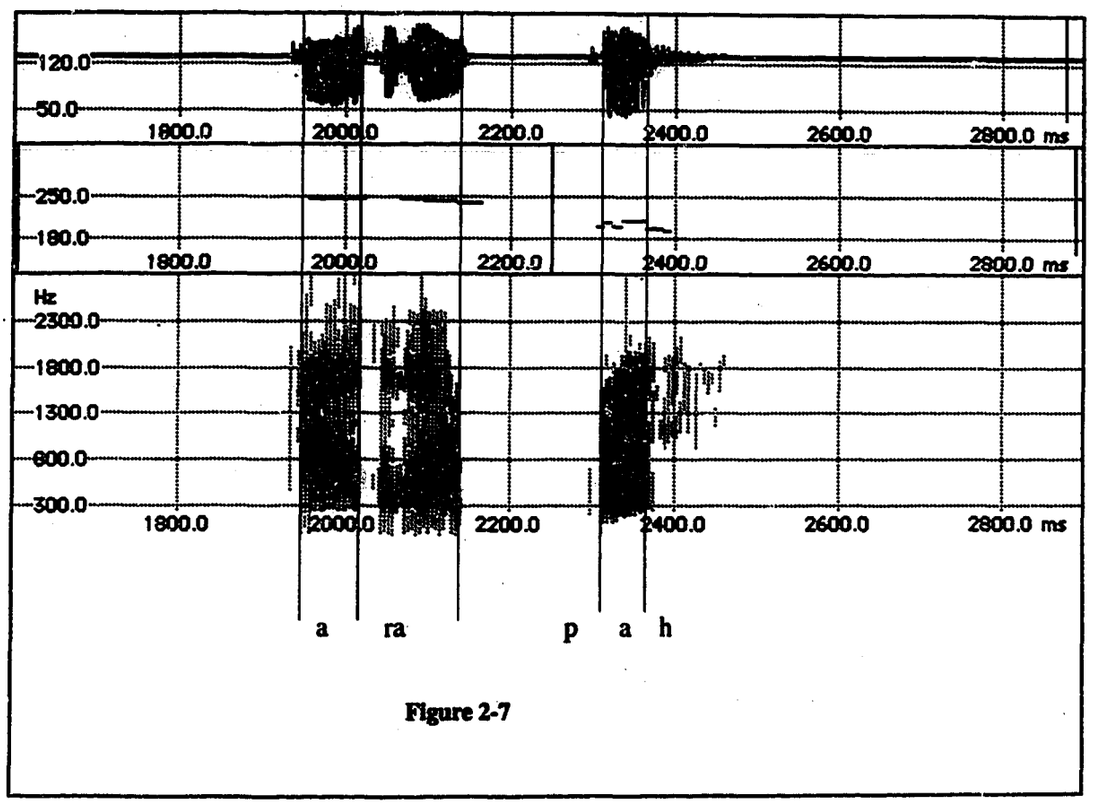


Figure 2-7

[21] Certain interjections deviate from the generalisations below. cf. §2.8.

[22] Some words which end with a C_2 preceded by two identical vowels seem to have a stress on the fourth mora from the last. e.g. *puuwoótawah* 'killed (participle)', *puuwoótoong* 'he killed him' (but: *puuwootawáang* 'they killed him', *puuwootáwaro* 'after they kill him'). I have no explanation for these exceptions.

[23] The following figures were made on the Signalize (version 2.8). In the case of Figure 2-7 – 2-15, the same word or sentence was repeated three times by the same female speaker and was recorded on a Nakamichi 550 cassette deck. In each case, the second of the three tokens was taken. The last example given in Figure 2-16 is taken from a recorded text narrated by another female speaker.

Each figure consists of a waveform, an F_0 extract and a half wideband spectrogram. Vertical lines are drawn to show the segmentation. Each segment is alligned with its phonemic transcription given underneath. (/roo/ 'you sg' in Figures 2-12 and 2-14 – 2-16 are written as "doo".)

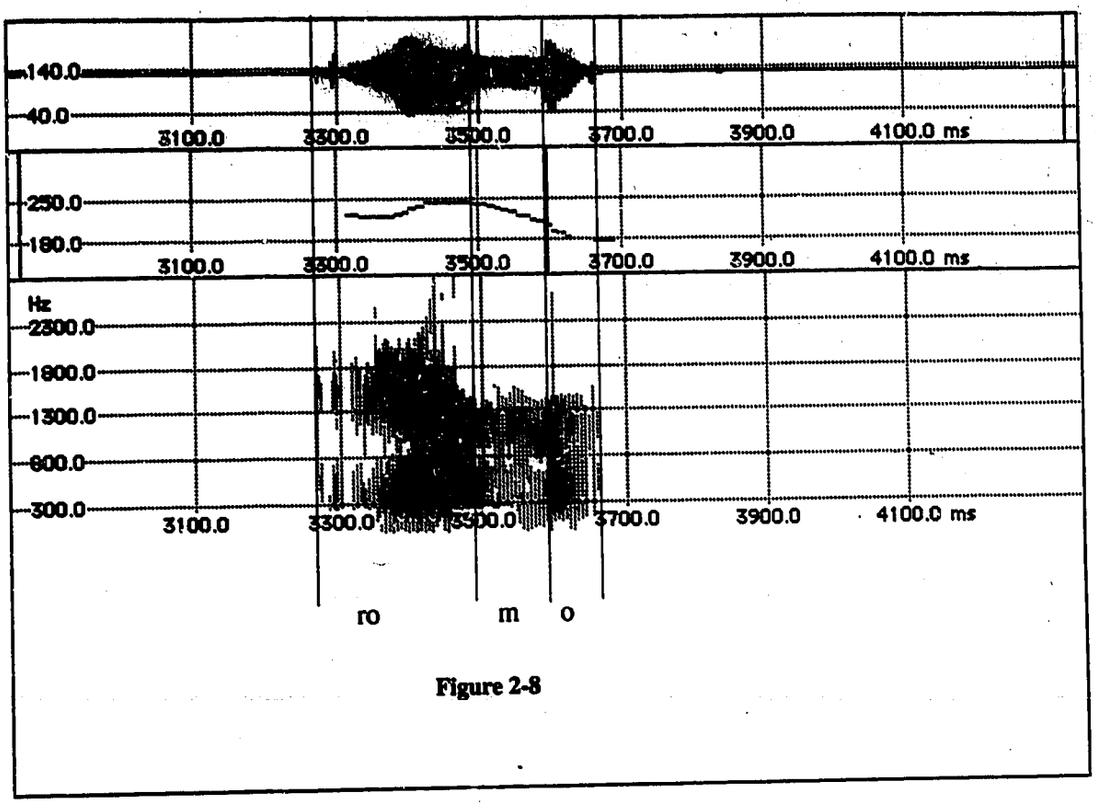


Figure 2-8

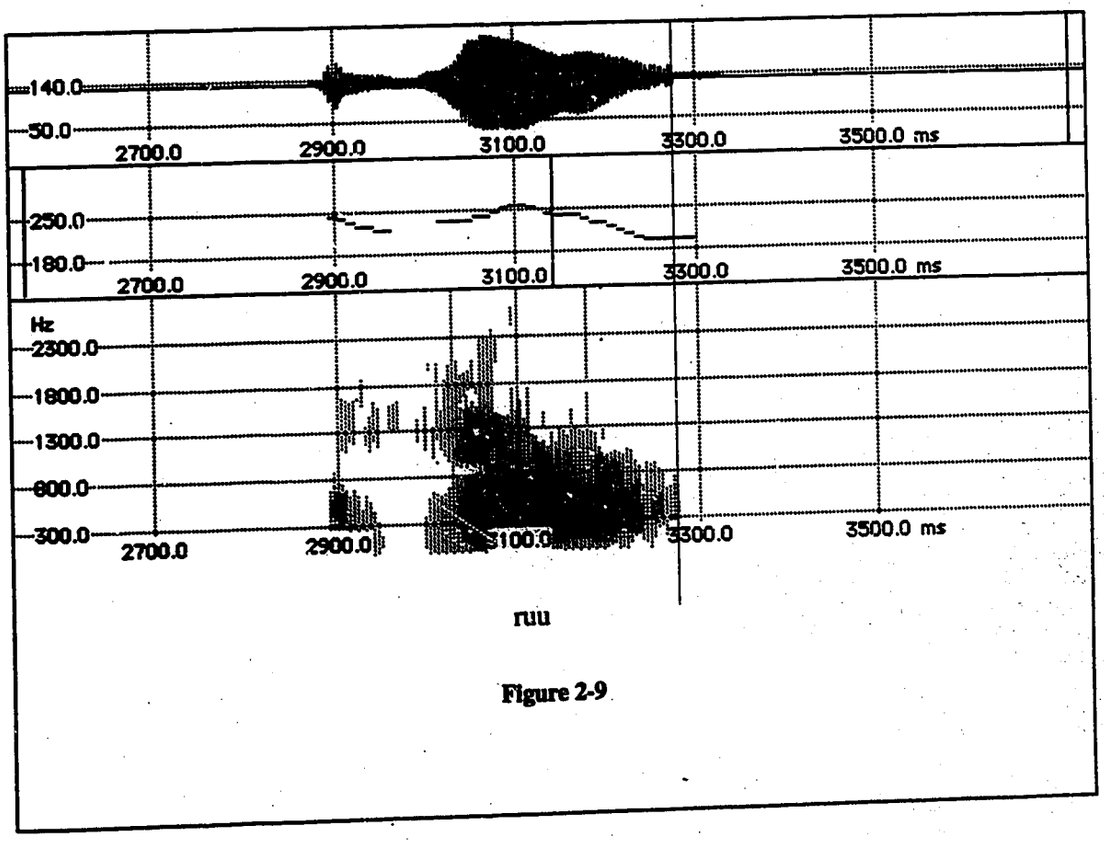


Figure 2-9

(2) In the case of words consisting of two moras, on the other hand, the first mora shows a phase of level or slightly rising high pitch immediately followed by a steep drop in pitch, and the last mora shows either a continuous drop in pitch or a relatively level low pitch. The F_0 extract of *romo* 'back' in Figure 2-8 and that of *ruu* 'day' in Figure 2-9 in page 25 show this.

In Figure 2-8, *o* of the initial *ro* shows a rising, and then a level phase in F_0, which is followed by the continuous falling in F_0 of *mo*. In Figure 2-9, the first half of the utterance *ruu* shows a slight rising, and the second half shows a continuous falling in F_0 which is slowed down at the end.[24]

I will call the third mora from the last in the case of words consisting of three or more moras (as the second *a* in *arápah*), and the first mora in the case of words consisting of two moras (as the first *o* in *rómo* and the first *u* in *rúu*), "stressed moras", provided that they are voiced.

As mentioned in §2.4, if the stressed mora happens to be an archinasal, the pitch of the preceding vowel is generally maintained in it. Compare the F_0 extract of *ponnaa* in Figure 2-10 with that of *honna* in Figure 2-11 in page 27. In Figure 2-10, the fall of the F_0 of the *nn* of *ponnaa* is very gentle in the first half of the utterance, while in Figure 2-11 that of the F_0 of the *nn* of *honna* is very steep especially in the first half of the utterance. Stress falls on the first *n* in *poṅnaa*, and on *o* in *hónna*.

/H/ and /Q/ can not be stressed, because they are voiceless. Thus when the mora on which stress is usually assigned happens to be /H/ or /Q/, the stress automatically shifts to the preceding vowel. That is, the pitch of the onset of the vowel before [h] or [ʔ] is much higher than the one of the following vowel.

In general, this stress pattern can determine the boundary of a phonological word. cf. §2.6.

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[24] In this particular utterance, the vowel [ə] is heard at the onset of the approximant [ɹ] which is continuously followed by [ɯ:]. I do not regard the drop of F_0 of [ə] as the reflection of the pitch contour of /r/.

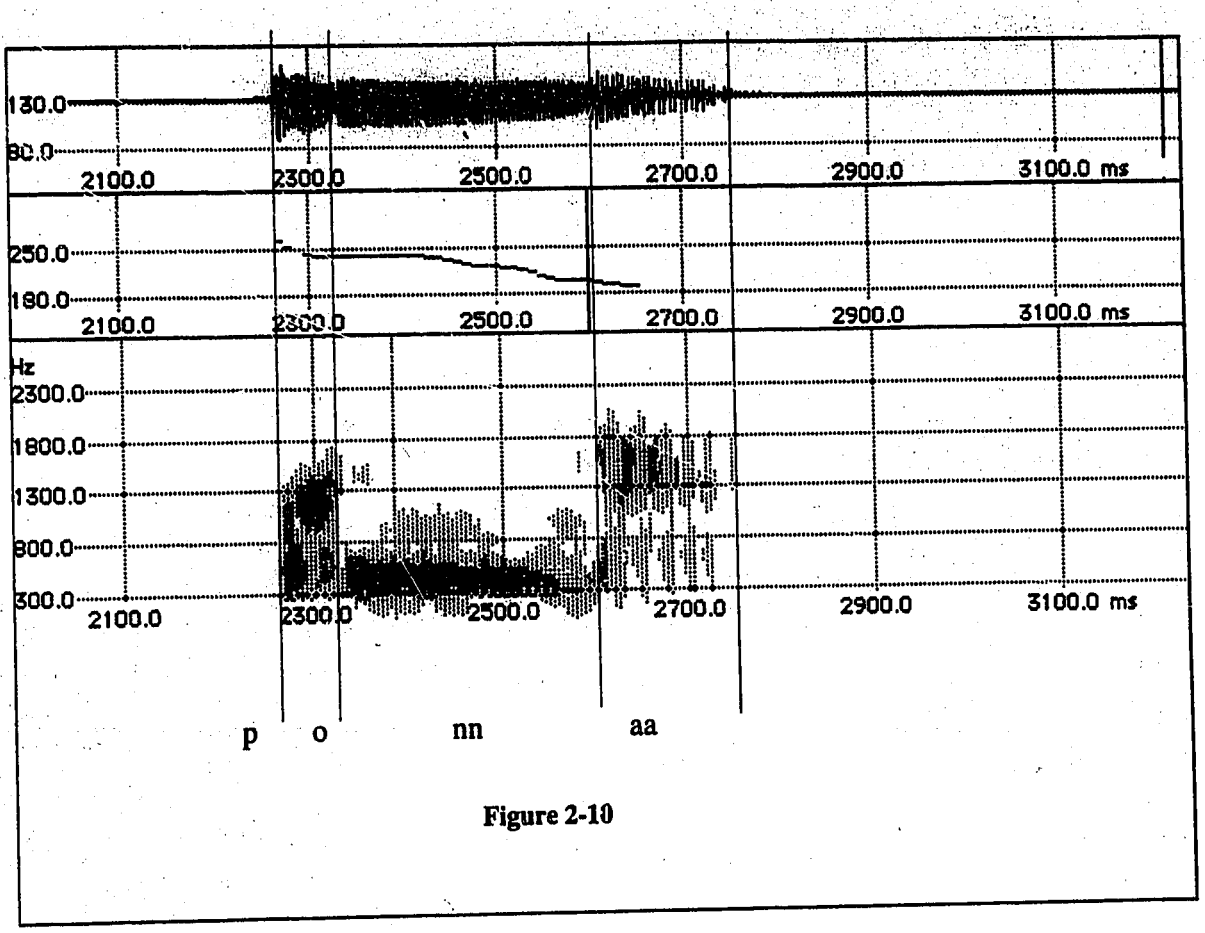

Figure 2-10

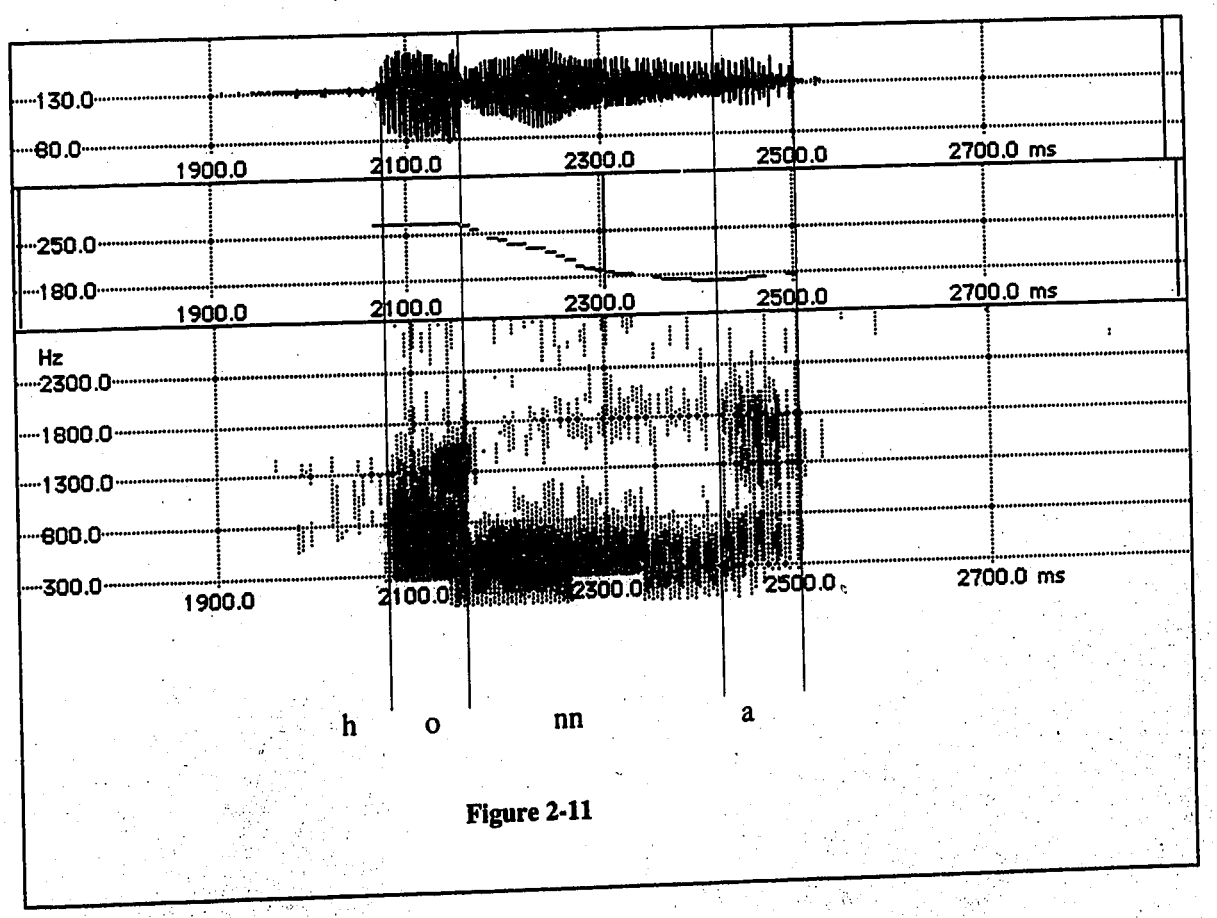

Figure 2-11

2.6 MORPHEME BOUNDARIES

I use three symbols to distinguish different types of morpheme boundaries:

#	a boundary between two grammatical words.
=	a boundary between two phonological words in a compound, between a root and a prefixing reduplication,[25] or between a verbal suffix derived from the existential verb *tu(h)-*[26] and a morpheme preceding it.
-	a boundary between two bound roots, between a root and an affix, or between two affixes.

A morpheme boundary does not necessarily coincide with a syllable boundary.

Phonemic and morphophonemic processes across the first two types of boundaries "#" and "=", and those across the boundary "-", are quite distinct from each other. The first two types of boundaries retain the shapes of two phonemes on both sides. For example, if two vowels are in contact across a boundary "#" or "=", a phonemically nondistinct glottal stop automatically intervenes (cf. Rule 2-2 in §2.2.1). A boundary of the last type, on the other hand, allows the two morphemes on both sides to assimilate, dissimilate or coalesce. See, for example, the assimilation processes discussed in §2.7.1, which only affect the boundaries of the last type.

The boundaries marked by "-" are not always uniform in their phonological behaviour. For example, the morphophonemic processes which affect the boundaries across various bound roots and classifiers (Ch 8) are quite different from those which affect those across verb roots and suffixes (Ch 13).

In Motuna, a phonological word boundary is identified according to the stress assignment discussed in §2.5. It is also the case that a pause can be freely made across such a boundary.

Motuna has many types of compounds and syntactic constructions, which consist of two or more phonological words.

I regard lexicalised units which consist of two or more phonological words as compounds. Compounds always behave as morpho-syntactic units; other words can never intervene between phonological words in a compound.

---

[25] See examples in §2.4.2. Word medial reduplications (cf. §4.4.4.1 and §13.3) are not marked by the boundary "=".

[26] The verbal suffix *-tu(h)* which derives reciprocal verbs (§14.7), and the Present Progressive TAM suffix *-i=tu(h)-* (Ch 13).

Examples of compounds:

roki=manni	'certainly' (derived from the adverb *roki* 'just' and the discourse marker *manni* 'certainly')
Krismas=maaritah	'Christmas holidays' (derived from the loan noun *Kirismas* 'Christmas' and the derived noun *maarit=ah* 'holidays')
muu=riih-arei	'to get dark' (derived from *muu* 'night' and *riih-arei* 'to become (verbal noun)'
kuma=kuma=nong=nga-wah	'giggler' (derived from *kuma=kuma* 'laugh', *nong* 'only' and *nga-wah* 'made (participle)')

Syntactic constructions, on the other hand, are not lexical units. Their meanings are predictable from the meanings of the (grammatical) words in particular syntactic configurations. Examples:

nii-nno *koro=koro* *noi-ngung*
[me-COMIT language one]-pl
'(those) who have one language with me'

hoo *kongsi'* *haaro'-ki-no-mori*
[ART.M mango fall.3S-HABPAST]-LINK-CL.season
'the season when mangoes fall'

The first example above is a so-called *bahuvrihi* compound with the numeral *noi*, incorporating its NP argument (cf. §7.1.3 and §8.2.2.1.1). Three grammatical words, *nii-nno*, *koro=koro* and *noi-ngung*, constitute a single grammatical unit. The second example is a classifier construction, in which the classifier *-mori* is combined with an intransitive verb with its S argument via the linker *-no-* (cf. §8.1.3.2.5). Here again, three grammatical words, *hoo*, *kongsi'* and *haaro'-ki-no-mori*, constitute a single grammatical unit. I will hereafter associate such grammatical units by square brackets in the interlinear text, as is shown in the above examples.

2.7 OVERVIEW OF PHONEMIC/MORPHOPHONEMIC PROCESSES ACROSS MORPHEME BOUNDARIES

In this section I will overview four important phonemic and morphophonemic processes, which occur across morpheme boundaries. They are (1) assimilation, (2) dissimilation, (3) articulation and (4) dearticulation. They occur very frequently in both nominal and verbal morphology.

2.7.1 Assimilation

The vowel /o/ is assimilated to a following *a* or *e* across a boundary "-".

Rule 2-9 Assimilation of /o/

(a) $o \rightarrow a \;/\; \begin{Bmatrix} \# (C) \\ a \;\; C \end{Bmatrix}_ \begin{Bmatrix} (C) - a \\ - (C) a \end{Bmatrix}$

(b) $o \rightarrow a \sim o \;/\; \begin{Bmatrix} V_i \;\; V_i \;\; C \\ [+front] \\ V_i \;\; C_2 \;\; C \\ [+front] \end{Bmatrix}_ \begin{Bmatrix} C - a \\ - C a \end{Bmatrix}$

$e \sim o$[27] $/ \begin{Bmatrix} \# \;\; (C) \\ V_i \;\; V_i \;\; C \\ [+front] \\ V_i \;\; C_2 \;\; C \\ [+front] \end{Bmatrix}_ \begin{Bmatrix} C - e \\ - C e \end{Bmatrix}$

Examples:

/no-/ 'a/some/any' + /-maH/ 'thing (classifier)' –>
na-mah 'a/some/any thing' (Rule 2-9a)

/po-/ 'his/her' + /-aramo-/ 'younger sibling' + /-na/ 'female' –>
pa-arama-na 'his/her younger sister' (Rule 2-9a)

/miNno-/ 'follow' + /-waH/ 'participle suffix' –>
minna-wah ~ minno-wah 'followed, following' (Rule 2-9b)

---

[27] In some cases, the assimilation of /o/ to *e* is obligatory in the environments where /o/ is in the word initial syllable, e.g. /ro-/ 'your (sg) + /-eti/ 'mother's mother' –> *re-eti* (cf. §4.4.4.1.2), /ngo-/ 'to be engaged' + /ree-/ 'middle 2nd nonsg S' + /-ti/ 'dl' + /-mo/ 'General SS' -> *nge-ree-ti-mo* 'while you two are being engaged' (cf. §13.4.1).

/o-/ 'this/that' + /-meN/ 'cutting tool (classifier)' –>
e-meng ~ o-meng 'this/that cutting tool' (Rule 2-9b)
/iirong-/ 'get angry' + /-jee/ 'applicative suffix' –>
iireng-ee ~ iirong-ee 'get angry with (sb)' (Rule 2-9b)[28]
/miQno-/ 'tell' + /-jee/ 'applicative suffix' –>
minne-jee ~ minno-jee 'tell for, teach (sb)' (Rule 2-9b)

Many other types of assimilation, both progressive and regressive, occur under specific morphological environments. cf. Chs 4 and 13.

2.7.2 Dissimilation

Dissimilation does not occur as frequently as assimilation. It is observed in the morphology of kinship terms and numeral classifiers, where the nasal /n/ occurs in succession. e.g.:

/ni-/ 'my' + /-na/ 'wife' –> *ina* 'my wife' (cf. Rule 4-3 in §4.4.4.1.2)
/no-/ 'one' + /-no-/ 'linker' + /-ku/ 'mother and child' –>
mo-no-ku 'a mother and her child' (cf. Rule 4-4 in §4.4.4.2.1)
/no-/ 'one' + /-nooQ/ 'stick (classifier)' –>
no-roo' 'a/one stick' (cf. Rule 8-1 in §8.2.2.1.2)

2.7.3 Articulation

When a morpheme which ends with a C_2 is followed by a suffix beginning with an archinasal /N/, C_2 is articulated to a CV sequence, consisting of a coronal consonant and a high vowel, to constitute a CVN syllable (cf. §2.4.1):

Rule 2-10 Articulation of C_2 before /N/

(a) N –> nu / _ - N

(b) Q –> tu / _ - N

(c) H –> si / _ - N

---

[28] The /j/ of the applicative suffix is deleted after a consonant. cf. Rule 13-16 in §13.4.1.

Examples:

/oN/ 'demonstrative in masculine gender' + /-Nno/ 'comitative case suffix' –>
onu-nno 'with this/that' (Rule 2-10a)

/imoQ/ 'my relative' + /-N/ 'masculine gender suffix' –>
imotu-ng 'my relative's (sb/sth)' (Rule 2-10b)

/po-omaH/ 'my sister-in-law' + /-N/ 'nonsingular suffix' –>
po-omasi-ng 'my sisters-in-law' (Rule 2-10c)

See §4.5 for further examples.

It may be argued that the underlying forms of word-final C_2 consonants are actually /-nu/, /-tu/ and /-si/, which surface only when they are followed by /-N/. However, there are many nouns, adjectives, classifiers, etc. which end with /-nu/, /-tu/ and /-si/. e.g. *munu* 'body', *neetu* 'ripe', *misi* 'soil'. The CV syllables of these words never alternate with C_2 consonants.

2.7.4 Dearticulation

The mirror image of "articulation" processes given above is "dearticulation" processes (cf. Lass 1984: 115). It is observed especially in verbal morphology. Cu and Ci syllables, when followed by a CV syllable, may be dearticulated into one of the three C_2s, in certain morphological environments. e.g.:

/-ru/ (paucal/plural suffix) is dearticulated to /N/:

/haa-/ 'to want' + /-mu/ '1st S suffix' + /-ru/ 'paucal/plural suffix' + /-mo/ 'General TAM suffix' + /-N/ 'masculine gender suffix' –>
haa-mu-m-mo-ng 'we many (inclusive) want'

/-pi/ (in a verb root) is dearticulated to /N/, or /n-u/ (a root-final consonant and a 3rd S suffix) is dearticulated to /Q/:

/kopin-/ 'to walk' + /-u/ '3rd S suffix' + /-ku/ 'Present TAM suffix' + /-N/ 'masculine gender suffix' –>
konn-u-ko-ng ~ *kopi'-ko-ng* 'he walks'

/s-u/ (a root-final consonant and a 3rd A suffix) is optionally dearticulated to /H/:

/tokis-/ 'to cut/ + /-u/ '3rd A suffix' + /-ro/ 'Perfect Same Subject suffix' –>
tokis-u-ro ~ *tokih-ro* 'after he/she cut(s) it, he/she ...'

See Ch 13 for a full discussion of these processes.

Dearticulation also occurs in some kinship terms. See §4.4.4.1.

2.8 INTONATION

Intonation signals the end of a sentence. It shows different patterns according to the type of the sentence, such as declarative, interrogative or exclamative. The general characteristics of such intonation patterns are described below; the detailed study of intonation in terms of syntactic, discourse and sociolinguistic factors is outside the scope of this thesis, and thus is left for future research.

(1) In declarative sentences: a natural falling pitch after the final stressed mora, with a pause before another sentence starts, signals the end of the sentence. cf. *doo* 'you (singular)' *paaina* 'cried (feminine)' in Figure 2-12, where the segment *aai* in the last word *paaina* shows a continuous slow falling in F_0. The end of a clause in a complex sentence is also signalled in the same way, with a short pause before another clause starts.

Note, however, that two or more short sentences may be uttered in one string, when they describe a chain of events, etc.

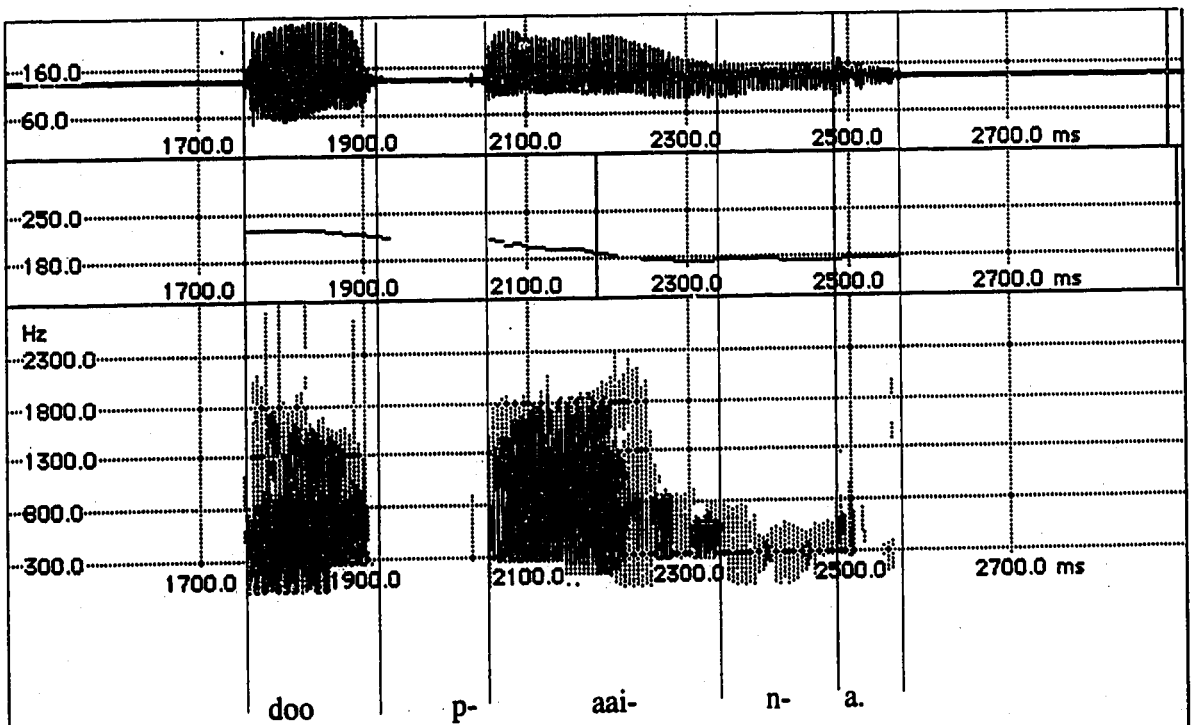

Figure 2-12

(2) In interrogative sentences with question words such as *ua* 'what', *woo* 'where', *paa* 'who': question words are pronounced with a high pitch. cf. *paa* 'who' in Figure 2-13 below. The end of the sentence is signalled by a falling pitch after the final stressed

mora, which is steeper than that of the end of a declarative sentence. Compare the falling in F_0 of the segment *aai* of *paai* 'cried' in Figure 2-13, with that of *aai* of *paaina* 'cried (feminine)' in Figure 2-12. The former is much steeper than the latter.

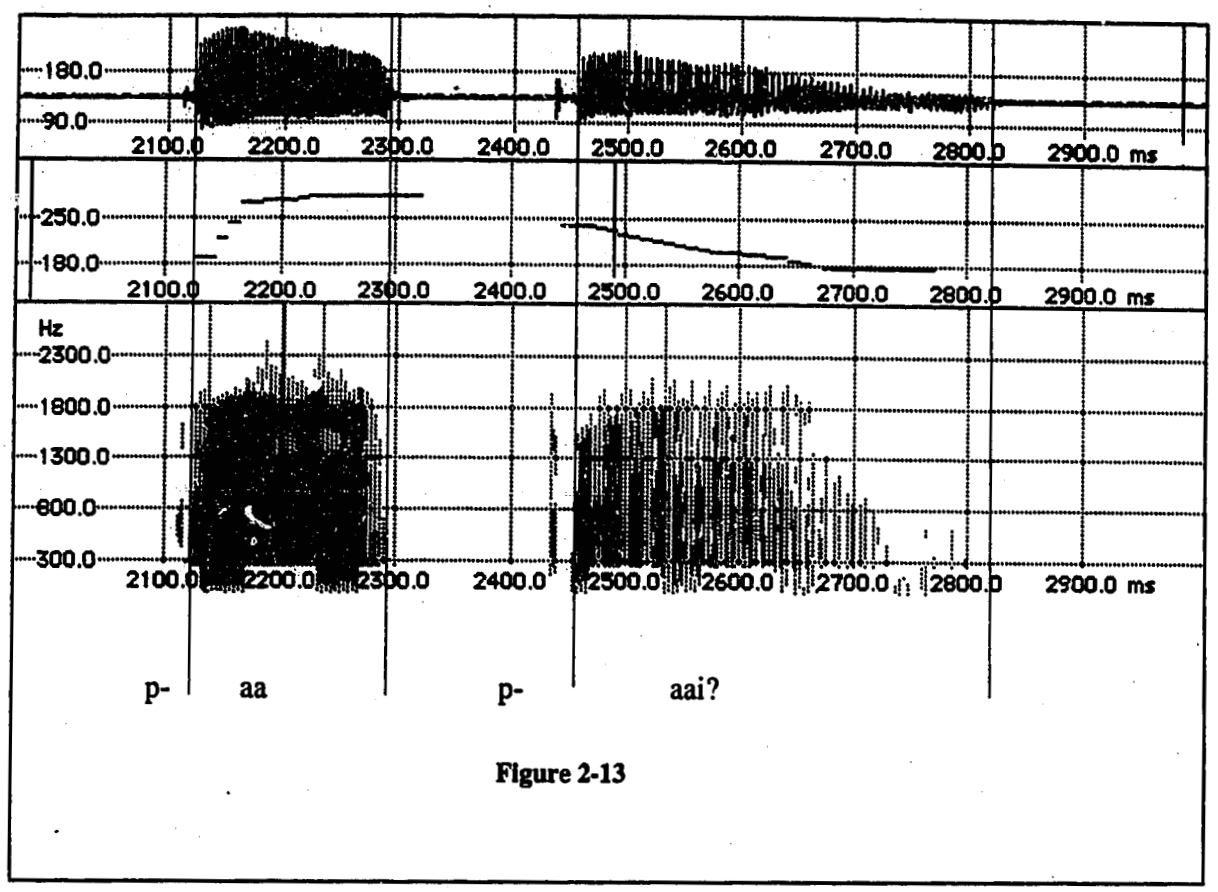

Figure 2-13

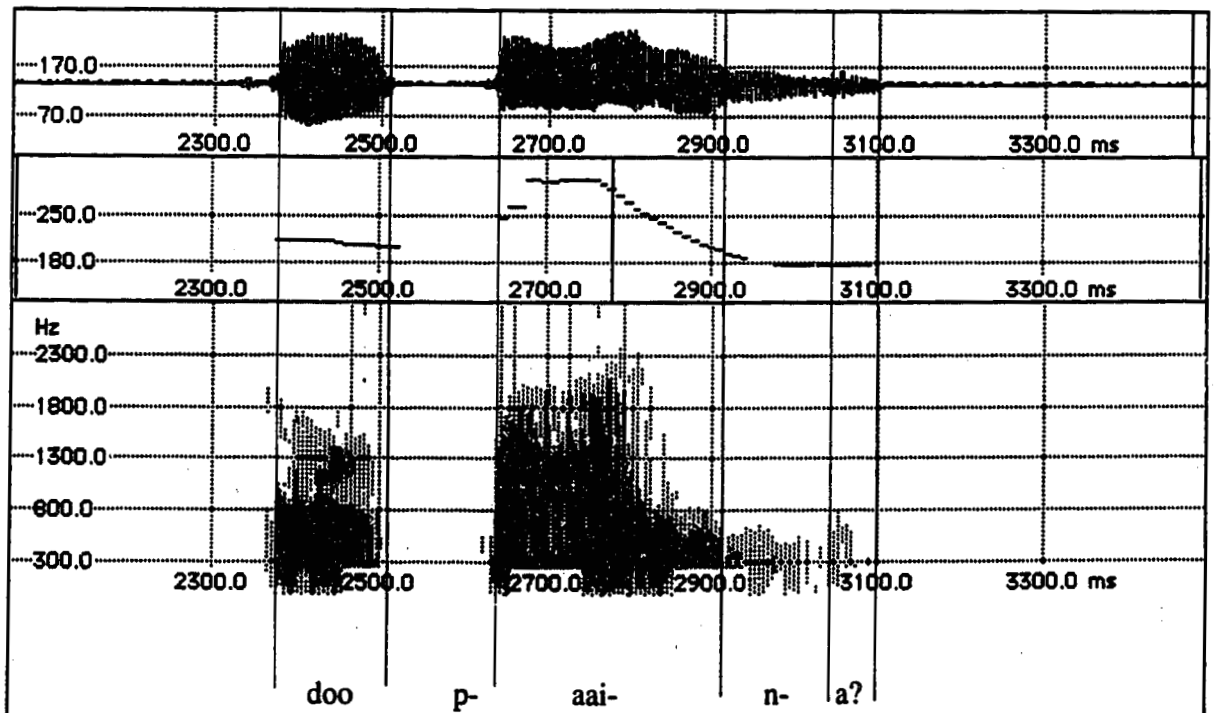

Figure 2-14

(3) In polar interrogative sentences: the final stressed mora has a rising pitch which is followed by a sharp falling contour of the rest of the moras. In Figure 2-14 in page 34, the segment *aai* in *paaina* shows a rising in F_0 at the beginning, which is followed by a sharp falling in F_0 in the latter half of the segment.

(4) The discourse markers *nee* and *nehe* play a similar role to tag questions in English (§9.1.4 and §9.1.5). They may be placed at the end of a sentence, or after the first word in a sentence. In the former case, the first mora *né* is pronounced with a sharp rising pitch, which is followed by a sharp falling pitch of the second mora *e* in *nee* or *hɯ* in *nehe* (cf. F_0 extract of *nehe* in Figure 2-15 below). In the latter case *nee* and *nehe* are marked by the same kind of rising and falling pitch (cf. F_0 extract of *nehe* in Figure 2-16 in page 36). The intonation pattern of the end of the sentence is just like that of a declarative sentence in such a case. Compare the F_0 contour of *aai* of *paaina* in Figure 2-16 with that in Figure 2-12.

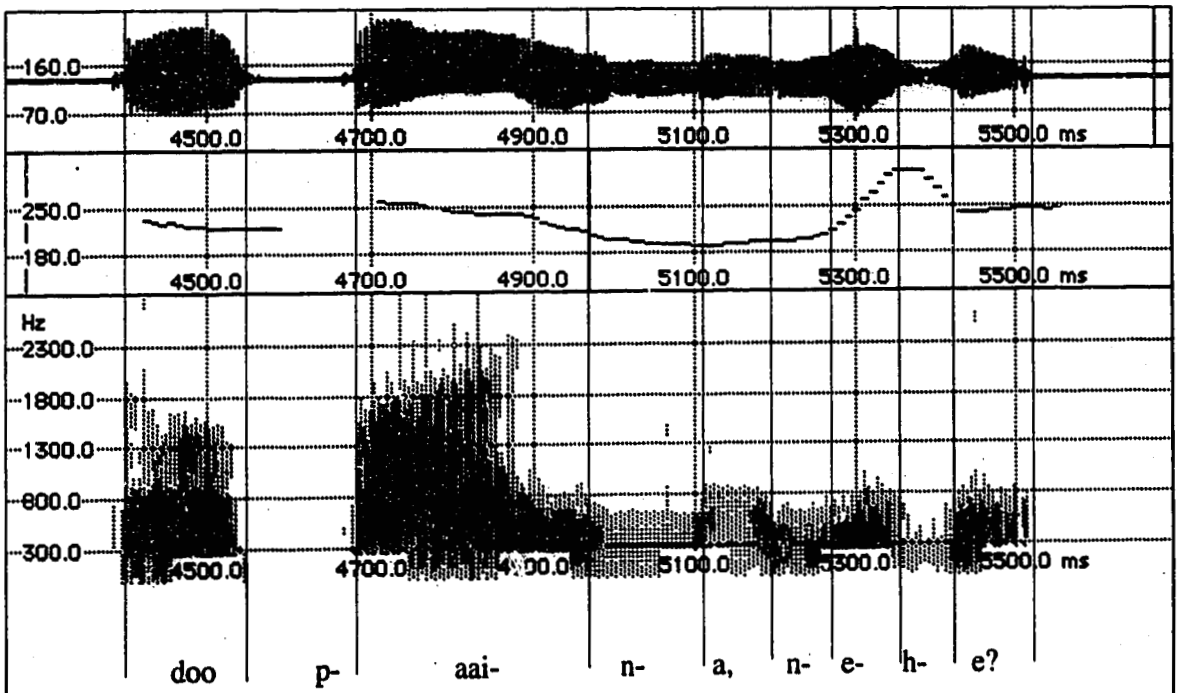

Figure 2-15

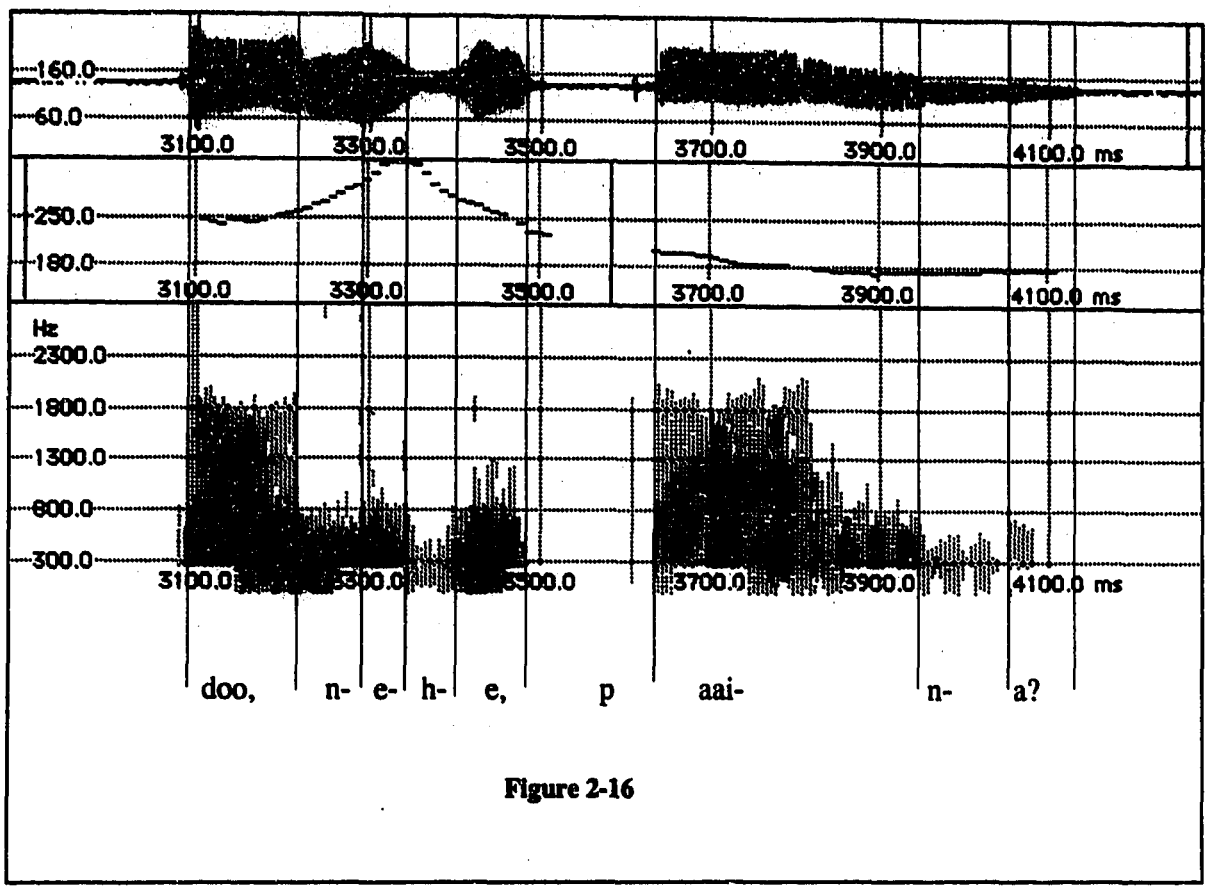

Figure 2-16

(5) The ending of the so-called emotive interjections (§9.6) is characterised by a level high pitch. The last word of a declarative sentence may also be uttered in the same kind of level high pitch, with a long pause after that. In Figure 2-17 in page 37, the last word of the first sentence *haarokuung* is pronounced almost in a falsetto tone, after which the speaker deliberately suspends the utterance of the following sentence (for one and half second) to draw the attention of the addressee. The latter sentence describes an event which is crucially related to the event described by the previous sentence.[29]

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[29] The first sentence in Figure 2-17 describes how the heron fell into the water. The second sentence describes how helpless the heron was after that. The two sentences are given below:

(1) *... tii hurir-arei-no toku kuuk-oo-ro roki tii tuu-ngori koho*
ART.L fly-VN-L not manage-MID.3S-PERF.SS just ART.L water-L down
haarok-u-u-ng!
fall-3S-RMPAST-M
'... he (= the heron) could not manage to fly, and he just fell down into the water!' (V-4)

(2) *haaro'-ro manni. tiko jeewo-ning koto ngo-woro-hee?*
fall.3S-PERF.SS certainly and how-towards up make.self-MID.3S-DEFFUT
'He certainly fell. And how on earth could he make himself upright?' (V-5)

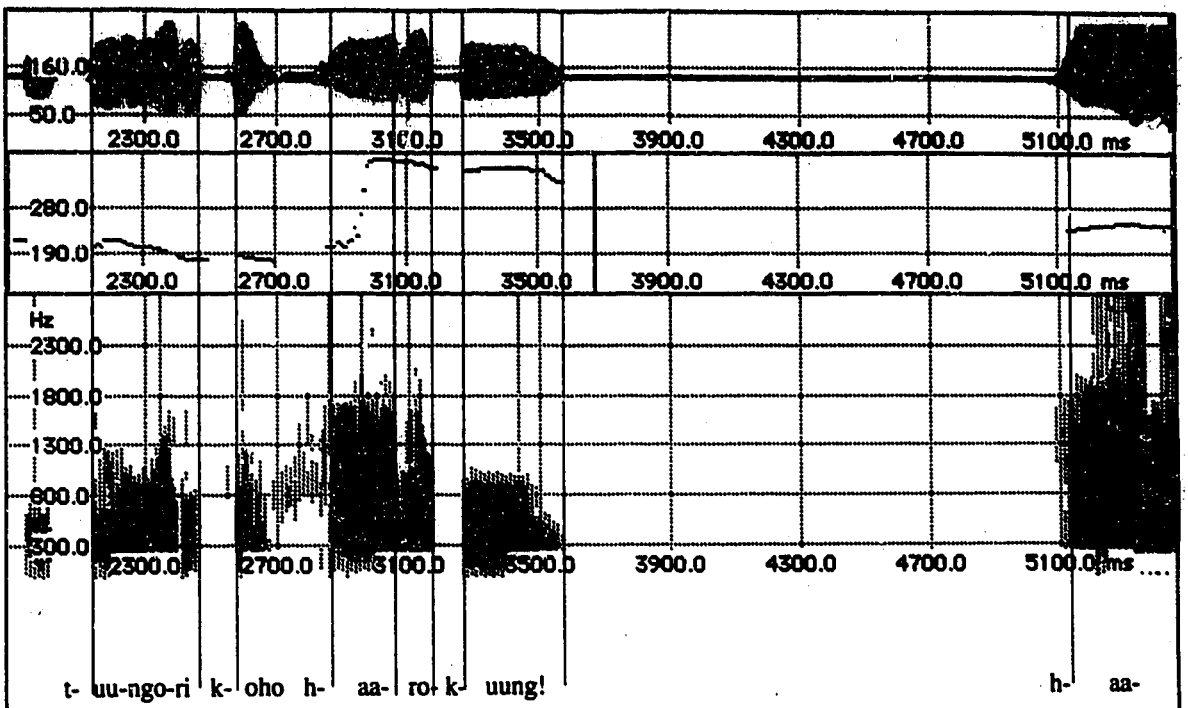

Figure 2-17

2.9 ORTHOGRAPHY

I follow the orthography adopted by Oliver (1955: xxii) except for /ng/, which he transcribes as "ŋ", and /w/, which he transcribes as "v".

In the orthography in Bible translations, the Catholic missions tend to use "j",[30] while the United Church "y",[31] for /j/. Both "r" and "d" are used for /r/.[32]

I use /j/ for the back glide because: (1) "j" seems to represent the allophonic range of this phoneme better than "y" (cf. §2.2.4), and (2) "y" is confusingly used to represent a non-phonemic transitional glide [j] which is heard after /i/ and before a non-high vowel (cf. Rule 2-8 in §2.3).

On the other hand, I use the symbol /w/ for the labial glide. This symbol seems to be well-established among native speakers,[33] although it is also confusingly used to

[30] as in *So Gosipeli Maka* (1952).

[31] as in *So wasiih mirahu Matiu ki kehurung* (1968).

[32] *So wasiih mirahu Matiu ki kehurung* (1968) also uses "b", "j", "g", "v" and "l" for loanwords (especially in personal names or place names).

[33] All my informants use "w" for the labial glide, while some use "y" and others "j" for the palatal glide. Gasaway (1987b) reccomends "w" and "y".

represent non-phonemic [w] after /u/ and before a non-high vowel (cf. Rule 2-8 in §2.3).

I use only "r" for /r/ because [d] is clearly a free allophone of /r/ which occur in restricted phonological environments (cf. Rule 2-6 in §2.2.5).

CHAPTER 3 SYNTACTIC PREVIEW

3.1 WORD CLASSES

Words in Motuna are classified into the following categories on morphosyntactic criteria:

(1) Major Word Classes
- (i) Noun (cf. Ch 4)
- (ii) Adjective (cf. Ch 7)
- (iii) Verb (cf. Ch 12)
- (iv) Participle (cf. Ch 16)

(2) Minor Word Classes
- (i) Pronoun (cf. Ch 5)
- (ii) Article (cf. Ch 6)
- (iii) Demonstrative (cf. Ch 6)
- (iv) Classifier (cf. Ch 8)
- (v) Numeral (cf. Ch 8)
- (vi) Quantifier (cf. Ch 8)
- (vii) Adverb (cf. Ch 7)
- (viii) Discourse Marker (cf. Ch 9)
- (ix) Negator (cf. Ch 9)
- (x) Conjunction (cf. Ch 9)
- (xi) Interjection (cf. Ch 9)

Verbal nouns --- a subclass of nouns --- are discussed in Ch 16.

The words which belong to major word classes primarily function as the heads of phrases (noun phrases, adjective phrases, verb phrases, and participle phrases, respectively). Phrases are syntactic units which constitute clauses (cf. §3.2).

The minor word classes are all the others. Some of them function as substitutes for, or modifiers of, major syntactic units. Others carry out various syntactic and pragmatic functions.

Motuna is predominantly an agglutinative language. It is often the case that a word contains one or more bound morphemes. In addition, there are various types of

compounds and syntactic constructions. For example, kinship terms and classifiers are bound lexical roots, which are combined with various bound morphemes and/or words.

The major word classes are characterised as follows:

(1) Nouns have five genders in singular number --- masculine, feminine, dimunitive, local and, marginally, manner. Gender distinction is neutralised in nonsingular number. The gender of a noun is cross-referenced by the modifiers within the same noun phrase and/or by the predicate. In addition, most nouns can be modified by classifiers, which relate to their semantic types.

Nouns distinguish four numbers --- singular, dual, paucal and plural. Nonsingular numbers may be marked on nouns by suffixes. The number of a noun may also be cross-referenced on the predicate, if it is the head of an argument NP.

As the heads of noun phrases, nouns can be determined by the article and/or the demonstrative, and can take modifiers of various types, e.g. nouns, adjectives, classifiers, possessors, relative clauses, numerals, a quantifier, etc. Noun phrases fulfill various syntactic functions in different types of clauses. See §3.2.2.

(2) Adjectives can also be marked by number suffixes, in agreement with the head nouns they modify or the arguments they predicate. Some adjectives marginally show gender inflections.

(3) Verbs are typically marked by morphemes which cross-reference the person/number of the core arguments, and by tense/aspect/mood (TAM) suffixes. Fully inflected non-medial verbs are further marked by the suffixes which cross-reference the genders of the sentential topics. Medial verbs, on the other hand, are marked by switch-reference morphemes.

Verbs usually function as the heads of verb phrases.[1] Verb phrases, in turn, function as the predicates of verbal clauses.

(4) Participles are derived from verb stems by the derivational suffix *-(w)ah.* Morpho logically all the participles can take number suffixes like adjectives. Syntactically some participles behave like adjectives in that they do not take argument NPs, while others behave like verbs in that they take argument NPs. Mainly due to this

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[1] Medial verbs may be combined with aspectual verbs to constitute verb phrases. In such cases, the latter function as heads. cf. §15.5.

difference of syntactic behaviour,[2] they are classified into "adjectival participles" and "verbal participles".

Some lexical words have dual or triple membership in different word classes. For example, *meeng* functions as an adjective with masculine gender inflection in the sense of 'real', as a restrictive adverb in the sense of 'exactly, right', or as an emphatic adverb in the sense of 'very'. In such cases, I register them in all the word classes in which they have membership.

Some lexical phrases are also described in the corresponding word classes. (For example, numerals above six in analytical constructions.) On the other hand, two suffixes, *-ko* and *-nno*, are discussed in Ch 9, together with other words belonging to minor word classes, since their syntactic behaviour is like that of a discourse marker and a conjunction, respectively.

3.2 THE SENTENCE

3.2.1 Types of Phrases

Every sentence contains one clause (in the case of a simple sentence) or more than one clauses (in the case of a complex sentence). A clause contains one or more phrases.

In Motuna, phrases are classified into Noun Phrases (NPs), Adjective Phrases (APs), Verb Phrases (VPs) and Participle Phrases (PartPs).

Noun phrases are often determined by the article and/or the demonstrative. They are marked for case by suffixes. A case suffix is obligatorily attached to the determiner (an article or a demonstrative) if it is present, as in 3-1a. If it is absent, they are obligatorily attached to the last attribute (as in 3-1b), or the head itself if there is no attribute (as in 3-1c). (cf. §10.2 and §10.3.1.)

3-1a	*ong-ngi*	*nommai*	'by this/that person, by these/those people'
	DEM.M-ERG	person/people	
3-1b	*nommai*	*tu'ki-ngi*	'by all the people'
	people	all-ERG	
3-1c	*nommai-ngi*		'by someone/people'
	person/people-ERG		

[2] There are other differences. See §3.2.1 below and Ch 16.

Note that the demonstrative *ong* in 3-1a is in the masculine (M) form, in agreement with the gender of the head noun *nommai*. Masculine is the unmarked gender. It can be defined negatively as the gender of all the singular nouns whose gender is not feminine, dimunitive, local, or manner. It is also the gender of all the plural nouns. See §4.2.1. Since the attachment of a number suffix to a nonsingular noun is optional, the head *nommai* in 3-1a and 3-1c may be interpreted either as singular or as plural.

Syntactically, noun phrases function as:

1) arguments in verbal and participle clauses,
2) arguments in adjectival clauses,
3) arguments and predicates in nominal clauses, or
4) the possessive attributes of other noun phrases.

The arguments of verbal and participle clauses are further categorised as core arguments, Complements and peripheral arguments. Core arguments and Complements are syntactically obligatory. Peripheral arguments, on the other hand, are syntactically optional.

Core arguments of verbal and participle clauses are either in absolutive or ergative case. In the case of verbal clauses, they are obligatorily cross-referenced by the pronominal markings on the verb.

Verbs, on the other hand, consist of:

1) verb stems,
2) bound morphemes which cross-reference the person and number of core arguments, and
3) tense/aspect/mood (hence TAM) suffixes.

They are further followed by or fused with a suffix which indicates the gender of the sentential topic in the case of a fully inflected non-medial verb, or are fused with a switch-reference suffix in the case of a medial verb.

Cross-referencing markings indicate the person and number of one (in the case of intransitive verbs) or two (in the case of transitive verbs) core arguments. According to Dixon's (1979, 1994) suggestions, the following symbols will be used as the abbreviations of core arguments hereafter:

the subject of an intransitive verb	S
the subject of a transitive verb	A
the object of a transitive verb	O

Complements of verbs, on the other hand, are indicated by the symbol "C".

Verbal markings which cross-reference the person/number of S, A and O NPs, are also labelled as S, A and O markings respectively.

In most cases sentential topics are one of the core arguments, but not always. Peripheral NPs in absolutive or ergative case, with local nouns as their heads, can also be topics.

Examples of verbs:

3-2a	*mi-ti-heenutee* go.1S-dl-FUT-DP	'we two (Topic) will go'
3-2b	*mono-m-a-ki-na* see-1O-3pcl.A-HABPAST-F	'they used to see me (feminine, Topic)'
3-2c	*kuuto-woro-ku* wait-MID.3S-GEN.DS	'when he/she waited, s.o. else...'
3-2d	*taapu-r-opi-ti-hee* help-2O-1A-dl-DEFFUT	'we two may help you (sg)/ I may help you two'

In the above examples, 3-2a and 3-2b are fully inflected non-medial verbs with gender suffixes. 3-2c is a medial verb. 3-2d is a non-medial verb, but it lacks a gender suffix; it can function either as the head of an independent clause, or of an dependent embedded clause.[3]

In 3-2a, the intransitive verb stem *pi(h)-* 'to go'[4] cross-references the 1st person and the dual number of the S argument by the portmanteau morpheme *m*, and the suffix *-ti*, respectively. They are follwed by the Future TAM suffix *-heenutee*, the ending of which shows the dual-paucal (DP) gender of the sentential topic, S in this case. Dual-paucal is not a number category, but a distinct gender category. cf. §4.2.1.

In 3-2b, the transitive verb stem *mono-* 'to see' cross-references the 1st person of the O argument by the suffix *-m*, and the 3rd person paucal/plural number of the A by the suffix *-a*. Then follow the Habitual Past TAM suffix *-ki* and the feminine gender suffix

[3] cf. §17.1 for the definitions of independent, dependent embedded and dependent non-embedded clauses.

[4] The stem-final *h* occurs only before derivational suffixes.

-ha. The last suffix indicates the feminine gender of the topical argument "me", in this case O.

In 3-2c, the verb stem *kuuto-* 'to wait' is marked by the middle voice suffix *-woro*, which cross-references the 3rd person singular S. (Motuna has an active/middle voice distinction, and all the verbs in middle voice are intransitive. cf. Ch 12.) This is followed by the medial suffix *-ku*, which marks General TAM and Different Subject categories.

In 3-2d, the transitive verb stem *taapu-* 'to help' cross-references the 2nd person of the O argument by the suffix *-r*, the 1st person of the A by the suffix *-opi*, and the dual number by the suffix *-ti*. The dual suffix can mark the number of either A or O. The last suffix *-hee* indicates Definite Future TAM.

Adjective phrases are not determined by the article or the demonstrative. They are not marked by verbal suffixes either. Syntactically they function (1) as the predicates of adjectival clauses, or (2) as the complements or peripheral arguments of verbal predicates. Adjectives can also function as post-head attributes within noun phrases.

Participle phrases are similar to adjective phrases in that they are neither determined by the article nor the demonstrative, nor are marked by verbal suffixes. There are two types of participle phrases: adjectival participle phrases and verbal participle phrases. The former behave exactly like adjective phrases. The latter, on the other hand, take argument NPs, like verb phrases.

Syntactically all the participle phrases function as: (1) the predicates of participle clauses, or (2) the complements of verbal predicates *tu(h)-* 'Copula' and *rii(h)-* 'to become'. Adjectival participles can also function as post-head attributes within NPs. Verbal PartPs may function as the predicates of relative clauses which can occupy either pre-head or post-head positions within NPs.

3.2.2 Case Markings of Noun Phrases

Noun phrases can be classified as follows according to their case markings:

(1) absolutive NPs
(2) ergative NPs
(3) comitative NPs
(4) purposive NPs
(5) locative NPs
(6) ablative NPs

(7) similative NPs

The heads of NPs can be nouns or pronouns, or the article or the demonstrative functioning as a pronoun. Numerals and some classifier constructions can also stand as NP heads.

Noun phrases with local nouns as their heads cannot take comitative, locative and similative case suffixes. Noun phrases with manner nouns as their heads are found only in absolutive case.

3.2.2.1 Absolutive NPs

The heads of absolutive noun phrases can be in any gender. Absolutive NPs with the head nouns/pronouns in local and manner genders behave differently from those with the head noun/pronouns in other genders.

Absolutive NPs, with the heads in other genders than local and manner, function as:

1) arguments and predicates in nominal clauses. e.g.:

3-3

ree-mo	*poko-ng*	*mii*	*Emmai.*
your.nonsg-father	3sg.POSS-M	name	'male.name'
[Argument]			[Predicate]

'Your father's name is Emmai.' (XIII-65)

2) arguments in adjectival clauses. e.g.:

3-4

hoo	*poti*	*roki=manni*	*mirahu.*
ART.M	time	certainly	good
[Argument]			[Predicate]

'That time was certainly good.' (XXX-99)

3) subjects (Ss) in intransitive verbal or participle clauses. They usually function as sentential topics.[5] e.g.:

3-5

roo	*hoo*	*huhu-ro-i=to-ng.*
you.sg	ART.M	tell.a.lie-MID.2S-PRESPROG-M
[S Topic]		[Intransitive VP]

'You are telling a lie.' (XIX-33)

---

[5] Unless another NP denoting location or destination functions as a topic. cf. 3-13, 3-14, 3-19 and 3-34 below.

4) subjects (As), and objects (Os), in transitive verbal (or participle) clauses. e.g.:

3-6 *nee* *poti* *ihkita* *nop-upi-n-ni.*
we.inc time long take-3O.1A-pcl.NRPAST-DP
[A-Topic] [O] [Transitive VP]
'We (paucal inclusive) took (= spent) a long time.' (XV-29)

Note that A NPs in absolutive case usually function as sentential topics,[6] in contrast with those in ergative case which do not.

5) Complements (Cs) in transitive or intransitive verbal or participle clauses. e.g.:

3-7 *nii* *ong* *miika* *o-m-i-ng.*
me DEM.M leftover.of.betel.mixture give.to-1O-2A-pcl.IMP
[O] [C] [Transitive VP]
'Give that betel mixture (in your mouth) to me.' (IX-1)

3-8 *hoo* *hoo* *pa'pai* *tu-ro-ng.*
it ART.M taboo COP.3S-PERF-M
[S Topic] [C] [Intransitive VP]
'It is still a taboo.' (XIX-10)

6) terms of address:

3-9 *nuri* *Maawo.*
my.son 'male.name'
[Term of Address]
'My son Maawo.' (I-41)

The article *hoo* after *roo* in 3-5, and the second *hoo* in 3-8, function as a topic marker, determining the preceding *roo* and *hoo* respectively. Note that NPs which function as nominal predicates, as the Complements of certain verbs, or as terms of address, are usually without determiner.[7] See 3-3, 3-8 and 3-9, respectively.

Absolutive noun phrases, with nouns/pronouns in local gender as their heads, fulfill the following syntactic functions:

1) In nominal clauses they can function as arguments or predicates. e.g.:

---

[6] Unless another absolutive NP denoting location precedes and functions as a topic. cf. 3-15 below.

[7] NPs functioning as nominal predicates or the Complements of verbs may be determined by the demonstrative in some cases. cf. §6.2.2.

3-10 ... *tii* *heekoo* *noniko-ng* *koh* *tu-ki-no*
ART.L some.place $_{REL}$[1nonsg.exc.POSS-M garden be.3S-HABPAST-L]
[Argument]
tuu *honna-no-ita-kori.*
[[river big]-LINK-CL.side]-L
[Predicate]
'... the place [lit. somewhere] where our garden was, was a side (= tributary) of a big river.' (VI-28, cf. 8-36)

In 3-10, *noniko-ng koh tu-ki-no* is a relative clause modifying *heekoo*, which is the head of the argument noun phrase. *Tuu honna no-ita-kori* is a local noun derived from a classifier construction, functioning as a predicate. cf. §4.6.1 and §8.1.3.2.3.

2) They can be the subjects (Ss) of intransitive verbal or participle clauses. e.g.:

3-11 *owo* *reeko-no* *impa* *kunto-wo-i-no.*
DEM.L 2nonsg.POSS-L now be.closed-MID.3S-NRPAST-L
[S Topic] [Periph. Arg. (Time)] [Intransitive VP]
'Your place there has now been closed (= blockaded).' (XV-15)

In 3-11, the headless local NP with a possessive pronoun *reeko-no* functions as an S Topic. The head local noun, such as *uri* 'home', is left unexpressed. cf. §11.2.3.3.

3) They can be the objects (Os) of transitive verbal or participle clauses. e.g.:

3-12 ... *tii* *Kooau* *sih-a-mo.*
ART.L 'place.name' leave-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS
[O] [Transitive VP]
'(They) ..., while they were leaving Kooau.' (II-10)

4) As peripheral arguments:
i) they can refer to the locations of participants in certain states. Absolutive NPs in this use always function as sentential topics in verbal or participle clauses:

3-13 *tii* *uri* *pau* *mirahu-ngung* ... *aruf-oo-ro-no.*
ART.L village food good-pl be.in.abundance-MID.3S-PERF-L
[Location Topic] [S] [Intransitive VP]
'In the village good food ... is in abundance.' (III-46)

3-14 *owo* *noniko-no* *uri* *pau* *toku* *noi* *tu-ro-no.*
DEM.L 1nonsg.exc.POSS-L village food not any be.3S-PERF-L
[Location Topic] [S] [Intransitive VP]
'Here in our village there is not any food.' (XXXI-12)

Note that ergative NPs can also refer to the participants in states; however, they do not usually function as sentential topics. See examples 3-30 and 3-31 in §3.2.2.2.

ii) they can refer to the locations where durative or habitual activities/processes take place. Again, absolutive NPs in this use always function as sentential topics in verbal or participle clauses. Ergative NPs may express similar meanings. cf. 3-32 - 3-35 in §3.2.2.2.

3-15 *owo* *nommai ...* *siro* *noi* *siro-o-ko-no.*
DEM.L person song a sing-3O.3A-PRES-L
[Location Topic] [A] [O] [Transitive VP]
'Here someone [lit. a person] ... sings a song (habitually).' (XIII-56)

3-16 *owo* *nuri* *rokut-ungjo-no* *ua* *ru'h-u-i=to-no?*
DEM.L REL[my.son bury-3O.1pcl.A.PERF-L] what grow-3S-PRESPROG-L
[Location Topic] [S] [Intransitive VP]
'What is growing there where we buried my son?' (XII-44)

In 3-16, the first local NP is headless.

iii) they can refer to the destinations of actions.

3-17 *hoo=hoo* *tii* *hiru-ngori* *patak-a-a-ng ...*
so ART.L sea-L arrive-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
[Destination] [Intransitive VP]
'So they arrived at sea ...' (V-49)

3-18 ... *tii* *kuhirika-kori* *poru'-kuu-ng.*
ART.L basket-L put.down.3O.3A-IMAG-M
[Destination] [Transitive VP]
'... he would put it down into the basket.' (XIX-46)

Absolutive NPs denoting destinations may occasionally function as sentential topics:

3-19 *owo* *ngo-no* *koh* *nommai* *uhu-ko-no.*
DEM.L 1sg.POSS-L garden people come.3pcl.S-PRES-L
[Destination (Topic)] [S] [Intransitive VP]
'People come here to my garden.' (XIII-48)

iv) they can also refer to points of time. They do not seem to stand as sentential topics with this meaning. (See also the local NP in absolutive case *impa* in 3-11.)

3-20 ... *toku* *tii* *ti-ru* *umi-ki-ng* ...
not ART.L ART-CL.day go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-M
[Point of Time] [Intransitive VP]
'... we did not go on that (same) day ...' (VI-47)

The NP in 3-20, with the classifier construction *ti-ru*, is headless.

Absolutive NPs with manner nouns/pronouns as their heads function as Complements or peripheral arguments. An example of an absolutive NP with the manner noun *heekowo* 'any way' as head, functioning as the Complement of an intransitive verb:

3-21 ... *tii* *jaa* *tiwo* *heekowo* *ngo-woro-kui-na*
she I.wonder ART.MAN any.way be.involved-MID.3S-IMAG-F
[S Topic] [C (Manner)] [Intransitive VP]
ti-ki *uri-ngi.*
ART.L-ERG village-ERG
[Periph. Arg. (Location)]
'... she could have suffered in every thinkable way [lit. she could have been involved in any way, I wonder] in the village.' (XV-82)

An example of the manner article *tiwo* functioning as the head of a peripheral argument NP:

3-22 *roo* *toku* *tiwo* *konn-i-i.*
you.sg not that.way move-2S-CONT.SS
[S] [Periph. Arg. (Manner)] [Intransitive VP]
'You don't keep behaving [lit. moving] that way:' (XXI-6)

3.2.2.2 Ergative NPs

Ergative noun phrases are marked by the suffix *-ki* (or its allomorph *-ngi* or *-i*).

Ergative noun phrases, with non-local nouns/pronouns as their heads, can function as the subjects (As) of transitive verbs or participles. Note that ergative NPs as core arguments do not function as sentential topics (cf. §3.3.1.1).

3-23 *ong* *pa-i* *rutu'-ko-ng?*
DEM.M who-ERG beat.3O.3A-PRES-M
[O Topic] [A] [Transitive VP]
'Who beats that?' (XIV-41)

Ergative NPs, with non-local nouns/pronouns as their heads, can function as peripheral argument as well. They play a variety of semantic roles:

1) the instruments of transitive actions, as in:

3-24 ... *ho-i* *piso* *manni* *hoo* *o'koo* *kuuo*
ART.M-ERG walking.stick then ART.M that wing
[Instrument] [C]
raup-ee-u-u-ng.
break-APPL-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
[Transitive VP]
'... (she) then broke that wing (of the heron) with a walking stick.' (V-3)

2) materials used or accompanied to fulfill transitive actions, as in:

3-25 *hiuo* *tuu-ki* *maapuk-ooto-ji-ng.*
clay.pot water-ERG become.full-CAUS-3O.2A-pcl.IMP
[O] [Material] [Transitive VP]
'(You all,) fill the clay pot with water.' (III-34)

3) the means of transport in intransitive actions, as in:

3-26 ... *ho-i* *sikuuna* *umi-ki-ng.*
ART.M-ERG schooner go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-M
[Means of Transport] [Intransitive VP]
'... we used to go by schooner.' (VI-41)

4) the purposes of intransitive actions, as in:

3-27 ... *ho-i* *haha'* *uwi-ki-ng.*
ART.M-ERG work go.3pcl.S-HABPAST-M
[Purpose] [Intransitive VP]
'... they used to go for work.' (II-19)

5) the locations of actions or mental activities, as in:

3-28 ... *ho-i* *heteeku* *koto* *kiin-u-u-ng.*
ART.M-ERG 'name.of.tree' up climb-3S-RMPAST-M
[Location] [Direction] [Intransitive VP]
'... he climbed up on the *heteeku* tree.' (IX-23)

3-29 ... *roki* *ho-i* *ngo-m* *mu'king* *nok-o-mo* *nu-ka-na: "..."*
just ART.M-ERG 1sg.POSS-M heart say-1S-GEN.SS be.1S-PRES-F
[Location] [Intransitive VP]
'... I keep saying just in my heart: "..." ' (XV-79)

Ergative noun phrases, with local nouns/pronouns as their heads, function as peripheral arguments. They do not usually function as sentential topics, but I found only one exception in my corpus --- see *ongi* in 3-34.

They can signify:

1) the locations of participants in certain states.

3-30 *ho-ko* *uri-ngi* *tu-ko-ng.*
he-EMPH village-ERG be.3S-PRES-M
[S Topic] [Location] [Intransitive VP]
'He lives in the village.' (XVI-79)

3-31 *tii* *poku'-ro* *manni* *ti-ki*
there hide.3O.3A-PERF.SS then there-ERG
[Destination] [Transitive VP] [Location]
po'k-oi-juu ...
be.hidden-MID.3S-CONT.DS
[Intransitive VP]
'When she (= the possum) hid her (= the owl) there, and while she (= the owl) was hidden there, ...' (X-28)

Note that in 3-31, the action transitive verb /pokuk-/ 'to hide' in Perfect TAM accompanies the absolutive NP *tii*, while the stative intransitive verb of the same stem in middle voice,[8] with the Continuous Different Subject suffix, takes the ergative NP *ti-ki*. *Tii* denotes the destination of an action, while *ti-ki* denotes the location of a participant in a state.

2) the locations where durative or habitual activities (3-32 and 3-33) or processes (3-34 and 3-35) take place. They are used with verbal forms which express imperfective aspect.

3-32 *ti-ki* *ngo-no-ki* *uri-ngi* *hoo* *kakau*
ART.L-ERG 1sg.POSS-L-ERG village-ERG ART.M cocoa
[Location] [O]
inak-upeeno-ng.
look.after-3O.1A.FUT-M
[Transitive VP]
'I will look after cocoa in my village.' (XVI-48)

[8] Note that the underlying /ku/ in the stem is dearticulated to /Q/. cf. §13.4.2.4.

3-33 ... *ti-ki* *hiisia-kori-ki* *mingk-ee-m-mo* *uru-ku.*
ART.L-ERG sand-L-ERG play-MID.3S-pcl-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-GEN.DS
[Location] [Intransitive VP]
'(The heron) ..., while they (= the children) kept playing on the beach.' (V-36)

In 3-33 *uru-ku* is an aspectual verb, expressing the progressivity of the activity referred to by the preceding medial verb *mingk-ee-m-mo* (cf. §15.5.1).

3-34 *ua* *meeng* *ongi* *ru'h-u-ro-no?*
what exactly DEM.L.ERG grow-3S-PERF-L
[S] [Location (Topic)] [Intransitive VP]
'What exactly has grown here?' (XII-52)

3-35 ... *ti-ki* *ai* *manni* *iti=itikai-woro-ku ...*
ART.L-ERG I.tell.you certainly REDUP=gain.strength-MID.3S-GEN.DS
[Location] [Intransitive VP]
'... I tell you, after she (= the turtle) certainly gained strength there, (the heron) ...' (V-32)

They also denote:

3) passing points, when they are used with verbs denoting locomotions:

3-36 ... *hoo* *tuu* *ti-ki* *puuto-ki* *piih-ku ...*
ART.M water ART.L-ERG end-ERG come.out.3S-GEN.DS
[S] [Passing Point] [Intransitive VP]
'... after the water came out through the end (of the bamboo container), (she) ...' (XI-11)

3-37 *jeewo,* *ongi* *Honiara-ki* *noo* *mi'-kui*
how DEM.L.ERG place.name-ERG possibly go.1pcl.inc.S-IMAG.DP
[Passing Point] [Intransitive VP]
tii *uri?*
ART.L home
[Destination]
'How (is it), could we possibly go home via Honiara?' (XV-18)

Note that in 3-37 the destination is expressed by the absolutive local NP *tii uri.*

The ergative suffix is also attached to certain numerals above "six" in numeral constructions, and to Possessor nouns. See §8.2.2.6 - §8.2.2.7 and §11.2.4 respectively.

3.2.2.3 Comitative NPs

Comitative noun phrases are marked by the suffix *-nno*. They cannot take local or manner nouns as their heads.

Comitative noun phrases can function:

1) as peripheral arguments in verbal clauses, e.g.:

3-38 ... *tu-ki-na* *tii* *kuraisa* *na-ra*
be.3S-HABPAST-F ART.F woman one-F
[Intransitive VP] [S Topic]
hoo-nno *po-ong* *ranguriwah* ...
ART.M-COMIT her-son man
[Peripheral Argument]
'... a woman used to live with her (male) son ...' (I-1)

where the existential verb *tu-ki-na* cross-references the singular number of S.

3-39 *oi-ko* *kuuruu-nno* *sikireu-nno* *tii-ko*
DEM.DP-EMPH owl-and 'name.of.bird'-and ART.DP-EMPH
[A Topic]
hoo-nno *no-ngu* *hoo* *pau* *noi* *ru'k-u-'-ni.*
ART.M-COMIT one-CL.lot ART.M food some cook-3O.3A-dl.RMPAST-DP
[Peripheral Argument] [O] [Transitive VP]
'The two birds, the owl and the *sikireu*, also cooked some food with some (other birds).' (X-5)

where the transitive verb *ru'k-u-'-ni* cross-references the dual number of A. Also note that two *-nno*'s in the A NP function as conjunctions, coordinating two nouns at nuclear level (cf. §9.4.2).

2) as conjuncts to other noun phrases, e.g.:

3-40 *nii* *hoo* *hoo-nno* *nupi-ng* *unu-ro-ng.*
I ART.M ART.M-COMIT my.grandchild-pcl be.1pcl.exc.S-PERF-M
[S Topic] <--- [Conjunct] [Intransitive VP]
'I am with my grandchildren.' (XXI-1)

where the existential verb *unu-ro-ng* cross-references the paucal/plural number of S which includes the conjunct NP *hoo-nno nupi-ng*.

3-41 *ih!* *nii* *nee* *mara-nno* *konn-opi-h=nuto-ng.*
oh.dear I it.must.be evil.spirit-COMIT walk-1S-dl.PRESPROG-M
[S Topic] <--------- [Conjunct] [Intransitive VP]
'Oh dear! I must be walking with an evil spirit.' (XIII-26)

where the intransitive verb *konn-opi-h=nuto-ng* cross-references the dual number of S, which, again, includes the conjunct NP *mara-nno*.

Comitative NPs can also function as the peripheral argument of the numeral *noi* 'one'. cf. §8.2.2.1.1.

3.2.2.4 Purposive NPs

Purposive noun phrases marked by the suffix *-ko* (or its allomorph *-ngo* or *-jo*) always function as peripheral arguments.

Purposive NPs, with head nouns/pronouns in non-local genders, express the goals of activities:

3-42 ... *pi-i-na* *hoo-jo* *tuu.*
go.3S-RMPAST-F ART.M-PURP water
[Intransitive VP] [Goal]
'... she went for (= to get) the water.' (XIII-10)

3-43 *tiko* *hoo* *ummah* *hoo-jo* *ngo-o-ro*
and ART.M knotted.rope it-PURP make-3O.3A-PERF.SS
[O] [Goal] [Transitive VP]
manni *ai* *koto* *kuroh-or-u-ng*
then I.tell.you up run-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'And when he made a knotted rope for it (= climbing), then, I tell you, he ran up.' (VII-33)

They can also express the stimuli of mental states:

3-44 *nii* *ong-jo* *ingina* *ooru-mu-i-na.*
I DEM.M-PURP rain be.afraid-1S-NRPAST-F
[S Topic] [Stimulus] [Intransitive VP]
'I (female) am afraid of this rain.'

Purposive NPs with local nouns as their heads refer to the locations (as in 3-45) or bodyparts (as in 3-46) of the Patients towards whom transitive actions are directed. Transitive verbs which take purposive NPs of this type include *to-* 'to hit/kill', *tokis-* 'to cut', *nop-* 'to get', *ratik-* 'to find' and *mono-* 'to see/look at'.

3-45 ... *ti-ko* *uri* *hoo* *nong* *kitoria* *mono-o-r-u-ng.*
ART.L-PURP village ART.M only children see-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M
[Location of Patient] [O] [Transitive VP]
'... he saw only children in the village.' (III-29)

3-46 *inokee-ko* *ongo* *koho* *mii-kori* *inokee-ko*
again-EMPH DEM.L.PURP down knee-L again-EMPH
[Bodypart of Patient]
ti-ko *koto* *tokis-u-u-ng.*
ART.L-PURP up cut-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
[Bodypart of Patient] [Transitive VP]
'Again he cut it (= the lower part of the body of his brother) down at the knee, and again he also cut it up (at the joint of the thigh).' (XII-30, cf. 6-25)

The purposive suffix can also be attached to nouns, which function as modifiers of local nouns denoting positions. See §4.4.2.2.

3.2.2.5 Locative NPs

Locative noun phrases are marked by the suffix *-kori* (or its allomorph *-ngori* or *-jori*). We need to distinguish this case suffix from the derivational suffix *-kori*, which is used to derive local nouns from the stems of non-local nouns (cf. §4.6.1). The locative case suffix *-kori* can be attached to the article or demonstrative which determines the noun phrase. The derivational suffix *-kori*, on the other hand, can only be attached to the head noun, and not to the determiner.[9] Compare:

---

[9] In noun phrases without determiner, the distinction between the case suffix and the derivational suffix is often not clear. The case suffix /-kori/ is obligatorily attached to the last element of an NP without determiner. The derivational suffix /-kori/ is attached to the post-head attribute if the original noun takes such an attribute. Thus,

(1) *poti* *ponnaa-ngori* 'at many times'
time many-LOC?/L?

can be a masculine NP in locative case or a local NP in absolutive case. It can be replaced by one of the following NPs determined by the article:

(2a) *hoo-jori* *poti* *ponnaa*
ART.M-LOC time many

(2b) *tii* *poti* *ponnaa-ngori*
ART.L [time many]-L

3-47 ... *hoo-jori* *sikuulu* *honna* *unu-i.*
ART.M-LOC school big be.1pcl.exc.S-CONT.SS
'(I) ..., while I was in the big school [= while I was a college student].' (XVI-2)

3-48 ... *tii* *sikuulu-kori* *mi-mo* ...
ART.L school-L go.1S-GEN.SS
'... while I was going to that school, ...' (II-17)

In 3-47, the non-local noun *sikuulu* is the head of a noun phrase in locative case, which is indicated by the case suffix *-jori* (an allomorph of *-kori*) attached to the article. (In this sentence *sikuulu* refers to a particular type of 'education', rather than 'school'.) In 3-48, on the other hand, *-kori* is used as a derivational suffix attached to the stem of the non-local noun *sikuulu*, and the derived local noun *sikuulu-kori* functions as the head of an absolutive noun phrase. (Here *sikuulu-kori* refers to a particular 'school'.)

A local noun derived by the suffix *-kori* can further be marked by a case suffix:

3-49 ... *ti-ki* *sikuulu-kori-ki* *ho-i* *kaakoto-ngung*
ART.L-ERG school-L-ERG ART.M-ERG white.people-pl
ina-mara-ki-ng.
look.after-1pcl.exc.3pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'... the white people used to look after us in that school.' (VI-17)

Noun phrases, with local nouns as their heads, are never in locative case.

Locative NPs function as peripheral arguments. They roughly cover the range of meanings expressed by absolutive, ergative and purposive NPs with local nouns as their heads. They can, for example, refer to the locations of participants in certain states or durative activities,[10] as in:

3-50 *hoo-jori* *kaaposo-ngung* *impa* *uru-ko-ng.*
ART.M-LOC club.house-pl now be.3pcl.S-PRES-M
[Location] [Time] [Intransitive VP]
'Now they (= the slit gongs) are in club houses.' (XIV-47)

3-51 *no-ngu* *hoo-jori* *kohni* *haha'w-ee-'-ki-ng* ...
one-CL.lot ART.M-LOC gardens work-MID.3S-pcl-HABPAST-M
[S Topic] [Location] [Intransitive VP]
'Some people [lit. One lot (of people)] used to work in the gardens ...' (II-20)

[10] Similar semantic contents are expressed by ergative NPs with local nouns as heads. cf. §3.2.2.2.

They can refer to the destinations of actions, and points of time,[11] as in:

3-52 ... *ong-ngori* *Nagowisi-no-ita* *mi-i-na.*
DEM.M-LOC 'place.name'-LINK-CL.side go.1S-RMPAST-F
[Destination] [Intransitive VP]
'... I went to the Nagovisi side.' (XVI-10)

3-53 ... *hoo-jori* *Sandee* *tii* *uri* *turu-mara-heenee.*
ART.M-LOC Sunday ART.L home return-MID.1pcl.exc.S-FUT.DP
[Point of Time] [Destination] [Intransitive VP]
'... we will return home on Sunday.' (XV-13)

They can refer to the locations or bodyparts of the Patients towards which transitive actions are directed,[12] as in:

3-54 ... *hoo-jori-koo* *hiuo* *ehkong* *ponor-a-ka-na.*
ART.M-LOC-EMPH clay.pot now put.down-3O.3pcl.A-PRES-F
[Location] [Transitive VP]
'... now they put it down into that (particular) clay pot.' (VIII-37)

3-55 ... *tii-jori* *poko-ni* *maahni* *karuk-on-na.*
ART.DIM-LOC 3sg.POSS-DIM little.finger fix.self-MID.3S.RMPAST-F
[Bodypart] [Intransitive VP]
'... she fixed (the string) on her own little finger.' (I-23)

They can also refer to the conditions of certain states, described especially by verbal participles:

3-56 ... *haha'-kori* *reur-ah.*
work-LOC be.skillful-PART
[Condition] [Intransitive PartP]
'... (he is) skillfull (= good) at work.' (III-5)

3-57 *ong* *koot-ah* --- *nii-jori* *koot-ah.*
DEM.M be.enough-PART me-LOC be.enough-PART
[Condition] [Intransitive PartP]
'This is enough --- this is enough for me.' (XVII-4)

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[11] Similar semantic contents are expressed by absolutive NPs with local nouns as heads. cf. §3.2.2.1.

[12] Similar semantic contents are expressed by purposive NPs with local nouns as heads. cf. §3.2.2.4.

3.2.2.6 Ablative NPs

Ablative noun phrases are marked by the suffix *-kitee* (or its allomorph *-ngitee* or *-itee*). They function as peripheral arguments. Those with non-local nouns/pronouns as their heads refer to the sources of certain activities or processes, while those with local nouns as heads refer to either spatial or temporal starting points.

An example of an ablative NP with a non-local noun as head:

3-58 ... *ho-itee* *mu'king* *nah-a-kuu-ng* ...
ART.M-ABL heart say.about-3O.3pcl.A-IMAG-M
[Source of Activity] [Transitive VP]
'... they would say about it from their heart ...' (XVIII-27)

An example of an ablative NP with a local noun as head:

3-59 ... *omor-u-u-ng* *ti-kitee* *Tonolei.*
escape-3S-RMPAST-M ART.L-ABL 'place.name'
[Intransitive VP] [Starting Point]
'... (he) escaped from Tonolei.' (III-20)

3.2.2.7 Similative NPs

Similative noun phrases are marked by the suffix *-nowo*. They function as Complements or peripheral arguments in verbal clauses, with the meaning 'like ~, as ~'.

An example of a similative noun phrase functioning as a Complement:

3-60 *roki* *hoo-nowo* *kuuraha* *ku't-u-u-ng* *hoo* *monare.*
just ART.M-SIML bush.track be.same-3S-RMPAST-M ART.M road
[C] [Intransitive VP] [S Topic]
'The road was just the same as a bush track.' (XV-46)

Examples as peripheral arguments:

3-61 *manni* *hoo-nowo* *ahk-ah-nowo* *na-mar-a-a-ni: "..."*
then ART.M-SIML $_{REL}$[chase-PART]-SIML say.to-1pcl.exc.O-3pcl.A-RMPAST-DP
[Peripheral Argument] [Transitive VP]
'Then they said to us like those who were being chased: "..." ' (XV-22, cf. 17-89)

3-62 ... *roki* *arap-ah-nowo* *meeng* *ha'h-u-u-na* ...
just be.bad-PART-SIML very throw.away-3O.3A-RMPAST.F
[Peripheral Argument] [Transitive VP]
'... he threw it (= the stick) away just very much like a bad one ...' (VI-55)

The verbal participle *ahk-ah* in 3-61 functions as a headless relative clause. The adjectival participle *arap-ah* in 3-62 is also headless. The entities they refer to are understood from the context.

3.3 STRUCTURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CLAUSES

Clauses are classified as follows according to their internal structure:

(1) verbal clauses
(2) nominal clauses
(3) adjectival clauses
(4) participle clauses

In the following sections, I will overview the basic characteristics of the four types of clauses listed above. See Ch 17 for a classification of clauses accordi .ng to their syntactic statuses and functions in sentences.

3.3.1 Verbal Clauses

Verbal clauses have verb phrases as predicates. They can be either transitive or intransitive.

As mentioned in §3.2.1, the arguments of the verbal predicates are categorised as follows:

1) core arguments (NPs), which are cross-referenced by the verb.
2) Complements (NPs, APs, adverbials, verbal clauses or quotations), which are not cross-referenced by the verb, but are syntactically obligatory.
3) peripheral arguments (NPs, APs or adverbials), which are syntactically optional.

Transitive verbal clauses require two core arguments (O and A), while intransitive verbal clauses require only one (S).

A core argument NP, or a peripheral argument NP which denotes location, can be a sentential topic, the gender of which is marked on the ending of the verb. Topic NPs are usually in absolutive case, but a local NP in ergative case can also function as a sentential topic in some cases. cf. §3.2.2.2.

3.3.1.1 Transitive Verbal Clauses

Transitive verbal clauses require two core arguments. Semantically, one of them is characterised as Undergoer, and the other as Actor, in the transitive actions described by the verbs (cf. Foley and Van Valin 1984).

3-63 ... *tii Perui ho-i Paanaangah tu-u-na.*
ART.F 'witch's.name' ART.M-ERG 'ancestor's.name' kill-3O.3A.RMPAST-F
[O(Undergoer)-Topic] [A (Actor)]
'... Perui (Topic) was killed by Paanaangah.' (VII-57)

As mentioned in §3.2.1, I use the symbol O and A, to indicate the grammatical functions of core NPs in transitive verbal clauses, which play the roles of the Undergoer and the Actor respectively. In Motuna, O is always denoted by an absolutive noun phrase, but A can be denoted either by an ergative or absolutive noun phrase. When A is a sentential topic, it must be denoted by an absolutive NP.[13]

When A is in ergative case, word order is free. However, when A is in absolutive case, A must precede O. For example, in 3-63, the O NP in absolutive case (*tii Perui*) and the A NP in ergative case (*ho-i Paanaangah*) are interchangeable, but not the two NPs in absolutive case in the following sentence:

3-64 *hoo Paanaangah tii Perui tu-u-ng.*
ART.M 'ancestor's.name' ART.F 'witch's.name' kill-3O.3A.RMPAST-M
[A (ABS) -Topic] [O (ABS)]
**tii Perui hoo Paanaangah tu-u-ng.*
'Paanaangah (Topic) killed Perui.'

Since the person and number of A and O NPs are obligatorily cross-referenced, in many cases A and/or O NPs can be left unexpressed without confusion. Thus the basic word order and case-markings of core NPs in transitive verbal clauses are:

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[13] In other words, the ergative suffix marks the A argument which *is not* a sentential topic. In elicitation sessions, my informants sometimes marginally accepted sentences in which A NPs in ergative case are sentential topics at the same time. But I have found no such sentence in my entire corpus of narratives and daily conversation. This fits Wierzbicka's argument that 'the ergative marks the peripheral (less topical) actant' (1981: 69).

Table 3-1 Basic Word Order of Core NPs in Transitive Verbal Clauses

	word order			NP usually functioning as a topic[14]
(1)	O(ABS)	A(ERG)	VP	O
(2)	A(ERG)	O(ABS)	VP	O
(3)	A(ABS)	O(ABS)	VP	A
(4)	O(ABS)	ø	VP	O, or unexpressed A
(5)	A(ERG)	ø	VP	O
(6)	ø	ø	VP	unexpressed O or A

As discussed above, the choice between (1) and (3) depends on which argument is the topic. (2) is used instead of (1) when A provides given information. The O NP, or the A NP in ergative case, can be placed after the verb, when they provide new information in the discourse.[15]

In addition to core arguments, many transitive verbs can take NPs in absolutive case, verbal nouns, verbal clauses with verbs in Definite Future TAM, or sentences in quotation, as Complements. Examples of absolutive NPs functioning as the Complements of transitive verbs are given below (see §14.3.2.1, §14.5 and §14.6 for the examples of different types of Complements):

3-65 *hoo* *impa* *Keehno* *tang-a-'-ko-ng.*
them now 'tribe.name' call-3O.3pcl.A-pcl-PRES-M
[O] [C]
'Now people call them Keehno tribe.' (XI-30, cf. 14-39)

3-66 ... *hoo* *ko'sa* *tii* *Koimeke* *nep-ee-wa-ro* ...
ART.M shell ART.F 'female.name' take-APPL-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS
[C] [O]
'... after they took the shell from Koimeke, (they) ...' (VIII-34)

Note that the verb stem *nep-ee-* in 3-66 is derived by the applicative suffix *-(j)ee*. It introduces a new O argument (*Koimeke*) and moves the original O (*hoo ko'sa*) into Complement status. (See also 3-24. See Ch 14 for a detailed discussion of valency-changing processes.)

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[14] Unless another absolutive NP denoting location precedes and functions as a topic. e.g. 3-15.

[15] The definitions of "new" and "given" information are according to Chafe (1976). See also fn 3 in §6.2.6. In Motuna, elements which provide given information are generally placed at the beginning, while those which provide new information are placed at the end. This rule applies both at phrase and clause levels. cf. Ch 10.

3.3.1.2 Intransitive Verbal Clauses

Intransitive verbal clauses require only one core NP in absolutive case (S).

Predicate verb phrases in intransitive verbal clauses typically express intransitive actions, existence, possession, changes of state, processes, or inner experiences. Thus, semantically, S could be the Agent, the Experiencer, the Theme, or the Patient.

3-67 *roo* *pee* *tii* *Maawo* *poko-no.*
you.sg go.2S.IMP ART.L 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-L
[Agent]
'You go to Maawo's place.' (I-20)

3-68 *hoo* *waasiih* *ti-ki* *komik-oro-ko-ng.*
ART.M story there-ERG be.finished-MID.3S-PRES-M
[Theme]
'The story is finished there.' (IV-17)

3-69 ... *tii* *pehka* *po'tee* *meeng* *ooruh-u-u-na.*
ART.F young.girl very very become.afraid-3S-RMPAST-F
[Experiencer]
'... the young girl became very very afraid.' (I-12)

3-70 *tii* *tii* *puu-i-na.*
she ART.F die.3S-NRPAST-F
[Patient]
'She died.' (VII-45)

Absolutive or similative NPs, APs, PartPs, verbal nouns, Definite Future verbal clauses, or sentences in quotation, can function as the Complements of certain intransitive verbal clauses. (cf. 3-8, 3-21 and 3-60. See also §14.3.1 and §14.3.2.2.)

3-71 *ong* *noo* *toko=tokoh-ah* *tu-ro-ng?*
DEM.M possibly be.hot-PART COP.3S-PERF-M
[S] [C (PartP)]
'Is that possibly still hot?' (cf. 16-56)

3-72 *roo* *mono-'-hee* *haa-u-u-ng.*
you.sg see-2O.3A-DEFFUT want-3S-NRPAST-M
[C (Verbal Clause)]
'He wants to see you.' (I-21, cf. 14-14a)

3.3.2 Nominal Clauses

A nominal clause consists of two noun phrases, which function as the argument and the predicate in this order.[16]

The argument NP is always in absolutive case, and the predicate NP is either in absolutive case, or a Possessor or a local noun with a gender suffix. Predicate NPs are usually without determiner.[17]

Semantically, nominal clauses can be classified into (1) "equational", (2) "possessive" and (3) "local" clauses. Nominal clauses with verbal nouns as predicates are discussed separately in Ch 16.

(1) In an "equational" nominal clause, the referent of the argument NP has a certain identity or quality referred to by the predicate. I repeat 3-3 and 3-10 here as examples:

3-73 *ree-mo* *poko-ng* *mii* *Emmai.*
your.nonsg-father 3sg.POSS-M name 'male.name'
[Argument] [Predicate]
'Your father's name is Emmai.' (XIII-65)

3-74 *...tii* *heekoo* *noniko-ng* *koh* *tu-ki-no*
ART.L some.place $_{REL}$[1nonsg.exc.POSS-M garden be.3S-HABPAST-L]
[Argument]
tuu *honna-no-ita-kori.*
[[river big]-LINK-CL.side]-L
[Predicate]
'... the place [lit. somewhere] where our garden was, was a side (= tributary) of a big river.' (VI-27)

(2) In a "possessive" nominal clause, the Possessee NP stands as the argument, and the Possessor as the predicate. The Possessor cross-references the gender of the Possessee by a suffix. See further examples in §11.3.

3-75 *hoo* *stoorii* *Hoio* *poko-ng.*
ART.M story 'ancestor's.name' 3sg.POSS-M
[Argument (Possessee)] [Predicate (Possessor)]
'The story is Hoio's (= about Hoio).' (XXII-1)

[16] The argument may follow the predicate for emphasis. For example,

roko-ng *tuu,* *ong.*
2SG.POSS-U water DEM.U
[Predicate] [Argument]
'This is your water. [lit. Your water, this.]' (XIII-15)

[17] cf. fn 7.

(3) A "local" nominal clause consists of an argument NP, and a predicate local noun which expresses the local/temporal origin of the referent of the argument NP. The local noun cross-references the gender of the argument NP. cf. §11.3.

3.3.3 Adjectival Clauses

An adjectival clause consists of the argument NP in absolutive case and an adjective phrase as the predicate. 3-4 is repeated here:

3-76	*hoo*	*poti*	*roki=manni*	*mirahu.*
	ART.M	time	certainly	good
	[Argument]			[Predicate]

'That time was certainly good.' (XXX-99)

Adjectival clauses express that the referents of argument NPs have certain properties referred to by the predicates. Adjectives in the predicates are marked by number suffixes if the head nouns in argument NPs are nonsingular.

3-77	*roki*	*tii*	*peh=pehkita-ngaro*	*nimautu-karo.*
	just	they.DP	REDUP=small-dl	handsome.male-dl
		[Argument NP]	[Predicate AP_1]	[Predicate AP_2]

'They two (boys) were very small and handsome.' (XIII-60)

3.3.4 Participle Clauses

Participles are derived from any verb stems by the suffix *-(w)ah*. They express "states of being".

Morphologically, they do not take affixes cross-referencing the core arguments, but they may be marked by number suffixes (like adjectives), or the local suffix *-no* (like verbs), which cross-reference the number or the local gender of sentential topics. For example,

the participle *kiino-wah* with the plural suffix *-ngung*:

3-78	*toku*	*nah-ah*	*no-uru-ki*	*kiino-wah-ngung.*
	not	possibly	one-CL.human-ERG	plant-PART-pl
			[A]	[Transitive PartP]

'Nobody had possibly planted [those trees (O topic, not expressed)].' (II-27)

the participle *arut-ah* with the local suffix *-no*:

3-79 *... Paupiahe* *tanaku'* *poko-no* *tii*
'ancestor's.name' industrious 3sg.POSS-L ART.L
[C (Topic)]
pau *ponnaa* *arut-ah-no.*
food plenty be.in.abundance-PART-L
[S] [Intransitive PartP]
'... in the place of Paupiahe the Industrious (Topic), food is in abundance.' (III-7)

As mentioned in §3.2.1, there are two types of participles: verbal participles and adjectival participles.

Verbal participles require obligatory arguments. For example, in 3-78, the participle *kiino-wah* takes an A and O, as the original transitive verb *kiino-* 'to plant' does. In 3-79, the participle *arut-ah* takes an S and a local Complement.[18] Furthermore, in attribution, they function as the predicate heads of relative clauses which can occupy either pre-head or post-head positions within NPs. cf. §16.3 and §17.3.

Adjectival participles, on the other hand, do not usually take NP arguments. In attribution, they function solely as post-head modifiers like adjectives. In the following sentence, *kaakoto-wah* is an adjectival participle functioning as a post-head attribute, while *tuh-ah* is an intransitive verbal PartP functioning as a predicate.

3-80 *ong* *hia* *kaakoto-wah* *kuu-ngi* *tuh-ah.*
DEM.M thing be.white-PART inside-ERG be-PART
[Adjectival Part]
[S] [C] [Intransitive PartP]
'This white thing is inside.' (XII-54)

Participles can also function as the Complements of verbal predicates *tu(h)-* 'to be' (as in 3-71) and *rii(h)-* 'to become'. In the latter case, they constitute "agentless passive" constructions. Some verbal participles function adverbially in combination with nouns, NPs or adverbs. There are also two participles which function as discourse markers. cf. §16.3 for further discussion.

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[18] The original middle verb *arut-* 'to be in abundance' does not require a Complement, but often takes a local peripheral argument. 3-79 is not regarded as a nominal clause (where *pau ponnaa arut-ah-no* is a derived local noun functioning as a nominal predicate), because a local Complement can optionally be placed after *pau ponnaa*, i.e.:

pau *ponnaa* *Paupiahe* *tanaku'* *poko-no* *arutah-no.*
food plenty 'ancestor's.name' industrious 3sg.POSS-L be.in.abundance-L

CHAPTER 4 NOUNS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Nouns in Motuna have the following morpho-syntactic characteristics.

Morphologically, nouns:

1) can be marked for number (cf. §4.2.2),
2) can be marked for case (cf. §4.5),
3) can be determined by the article and/or the demonstrative which cross-reference their genders (cf. §4.2.1),
4) can be modified by classifiers which show their semantic types (§4.3).

Syntactically, they can be the heads of:

1) absolutive NPs which function as arguments or predicates in nominal clauses, e.g. (repetition of 3-3):

4-1

ree-mo	*poko-ng*	*mii*	*Emmai.*
your.nonsg-father	3sg.POSS-M	name	'male.name'

'Your father's name is Emmai.' (XIII-65)

2) absolutive NPs which function as arguments in adjectival clauses, e.g. (repetition of 3-4):

4-2

hoo	*poti*	*roki=manni*	*mirahu.*
ART.M	time	certainly	good

'That time was certainly good.' (XXX-99)

3) NPs in various cases which function as arguments of verbal predicates, e.g. (repetitions of 3-63, 3-30 and 3-60):

4-3

... *tii*	*Perui*	*ho-i*	*Paanaangah*	*tu-u-na.*
ART.F	'witch's.name'	ART.M-ERG	'ancestor's.name'	kill-3O.3A.RMPAST-F

'... Perui was killed by Paanaangah.' (VII-57)

4-4 *ho-ko* *uri-ngi* *tu-ko-ng.*
he-EMPH village-ERG be.3S-PRES-M
'He lives in the village.' (XVI-79)

4-5 *roki* *hoo-nowo* *kuuraha* *ku't-u-u-ng* *hoo* *monare.*
just ART.M-SIML bush.track be.same-3S-RMPAST-M ART.M road
'The road was just the same as a bush track.' (XV-46)

4) absolutive NPs which function as terms of address, e.g. (repetition of 3-9):

4-6 *nuri* *Maawo.*
my.son 'male.name'
'My son Maawo.' (I-41)

Nouns can also function as (the expansions of) Possessors, e.g. *ree-mo* in 4-1, or as appositions to other nouns, e.g. *Maawo* in 4-6.

In addition, some nouns in local gender can function as pre-head attributes within NPs, e.g.:

4-7 *oi* *raang* *koho* *si'mata*
DEM.DIM north down cane
'those canes down in the north' (I-9)

Nouns, usually with the purposive suffix *-ko*, can function as pre-head attributes to local nouns denoting positions, e.g.:

4-8 *roki* *tii* *Perui-ko* *rii'*
just ART.L 'witch's.name'-PURP top
'just (on) top of Perui' (VII-36)

According to their morpho-syntactic behaviour, nouns are subclassified into common nouns, proper names, kinship terms, nouns of address, and verbal nouns. Furthermore, nouns in local and manner genders are in many ways distinct from those in other genders, and thus constitute subclasses on their own.

This chapter is organised as follows: I will discuss the grammatical categories of nouns, i.e. gender and number, in §4.2. The semantic categories of nouns indicated by classifiers are overviewed in §4.3. Then follows the discussion on the morpho-syntactic behaviour of each subclass of nouns, i.e. common nouns (§4.4.1), local and manner nouns (§4.4.2), proper names (§4.4.3), kinship terms (§4.4.4), and nouns of address (§4.4.5). In §4.5, the paradigms of case markings are given. Derived nouns (except for verbal nouns) are discussed in §4.6, and compounds are discussed in §4.7.

I will discuss verbal nouns in Ch 16 in detail.

4.2 GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES OF NOUNS

Every noun in Motuna is grammatically categorised according to its gender and number.

Number has a four-way distinction --- singular (sg), dual (dl), paucal (pc) and plural (pl).

Gender, on the other hand, has a five-way distinction in the case of singular nouns --- masculine (M), feminine (F), diminutive (DIM), local (L) and, marginally, manner (MAN). All the nouns in plural number have masculine gender, and those in dual or paucal number have another neutralised gender form, which I call dual-paucal gender (DP in abbreviation). This dual-paucal (DP) "gender" category is distinguished from dual and paucal "number" categories, because the former shows different agreement properties from the latter. For example,

4-9 *tiko tii kitoria-karo ... tii poo' pi-ti-ki-ni.*
and ART.DP child-dl ART.L outside go.3S-dl-HABPAST-DP
'And the two children ... used to go outside.' (XIII-50)

In 4-9, the dual (dl) "number" of *kitoria* is indicated by the suffix *-karo* and by the dual S cross-referencing suffix *-ti* on the verb *pi-ti-ki-ni*. On the other hand, the inflection of the article *tii* and the topic ending of the verb *-ni* cross-reference the dual-paucal (DP) "gender", and not the number, of *kitoria*.

4.2.1 Gender

As mentioned above, six genders are distinguished as in Table 4-1. I have found only two nouns in manner gender (cf. §4.4.2). However, Motuna has the interrogative manner pronoun *jeewo* (§5.3.1), and the manner article *tiwo* (§6.1.1). I have also attested a few examples of headless relative clauses determined by the manner article.

Table 4-1 Gender Categories

singular nouns	dual or paucal nouns	plural nouns
Masculine (M)	Dual-paucal (DP)	Masculine (M)
Feminine (F)		
Diminutive (DIM)		
Local (L)		
Manner (MAN)		

The gender of a noun manifests itself in agreement:

1) between the head noun and
   (i) determiner(s),
   (ii) Possessors or local NPs,
   (iii) some adjectives,
   (iv) the 'number one' form of the 'human' classifier, and/or
   (v) the predicates of verbal or participle relative clauses,[1]
within the same NP.

2) (i) between the sentential topic and the verbal or participle predicate,[2]
   (ii) between the Possessee argument and the Possessor or local predicate, or
   (iii) between the argument and some adjectival predicate,
within the same clause.

For example, observe the following sentence:

4-10 *ana* *nga-na* *kuraisa* ... *hoo* *poo'ki* *muuko-o-ra-na.*
DEM.F 1sg.POSS-F woman ART.M baby give.birth.to-3O.3A-PERF-F
'That woman (= wife) of mine ... gave birth to the baby.' (XIII-49)

In 4-10, the feminine gender of the NP head *kuraisa* is cross-referenced by the demonstrative *ana* and the possessive pronoun *nga-na* within the same NP, and by the topic ending of the verbal predicate *muuko-o-ra-na*. See also 4-9 above.

In most cases gender is not marked on the head noun itself; however, some non-reciprocal kinship terms have masculine/feminine endings on themselves. cf. §4.4.4.1.

All the underlying forms of gender inflections/suffixes are listed below. Note that

[1] The predicates of participle relative clauses cross-reference only the local gender of the head nouns.

[2] Again, the participle predicates cross-reference only the local gender of the topics.

dual-paucal (DP) gender forms are identical with dim . tive gender forms except in verbal endings in certain TAMs. In the paradigm of the article, feminine, dimunitive and dual-paucal forms merge. See corresponding chapters for the whole paradigms.

Table 4-2 Underlying Forms of Gender Inflections/Suffixes

	DEM	ART	adjective/classifier/ kinship term endings	Possessor/local NP endings	verbal endings
M	ong	hoo/soo	-ng	-ng	-ng
F	ana	tii	-na	-na	-na
DIM	oi	tii	-ni	-ni	-ni
L	owo	ti	–	-no	-no
MAN	–	tiwo	–	–	-nowo
DP	oi	tii	–	-ni	-(n)i

In singular number, nouns which refer to animate entities are either masculine or feminine, and those which refer to inanimate entities are masculine, diminutive, local or manner. Some nouns have inherent genders, while others can occur in masculine and one of other genders. Masculine gender seems to be an unmarked category.[3]

Animate nouns include nouns referring to humans, animals, spirits, and natural phenomena such as *raa* 'the sun', *hingjoo* 'the moon' and *hingra'* 'thunder', which have specific genders according to their mythical characters.[4] Nouns referring to animals usually have masculine gender, but they may be treated as feminine whenever necessary.

Some common nouns with human referents are inherently masculine or feminine:

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[3] The masculine gender marking on the verb can occasionally cross-reference a topical NP with a feminine referent. For example,

1a	*pa-i*	*mi'no-nno-ng?*	'Who told you?'
	who-ERG	tell-2O.3A.PERF-M	
1b	*pa-i*	*mi'no-nna-na?*	'Who told you?'
	who-ERG	tell-2O.3A.PERF-F	

In 1a, the masculine ending *-ng* of the verb can be used even if the sentential topic "you" has a feminine referent. In 1b, on the other hand, "you" cannot have a masculine referent.

Note also that the adjective with the derivational suffix *-nohi* takes a masculine ending even if the head noun it modifies or the argument it predicates is feminine or dual-paucal. cf. §7.1.2.

[4] *Raa* 'the sun' can be treated either as feminine or masculine. *Hingjoo* 'the moon' appears to be treated in the same way (although there are no examples to testify this in my corpus). *Hinra'* 'the thunder' is a female spirit, and thus is treated as feminine.

4-11

Masculine	Feminine
nungamong 'man'	*kuraisa* 'woman'[5]
ranguriwah 'man'	*moni'mo* 'woman'
hongoponori 'old man'	*hanganori* 'old woman'
pehkoro 'young boy'	*pehka* 'young girl'

while other nouns, such as *nommai* 'person/people' and *kitori* 'child(ren)', can be either masculine or feminine. Most kinship terms are inherently masculine or feminine, but terms such as *imo'* 'my relative from the same clan' and *nupi* 'my grandchild' can be in either gender. cf. §4.4.4.

The majority of inanimate nouns, which denote 'things', are in masculine gender, but they may be treated as diminutive when the smallness of, or the speaker's good feeling towards, the objects referred to by the nouns is focused on. Thus nouns which signify 'smallish things', such as *irihwa* 'finger', *miro* 'string' and *kaa'* 'young tree', are often treated as diminutive.

Nouns which refer to spatial or temporal entities, such as *uri* 'home/village' and *kiakia'* 'morning', are inherently local. Some nouns, however, can be treated either as masculine or as local. Nouns in local (and manner) gender are discussed in §4.4.2.

The dual-paucal gender ending of a verb may be used when the speaker does not want to specify the gender of the referent of the sentential topic. For example, in the following interrogative sentence, the final verb is marked by the dual-paucal gender suffix because the speaker cannot specify the gender of the S Topic:

4-12 *"... tiko paa kiing-heeworokee?"*
and who climb.3S-IMFUT.DP
'... and who is going to climb?' (XXXIV-4)

4.2.2 Number

Nouns distinguish four numbers --- singular, dual, paucal and plural.[6] Paucal number usually ranges from three up to seven or eight, but the boundary between paucal and plural is more relative than actual. I encountered an example where the number four is treated as plural.

The number of a noun is marked:

[5] Note that *nungamong* and *kuraisa* have homonymous adjectives in the sense of 'male' and 'female' respectively, which can characterise non-human animates. cf. §7.1.1. *Ranguriwah* and *moni'mo* below, on the other hand, are always used as nouns referring to humans.

[6] Verbal cross-referencing suffixes do not distinguish between paucal and plural. cf. Ch 13. Pronouns distinguish only between singular and nonsingular number. cf. Ch 5.

1) by a number suffix
   (i) on the noun itself,
   (ii) on the attributes cross-referencing the head noun,
   (iii) on the nominal or adjectival predicate cross-referencing the argument,
   (iv) on the participle predicate cross-referencing the sentential topic, and/or
   (v) on the nominal, adjectival or participle Complement cross-referencing S.

2) by morphemes on the verbal predicate cross-referencing the core argument(s).

For example,

4-13 *ong* *poo'ki-ngung* *pehkita-ngung* *meeng* *uruu-juu ...*
DEM.M child-pl small-pl very COP.3pcl.S-CONT.DS
'While those children were very small, ...' (XVI-47)

In 4-13, the plural number of *poo'ki* is indicated by the suffix *-ngung* on the noun and on the adjectival Complement *pehkita*, and is cross-referenced by the 3rd paucal/plural S inflection of the stem of the copula verb, *uruu-juu*. See also 4-9.

The underlying forms of number suffixes are listed below. Kinship terms and classifiers have different systems of number markings. See §4.4.4 and §8.2.

Table 4-3 Underlying Forms of Number Suffixes

Singular	-ø
Dual	-karo
Paucal	-naa
Plural	-ngung

Note that the attachment of a number suffix to a noun is optional. It is not used when the number of the object in question is obvious from the context. Inanimate nouns do not usually inflect for dual and paucal.[7]

Examples:

4-14 *kupuri* 'a stone/stones'
kupuri-ngung '(many) stones'

[7] I could find no examples of inanimate nouns marked by the dual or the paucal suffix in my corpus. According to my informants, however, they *can* be marked by either of these if the duality or paucality of the object referred to by the noun is focused on.

4-15 *nommai* 'a person/people'
nommai-karo/-ngaro 'two persons'
nommai-naa 'a few/several persons'
nommai-ngung '(many) people'

The initial /k/ of the dual suffix /-karo/ is often realised as *ng*. A similar phenomenon is observed as regards all the case suffixes which begin with /k/ (the ergative /-ki/, the purposive /-ko/, the ablative /-kitee/ and the locative /-kori/). The morphophonemic processes which apply to all these suffixes are informally summarised as follows.

Rule 4-1 Realisation of /k/ in the Dual Suffix /-karo/ and Other Suffixes

> When /k/ is preceded by the archinasal /N/, it is obligatorily realised as *ng*. It is realised either *k* or *ng* when it is preceded by a sequence of a nasal or a velar stop and a vowel, or by a high or back vowel. The more phonemes of this type exist in adjacent syllables, the more it is likely to be realised as *ng*.[8]

Examples:

4-16 *nungamong-ngaro* 'two men'
koringono-karo/-ngaro 'two enemies'
poo'ki-karo/-ngaro 'two babies'
kuraisa-karo/-ngaro 'two women'
ko'sa-karo 'two shells/friends'
honghah-karo 'two female prawns'

The following nouns denoting human beings have distinct plural forms:

4-17	Singular	Plural
	pehkoro 'young boy'	*pehkonooh* 'young children'
	pehka 'young girl'	
	hongoponori 'old man'	*hongoponongu* 'adults/elder people'
	hanganori 'old woman'	

When one refers to or addresses one's kin such as one's parent/child-in-law or brother/sister-in-law, one uses non-singular (most frequently paucal) forms to express

[8] However, when case suffixes are preceded by pronouns, the article or the demonstrative, /k/ may be realised as *j*, or may be fused with preceding vowels. cf. Chs 5 and 6. See also Rule 4-5 in §4.4 for special morphophonemic rules which apply to the ergative suffix.

respect, even if one refers to or addresses only one person. For example, the following sentence may be uttered by anyone in such a situation:

4-18 *muumaa-naa, ree woo pi-'=tuiee?*
lord-pc you.nonsg where go.2S-pcl.PRESPROG.DP
'My lord, where are you going?'

In the following sentence, the speaker addresses his brother-in-law in dual form (cf. §9.4.2 for a discussion of the form *po-owoi-nno*):[9]

4-19 *"oi po-owoi-nno. ... tiko ua-ki taapu-r-opi-ti-hee?*
hey my-brother-in-law-and and what-ERG help-2O-1A-dl-DEFFUT
hoo=hoo roki rono pi-ti-hee."
so just downstream go.2S-dl-DEFFUT
'Hey brother-in-law. ... And with what could I help you? So you will just go downstream.' (V-17)

4.3 SEMANTIC CATEGORIES INDICATED BY CLASSIFIERS

Apart from the two obligatory grammatical categories discussed above, the semantic categories of the referents of nouns may optionally be indicated by classifiers. The categories expressed by classifiers include 'human', 'animate', 'long object', 'concave object', 'taro', 'stone', 'human habitation', 'day', etc.

Classifiers are always combined with various bound morphemes, or nouns or verbal clauses. Classifier constructions thus formed may be juxtaposed to head nouns, may be employed in headless noun phrases, or may function as NP heads by themselves. I have attested fifty-one classifiers in my corpus and from elicitation.

Some nouns can take two or more different classifiers in different contexts. For example, the human noun *nommai* 'person/people', which is either masculine or feminine, can take the 'human' classifier *-uru*, the 'animate' classifier *-wori* 'animate', the 'lot' classifier *-ngu* and the 'group of people' classifier *-po* in juxtaposition:[10]

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[9] The speaker could also use the paucal form *po-owoi-naa* (cf. 4-102c in §4.4.4.1.3) to address him, and verbal forms with a paucal subject such as *taapu-r-ong-hee, pi-'-hee*.

[10] When an NP is determined by the demonstrative or the article, the classifier usually chooses the bound form of the same determiner, as in 4-20. In such cases, the demonstrative functions either deictically or anaphorically, and the article anaphorically. cf. Ch 6. However, it can take other morphemes, e.g. the 'number one' numeral as in 4-21, which give additional information about the entity referred to by the head noun. cf. Ch 8.

4-20a	*ong*	*nommai*	*o-uru*	'this/that person (M) (human being)'
	DEM.M	person	DEM-CL.human	
b	*ana*	*nommai*	*o-uru*	'this/that person (F) (human being)'
	DEM.F	person	DEM-CL.human	
c	*hoo*	*nommai*	*ti-wori*	'that person (M) (animate)'
	ART.M	person	ART-CL.animate	
d	*tii*	*nommai*	*ti-wori*	'that person (F) (animate)'
	ART.F	person	ART-CL.animate	
e	*ong*	*nommai*	*o-ngu*	'this/that lot of people'
	DEM.M	person	ART-CL.lot	
f	*hoo*	*nommai*	*ti-po*	'that group of people'
	ART.M	person	ART-CL.group	

Note that the semantic category indicated by a classifier is never cross-referenced by any other morpheme within or outside the NP. In the above examples, the inflection of the determiner marks the gender of the noun *nommai* (masculine or feminine), and not the semantic category specified by the classifier.

Similarly, the noun *moo* 'coconut', which is either masculine or diminutive, can cooccur with five different classifiers: *-ri* 'nut with hard shells', *-'ri* 'round object', *-mung* 'plant/fruit' , *-oita* 'half', and *mo'* 'bunch of nuts'.

4-21a	*ong*	*moo*	*no-ri*	'this/that one coconut (nut with hard shells)'
	DEM.M	coconut	one-CL.nut	
b	*ong*	*moo*	*no-'ri*	'this/that one coconut (round object)'
	DEM.M	coconut	one-CL.round.object	
c	*oi*	*moo*	*no-mung*	'this/that one (small) coconut (fruit or tree)'
	DEM.DIM	coconut	one-CL.fruit/plant	
d	*hoo*	*moo*	*no-ita*	'one half of a coconut shell'
	ART.M	coconut	one-CL.half	
e	*tii*	*moo*	*no-mo'*	'one bunch of (small) coconuts'
	ART.DIM	coconut	one-CL.bunch.of.nuts	

Here again, the inflection of the determiner indicates the gender of the noun *moo* (masculine or diminutive), and not the semantic category specified by the classifier.

See Ch 8 for further examples and discussion.

4.4 SUBCLASSES OF NOUNS

4.4.1 Common Nouns

Common nouns can be determined by the article and/or the demonstrative. Common nouns can take any kinds of attributes such as adjectives, Possessors, relative clauses, etc. (cf. Ch 10). Nouns in local and manner genders are not included in this class.

Examples:

the common noun *waasiih* 'story' in masculine gender, determined by the demonstrative *ong*, and modified by the demonstrative classifier construction *a-wa'*:

4-22 *ong* *waasiih* *a-wa'*
DEM.M story DEM-CL.story
'this/that piece of story' (V-1)

the common noun *maahni* 'small finger' in diminutive gender, determined by the article *tii* with the locative case suffix *-jori*, and modified by the possessive pronoun *poko-ni*:

4-23 *tii-jori* *poko-ni* *maahni*
ART.DIM-LOC . 3sg.POSS-DIM small.finger
'to her small finger' (I-23)

the common noun *nommai* 'person' in masculine gender marked by the plural suffix *-ngung*, determined by the article *hoo*, and modified by the participle relative clause *uri-ngi tuh-ah-ngung*:

4-24 *hoo* *nommai-ngung* *uri-ngi* *tuh-ah-ngung*
ART.M person-pl $_{REL}$[village-ERG be-PART-pl]
'the people who live in the village' (XIII-30)

4.4.2 Local and Manner Nouns

Most nouns, which express locational or temporal concepts, are in local gender.

4-25 *uri* 'home/village'
kiakia' 'morning'
heekoo 'some/any place/situation'
impa 'now/this time'
koto 'up'
riino 'west'
kuu 'inside'

saa 'side'

They can stand as NP heads, and can be determined by the article and/or demonstrative in local gender.

Some of them can take attributes such as adjectives, Possessors, classifiers, relative clauses, etc., like common nouns, e.g.:

4-26	*tii*	*ngo-no*	*uri*	*poko-ng*	*mii*	*Panakee*
	DEM.L	1sg.POSS-L	village	$_{REL}$[3sg.POSS-M	name	'village.name']

'(in) my village whose name is Panakee' (VI-5)

As mentioned in §4.1, some local nouns, which denote vertical or horizontal locations or directions, can function as pre-head attributes within noun phrases (cf. 4-7). *Koto* 'up' and *riino* 'west' in 4-25 belong to this subclass. I will call them "locational-directional (LD) nouns". They are discussed in §4.4.2.1.

Some other nouns, which specify positions, can take nouns, usually marked by the purposive suffix, as pre-head attributes (cf. 4-8). *Kuu* 'inside' and *saa* 'side' in 4-25 belong to this subclass. They are discussed in §4.4.2.2.

The indefinite local noun *heekoo* 'some/any place/situation' and manner noun *heekowo* 'some/any way', and the 'other' local noun *muukoo* 'other place' and manner noun *muukowo* 'other way', are discussed in §4.4.2.3 and §4.4.2.4, respectively. The temporal nouns *impa* 'now, this time', *timpa* 'then, that time' and *jeempa* 'when, what time' are discussed in §4.4.2.5. The bound root *-nohno* 'length' is discussed in §4.4.2.6.

Some nouns can be either local or masculine. For example, the noun *ruu* 'day' is local (as is shown by the local form of the article *tii* in 4-27) when it is used as the head of a noun phrase functioning as an adverbial modifier, but it is masculine in other contexts (as is shown by the masculine form of the article *hoo* in 4-28).

4-27	*tiko*	*tii*	*ruu*	*no-ru* ...	
	and	ART.L	day	one-CL.day	

'And one day ...' (XII-43)

4-28	*manni*	*hoo*	*ruu*	*ti-ru*	*ronguh-oro-ku* ...	
	then	ART.M	day	ART-CL.day	end-MID.3S-GEN.DS	

'Then when that day ended, ...' (VII-3)

The following collective nouns in masculine gender are derived from the corresponding local nouns by the suffix *-ni*. Collective place names are also derived by the same

suffix, as is shown by the last example.

4-29	original local nouns	derived masculine nouns
	uri 'home, village'	*urini* 'area, community, people in a region'
	koh 'garden'	*kohni* 'garden area'
	muh 'bush'	*muhni* 'forest'
	Ruugara 'Buin (place name)'	*Ruugara-ni* 'all the areas in Buin'

The suffixes *-kori* and *-no* are used to derive local nouns. See §4.6.1.

4.4.2.1 Locational-directional (LD) Nouns

Motuna has two kinds of Locational-directional (LD) nouns. The first set indicates horizontal locations or directions, and the second set vertical locations or directions.

Table 4-4 Locational-directional Nouns

(1a) horizontal location

poongo/ poong	'east'
riino/ riing	'west'
raano/ raang	'north (right/upstream/forward)'
rono	'south (left/downstream/backward)'

(1b) horizontal direction

poo-pito	'from/towards east'
rii-pito	'from/towards west'
raa-pito	'from/towards north (right/upstream/front)'
rono-pito	'from/towards south (left/downstream/back)'

(2a) vertical location or direction

koto	'up/elder/later/coming/in higher rank'
koho	'down/younger/earlier/last/in lower rank'

(2b) approximate vertical location or direction (always preceded by a local demonstrative)

ngoto	'somewhere up'
ngoho	'somewhere down'

All the LD nouns can be used as the heads of peripheral local NPs. They are often used without determiner (as *rono* in 4-30 and the first *koto* in 4-31):

4-30 *hoo* *manni* *rono* *pi-i-ng.*
so then downstream go.3S-RMPAST-M
'So, then, he went downstream.' (V-18)

4-31 *tiko* *koto* *kuroh-oo-ro* *ti-ki* *koto*
and up run-MID.3S-PERF.SS ART.L-ERG up
ne'w-o-i ...
be.sitting-MID.3S-CONT.SS
'And, after he ran up, while he was sitting up there, he ...' (VII-34)

LD nouns can also be used as pre-head attributes. Examples:

4-32 *oi* *raano* *nupi-ng*
DEM.DP north my.grandchild-pcl
'these grandchildren of mine in the north' (XXXI-4)

4-33 *tii* *koho* *po-oro*
ART.F down her-daughter
'her daughter down there' (X-21)

4-34 ... *hoo* *tatai* *ti-ki* *ongi* *ngoto* *kui-kori*
ART.M red.thing ART.L-ERG DEM.L.ERG somewhere.up tree-L
itik-oi-juu ...
be.hanging-MID.3S-CONT.DS
'... while the red thing was hanging there somewhere up in the tree, (he) ...' (XXII-4)

LD nouns in set (1b) can modify heads formed by those in set (1a):

4-35 *nee* *tii* *ongi* *raapito* *raano* *mi-ti-heemeetikee.*
we.inc ART.DP DEM.L.ERG northwards north go.1S-dl-IMFUT.DP
'We two are going there northwards.' (X-11)

The nouns in set (1a) or (1b), and those in set (2a), can be used as attributes in that order. In such a case, the nouns in set (1a) take the forms ending with *-ng*, except for *rono* 'south'.

4-36 *oi* *raang* *koho* *si'mata*
ART.DIM north down cane
'the (small) canes down in the north' (I-9, repetition of 4-7)

4-37 *ana* *poopito* *koto* *hia*
ART.F eastwards up thing
'the female thing (= the sun) up eastwards' (IX-31)

The nouns in set (2a) can stand as NP heads in the above construction:

4-38 *ree* *raang* *koto* *toku* *hoku-ree-'-heetuiee.*
you.nonsg north up not cross.over-MID.2S-pcl-FUT.DP
'You (a few) will not cross over up in the north.' (XV-20)

The nouns in set (2a) can also be employed in headless NPs. Note that in the following examples the demonstrative is in masculine form, cross-referencing the masculine gender of the unexpressed heads:

4-39 *ong* *koto* *koho* *kuhk-oo-ro ...*
DEM.M up down descend-MID.3S-PERF.SS
'After that one (= man) up (in the tree) came down, ...' (XIII-20)

4-40 *... ong* *koho* *o'koo* *kuino-ngung* *kupuri-ngung*
DEM.M down that stick-pl stone-pl
piruk-eer-u-ng.
be.turned.into-MID.3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'... those (dwarfs) down there were turned into those sticks and stones.' (IX-32)

The nouns in set (2a) can indicate not only vertical locations or directions, but also:

1) junior/senior distinction, i.e. *koto* 'elder/eldest' vs. *koho* 'younger/youngest':

4-41 *tii* *koho* *kitoria-naa* *romo-ki* *muuko-orur-upi'-ni*
ART.DP down child-pc $_{REL}$[after-ERG give.birth.to-3pcl.O-1pcl.A.RMPAST-DP]
'the youngest (three) children I gave birth to later' (XVI-45)

4-42 *hoo* *koto* *honna* *rii-kui-no-wori*
ART.M up [big be.3S-IMAG]-LINK-CL.animate
'the eldest one who would be big' (XX-12)

2) temporal stages, i.e. *koto* 'upper/later stage' vs. *koho* 'lower/early stage':

4-43 ... *hoo ong koho kitoria pee-mo hoo ni-ngi nungamong*
ART.M DEM.M down children their-father ART.M I-ERG man
urukosing kalabuus-kori-ki tuu-juu ...
first prison-L-ERG be.3S-CONT.DS
'... while the father of these children born earlier, (who is) my first husband, was in prison, (I) ...' (XVI-36)

4-44 ... *ti-ko-koo koho mirahu-iri-'-ku*
ART.L-PURP-EMPH down make.good-3O.2pcl.A-pcl-GEN.DS
ongo-ko koto uhu-mo mirahu-wee-'-heero-ng.
DEM.L.PURP-EMPH up come.3pcl.S-GEN.SS become.good-MID.3S-pcl-FUT-M
'... if you make them good at the early stage of their life, they will also become good when they reach the later stages of their life.' (XXI-25, cf. 12-56b)

3) past/future distinction, i.e. *koto* 'coming/in the future' vs. *koho* 'past'[11]:

4-45 *ong-ngori koho moi o-mori*
DEM.M-LOC down year DEM-CL.year
'last year' (XXX-9)

4-46 *hoo=hoo irong-ngitee koto raa'no toku*
so today-ABL up daytime not
konn-i-mo tu-heeta-na.
walk.around-2S-GEN.SS be.2S-FUT-F
'So, from today onwards, you will not keep walking around in the daytime.' (X-37)

4) relative social ranks, i.e. *koto* 'higher in rank' vs. *koho* 'lower in rank'[12]:

4-47 ... *hoo koto hongoponori hoo koto nungamong po-mo* ---
ART.M up old.man ART.M up man his-relative
pa-rato. tiko tii koho tii kuraisa pe-eti ---
his-father's.father and ART.F down ART.F woman her-mother's.mother
hanganori.
old.woman
'... this old man is this man's (= bridegroom's) relative, i.e. father's father in relation, and the old woman is those women's (= bride's side's) mother's mother.' [The man's side is regarded as higher in social rank.] (XIX-20)

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[11] This shows that Motuna expresses time as an upward slope.

[12] As is seen in 4-47 and 4-49, women or female creatures, when contrasted with men or male creatures, are generally marked by *koho*. It is interesting because Siwai society is strongly matrilineal and the status of women is regarded high.

4-48 *tiko manni ku'k-a-mo uru-ku*
and then dig-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-GEN.DS
ong koho Paanaangah inokee hoo kaa' noi-nohing
DEM.M down 'ancestor's.name' again ART.M young.tree one-as.big
kuku'-ro ...
dig.3O.3A-PERF.SS
'And then while they were digging (the stone), this Paanaangah again dug a young tree which was of the same size (as the previous one), and (he) ...' [Paanaangah 'the Orphan' is always regarded as lower in social rank than other ancestors in Siwai.] (XIV-11)

4-49 *ana koho harusu tii tii heekoo kuino-kori*
DEM.F down turtle ART.F ART.L some.place tree-L
onn-a-ro ...
tie.up-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS
'After they (= the children) had tied that female turtle onto some tree, (they) ...' [Female creatures or humans are usually marked by *koho*, unless they are spacially in a higher position.] (V-37)

4.4.2.2 Nouns Which Specify Positions

Local nouns which specify positions can be modified by a preceding noun or pronoun, which is usually marked by the purposive suffix /-ko/. Modifying nouns can take attributes (as in 4-54), but never a determiner, so they are not NPs.

4-50 *heekoo tuu-ngo saa*
somewhere river-PURP side
'somewhere (on) the side of a/the river' (VI-3)

4-51 *roki tii Perui-ko rii'*
just ART.L 'witch's.name'-PURP top
'just (on) top of Perui' (VII-36)

4-52 *impa hoo misionari noni-jo mohkoo-ki aa'-ki-ng.*
now ART.M missionary us.exc-PURP vicinity-ERG sleep.3S-HABPAST-M
'Now, a missionary used to sleep (= live) in our vicinity.' (XVI-14)

4-53 *... tii moi-ko u'wah-no hau'-ki-ng.*
ART.L almond-PURP base-L pile.3O.3A-HABPAST-M
'... (his wife) used to pile (them) up at the bottom part of the almond tree.' (XIII-4)

4-54 *... ana koho tii ai roki tii koho kupuri*
DEM.F down ART.F well just ART.L down [stone
toko=tokoh-ah-ko kuu haarok-u-u-na.
be.hot-PART]-PURP inside fall-3S-RMPAST-F
'... that poor woman, well, just fell down there inside the hot stones.' (XIII-39)

The local nouns *mohkoo* 'vicinity' and *u'wah-no* 'bottom part' can be modified by preceding unmarked nouns. Compare 4-55 with 4-52, and 4-56 with 4-53. I do not observe any semantic difference between these two constructions.

4-55 *noniko-ng howo ti-ki sikuulu mohkoo-ki konn-ah.*
1nonsg.exc.POSS-M house ART.L school vicinity-ERG build-PART
'Our house was built in the vicinity of the school.' (II-16)

4-56 *... hoo no-wori manni tii kuhikuhi-kori u'wah-no*
ART.M one-CL.animate then ART.L ladder-L base-L
nauk-a-kuu-ng.
lay-3O.3pcl.A-IMAG-M
'... they would then lay one (of the pigs) at the bottom part of the ladder.' (XIX-17)

Unmarked modifying nouns can again take attributes:

4-57 *... tii uri Kapaaro mohkoo.*
ART.L [village 'village.name'] vicinity
'... in the vicinity of the village Kapaaro.' (VI-3)

The following two local nouns, *romo* 'after' and *puuto* 'end', can only be modified by preceding unmarked nouns:

4-58 *tii tuutu romo* 'after the war' (II-3)
ART.L war after

4-59 *tii muh puuto* 'the end of the bush' (VII-4)
ART.L bush end

4-60 *oi hiisia tonor-ah puuto*
DEM.DIM [beach protrude-PART] end
'this end of the protruded beach' (III-26)

4.4.2.3 The Indefinite Local Noun *heekoo* and Manner Noun *heekowo*

The local noun *heekoo* signifies indefinite location or situation.

4-61 *hoo* *heekoo* *pee.*
you.sg some.place go.2S.IMP
'You go somewhere.' (XXIII-34)

4-62 *hoo* *ti-ko* *heekoo* *u'j-ung-ko-ng.*
well ART.L-PURP some.place pick.from.ground-3O.1pcl.A-PRES-M
'Well, we pick them (= the mangoes) somewhere from the ground.'(VIII-6)

4-63 *ong* *heekoo-ki* *toku* *haha'w-oro-heeto-ng.*
DEM.M any.situation-ERG not work-MID.3S-FUT-M
'That will not work in any situation.' (XVI-64)

Heekoo is often modified by a local noun, or a relative clause.[13] (See also 4-49 and 4-50.)

4-64 ... *tii* *heekoo* *motukah-no* *patak-u-'-ni.*
ART.L some.place island-L arrive-3S-dl.RMPAST-dl
'... they two arrived somewhere on the island.' (XII-4)

4-65 *ongo* *heekoo-ko* *mohkoo-ko* *nii* *haha'-moro-ko-no-ko*
DEM.L.PURP some.place-PURP vicinity-PURP $_{REL}$[I work-MID.1S-PRES-L]-PURP
hoo *potuana* *noi* *ratik-i-heeta-na.*
ART.M position some find-3O.2A-FUT-F
'You will find some position here somewhere (in the) vicinity where I work.' (XVI-100)

The indefinite manner noun *heekowo* can be determined by the manner article *tiwo* (as in 4-66), but it does not take any attributes. In all the examples in my corpus, it functions as a Complement of the middle (4-66) or active (4-67) forms of the verb *ngo-*, or the participle *nga-wah* derived from the same verb stem (4-68). It is always used in the context where the natural state of being is disturbed by some incident or action.

[13] It may be argued that *heekoo* is an LD noun, functioning as a pre-head attribute. However, it differs from LD nouns in that:

(1) it can be marked by a case suffix (as in 4-65), while LD nouns in pre-head positions are never marked by case suffixes.

(2) it is always followed by a local nouns or modifiers with local endings, while LD nouns can be followed by nouns in any gender.

As will be seen in §10.3.3.1, nouns which denote abstract or generic entities, such as *hea/hia/heewa* 'thing/something' and *poti* 'time', are often modified by another noun in juxtaposition.

4-66 *tii tii heekoo-ki toku nop-i-kui tii jaa*
her ART.F any.situation-ERG not take-3O.2A-IMAG she I.wonder
tiwo heekowo ngo-woro-kui-na ti-ki uri-ngi.
ART.MAN any.way be.involved-MID.3S-IMAG-F ART.L-ERG village-ERG
'If you had not taken her (out of the island) at all, she could have suffered in every thinkable way in the village.' (XV-82, cf. 15-77)

4-67 *tiko toku heekowo ngo-o-ng.*
and not any.way do.to-3O.3A.RMPAST-M
'And she didn't do anything to it. [She let the coconut tree grow naturally.]' (XII-45)

4-68 ... *tii no-wori noni-nno umi-ki-na*
ART.F one-CL.animate $_{REL}$[us.exc-COMIT go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-F]
hipa heekowo nga-wah.
leg unusual.way make.self-PART
'... the one who went with us had a crippled leg [lit. had made a leg of her own in an unusual way].' (VI-53)

4.4.2.4 The 'Other' Local Noun *muukoo* and Manner Noun *muukowo*

The local noun *muukoo* other place' and the manner noun *muukowo* 'other way' have the bound form *muuko-* 'other', which is combined with some classifiers. cf. §8.1.3.1.2. Nouns *muukeu* 'other group', *muukisa* 'other kind' and *muukei* 'other lot' also seem to show the traces of classifier constructions with this bound form.

Examples of *muukoo* 'other place':

4-69 ... *tii muukoo pi-ro ...*
ART.L other.place go.3S-PERF.SS
'... after he goes to other places, he ...' (XX-28)

4-70 *heekoo-ko muukoo toku uko-i-heeto-ng.*
any.place-EMPH other(.place) not carry-3O.2A-FUT-M
'You will not carry him to any other places.' (KI-12)

In 4-70 *muukoo* can be regarded as a noun or an adjective, functioning as a post-head attribute to the local noun *heekoo* (cf. §4.4.2.3).

Examples of the manner noun *muukowo* 'other way'. The following sentences occur in succession in a narrative:[14]

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[14] The medial verb *rii-ku* in the following sentences indicates that the fact described by the first clause is the cause of the event described by the second clause. cf. §17.2.3.

4-71a *honna-ko* *rii-ku* *hoo* *muukowo* *kor-u-heeto-ng.*
big-EMPH become.3S-GEN.DS then other.way speak-3S-FUT-M
'In case it (=the slit gong) is big, then it will speak (= sound) in one way.' (XIV-45)

b *peh=pehkita-ko* *rii-ku* *muukowo* *kor-u-heeto-ng.*
REDUP=small-EMPH become.3S-GEN.DS other.way speak-3S-FUT-M
'And also, in case it is very small, it will speak (= sound) in another way.' (XIV-45, cf. 9-42a - b)

The adverb *muukowo(-no)-ning* 'differently' is derived from this manner noun. cf. §7.2.6.

4.4.2.5 The Temporal Nouns *impa* 'now, this time', *timpa* 'then, that time' and *jeempa* 'when, what time'

Impa 'now, this time', *timpa* 'then, that time' and *jeempa* 'when, what time' may be further analysable as the bound demonstrative *o-*, the bound article *ti-* and the bound interrogative pronoun *jee-*, respectively, and the bound root *-mpa*.

They are all nouns, because they may be marked by the ablative case suffix (e.g. *impa-ngitee* 'from now on'). They may also function as local attributes to other nouns (as in 4-72, cf. §11.2.3.2).

4-72 ... *ong-ngori-ko* *impa-m* *poti* ...
DEM.M-LOC-EMPH now-M time
'... even nowadays [lit. at the time of now] ...' (XIII-70)

4-73 *hoo* *jaki* *timpa* *rorong-us-i-ng.*
it you.should.know then say-3O.1A-NRPAST-M
'I said it then, as you should know.' (XXII-38)

4-74 *ong-ko* *ingina* *nahah* *jeempa* *jaa* *ngo-woro-heeto-ng.*
DEM.M-EMPH rain I.wonder when on.earth happen-MID.3S-FUT-M
'I wonder when on earth it will rain [lit. the rain will happen].' (XXXIII-11)

The local noun *impa* 'now, this time' must be distinguished from the conjunction *impa* 'and then, now'. cf. §9.4.3.1.

4.4.2.6 The Bound Root *-nohno* 'length'

The bound root *-nohno* 'length' is combined with place names or temporal nouns (4-75), with the local article *tii* (4-76), or with the bound interrogative pronoun *jee-*

'what' (4-77). It can also be combined with a verbal clause (4-78). They often function adverbially, but they are nouns because they can be marked by the ablative case suffix /-kitee/ (e.g. *tii-nohno-ngitee* 'from around that time'), and can be determined by the local article (as in 4-78).

The root /-nohno/ denote certain length in space or time. It seems to derive from the combination of the adjectival suffix /-noh/ 'as big as' (cf. §7.1.2) and the local ending /-no/.

4-75 *Sidni-nohno* 'as far as Sydney [lit. Sydney-length]'
impa-nohno 'during this time [lit. this time-length]'

4-76 *tii-nohno* *hoo* *urini* *Kihili* *inokee*
that.time-length ART.M area 'place.name' again
riituh-a-mo *uru-ki-ng ...*
repair-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'During that time they again kept on repairing the Kihili area ...' (III-9)

4-77 *jee-nohno* *turu-ree-'-heetuio-ng?*
what.time-length return-MID.2S-pcl-FUT-M
'Around what time will you (all) return?' (XXXV-20)

4-78 *tii* *ho-i* *sikuulu* *honna* *mi-i=no-nohno*
ART.L [ART.M-ERG school big go.1S-PRESPROG]-length
king=kingng-u-mo ...
REDUP=think.about-3O.1A-GEN.SS
'During the time when I was going to the big school, I used to think about it, and(I) ...' (VI-59)

The noun *tii-nohno* is homonymous with the subordinating conjunction *tiinohno* 'while'. cf. §17.1.

4.4.3. Proper Names

Proper names can be in masculine, feminine or local gender. Those in local gender refer to places. They can be included in the subclass of local nouns.

Personal names in masculine gender either refer to male persons (as *Tantanu* in 4-79) or to collective entities (as *Keehno* in 4-80). When they refer to collective entities, they are cross-referenced by paucal/plural number markings on the verb, but they never take number suffixes on themselves.

4-79 *Tantanu-ki* *roki* *noh-u-r-u-ng:*
'ancestor's.name'-ERG just say.to-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M
'Tantanu just said to them:' (III-41)

4-80 ... *ti-ki* *uri-ngi* *hoo* *Keehno* *uru-ki-ng.*
ART.L-ERG village-ERG ART.M 'tribe.name' be.3pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'... the Keehnos used to live in the village.' (XI-1)

As is seen in 4-80, proper names can be determined by the article and/or the demonstrative. Furthermore, those in local gender often take attributes such as LD nouns, possessive pronouns, etc. For example, the proper (place) name *Aaru* in the following example is determined by the article and the demonstrative in local gender, and is further modified by two LD nouns *raang* 'north' and *koto* 'up':

4-81 ... *tii* *owo* *raang* *koto* *Aalu* *mi-i-na.*
ART.L DEM.L north up 'place.name' go.1S-RMPAST-F
'... I went to Alu up in the north.' (XV-39)

As is shown in 4-81, place names are usually treated as local nouns by themselves. In some cases, however, the derivational suffix *-kori* (or its allomorph *-ngori* or *-jori*, cf. §4.6.1) is attached to them, in order to clearly indicate their local gender. For example:

4-82 ... *tii* *Maato-ngori* *uwi-ro* ...
ART.L 'river.name'-L go.3pcl.S-PERF.SS
'... they went to (the River) Maato, and (they) ...' (XXIII-4)

Local nouns derived by the suffix *-kori* may be lexicalised as place names. For example, the village from which one of my informants comes is called *Kaakoto-kori* 'white-L [lit. white-place]'.[15]

4.4.4. Kinship Terms

There are two kinds of kinship terms: basic and dyadic.

Basic kinship terms consist of bound personal pronouns (Possessors), and basic kinship roots (Possessees). A bound pronoun and a kinship root are directly combined in this order.

Dyadic kinship terms, on the other hand, consist of the bound forms of personal pronouns, the article, the demonstrative, or the indefinite proform, and dyadic

[15] According to my informant, the name comes from the breadfruit trees in the village, which bear lots of white fruits.

kinship roots. These bound morphemes and the kinship root are usually intervened by the linker *-(n)o-* when they are combined.

Basic kinship terms can be determined by the article and/or the demonstrative. They can also take various attributes, in the same way as common nouns do. For example,

the basic kinship term *nupi-ng* 'my grandchildren' determined by the demonstrative *oi* (in dual-paucal gender form) and modified by the LD noun *raano* 'north':

4-83
nii *oi* *raano* *nupi-ng* *mono-or-upee*
I DEM.DP north my.grandchild-pcl see-3pcl.O-1A.DEFFUT
ongi *ringk-oh=na-na.*
DEM.L.ERG pass.by-1S.PRESPROG-F
'I am passing by here to see those grandchildren of mine in the north.' (XXXI-4)

the basic kinship term *po-oro* 'her daughter' determined by the article *tii* (in feminine gender form), and modified by the numeral classifier *no-wori* 'one (animate)' and by the participle relative clause *poko-ng mii Koongaa tang-ah* 'whose name is called Koongaa':

4-84
... *tii* *po-oro* *no-wori* *poko-ng* *mii*
ART.F her-daughter one-CL.animate REL[3sg.POSS-M name
Koongaa *tang-ah* *poongo* *hu-u-na.*
'female.name' call-PART] east come.3S-RMPAST-F
'... one of her daughters, whose name was (called) Koongaa, came to the east.' (XI-31, cf. 17-54)

Dyadic kinship terms can also be determined by the article or the demonstrative, but do not usually take attributes.

the dyadic kinship term *noni-no-oku-ru* without determiner:

4-85
... *ho-i* *umoka* *tii* *poko-no* *Solomoni*
ART.M-ERG my.father ART.L 3sg.POSS-L 'place.name'
pataa-mor-u-u-ni *noni-no-oku-ru.*
lead-1pcl.exc.O-3A-RMPAST-DP we.exc-LINK-mother.and.child-pcl
'... my father led us, my mother and her children, to his Solomon Islands.' (II-3)

the dyadic kinship term *mo-n-ongngo* 'two [lit. a pair of] brothers' determined by the article *tii* (in dual-paucal gender form):

4-86	*u'kisa*	*tii*	*mo-n-ongngo*	*pi-'-ni*
	long.ago	ART.DP	one-LINK-brothers.dl	go.3S-dl.RMPAST-dl
	tii	*heekoo*	*motukah-no.*	
	ART.L	some.place	island-L	

'Long ago two brothers went to some island.' (XII-2)

Basic kinship terms can enter possessive constructions, where Possessors are expanded by preceding nouns or noun phrases. Dyadic kinship terms, on the other hand, can enter kinship constructions, where one of the members in the kin relations referred to by them is specified by preceding nouns. See Ch 11.

All the kinship terms with technical definitions are listed in Table 4-5.

In the following sections, I will discuss basic and dyadic kinship terms in turn. The paradigms of kinship terms of each type are given in Table 4-8 in §4.4.4.1.4 and Table 4-11 in §4.4.4.2.3, respectively. The examples of kinship roots given in the following sections are identified by the numbers in brackets, which refer to the numbers given in Table 4-5.

Table 4-5 The List of Kinship Terms with Technical Definitions

Definitions:

B:	brother	Ch:	child	D:	daughter
e:	elder than ego	F:	father	H:	husband
M:	mother	m:	man speaking	S:	son
W:	wife	w:	woman speaking	y:	younger than ego
Z:	sister				

(A) Basic Kinship Terms (with a 1st person singular Possessor)

terms with one generation gap between ego and Possessee:

(A1) *nuka*	M, MZ, MMD, MMDZ
(A2) *umoka*	F, FB, FMZS
(A3) *nuro*	D, wZD, mBD, wMZDD, mMZSD
(A4) *nuri*	S, wZS, mBS, wMZDS, mMZSS
(A5) *aapuu*	FZ, MBW, HM, WM
(A6) *paapaa*	MB, FZH, HF, WF
(A7) *non-na*	wBD, mZD, HZD, WBD, wMZSD, mMZDD, SW

(A8) *nopu-ng* wBS, mZS, ·HZS, ·WBS, wMZSS, mMZDS

(A9) *nura* mDH, ·WF*, mZS*

(A10) *i-miho* wDH, wBS*, ·HZS*, wMZSS*

(* extended use due to cross-cousin marriage)

terms with no generation gap between ego and Possessee:

(A11) *i-na* W

(A12) *i-ng* H

(A13) *po-omah* wBW, ·HZ

(A14) *po-owoi* mZH, WB

terms with two generations gap between ego and Possessee:

(A15) *teeti/tiiti* MM

(A16) *aajaa* MF

(A17) *nupi* DCh

terms with no generation gap or two generations gap[16] between ego and the Possessee:

(A18) *eejee* wB, mZ (*turuworoku eejee* wMMB, mZDD)

(A19) *maamaa* ·eZ, WeZ, FM

(A20) *taataa* eB, ·HeB, FF (*turuworoku taataa* mMMB)

(A21) *narama-na* yZ, ·WyZ, SD

(A22) *naramo-ng* yB, ·HyB, SS (*turuworoku naramo-ng* mZDS)

a general term:

(A23) *imo'* any relative from the same clan

(B) Dyadic Kinship Terms (with a 1st person non-singular inclusive Possessor)

(Forms with ? are accepted by only one of my informants)

(i) Pairs

terms with one generation gap between two members:

(B1) *nee-no-ku* M + wCh, MZ + wZCh, etc. (*nuka* + *nuro/nuri*)

(B2) *nee-na-ka* F + mCh, FB + mBCh, etc. (*umoka* + *nuro/nuri*)

MB + mZCh, FZH + WBCh (*paapaa* + *non-na/nopu-ng*)

HF + mSW (*paapaa* + *non-na*)

WF + mDH (*paapaa* + *nura*)

---

[16] *Turuworoku* is used as the pre-head modifier of a basic kinship term, indicating that the Possessee is two generations senior to the Possessor in the relationship denoted by the following kinship term. It derives from the General Different Subject (medial) form of the verb *turu-* 'to return', with a 3rd person singular S.

(B3) *nee-na-pu-ro* FZ + wBCh, MBW + HZCh (*aapuu* + *non-na/nopu-ng*)
HM + wSW, WM + wDH (*aapuu* + *non-na/i-miho*)

terms with no generation gap between two members:

(B4) *nee-no-iro-ko* W + H (*i-na* + *i-ng*)

(B5) *nee-na-mah-ro* wBW + HZ (*po-omah* + *po-omah*)

(B6) *?nee-no-mi-ro* mZH + WB (*po-owoi* + *po-owoi*)

a term with two generations gap between two members:

(B7) *nee-no-iso* MM + DCh, MF + DCh (*teeti/tiiti/aajaa* + *nupi*)

terms with no generation gap or two generations gap between two members:

(B8) *nee-no-oruko* eZ + yZ (*maamaa* + *narama-na*)
wB + mZ (*eejee* + *eejee*)
wMMB + mZSS (*turuworoku eejee* + *turuworoku eejee*)

(B9) *nee-no-ngngo* eB + yB (*taataa* + *naramo-ng*)
mMMB + mZDS (*turuworoku taataa* + *turuworoku naramo-ng*)

(ii) More Than Two Members:

terms with one generation gap between members:

(B1') *nee-no-okuru* M + two or more wCh, MZ + two or more wZCh, etc.
(*nuka* + *nu'ki-no/nuri-'*)

(B2') *nee-na-ka-nnu* F + two or more mCh (*umoka* + *nu'ki-no/nuri-'*)
F + M + one or more Ch
(*umoka* + *nuka* + *nuro/nuri/ nu'ki-no/nuri-'*)
MB + two or more mZCh, FZH + two or more WBCh
(*paapaa* + *non-no-oruko/ nopu-ng-ngaro/-naa/-ngung*)
HF + two or more mSW (*paapaa* + *non-no-oruko*)
WF + two or more mDH (*paapaa* + *nura-karo/-naa/-ngung*)

(B3') *nee-na-pu-ro* FZ + two or more wBCh, MBW + two or more HZCh
(*aapuu* + *non-na/nopu-ng*)
HM + two or more wSW, WM + two or more wDH
(*aapuu* + *non-na/i-miho*)

terms with no generation gap between members:

(B4') *nee-no-iro-ko-naa?/-ngung?* H + two or more W (*i-ng* + *i-na-nguuruko/-nguuri'*)

(B5') *nee-na-masi-ng* wBW + two or more HZ (*po-omah* + *po-omasing*)

(B6') *nee-no-miro-naa/-ngung* mZH + two or more WB (*po-owoi* + *po-owoika*)

a term with two generations gap between members:

(B7') *nee-no-iso-nnu* — MM + two or more DCh (*teeti/tiiti + nupi-ngo/-ng*)
MF + DCh (*acjaa + nupi-ngo/-ng*)

terms with no generation gap or two generations gap between members:

(B8') *nee-no-ori'* — three or more Z (*maamaa + naramo-no-oruko/-no-ori'*)
three or more Z + B (*eejee-no-ori'*)
three or more wMMB + mZSS (*turuworoku eejee-no-ori'*)

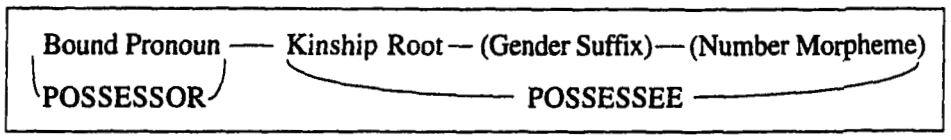
(B9') *nee-no-ngngo-nnu* — three or more B (*taataa + naramo-no-ngngo/-no-nnu*)
three or more mMMB + mZDS
(*turuworoku taataa + turuworoku naramo-no-ngngo/-no-nnu*)

4.4.4.1 Basic Kinship Terms

4.4.4.1.1 Overview of Morphological Structure

The morphological structure of basic kinship terms is given below.

Diagram 4-6 Morphological Structure of Basic Kinship Terms



Kinship roots are obligatorily combined with bound pronouns. Some kinship roots are further marked by gender suffixes. e.g.:

4-87a *noni-jee-ng* 'our (exc) opposite sex sibling (M)' (A18)
our.exc-opp.sex.sib-M

b *noni-jee-na* 'our (exc) opposite sex sibling (F)' (A18)
our.exc-opp.sex.sib-F

The kinship roots which denote 'husband' and 'wife' are identical with the masculine and feminine gender suffixes, e.g.:

4-88a *ro-ng* 'your husband' (A12)
your.sg-husband(M)

b *ra-na* 'your wife' (A11)
your.sg-wife(F)

Note that in 4-88b, /o/ in the bound pronoun /ro-/ is regressively assimilated to /a/ in the

kinship root, according to Rule 2-9a in §2.7.1.

In nonsingular number, kinship terms may be marked by number suffixes of various types, e.g.:

4-89a *ro-o'ki-no* 'your (sg) two children' (A3, A4)
your.sg-child-dl

b *pee-kuku-uri'* 'their more than two mothers' (A1)
their-mother-pcl

c *nee-woi-ka* 'our brothers-in-law' (A14)
our.inc-brother.in.law-nonsg

The underlying forms of bound personal pronouns are identical with those of free personal pronouns, except for 3rd person (cf. §5.2.1):

Table 4-7 Underlying Forms of Bound Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Nonsingular	
1st Person	ni-	nee- (inclusive)	noni- (exclusive)
2nd Person	ro-	ree-	
3rd Person	po-	pee-	

The 1st person singular Possessor /ni-/ undergoes the morphophonemic changes discussed below (Rules 4-2 and 4-3); in many cases, however, it cannot be analysed as an independent segment. See §4.4.4.1.2.

Many kinship roots have two forms, used with singular and nonsingular Possessors respectively. The forms with nonsingular Possessors are without initial vowel, and may in addition be reduplicated. Examples:

the kinship root 'husband' (A12) has only one form /-N/:

4-90 /ro-/ 'your (sg)' + /-N/ 'husband' –> *ro-ng* 'your (sg) husband'
/ree-/ 'your (nonsg)' + /-ng/ 'husband' + /-ngang/ 'nonsg' –>
ree-ng-ngang 'your (nonsg) husbands'

the kinship root 'grandchild' (A17) has two forms /-opi/ (with sg Possessor) ~ /-pi/ (with nonsg Possessor):

4-91a /ro-/ 'your (sg)' + /-opi/ 'grandchild' –> *ro-opi* 'your (sg) grandchild'
/po-/ 'his/her' + /-opi/ 'grandchild' + /-ngo/ 'dl' –>
po-opi-ngo 'his/her two grandchildren'

b /nee-/ 'our (inc)' + /-pi/ 'grandchild' –> *nee-pi* 'our (inc) grandchild'
/ree-/ 'your (nonsg)' + /-pi/ 'grandchild' + /-ng/ 'pcl' –>
ree-pi-ng 'your (nonsg) more than two grandchildren'

the kinshipo root 'mother' (A1) has two forms /-oku/ (with sg Possessor) ~ /-kuku/ (with nonsg Possessor):

4-92a /ro-/ 'your (sg)' + /-oku/ 'mother' –> *ro-oku* 'your (sg) mother'
/po-/ 'his/her' + /-oku/ 'mother' + /-uruko/ 'sisters dl' –>
po-oku-uruko 'his/her two mothers (mother's sisters)'

b /noni-/ 'our (exc)' + /-ku-ku/ 'mother' –> *noni-ku-ku* 'our (exc) mother'
/pee-/ 'their' + /-ku-ku/ 'mother' + /-VriQ/ 'sisters pcl'[17] –>
pee-ku-ku-uri' 'their more than two mothers (mother's sisters)'

the kinship roots 'son' /-oN/ (A3) and 'daughter' /-oro/ (A4) are used only in singular number with a singular Possessor. In nonsingular number or with a nonsingular Possessor, the root 'child' is used. The latter has four forms: /-oQki/ (in sg/dl with sg Possessor) ~ /-kiQ/ (in sg/dl with nonsg Possessor) ~ /-ori/ (in pcl with sg Possessor) ~ /-ri-ri/ (in pcl with nonsg Possessor).[18]

4-93a /ro-/ 'your (sg)' + /-oro/ 'daughter' –> *ro-oro* 'your (sg) daughter'
/ro-/ 'your (sg)' + /-oN/ 'son' –> *ro-ong* 'your (sg) son'

b /ro-/ 'your (sg)' + /-oQki/ 'child' + /-no/ 'dl' –> *ro-o'ki-no* 'your (sg) two children'
/ro-/ 'your (sg)' + /-ori/ 'child' + /-'/ 'pcl' –> *ro-o'ri-'* 'your (sg) more than two children'

c /ree-/ 'your (nonsg)' + /-Qki/ 'child' –> *ree-'ki* 'your (nonsg) child'
/ree-/ 'your (nonsg)' + /-Qki/ 'child' + /-no/ 'dl' –> *ree-'ki* 'your (nonsg) two children'
/ree-/ 'your (nonsg)' + /-ri-ri/ 'child' + /-Q/ 'pcl' –> *ree-ri-ri-'* 'your (nonsg) more than two children'

4.4.4.1.2 Forms with a 1st Person Singular Possessor

Among the singular forms of basic kinship terms, those with a 1st person singular Possessor are most irregular. They are basically classified into three types:

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[17] The initial /V/ is identical with the final vowel of the preceding kinship root. cf. §4.4.4.1.3.

[18] The underlying form of this root may be /(o)riki/, where /ri/ is dearticulated to /Q/. See §2.7.4.

(1) the Possessor is segmentable from the Possessee.
(2) the Possessor is not segmentable from the Possessee.
(3) the form of the 1st person singular Possessor is the same as that of the 3rd person singular Possessor.

(1) The 1st person singular Possessor of the first type undergo the following morpho-phonemic processes:

Rule 4-2 Fusion of 1st Person Singular Possessor /ni-/

The /i/ of the 1st person singular Possessor /ni-/ is fused with the following vowel-initial roots. The following vowel is heightened from low to mid, or mid to high.

ni- (1st sg) + -V (kinship root) –> n V [+low] [-low]
ni- (1st sg) + -V (kinship root) –> n V [-high] [+high]

Examples:

4-94a /ni-/ 'my' + /-oro/ 'daughter' –> *nuro* 'my daughter' (A3)

b /ni-/ 'my' + /-apu/ 'opposite sex sibling's child' + /-N/ 'M' –> *nopu-ng* 'my opposite sex sibling's son' (A8)

c /ni-/ 'my' + /-apu/ 'opposite sex sibling's child' + /-na/ 'F' –> *non-na* 'my opposite sex sibling's daughter' (A7)

Note that in 4-94c /pu/ of the kinship root /-apu/ is dearticulated to an archinasal before a feminine suffix /-na/. cf. §2.7.4.

Rule 4-3 Deletion of /n/ of 1st Person Singular Possessor /ni-/

The initial /n/ of the 1st person singular prefix /ni-/ is deleted before nasal-initial roots:

ni - (1st sg) –> i - / _ - Nasal (kinship root)

Examples:

4-95a /ni-/ + /-miho/ –> *i-miho* 'my (F) daughter's husband' (A10)

b /ni-/ + /-na/ –> *i-na* 'my wife' (A11)

(2) The majority of kinship terms of the second type, with a 1st person Possessor, have the forms (C)VVCVV (as in 4-96a and 4-97a. 4-98a is an exception). Examples:

/-haho/ 'mother's brother' (A6):

4-96a	*paapaa*	'my mother's brother'
b	*ra-haho*	'your (sg) mother's brother'

/-rato/ 'elder brother' (A20):

4-97a	*taataa*	'my elder brother'
b	*pa-rato*	'his/her elder brother'

/-eti/ (with sg Possessor) ~ /-ti-ti/ (with nonsg Possessor) 'mother's mother' (A15):

4-98a	*teeti/tiiti*	'my mother's mother'
b	*re-eti*	'your (sg) mother's mother'
c	*nee-ti-ti*	'our (inc) mother's mother'

Note that in 4-97b and 4-98b, the vowel /o/ of the bound pronoun is regressively assimilated to /a/ and /e/ in the following roots, due to Rule 2-9.

(3) In the case of the following two kinship terms, the form of the 1st person singular Possessor is the same as that of the 3rd person singular Possessor:

/-omaH/ (with sg Possessor) ~ /-maH/ (with nonsg Possessor) '(woman-speaking) sister-in-law' (A13):

4-99a	*po-omah*	'my (F) sister-in-law'
b	*ro-omah*	'your (F) sister-in-law'
c	**pamasi*[19]	'her sister-in-law'
d	*ree-mah*	'your (nonsg) sister-in-law'

/-owoi/ (with sg Possessor) ~ /-woi/ (with nonsg Possessor) '(man-speaking) brother-in-law' (A14):

4-100a	*po-owoi*	'my (M)/his brother-in-law'
b	*pee-woi*	'their brother-in-law'

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[19] This irregular form shows the phonemic substitutability of /H/ for /si/ in certain circumstances, even not before the Archinasal. cf. §2.7.3.

4.4.4.1.3 Number Markings

Basic kinship terms may be marked by dual, paucal/plural, or nonsingular (including dual, paucal and plural) number morphemes. They are of three types:

(1) number suffixes *-karo/-naa/-ngung* (cf. §4.2.2).
(2) specific number suffixes which are attached to certain kinship roots.
(3) dual and paucal/plural 'sibling' suffixes, which focus on the 'sibling-like' relation ship between the members referred to by kinship roots.

(1) Some kinship roots with a 1st person Possessor can take nominal number suffixes *-karo/-naa/-ngung*, when the speaker wants to focus only on the number of the members, and not on the relationships between them.

4-101a	*eejee-ngaro/-naa/-ngung*	'my opp. sex siblings (dl/pc/pl)' (A18)
b	*maamaa-karo/-naa/-ngung*	'my elder sisters (dl/pc/pl)' (A19)
c	*taataa-karo/-naa/-ngung*	'my elder brothers (dl/pc/pl)' (A20)

The paucal suffix *-naa* can also be attached to a kinship term which refers to a singular person with respect (cf. §4.2.2).

4-102a	*ru-umo-naa*	'your father (polite form)' (A2)
b	*pa-haho-naa*	'his/her mother's brother (polite form)' (A6)
c	*po-owoi-naa*	'my/his brother-in-law (polite form)' (A14)

(2) Specific number suffixes:

dual suffixes: *-Vro*[20], *-no, -ko,*
paucal/plural suffix: *-', -ng, -nnu*
nonsingular suffixes: *-ra, -ka*

Examples:
male kinship roots with *-Vro* (dl) and *-nnu* (pcl):

with /-kaio/ 'mother's father' (A16):

4-103	*pee-kaio-oro*	'their two mother's fathers'
	pee-kaio-nnu	'their more than two mother's fathers'

[20] The initial *V* is identical with the final vowel of the preceding kinship root.

with /-rato/ 'elder brother' (A20):

4-104	*nee-rato-oro*	'our (inc) two elder brothers'
	nee-rato-nnu	'our (inc) more than two elder brothers'

the kinship root /-opi/ ~ /-pi/ 'grandchild' (A17) with *-ngo* (dl) and *-ng* (pcl):

4-105	*nupi-ngo*	'my two grandchildren'
	nupi-ng	'my more than two grandchildren'

the kinship root 'child' (A3, A4) /-oQki/ ~ /-kiQ/ with *-no* (dl), and /-ori/ ~ /-ri-ri/ with *-'* (pcl) (cf. 4-93):

4-106	*ro-o'ki-no*	'your (sg) two children'
	ree-'ki-no	'your (nonsg) two children'
	ro-ori-'	'your (sg) more than two children'
	ree-riri-'	'your (nonsg) more than two children'

nonsingular forms:

with /-omaH/ ~ /-maH/ '(woman speaking) sister-in-law' (A13):

4-107	*pee-mah*	'their sister-in-law'
	pee-masi-ng	'their sisters-in-law' (cf. Rule 2-10c)

with /-owoi/ ~ /-woi/ '(man speaking) brother-in-law' (A14):

4-108	*po-owoi*	'my/his brother-in-law'
	po-owoi-ka	'my/his brothers-in-law'

with /-moQ/ 'relative from the same clan' (A23):

4-109	*po-mo'*	'his relative'
	po-moro	'his relatives'

Nonsingular forms of /-umo/ ~ /-mo/ 'father' (A2) with the suffixes *-oro* (dl) and *-nnu* (pcl) refer to father and his brother(s), while those with the suffixes *-ra* ~ *-na*[21] (nonsg) refer to father and his family (including wife and children):

4-110a	*ru-umo-oro*	'your (sg) father and his brother'
	ru-umo-nnu	'your (sg) father and his brothers'

[21] The underlying form of the nonsingular suffix /-ra/ is assimilated to *-na* due to the preceding nasal.

b *umoka-ra* 'my father and his family'
ru-umo-na 'your father and his family'

(3) Two suffixes which express reciprocal 'sibling' relations can be combined with basic kinship stems, to focus on the 'sibling(-like)' relationships among the members referred to by them. The members do not need to be real siblings. They are:

(i) 'sisters/sister(s) and brother(s)' suffixes (which include at least one female member):

-Vruko (dl)[22]
-Vri' (pcl)

(ii) 'brothers' suffixes:

-ngngo (dl)
-nnu (pcl)

They are identical in form with the corresponding dyadic kinship terms. See (B8) and (B9) in Table 4-11 in §4.4.4.2.3. Kinship roots and 'sisters/sister(s) and brother(s)' suffixes may directly combined, or be intervened by the linker *-no-* or *-ngu-*. 'Brothers' suffixes, on the other hand, are always preceded by *-no-*. If the kinship roots in singular number requires a gender suffix /-na/ (F) or /-N/ (M), the latter is dropped before sibling suffixes (as in 4-114 - 4-116 and 4-118 - 4-119).

(i) Examples of kinship roots combined with 'sisters/sister(s) and brother(s)' suffixes:
(a) female kinship roots directly combined with them:

with /-oku/ ~ /-ku-ku/ 'mother('s sister)' (A1):

4-111 *ro-oku-uruko* 'your (sg) two mothers (mother's sisters)'
ro-oku-uri' 'your (sg) more than two mothers (mother's sisters)'

with /-(ti-)ti/ 'mother's mother' (A15):

4-112 *pee-(ti-)ti-iruko* 'their two mother's mothers'
pee-(ti-)ti-iri' 'their more than two mother's mothers'

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[22] The initial *V* of *-Vruko* and *-Vri'* is identical with the final vowel of the preceding kinship root or linker. The suffix *-Vruko* seems to derive from the combination of the 'human' classifier *-uru* and the dual suffix *-ko*. cf. *ki-uru-ko* 'two persons' in Table 8-2 in §8.2.3.

with /-mamo/ 'elder sister' (A19):

4-113	*nee-mamo-oruko*	'our (inc) two elder sisters'
	nee-mamo-ori'	'our (inc) more than two elder sisters'

(b) female kinship roots combined with them via the linker *-no-*:

with /-apu/ ~ /-pu/ 'opposite sex sibling's child' (A7):

4-114	*ra-an-no-oruko*	'your (sg) two opp. sex sibling's daughters/ daughter(s) and son(s)'
	ra-an-no-ori'	'your (sg) more than two opp. sex sibling's daughters/daughter(s) and son(s)'

with /-ojee/ ~ /-jee/ 'opposite sex sibling' (A18):

4-115	*po-ojee-no-oruko*	'his two sisters'
	po-ojee-no-ori'	'his more than two sisters'

with /-aramo/ ~ /-ramo/ 'younger sibling' (A21, A22):

4-116	*ree-ramo-no-oruko*	'your (nonsg) two younger sisters/sister and brother'
	ree-ramo-no-ori'	'your (nonsg) more than two younger sisters/ sister(s) and brother(s)'

(c) the female kinship root /-na/ 'wife' (A11) combined with them via the linker *-ngu-*:

4-117	*pa-na-ngu-uruko*	'his two wives'
	pa-na-ngu-uri'	'his more than two wives'

(ii) Examples of male kinship roots combined with the 'brothers' suffixes via the linker *-no-*:

with /-ojee/ ~ /-jee/ 'opposite sex sibling' (A18):

4-118	*ree-jee-no-ngngo*	'your (nonsg) two brothers'
	ree-jee-no-nnnu	'your (nonsg) my more than two brothers'

with /-aramo/ ~ /-ramo/ 'younger sibling' (A21, A22):

4-119	*ra-aramo-no-ngngo*	'your (sg) two younger brothers'
	ra-aramo-no-nnu	'your (sg) more than two younger brothers'

4.4.4.1.4 Paradigms of Basic Kinship Terms

In the following table, the rows refer to the number of the Possesees, and the columns refer to the person/number of the Possessors. (Forms with ? are accepted by only one of my informants.)

Table 4-8 Paradigms of Basic Kinship Terms

(A1) /-oku/ ~ /-ku-ku/ 'M, MZ, MMD, MMDZ'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*nuka*	*nuka-ku-uruko*	*nuka-ku-uri'*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-ku-ku*	*nee-ku-ku-uruko*	*nee-ku-ku-uri'*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-ku-ku*	*noni-ku-ku-uruko*	*noni-ku-ku-uri'*
2sg 'your'	*ro-oku*	*ro-oku-uruko*	*ro-oku-uri'*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-ku-ku*	*ree-ku-ku-uruko*	*ree-ku-ku-uri'*
3sg 'his/her'	*po-oku*	*po-oku-uruko*	*po-oku-uri'*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-ku-ku*	*pee-ku-ku-uruko*	*pee-ku-ku-uri'*

(A2) /-umo/ ~ /-mo/ 'F, FB, FMZS'

	sg	dl	pcl
		father and his brother	father and his brothers
1sg 'my'	*umoka*	*umo-oro*	*umo(ka)-nnu*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-mo*	*nee-mo-oro*	*nee-mo-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-mo*	*noni-mo-oro*	*noni-mo-nnu*
2sg 'your'	*ru-umo*	*ru-umo-oro*	*ru-umo-nnu*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-mo*	*ree-mo-oro*	*ree-mo-nnu*
3sg 'his/her'	*pu-umo*	*pu-umo-oro*	*pu-umo-nnu*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-mo*	*pee-mo-oro*	*pee-mo-nnu*

	sg	nonsg
		father and his family
1sg 'my'	*umoka*	*umoka-ra*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-mo*	*nee-mo-na*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-mo*	*noni-mo-na*
2sg 'your'	*ru-umo*	*ru-umo-na*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-mo*	*ree-mo-na*
3sg 'his/her'	*pu-umo*	*pu-umo-na*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-mo*	*pee-mo-na*

(A3) /-oro/ (~ /-oQki/ ~ /-Qki/ ~ /-ori/ ~ /-ri-ri/) 'D, wZD, mBD, wMZDD, mMZSD'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*nuro*	*nu'ki-no*	*nuri-'*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-'ki*	*nee-'ki-no*	*nee-ri-ri-'*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-'ki*	*noni-'ki-no*	*noni-ri-ri-'*
2sg 'your'	*ro-oro*	*ro-o'ki-no*	*ro-ori-'*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-'ki*	*ree-'ki-no*	*ree-ri-ri-'*
3sg 'his/her'	*po-oro*	*po-o'ki-no*	*po-ori-'*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-'ki*	*pee-'ki-no*	*pee-ri-ri-'*

(A4) /-oN/ (~ /-oQki/ ~ /-Qki/ ~ /-ori/ ~ /-ri-ri/) 'S, wZS, mBS, wMZDS, mMZSS'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*nuri*	*nu'ki-no*	*nuri-'*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-'ki*	*nee-'ki-no*	*nee-ri-ri-'*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-'ki*	*noni-'ki-no*	*noni-ri-ri-'*
2sg 'your'	*ro-ong*	*ro-o'ki-no*	*ro-ori-'*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-'ki*	*ree-'ki-no*	*ree-ri-ri-'*
3sg 'his/her'	*po-ong*	*po-o'ki-no*	*po-ori-'*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-'ki*	*pee-'ki-no*	*pee-ri-ri-'*

(A5) /aapuu/ (1sg.POSS) ~ /-kapu/ 'FZ, MBW, HM, WM'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*aapuu*	*aapuuruko*	*aapuuri'*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-kapu*	*nee-kapu-uruko*	*nee-kapu-uri'*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-kapu*	*noni-kapu-uruko*	*noni-kapu-uri'*
2sg 'your'	*ra-kapu*	*ra-kapu-uruko*	*ra-kapu-uri'*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-kapu*	*ree-kapu-uruko*	*ree-kapu-uri'*
3sg 'his/her'	*pa-kapu*	*pa-kapu-uruko*	*pa-kapu-uri'*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-kapu*	*pee-kapu-uruko*	*pee-kapu-uri'*

(A6) /paapaa/ (1sg.POSS) ~ /-haho/ 'MB, FZH, HF, WF'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*paapaa*	*paapaa-no-ngngo/*	*paapaa-no-nnu/*
		paapaa-karo	*paapaa-naa/-ngung*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-haho*	*nee-haho-oro*	*nee-haho-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-haho*	*noni-haho-oro*	*noni-haho-nnu*
2sg 'your'	*ra-haho*	*ra-haho-oro*	*ra-haho-nnu*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-haho*	*ree-haho-oro*	*ree-haho-nnu*
3sg 'his/her'	*pa-haho*	*pa-haho-oro*	*pa-haho-nnu*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-haho*	*pee-haho- oro*	*pee-haho-nnu*

(A7) /-apu(-na)/ ~ /-pu(-na)/ 'wBD, mZD, HZD, WBD, wMZSD, mMZDD, SW'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*n-on-na*	*n-on-no-oruko*	*n-on-no-ori'*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-n-na*	*nee-n-no-oruko*	*nee-n-no-ori'*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-n-na*	*noni-n-no-oruko*	*noni-n-no-ori'*
2sg 'your'	*ra-an-na*	*ra-an-no-oruko*	*ra-an-no-ori'*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-n-na*	*ree-n-no-oruko*	*ree-n-no-ori'*
3sg 'his/her'	*pa-an-na*	*pa-an-no-oruko*	*pa-an-no-ori'*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-n-na*	*pee-n-no-oruko*	*pee-n-no-ori'*

(A8) /-apu(-N)/ ~ /pu(-N)/ 'wBS, mZS, HZS, WBS, wMZSS, mMZDS'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*nopu-ng*	*?nopu-no-ngngo*	*?nopu-no-nnu*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-pu-ng*	*?nee-pu-no-ngngo*	*?nee-pu-no-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-pu-ng*	*?noni-pu-no-ngngo*	*?noni-pu-no-nnu*
2sg 'your'	*ra-apu-ng*	*?ra-apu-no-ngngo*	*?ra-apu-no-nnu*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-pu-ng*	*?ree-pu-no-ngngo*	*?ree-pu-nonnu*
3sg 'his/her'	*pa-apu-ng*	*?pa-apu-no-ngngo*	*?pa-apu-no-nnu*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-pu-ng*	*?pee-pu-no-ngngo*	*?pee-pu-no-nnu*

(A9) /-ora/ ~ /-ra/ 'mDH, WF, mZS'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*nura*	*?nura-no-ngngo*	*?nura-no-nnu*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-ra*	*?nee-ra-no-ngngo*	*?nee-ra-no-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-ra*	*?noni-ra-no-ngngo*	*?noni-ra-no-nnu*
2sg 'your'	*ro-ora*	*?ro-ora-no-ngngo*	*?ro-ora-no-nnu*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-ra*	*?ree-ra-no-ngngo*	*?ree-ra-no-nnu*
3sg 'his/her'	*po-ora*	*?po-ora-no-ngngo*	*?po-ora-no-nnu*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-ra*	*?pee-ra-no-ngngo*	*?pee-ra-no-nnu*

(A10) /-miho/ 'wDH, wBS, HZS, wMZSS'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*i-miho*	*i-miho-oro*	*i-miho-nnu*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-miho*	*nee-miho-oro*	*nee-miho-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-miho*	*noni-miho-oro*	*noni-miho-nnu*
2sg 'your'	*ro-miho*	*ro-miho-oro*	*ro-miho-nnu*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-miho*	*ree-miho-oro*	*ree-miho-nnu*
3sg 'his/her'	*po-miho*	*po-miho-oro*	*po-miho-nnu*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-miho*	*pee-miho-oro*	*pee-miho-nnu*

(A11) /-na/ 'W'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*i-na*	*i-na-ngu-uruko*	*i-na-ngu-uri'*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-na*	*nee-na-ngu-uruko*	*nee-na-ngu-uri'*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-na*	*noni-na-ngu-uruko*	*noni-na-ngu-uri'*
2sg 'your'	*ra-na*	*ra-na-ngu-uruko*	*ra-na-ngu-uri'*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-na*	*ree-na-ngu-uruko*	*ree-na-ngu-uri'*
3sg 'his/her'	*pa-na*	*pa-na-ngu-uruko*	*pa-na-ngu-uri'*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-na*	*pee-na-ngu-uruko*	*pee-na-ngu-uri'*

(A12) /-N/ 'H'

	sg	nonsg
1sg 'my'	*i-ng*	*i-ng-ngang*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-ng*	*nee-ng-ngang*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-ng*	*noni-ng-ngang*
our'	*ro-ng*	*ro-ng-ngang*
sg 'your'	*ree-ng*	*ree-ng-ngang*
sg 'his/her'	*po-ng*	*po-ng-ngang*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-ng*	*pee-ng-ngang*

(A13) /-omaH/ ~ /-maH/ 'wBW, HZ'

	sg	nonsg
1sg 'my'	*po-omah*	*po-omasi-ng*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-mah*	*nee-masi-ng*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-mah*	*noni-masi-ng*
2sg 'your'	*ro-omah*	*ro-omasi-ng*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-mah*	*ree-masi-ng*
3sg 'his/her'	*pamasi*	*pamasi-ng*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-mah*	*pee-masi-ng*

(A14) /-owoi/ ~ /-woi/ 'mZH, WB'

	sg	nonsg
1sg 'my'	*po-owoi*	*po-owoi-ka*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-woi*	*nee-woi-ka*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-woi*	*noni-woi-ka*
2sg 'your'	*ro-owoi*	*ro-owoi-ka*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-woi*	*ree-woi-ka*
3sg 'his/her'	*po-owoi*	*po-owoi-ka*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-woi*	*pee-woi-ka*

(A15) /teeti ~ tiiti/ (1sg.POSS) ~ /-(ti-)ti/ 'MM'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*teeti/tiiti*	*teeti-/tiiti-iruko*	*teeti-/tiiti-iri'*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-ti-ti*	*nee-ti-ti-iruko*	*nee-ti-ti-iri'*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-ti-ti*	*noni-ti-ti-iruko*	*noni-ti-ti-iri'*
2sg 'your'	*re-eti*	*re-e(ti-)ti-iruko*	*re-e(ti-)ti-iri'*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-ti-ti*	*ree-(ti-)ti-iruko*	*ree-(ti-)ti-iri'*
3sg 'his/her'	*pe-eti*	*pe-e(ti-)ti-iruko*	*pe-e(ti-)ti-iri'*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-ti-ti*	*pee-(ti-)ti-iruko*	*pee-(ti-)ti-iri'*

(A16) /aajaa/ (1sg.POSS) ~ /-kaio/ 'MF'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*aajaa*	*aajaa-karo*	*aajaa-nnu*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-kaio*	*nee-kaio-oro*	*nee-kaio-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-kaio*	*noni-kaio-oro*	*noni-kaio-nnu*
2sg 'your'	*ra-kaio*	*ra-kaio-oro*	*ra-kaio-nnu*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-kaio*	*ree-kaio-oro*	*ree-kaio-nnu*
3sg 'his/her'	*pa-kaio*	*pa-kaio-oro*	*pa-kaio-nnu*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-kaio*	*pee-kaio-oro*	*pee-kaio-nnu*

(A17) /-opi/ ~ /-pi/ 'DCh'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*nupi*	*nupi-ngo*	*nupi-ng*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-pi*	*nee-pi-ngo*	*nee-pi-ng*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-pi*	*noni-pi-ngo*	*noni-pi-ng*
2sg 'your'	*ro-opi*	*ro-opi-ngo*	*ro-opi-ng*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-pi*	*ree-pi-ngo*	*ree-pi-ng*
3sg 'his/her'	*po-opi*	*po-opi-ngo*	*po-opi-ng*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-pi*	*pee-pi-ngo*	*pee-pi-ng*

(A18) /eejee/ (1sg.POSS) ~ /-ojee/ ~ /-jee/ 'wB, mZ'

Feminine (mZ):

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*eejee*	*eejee-karo*	*eejee-naa/-ngung*
		eejee-no-oruko	*eejee-no-ori'*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-jee-na*	*nee-jee-no-oruko*	*nee-jee-no-ori'*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-jee-na*	*noni-jee-no-oruko*	*noni-jee-no-ori'*
2sg 'your'	*ro-ojee-na*	*ro-ojee-no-oruko*	*ro-ojee-no-ori'*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-jee-na*	*ree-jee-no-oruko*	*ree-jee-no-ori'*
3sg 'his/her'	*po-ojee-na*	*po-ojee-no-oruko*	*po-ojee-no-ori'*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-jee-na*	*pee-jee-no-oruko*	*pee-jee-no-ori'*

Masculine (wB):

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*eejee*	*eejee-karo*	*eejee-naa/-ngung*
		eejee-no-ngngo	*eejee-no-nnu*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-jee-ng*	*nee-jee-no-ngngo*	*nee-jee-no-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-jee-ng*	*noni-jee-no-ngngo*	*noni-jee-no-nnu*
2sg 'your'	*ro-ojee-ng*	*ro-ojee-no-ngngo*	*ro-ojee-no-nnu*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-jee-ng*	*ree-jee-no-ngngo*	*ree-jee-no-nnu*
3sg 'his/her'	*po-ojee-ng*	*poo-jee-no-ngngo*	*po-ojee-no-nnu*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-jee-ng*	*pee-jee-no-ngngo*	*pee-jee-no-nnu*

(A19) /maamaa/ (1sg.POSS) ~ /-mamo/ 'eZ, ·WeZ, FM'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*maamaa*	*maamaa-karo*	*maamaa-naa/-ngung*
		maamaa-no-oruko	*maamaa-no-ori'*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-mamo*	*nee-mamo-oruko*	*nee-mamo-ori'*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-mamo*	*noni-mamo-oruko*	*noni-mamo-ori'*
2sg 'your'	*ra-mamo*	*ra-mamo-oruko*	*ra-mamo-ori'*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-mamo*	*ree-mamo-oruko*	*ree-mamo-ori'*
3sg 'his/her'	*pa-mamo*	*pa-mamo-oruko*	*pa-mamo-ori'*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-mamo*	*pee-mamo-oruko*	*pee-mamo-ori'*

(A20) /taataa/ (1sg.POSS) ~ /-rato/ 'eB, ·HeB, FF'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*taataa*	*taataa-karo*	*taataa-naa/-ngung*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-rato*	*nee-rato-oro*	*nee-rato-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-rato*	*noni-rato-oro*	*noni-rato-nnu*
2sg 'your'	*ra-rato*	*ra-rato-oro*	*ra-rato-nnu*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-rato*	*ree-rato-oro*	*ree-rato-nnu*
3sg 'his/her'	*pa-rato*	*pa-rato-oro*	*pa-rato-nnu*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-rato*	*pee-rato-oro*	*pee-rato-nnu*

(A21) /-arama-na/ ~ /-rama-na/ 'yZ, ·WyZ, SD'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*narama-na*	*naramo-no-oruko*	*naramo-no-ori'*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-rama-na*	*nee-ramo-no-oruko*	*nee-ramo-no-ori'*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-rama-na*	*noni-ramo-no-oruko*	*noni-ramo-no-ori'*
2sg 'your'	*ra-arama-na*	*ra-aramo-no-oruko*	*ra-aramo-no-ori'*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-rama-na*	*ree-ramo-no-oruko*	*ree-ramo-no-ori'*
3sg 'his/her'	*pa-arama-na*	*pa-aramo-no-oruko*	*pa-aramo-no-ori'*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-rama-na*	*pee-ramo-no-oruko*	*pee-ramo-no-ori'*

(A22) /-aromo-N/ ~ /-ramo-N/ 'yB, HyB, SS'

	sg	dl	pcl
1sg 'my'	*naramo-ng*	*naramo-no-ngngo*	*n-aramo-nnu*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-ramo-ng*	*nee-ramo-no-ngngo*	*nee-ramo-no-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-ramo-ng*	*noni-ramo-no-ngngo*	*noni-ramo-no-nnu*
2sg 'your'	*ra-aromo-ng*	*ra-aromo-no-ngngo*	*ra-aromo-no-nnu*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-ramo-ng*	*ree-ramo-no-ngngo*	*ree-ramo-no-nnu*
3sg 'his/her'	*pa-aromo-ng*	*pa-aromo-no-ngngo*	*pa-aromo-no-nnu*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-ramo-ng*	*pee-ramo-no-ngngo*	*pee-ramo-no-nnu*

(A23) /-moQ/ 'any relative from the same clan'

	sg	nonsg
1sg 'my'	*i-mo'*	*i-moro*
1nonsg.inc 'our'	*nee-mo'*	*nee-moro*
1nonsg.exc 'our'	*noni-mo'*	*noni-moro*
2sg 'your'	*ro-mo'*	*ro-moro*
2nonsg 'your'	*ree-mo'*	*ree-moro*
3sg 'his/her'	*po-mo'*	*po-moro*
3nonsg 'their'	*pee-mo'*	*pee-moro*

4.4.4.2 Dyadic Kinship Terms

4.4.4.2.1 Overview of Morphological Structure

Dyadic kinship terms consist of:

1) bound personal pronouns, the linker /-no-/, and dyadic kinship roots, or
2) the bound forms of the article, the demonstrative, or the numeral 'one', and dyadic kinship roots (the linker /-no-/ may intervene).

Semantically, they collectively refer to two or more members who are in certain kin relations; thus they are always nonsingular. Most of them are marked by dual or paucal/plural number suffixes or inflections, but some dual forms are unmarked.

Diagram 4-9a Morphological Structure of Dyadic Kinship Terms (a)

Bound Pronoun – -no- – Kinship Root — (Number Morpheme)

The forms of bound pronouns are given in Table 4-7. Only nonsingular forms can be used with dyadic kinship roots. Examples:

the kinship root 'mother and child' has two forms /-ku/ (in dual number) ~ /-oku/ (in paucal/plural number) (B1):

4-120a /nee-/ 'we (inc)' + /-no-/ + /-ku/ 'mother and child' –>
nee-no-ku 'we (inc.dl) mother and child'

b /nee-/ 'we (inc)' + /-no-/ + /-oku/ 'mother and child' + /-ru/ 'pcl' –>
nee-no-oku-ru 'we (inc.pcl) mother(s) and child(ren)'

the kinship root 'father and child' /-ka/ (B2):

4-121a /ree-/ 'you (nonsg)' + /-no-/ + /-ka/ 'father and child' –>
ree-na-ka 'you father and child'

b /ree-/ 'you (nonsg)' + /-no-/ + /-ka/ 'father and child' + /-nnu/ 'pcl' –>
ree-na-ka-nnu 'you (pcl) father(s) (and mother) and child(ren)'[23]

the kinship root 'father's sister and her brother's child' /-apu/ (B3):

4-122a /noni-/ 'we (exc)' + /-no-/ + /-apu/ 'father's sister and her brother's child' + /-ro/ 'dl' –>
noni-n-apu-ro 'we (exc.dl) father's sister and her brother's child'

b /noni-/ 'we (exc)' + /-no-/ + /-apu/ 'father's sister(s) and her/their brother's child(ren)' –>
noni-n-apu 'we (exc.pcl) father's sister(s) and her/their brother's child(ren)'

Note that the vowel /o/ of the linker /-no-/ is assimilated to /a/ in the root /-ka/ 'father and child' in 4-121, and is dropped before the root /-apu/ 'father's sister and her brother's child' in 4-122.

Diagram 4-9b Morphological Structure of Dyadic Kinship Terms (b)

{Bound Article / Bound Demonstrative / Bound Numeral 'One'} — (-no-) — Kinship Root — (Number Morpheme)

Some kinship roots are directly combined with preceding bound morphemes, while

[23] The paucal/plural form may also include 'mother'.

others need the linker /-no-/.

The underlying bound forms of the article, demonstrative and numeral 'one' are:

Table 4-10 Underlying Bound Forms of Article, Demonstrative and Numeral 'One'

article	ti-
demonstrative	o-
numeral 'one'	no-

Note the following morphophonemic change:

Rule 4-4 Dissimilation of Bound Numeral 'One' /no-/

The bound numeral 'one' /no-/ is realised as *mo-* before a kinship root with an initial /n/ or the linker /-no-/.

no- (numeral 'one') –> mo- / _ - n (kinship root, linker)

Examples:

with /-ku/ 'mother and child' (B1):

4-123a *ti-no-ku* 'those mother and child'
b *o-no-ku* 'these/those mother and child'
c *mo-no-ku* 'a mother and her child'

with /-maH/ 'sisters-in-law' (B5):

4-124a *ti-mah-ro* 'those sisters-in-law (dl)'
b *a-mah-ro* 'these/those sisters-in-law (dl)'
c *na-mah-ro* '(a pair of) sisters-in-law (dl)'

with /-iso/ 'grandparent and grand child' (B7):

4-125a *ti-no-iso* 'those grandparent and grandchild (dl)'
b *o-isɔ* 'these/those grandparent and grandchild (dl)'
c *mɔ-no-iso* 'a grandparent and his/her grandchild (dl)'

4.4.4.2.2 Number Markings

Number is marked in one of the following ways:

(1) dual root
pcl root + *-nnu*

with /-ka/ 'father and child' (B2):

4-126a *noni-na-ka* 'we (exc) father and child'
noni-na-ka-nnu 'we (exc) father(s) and child(ren) (pcl)'
b *a-na-ka* 'these/those father and child'
a-na-ka-nnu 'these/those father(s) (and mother) and child(ren) (pcl)'

with /-iso/ 'grandparent and grandchild' (B7):

4-127a *ti-no-iso* 'those grandparent and grandchild'
b *ti-no-iso-nnu* 'those grandparent(s) and grandchild(ren) (pcl)'

with /-Nngo/ 'brothers' (B9):[24]

4-128a *o-ngngo* 'these/those two brothers'
b *o-ngngo-nnu* 'these/those more than two brothers'

(2) dual root
pcl root + pcl suffix *-ru*

with /-ku/ (dl) ~ /-oku/ (pcl) 'mother and child' (B1):

4-129a *nee-no-ku* 'we (inc) mother and child'
nee-no-oku-ru 'we (inc) mother(s) and child(ren) (pcl)'
b *ti-no-ku* 'those mother and child'
ti-no-oku-ru 'those mother(s) and child(ren) (pcl)'

(3) dual root + dual suffix *-ro*
pcl root + pcl suffix *-ng*

with /-maH/ 'sisters-in-law' (B5):

4-130a *nee-na-mah-ro* 'we two (inc) sisters-in-law'
nee-na-masi-ng 'we more than two (inc) sisters-in-law' (cf. Rule 2-10c)

[24] The root /-ngngo/ is absent before the pcl number suffix /-nnu/ except when it is preceded by the bound demonstrative (as in 4-128b). cf. (B9) in Table 4-11.

	b	*ti-mah-ro*	'those two sisters-in-law'
		ti-masi-ng	'those more than two sisters-in-law'

(4) dual root + dual suffix *-ro*
pcl root

with /-apu(-ro)/ 'father's sister and her brother's child' (B3):

4-131	*ree-n-apu-ro*	'you father's sister and her brother's child'
	ree-n-apu	'you father's sister(s) and her brother's child(ren) (pcl)'

(5) Inflection of the root

'sisters/sister(s)-brother(s)' /-Vruko/ (dl) ~ /-VriQ/ (pcl) (B8):

4-132a	*pee-no-oruko*	'they two sisters/sister and brother'
	pee-no-ori'	'they sisters/sister(s) and brother(s) (pcl)'
b	*o-no-oruko*	'these two sisters/sister and brother'
	o-no-ori'	'these sisters/sister(s) and brother(s) (pcl)'

(6) dual root + dual suffix
pcl root + dual suffix + paucal/plural suffix *-naa/-ngung*:[25]

with /-iro-ko/ 'husband and wife (dl)' (B4):

4-133	*pee-no-iro-ko*	'they husband and wife'
	?pee-no-iro-ko-naa	'they husband(s) and wife(s) (pc)'
	?pee-no-iro-ko-ngung	'they husband(s) and wife(s) (pl)'

with /-mi-ro/ 'brothers-in-law (dl)' (B6):

4-134	*?mo-no-mi-ro*	'two brothers-in-law'
	?mo-no-mi-ro-naa	'brothers-in-law (pc)'
	?mo-no-mi-ro-ngung	'brothers-in-law (pl)'

4.4.4.2.3 Paradigms of Dyadic Kinship Terms

In the following diagrams, the rows refer to the number of all the members in the relationship referred to by the kinship terms, and the columns refer to the bound

[25] According to one of my main informants, the interpretation of paucal/plural number is ambiguous. They could mean either the total number of members involved in the relationship, or the total number of pairs in the relationship. According to the other informant the following forms are not acceptable.

morphemes attached to the roots. (Forms with ? are accepted by only one of my informants.)

Table 4-11 Paradigms of Dyadic Kinship Terms

(B1) /-ku/ ~ /-oku/ 'M + wCh, MZ + wZCh, etc.'

	dl	pcl
ART	*ti-no-ku*	*ti-no-oku-ru*
DEM	*o-no-ku*	*o-no-oku-ru*
INDEF	*mo-no-ku*	*mo-no-oku-ru*
1nonsg.inc 'we'	*nee-no-ku*	*nee-no-oku-ru*
1nonsg.exc 'we'	*noni-no-ku*	*noni-no-oku-ru*
2nonsg 'you'	*ree-no-ku*	*ree-no-oku-ru*
3nonsg 'they'	*pee-no-ku*	*pee-no-oku-ru*

(B2) /-ka/ 'F + (M +) mCh, FB + mBCh, etc.'

	dl	pcl
ART	*ti-na-ka*	*ti-na-ka-nnu*
DEM	*a-na-ka*	*a-na-ka-nnu*
INDEF	*mo-no-ka*	*mo-no-ka-nnu*
1nonsg.inc 'we'	*nee-na-ka*	*nee-na-ka-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'we'	*noni-na-ka*	*noni-na-ka-nnu*
2nonsg 'you'	*ree-na-ka*	*ree-na-ka-nnu*
3nonsg 'they'	*pee-na-ka*	*pee-na-ka-nnu*

(B3) /-pu(-ro)/ 'FZ + wBCh, MBW + HZCh, etc.'

	dl	pcl
ART	*ti-na-pu-ro*	*ti-na-pu*
DEM	*a-na-pu-ro*	*a-na-pu*
INDEF	*ma-na-pu-ro*	*ma-na-pu*
1nonsg.inc 'we'	*nee-na-pu-ro*	*nee-na-pu*
1nonsg.exc 'we'	*noni-na-pu-ro*	*noni-na-pu*
2nonsg 'you'	*ree-na-pu-ro*	*ree-na-pu*
3nonsg 'they'	*pee-na-pu-ro*	*pee-na-pu*

(B4) /-iro-ko/ 'W + H'

	dl	pcl
ART	*ti-no-iro-ko*	*?ti-no-iro-ko-naa/-ngung*
DEM	*o-iro-ko/ jii-ko*[26]	*?o-iro-ko-naa/-ngung*
INDEF	*mo-no-iro-ko*	*?mo-no-iro-ko-naa/-ngung*
1nonsg.inc 'we'	*nee-no-iro-ko*	*?nee-no-iro-ko-naa/-ngung*
1nonsg.exc 'we'	*noni-no-iro-ko*	*?noni-no-iro-ko-naa/-ngung*
2nonsg 'you'	*ree-no-iro-ko*	*?ree-no-iro-ko-naa/-ngung*
3nonsg 'they'	*pee-no-iro-ko*	*?pee-no-iro-ko-naa/-ngung*

(B5) /-maH/ 'wBW + ʔHZ'

	dl	pcl
ART	*ti-mah-ro*	*ti-masi-ng*
DEM	*a-mah-ro*	*a-masi-ng*
INDEF	*na-mah-ro*	*na-masi-ng*
1nonsg.inc 'we'	*nee-na-mah-ro*	*nee-na-masi-ng*
1nonsg.exc 'we'	*noni-na-mah-ro*	*noni-na-masi-ng*
2nonsg 'you'	*ree-na-mah-ro*	*ree-na-masi-ng*
3nonsg 'they'	*pee-na-mah-ro*	*pee-na-masi-ng*

(B6) /-mi-ro/ 'mZH + WB'

	dl	pcl
ART	*ti-mi-ro*	*ti-mi-ro-nnu*
DEM	*o-mi-ro*	*o-mi-ro-nnu*
INDEF	*?mo-no-mi-ro*	*?mo-no-mi-ro-naa/-ngung*
1nonsg.inc 'we'	*?nee-no-mi-ro*	*?nee-no-mi-ro-naa/-ngung*
1nonsg.exc 'we'	*?noni-no-mi-ro*	*?noni-no-mi-ro-naa/-ngung*
2nonsg 'you'	*?ree-no-mi-ro*	*?ree-no-mi-ro-naa/-ngung*
3nonsg 'they'	*?pee-no-mi-ro*	*?pee-no-mi-ro-naa/-ngung*

(B7) /-iso/ 'MM + DCh, MF + DCh'

	dl	pcl
ART	*ti-no-iso*	*ti-no-iso-nnu*
DEM	*o-iso*	*o-iso-nnu*
INDEF	*mo-no-iso*	*mo-no-iso-nnu*
1nonsg.inc 'we'	*nee-no-iso*	*nee-no-iso-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'we'	*noni-no-iso*	*noni-no-iso-nnu*
2nonsg 'you'	*ree-no-iso*	*ree-no-iso-nnu*
3nonsg 'they'	*pee-no-iso*	*pee-no-iso-nnu*

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[26] Used only when it is preceded by a proper name which refers to either the husband or the wife.

(B8) /-Vruko/ ~ /-VriQ/ 'eZ + yZ, wB + mZ, wMMB + mZSS'

	dl	pcl
ART	*ti-no-oruko*	*ti-no-ori'*
DEM	*o-no-oruko*	*o-no-ori'*
INDEF	*mo-no-oruko*	*mo-no-ori'*
1nonsg.inc 'we'	*nee-no-oruko*	*nee-no-ori'*
1nonsg.exc 'we'	*noni-no-oruko*	*noni-no-ori'*
2nonsg 'you'	*ree-no-oruko*	*ree-no-ori'*
3nonsg 'they'	*pee-no-oruko*	*pee-no-ori'*

(B9) /-Nngo/ (~ /-Nnu/) 'eB + yB, mMMB + mZDS'

	dl	pcl
ART	*ti-no-ngngo*	*ti-no-nnu*
DEM	*o-ngngo*	*o-ngngo-nnu*
INDEF	*mo-no-ngngo*	*mo-no-nnu*
1nonsg.inc 'we'	*nee-no-ngngo*	*nee-no-nnu*
1nonsg.exc 'we'	*noni-no-ngngo*	*noni-no-nnu*
2nonsg 'you'	*ree-no-ngngo*	*ree-no-nnu*
3nonsg 'they'	*pee-no-ngngo*	*pee-no-nnu*

4.4.4.2.4 Dyadic Kinship Roots as Modifiers of Verbs

Dyadic kinship roots can function as modifiers of verbs in both non-medial and medial verbal clauses. In the examples in my corpus, the persons in the kin relations indicated by such roots correspond to the S arguments of the verbs they modify.

Dyadic kinship roots as modifiers occupy the final slots of the verbs. They are attached to TAM (and switch-reference) suffixes via the linker /-no-/. Gender markings may be present (as in 4-135) or be replaced by them (as in 4-136).

An example with a fully inflected non-medial verb (a dual-paucal gender marking is present on the verb):

4-135 *Maasa* *taa=taaro-woi-juu*
'male.name' REDUP=listen-MID.3S-CONT.DS
koro=kor-opih=nutee-na-ka.
[REDUP=speak-1S.dl.PRESPROG.DP]-LINK-father.and.child
'While Maasa is listening, we two, in the relationship of father and child.[27] are speaking (to each other).' (XXXV-167)

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[27] The speaker and the addressee are not in the actual "father and child" relationship; the addressee is a remotely related *paapaa* 'mother's brother' to the speaker.

An example in the Pouko dialect, with a fully inflected non-medial verb (no gender marking on the verb):

4-136 ... *hoo* *tuu* *ponnaa* *tuh-ee-n-ti-ko-no-ku.*
ART.M water plenty [be-APPL-1S-dl-PRES]-LINK-mother.and.child
'... we two, mother and child, have plenty of water.' (XXVI-45)

Examples in the Pouko dialect with medial verbs:

4-137 *muuko-o-ro* *tu-h* *tu-h*
give.birth.to-3O.3A-PERF.SS be.3S-dl.CONT.SS be.3S-dl.CONT.SS
tu-h *tu-h-no-ku*
be.3S-dl.CONT.SS [be.3S-dl.CONT.SS]-LINK-mother.and.child
tu-h-no-ku
[be.3S-dl.CONT.SS]-LINK-mother.and.child
hoo *haha'w-ee-ti-mo-no-ku*
[[ART.M work]-MID.3S-dl-GEN.SS]-LINK-mother.and.child
hoo *haha'w-ee-ti-mo-no-ku*
[[ART.M work]-MID.3S-dl-GEN.SS]-LINK-mother.and.child
pee-kee *po-keenari* *ina'-mo*
3nonsg-REFL 3sg-REFL look.after.3O.3A-GEN.SS
hoo-nno *po-ong.*
ART.M-COMIT her-son
'After she gave birth to him, both of them, mother and son, lived for a long time, and while they, mother and son, were engaged in that kind of work (=gardening) by themselves, the mother herself looked after her son.' (XXVI-4)

Note that in 4-137 the article *hoo* is incorporated in the middle verb stem *haha'w-* 'to work'.

4.4.5 Nouns of Address

Nouns of address are always unmarked for case, and are without any modifiers. They either constitute single utterances, introduce utterances, or are inserted in utterances.

I have found only three nouns of address (*akai*, *kai* and *woi*) in my corpus, and one (*okii*) from elicitation.

According to my informants, *akai* and *kai* were traditionally used to address men, and *okii* to address women (in either case, the sex of the addresser was irrelevant). However, *kai* seems to be used more generally nowadays. In daily conversation I often observed that it is used by female speakers to address females, in place of *okii*.

The noun *woi* 'friend, oh my' is used to address both men and women. It is often used to address oneself (as in 4-140). This is the same form as the non-reciprocal kinship root '(man-speaking) brother-in-law' (cf. (14) in Tables 4-5 and 4-8).

4-138 *akai, hoo hia taaro-i-ko-ng?*
friend ART.M thing hear-3O.2A-PRES-M
'Friend, do you hear the thing (=noise)?' (XXIII-42)

4-139 *toku, kai, muukowo-ning konn-i-heeto-ng.*
not boy different.way-towards behave-2S-FUT-M
'Boy, you will not behave differently.' (XXI-17)

4-140 *woi, ong-ko o-wori hingh-u-ro-ng.*
oh.my DEM.M-EMPH DEM-CL.animate decay-3S-PERF-M
'Oh my, this one has (already) been decayed.' (VIII-21)

4.5 CASE MARKINGS ON NOUNS

As already mentioned in Ch 3, the grammatical functions of NPs are indicated by case suffixes attached to the article or the demonstrative. However, if NPs are without determiner, case suffixes are attached to the last attributes, or if there are no attributes, directly to the head nouns. In some cases, head nouns and/or attributes may be marked by them redundantly.

Seven cases, including absolutive case which is unmarked, are distinguished in Motuna. All the case suffixes, mentioned in §3.2.2, are summarised below (the forms in the brackets occur only with pronouns, the article, and the demonstrative, cf. Chs 5 and 6):

Table 4-12 Forms of Case Suffixes

Case	Underlying forms	Surface forms
Absolutive case	ø	*-ø*
Ergative case	-ki	*-ki ~ -ngi ~ i*
Comitative case	-Nno	*-nno*
Purposive case	-ko	*-ko ~ -ngo (~ jo)*
Locative case	-kori	*-kori ~ -ngori (~ jori)*
Ablative case	-kitee	*-kitee ~ -ngitee ~ -itee*
Similative case	-nowo	*-nowo*

As mentioned in §3.2.2, nouns in local gender cannot take the comitative, locative, and similative case suffixes, and those in manner gender can be used only in absolutive case.

The nasal allophones of the ergative, purposive, locative and ablative case suffixes are likely to occur when they are preceded by a morpheme which contains a nasal, a high vowel, and/or a back vowel. cf. Rule 4-1 in §4.2.2. In addition, the ergative suffix is realised as *i* or fused with the preceding morphemes in the following morphophonemic environments:

Rule 4-5 Realisation of Ergative Suffix

(a)	-ki (ergative case) –> -i / ngu - _
(b)	-Co (nonsingular suffix) + -ki (ergative) –> -Cee

Examples:

4-141 /hongoponongu/ 'adults/elder people' + /-ki/ 'ERG' –> *hongoponongu-i*
(due to Rule 4-5a)

4-142a /nommai/ 'person' + /-karo/ 'dl' + /-ki/ 'ERG' –> *nommai-ngaree*
b /nuQki/ 'my child' + / no/ 'dl' + /-ki/ 'ERG' –> *nu'ki-nee*
(due to Rule 4-5b)

These changes occur extensively when the ergative suffix is employed in numeral classifier constructions. See examples in §8.2.2.6 - §8.2.2.7.

Before the comitative case suffix /-Nno/, the morphemes which end with C_2 (/H/, /Q/ and /N/) are articulated to *-si*, *-tu* and *-nu* respectively. cf. Rule 2-10 in §2.7.3.

The paradigms of case markings on nouns are given in the next page. I have chosen nouns of different phonological shapes, so that they cover all the possible morphophonemic variations.

Table 4-13a Paradigms of Nouns in Non-local Genders (a)

Gloss	'woman' (F)	'pig' (M/F)	'enemy' (M/F)
Absolutive	*kuraisa*	*huuru*	*koringono*
Ergative	*kuraisa-ki/-ngi*	*huuru-ki/-ngi*	*koringono-ki/-ngi*
Comitative	*kuraisa-nno*	*huuru-nno*	*koringono-nno*
Purposive	*kuraisa-ko*	*huuru-ko*	*koringono-ko*
Locative	*kuraisa-kori*	*huuru-kori*	*koringono-kori*
Ablative	*kuraisa-kitee/-ngitee*	*huuru-kitee/-ngitee*	*koringono-kitee/-ngitee*
Similative	*kuraisa-nowo*	*huuru-nowo*	*koringono-nowo*

Table 4-13b Paradigms of Nouns in Non-local Genders (b)

Gloss	'female name' (F)	'my relative' (M/F)	'man' (M)
Absolutive	*Aanih*	*imo'*	*nungamong*
Ergative	*Aanih-ki*	*imo'-ki*	*nungamong-ngi*
Comitative	*Aanisi-nno*	*imotu-nno*	*nungamonu-nno*
Purposive	*Aanih-ko*	*imo'-ko*	*nungamong-ngo*
Locative	*Aanih-kori*	*imo'-kori*	*nungamong-ngori*
Ablative	*Aanih-kitee*	*imo'-kitee*	*nungamong-ngitee*
Similative	*Aanih-nowo*	*imo'-nowo*	*nungamon-nowo*

Table 4-13c Paradigms of Nouns in Non-local Genders (c)

Gloss	'adults' (DP/M)	'my two children' (DP)
Absolutive	*hongoponongu*	*nu'ki-no*
Ergative	*hongoponongu-i*	*nu'ki-nee*
Comitative	*hongoponongu-nno*	*nu'ki-no-nno*
Purposive	*hongoponongu-ngo*	*nu'ki-no-ngo*
Locative	*hongoponongu-ngori*	*nu'ki-no-ngori*
Ablative	*hongoponongu-ngitee*	*nu'ki-no-ngitee*
Similative	*hongoponongu-nowo*	*nu'ki-no-nowo*

Table 4-14 Paradigms of Nouns in Local Gender

Gloss	'home/village'	'house'	'river'
Absolutive	*uri*	*howo-no*	*tuu-ngori/-kori*
Ergative	*uri-ngi*	*howo-no-ki*	*tuu-ngori/-kori-ki*
Comitative	–	–	–
Purposive	*uri-ngo*	*howo-no-ko*	*tuu-ngori/-kori-ko*
Locative	–	–	–
Ablative	*uri-ngitee*	*howo-no-kitee*	*tuu-ngori/-kori-kitee*
Similative	–	–	–

As for the derived local nouns *howo-no* and *tuu-ngori*, see §4.6.1.

4.6 DERIVED NOUNS

4.6.1 Local Nouns Derived by /-kori/ and /-no/

Motuna has two suffixes, /-kori/ and /-no/, which derive nouns in local gender. The suffix /-kori/ is attached to nouns in non-local gender including verbal nouns, and to classifier constructions. The suffix /-no/ can be attached to non-local nouns, adjectives, participles, and 'number one' numeral classifiers.

Note that the derivational suffix /-kori/ is homonymous with the locative case suffix (cf. §3.2.5), while the derivational suffix /-no/ is homonymous with the local gender suffix (cf. §4.2.1).[28]

In general, nouns with the suffix /-kori/ refer to particular places or parts of something/someone, while nouns with the suffix /-no/ refer to general spatial or temporal entities.

Some non-local nouns can take either /-no/ or /-kori/:

4-143a *ti-ki* *howo-no* *tu-ro-ng.*
ART.L-ERG house-L be.3S-PERF-M
'He is at home.'

b *ti-ki* *howo-kori* *tu-ro-ng.*
ART.L-ERG house-L be.3S-PERF-M
'He is in the house.'

[28] Headless possessive constructions (cf. §11.2.3.3) and relative clauses (cf. §17.3.1.5) marked by the gender suffix /-no/ are formally similar to the derived nouns in local gender with /-no/ ending discussed below. They are distinguished from each other on the ground that while the heads of headless constructions are recoverable from the context, derived local nouns always stand by themselves.

The non-local noun *howo* 'house' with the suffix *-no* in 4-143a denotes 'home' in a general sense, while *howo* with the suffix *-kori* in 4-143b refers to a particular house as a place. The original noun *howo* in masculine gender refers to a house as an object.

Other local nouns derived by the suffix /-kori/ which denote particular places:[29]

4-144a *tuu-ngori/-kori* 'river' < *tuu* 'water'
hiisia-kori, hiihmaa-kori 'beach' < *hiisia, hiihmaa* 'sand'
sikuulu-kori '(particular) school' < *sikuulu* 'school (in general), education'

The original noun may take attributes:

4-145b *hausiik honna-ngori* '(particular) big hospital'
< a noun with an attribute *hausiik honna* 'big hospital'

Some derived nouns denote parts of the entities referred to by the original non-local nouns, e.g.:

4-146 *hiru-ngori/-kori* '(particular) sea' < *hiru* 'ocean'
huki-ngori/-kori '(part of) buttocks' < *huki* 'buttocks'
Koimeke-kori '(bodypart of) Koimeke' < *Koimeke* 'a female name'
ti-raku-kori '(part of) that river'
< the article classifier construction *ti-raku* 'that river'
tuu honna-no-ita-kori '(part of) half (= tributary) of a big river'
< the classifier construction incorporating a noun with an attribute
tuu honna-no-ita 'half of a big river'

Verbal nouns can also take /-kori/. cf. §16.2.

Examples of local nouns with the suffix /-no/, which denote general spatial or temporal concepts:

4-147 *howo-no* 'home/village' < the common noun *howo* 'house' (M)
u'wah-no 'bottom part' < the common noun *u'wah* 'base' (M)
kitori-no 'childhood' < the common noun *kitori* 'child' (M/F)
pehkita-no 'childhood, (in) small pieces' < the adjective *pehkita* 'small'
honna-no '(in) big pieces' < the adjective *honna* 'big'

[29] Its allmorph *-ngori* may occur before a nasal, high vowel and/or a back vowel. See §4.5 and §4.2.1.1.

tu'n-ah-no 'beginning' < the participle *tu'n-ah* 'already begun'
motuk-ah-no 'small piece of land/island' < the participle *motuk-ah* 'spared'

4-148 *tiko ti-kitee pehkita-no nii manni hoo sikuulu haa-wah.*
and ART.L-ABL small-L I certainly ART.M school like-PART
'And from childhood I certainly liked the school.' (XXX-58)

4-149 *tiko ti-ki uri-ngi tu'=tu'n-ah-no-ki roki hoo*
then ART-ERG village-ERG REDUP=begin-PART-L-ERG just ART.M
ee=bii=sii tang-a-mo-ng ore ngo-o-ng-hee
$_{REL}$[ABC call-3O.3pcl.A-GEN-M] well do-3O.1A-pcl-DEFFUT
umi-ki-ng ...
go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-M
'Then, in the village, at the very beginning, we used to go just to study [lit. to do] what people call ABC, ...' (VI-11)

The local noun *tu'=tu'n-ah* in 4-149 derives from the reduplicated form of the participle *tu'n-ah*.

Nouns derived from 'number one' numeral classifiers (cf. §8.2.2.1.2) express the meaning 'one by one':

4-150 *tiko impa hoo-jori monare no-roo'-no nau=nauk-arei ...*
and then ART.M-LOC road one-CL.stick-L REDUP=lay.down-VN
'And then we should lay the sticks down on the road one by one ...' (I-19)

4-151 *impa hoo ong koho munu manni no-'ra-no*
now ART.M DEM.M down body then one-CL.small.amount-L
toki=tokis-u-mo o-o-ko-ng.
REDUP=cut-3O.3A-GEN.SS give.to-3O.3A-PRES-M
'Now he cuts the lower part of the body little by little and gives it (piece by piece) to him.' (XII-31)

Verbal nouns with /-no/ can function as a Complement of the verb *kuuk-* 'to manage' in middle voice. cf. §14.3.1.2 and §16.2.

4.6.2 Reduplicated Nouns

Nouns can be derived from verb stems by the reduplication of the first two moras (cf. §2.4.2).[30]

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[30] Reduplications of whole verb forms, on the other hand, function as inflectional morphemes, denoting plural activities or continuous states. cf. §15.6.1.

Reduplicated nouns derived from dynamic verbs denote activities which:

(1) a group of actors do (collective activities, as in 4-152)
(2) people do to each other or to one another (reciprocal activities, as in 4-153b),
(3) the same actor(s) repeat (repeated activities, as in 4-154), or
(4) different actors do (distributional activities, as in 4-155).

Examples:

4-152 *ehkong* *ono=ono* *noi* *onoh-a-a-ng*
now REDUP=decide a decide-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
hoo *Maawo* *puu-woota-wa-hee.*
ART.M 'male.name' die-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT
'Now they made a decision of killing Maavo.' (I-18)

In 4-152, *onoh-* 'to decide/plan' is a verb stem, while the reduplicated *ono=ono* is a noun, expressing a collective decision.

4-153a *jeewo?* *ni-ngi* *noo* *taapu-r-ong-kuu-ng?*
how I-ERG possibly help-2O.1pcl.A-IMAG-M
'How? Could I possibly help you?' (XIV-26)

b *...ti-ki* *hoo* *peeko-ng* *taa=taapu* *ai*
then-ERG ART.M 3nonsg.POSS.M REDUP=help I.tell.you
mono=mono-tuh-ooto-o-'-ni.
REDUP=see-RECIP-CAUS-3O.3A-dl.RMPAST-DP
'... then, I tell you, they settled their accounts (of helping each other). [lit. they had their help evenly seen to each other.]' (V-50)

In 4-153a, *taapu-* 'to help' is a verb stem, while in 4-153b the reduplicated *taa=taapu* 'help' is a noun, expressing reciprocal activities. Note that reduplicated verb stems of this type can take the verbal suffix *-tuh*, and then form reciprocal verb stems, as *mono=mono-tuh-* in 4-153b. See §14.7.

4-154 *hoo* *nommai* *tu'ki* *tii-nohno* *ono=ono* *arap-ah* *toku* *noi.*
ART.M people all that.time-length intentions be.bad-PART not any
'During that time nobody had bad intentions.' (XXX-51)

The noun *ono=ono* in 4-154 is used in the sense of 'one's intentions', denoting activities repeated by the same actors. Compare this with 4-152.

4-155 *jeewo? hoo koro=koro taaro-onno-ng noo*
how ART.M words $_{REL}$[hear-3O.1pcl.A.PERF-M] possibly
meekuhing?
true
'How? Are the words we have heard possibly true?' (XVI-54)

In 4-155 the noun *koro=koro*, derived from the verb stem *koro-* 'to speak to', means 'the words (with similar contents) repeated by many people', expressing distributional activities.

Reduplicated nouns derived from stative verbs, on the other hand, express continuous states. Examples:

4-156 *hoo roki ho-i ngo-ng king=king tiwo-noning*
so just ART.M-ERG 1sg.POSS-M thought like.that-towards
rorong-ungi-ng.
say-3O.1A.HABPAST-M
'So just in my thought I kept saying it in that kind of way.' (VI-21)

4-157 *ong ma kirokowo toko=toko honna ngo-wor-i-ng.*
DEM.M sun really heat big produce-MID.3S-NRPAST-M
'This sun really produced big heat.' (XXXIII-6)

The noun *king=king* in 4-156 is derived from the verb *kingng-* 'to think/be thinking', while *toko=toko* in 4-157 is derived from the verb *toko=tokoh-* 'to become/be/feel hot'.[31]

The following reduplicated nouns seem to have semantic connections with corresponding verb roots, but are best regarded as separate lexical items.[32] They include some irregular reduplications:

4-158	*tori=tori* 'each'	*torik-* 'to count'
	aru=aru 'a big cane basket'	*arut-* 'to pile/collect'
	nuko=nuko 'parcel'	*nukoh-* 'to wrap'
	iti=iti 'slope'	*itik-* 'to hang'
	haang=haang 'dawn'	*haann-* 'to dawn'
	muri=murih 'dusk'	*muuriih-* 'to get dark'

[31] This verb stem is obligatorily reduplicated. cf. §14.2.

[32] The boundaries marked by "=" in the following examples are not indicated in the rest of the thesis, except for those which have vowels on both sides, e.g. *aru=aru* 'cane basket', *eru=eru* 'lips'.

mi'=mi'nejeetu 'mimicking/teaching' *mi'ne-jee-* 'to mimick/to teach for'
heu=heura 'ashes' *heur-* 'to fan'

The following two words derive from a common noun and a classifier construction respectively:

4-159 *ruma=ruma* 'infant/infancy' (< *ruma* 'life')
nomu=nomuu 'one day' (< *no-muu* 'one-CL.day'(cf. (48) in Table 8-1 in §8.1.2))

Other examples of nouns which contain reduplications of two moras:

4-160 *nuu=nuu* 'mum' (baby talk) (cf. *nuka* 'my mother')
moo=moo 'dad' (baby talk) (cf. *umoka* 'my father')
ura=ura 'reflection' (cf. *ura* 'soul, fontanel')
eru=eru 'lips'
kuhi=kuhi 'stairs'
pata=pata 'elevated platform for feast'
nui=nui 'cave'
kuru=kuru 'morning glory'
kori=korisa 'Malayan apple'
paru=paru 'kind of tree'
muh=muh 'kind of butterfly'
huu=huu 'pig pen' (cf. *huuru* 'pig')
kaa=kaa 'protein food'
kia=kia' 'morning'

4.7 COMPOUND NOUNS

I treat the juxtapositions of two nouns, of which the second one functions as a post-head attribute, as syntactic constructions. cf. §10.3.3.1. This leaves us the compounds of the following types, which seem to be calques from English or Tok Pisin. I do not know how far these compounds are integrated in the conventional grammar of Motuna.

4-161a *Kirismas=maaritah* 'Christmas holidays'
Christmas=holiday

b *Maari=sista-ngung* 'Marist Sisters'
Marist=sister-pl

c *Ea=Niu=Gini=ofis-kori* '(at) the office of Air New Guinea'
[Air=New=Guinea]=office-L

d *Katerik=howo=lootu* 'Catholic Church'
Catholic=[house=prayer]

CHAPTER 5 PROFORMS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will discuss personal pronouns (§5.2) and interrogative proforms (§5.3). Interrogative proforms include words which belong to pronouns, adjectives, numerals and verbs.

5.2 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns are subclassified as follows:

(1) Free personal pronouns

Free personal pronouns occur as the heads of noun phrases, and can be marked for case. Motuna has no 3rd person free pronouns. Bound personal pronouns, however, have forms in 3rd person. cf. Table 4-7 in §4.4.4.1.1.

(2) Emphatic pronouns

Emphatic pronouns are not marked by case suffixes. Syntactically they function as A, S or O. They can also be used as appositions to A, S or O, or as peripheral arguments.

(3) Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns function as Possessors in possessive constructions. They are marked by suffixes which cross-reference the genders of the head nouns (Possessees). They have also bound forms.

Apart from these subclasses of pronouns, the root *poko-noming* '(his/her) name sake', which consists of a bound personal pronoun and a bound root, can function as a noun or as a verb stem. It is discussed separately in §5.2.4. The paradigms of pronouns discussed in this chapter will be compared with cross-referencing pronominal markings on verbs in §13.2.5.

5.2.1 Free Personal Pronouns

1st and 2nd person pronouns have two-way number distinction (singular vs nonsingular). 1st person nonsingular is further distinguished by inclusive and exclusive categories.[1]

There are no 3rd person free pronouns in Motuna. The article or the demonstrative is used instead (cf. Ch 6).

The whole paradigm of free personal pronouns is given below. (See §2.3 for the justification of underlying forms of singular pronouns.)

Table 5-1 Paradigm of Free Personal Pronouns

1st Person

	singular	nonsg. inclusive	nonsg. exclusive
Underlying Forms	ni	nee	noni
Absolutive	*nii*	*nee*	*noni*
Ergative	*ni-ngi*	*nee-ki*	*noni-ki*
Comitative	*nii-nno*	*nee-nno*	*noni-nno*
Purposive	*nii-jo*	*nee-jo*	*noni-jo*
Locative	*nii-jori*	*nee-jori*	*noni-jori*
Ablative	*nii-ngitee*	*nee-ngitee*	*noni-ngitee*
Similative	*nii-nowo*	*nee-nowo*	*noni-nowo*

2nd Person

	singular	nonsingular
Underlying Forms	ro	ree
Absolutive	*roo*	*ree*
Ergative	*ro-ki*	*ree-ki*
Comitative	*roo-nno*	*ree-nno*
Purposive	*roo-jo*	*ree-jo*
Locative	*roo-jori*	*ree-jori*
Ablative	*roo-kitee*	*ree-kitee*
Similative	*roo-nowo*	*ree-nowo*

[1] There is no distinction of inclusive/exclusive categories in the Pouko Dialect. The pronoun *nee* (in this dialect) simply indicates 1st person nonsingular.

Examples:

5-1 *tiko* *nii* *rɔ̀o* *kun-opee* *mu-ka-na.*
and I you.sg take.to.one's.place-3O.1A.DEFFUT come.1S-PRES-F
'And I have come to take you to my home with me.' (I-21)

5-2 *ree-ki* *mono-ji-'* *noh-i-'-ko-ng ...*
you.nonsg-ERG see-3O.2A-pcl.CONT.SS think.about-3O.2A-pcl-PRES-M
'While (all of) you see it, you think about it ...' (XVIII-41)

5-3 *ong* *koot-ah* --- *nii-jori* *koot-ah.*
DEM.M be.enough-PART me-LOC be.enough-PART
'This is enough --- this is enough for me.' (XVII-4, cf. 3-57)

5-4 ... *tii* *no-wori* *noni-nno* *umi-ki-na ...*
ART.F one-CL.animate us.exc-COMIT go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-F
'... a girl who went with us ...' (VI-53)

As already mentioned in §4.4.4.1, the underlying forms of the 1st and 2nd person bound pronouns are identical with those of the free pronouns. There are also bound 3rd person singular and nonsingular pronouns, /po-/ and /pee-/, respectively. The underlying form of the 3rd person singular pronoun /po-/ is similar to that of the masculine gender form of the article /ho/, and historically they have the same origin. cf. §2.2.2.

5.2.2 Emphatic Pronouns

Motuna has 1st, 2nd and 3rd person emphatic pronouns, which have a two-way number distinction (singular vs nonsingular). 1st person nonsingular is further distinguished by inclusive and exclusive categories, as is the case with independent pronouns.

Each emphatic pronoun consists of a personal stem and the suffix /-kee/. They are fused in 1st person singular and nonsingular inclusive forms. The vowel /o/ in the singular personal stems is optionally assimilated to the following /e/ in the suffix, as Rule 2-9b predicts. The suffix *-nari*[2] can optionally follow.

Note that the 1st person singular pronoun *nongee* (or *nengee*) has an alternative form *ngonee* (or *ngenee*) which is formed due to metathesis.

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[2] The function of this suffix is not yet clear.

Table 5-2 Paradigm of Emphatic Pronouns

	singular	nonsingular	
1st	*nongee(-nari)/ nengee(-nari)/ ngonee(-nari)/ ngenee(-nari)*	*neengee(-nari)* (inclusive)	*noni-kee(-nari)* (exclusive)
2nd	*ro-kee(-nari)/ re-kee(-nari)*	*ree-kee(-nari)*	
3rd	*po-kee(-nari)/ pe-kee(-nari)*	*pee-kee(-nari)*	

Emphatic pronouns can function as S (5-5 and 5-6), A (5-7) or O (5-8). Syntactically they are optional.

5-5 *oore. owo noni-keenari unu-ro-no.*
yes DEM.L 1nonsg.exc-EMPH be.1pcl.exc.S-PERF-L
'Yes. We are here by ourselves. [lit. Ourselves are here.]' (III-31)

5-6 *pee-keenari roki=tiwo mono=mono-tu-ti-kee.*
3nonsg-EMPH all.the.time REDUP=see-RECIP.3S-dl-PRES.DP
'They see each other all the time. [lit. Themselves see each other all the time.]'

5-7 ... *po-keenari ina'-mo hoo-nno po-ong.*
3sg-EMPH look.after.3O.3A-GEN.SS ART.M-COMIT her-son
'... (the mother) herself looked after her son.' (XXVI-4)

5-8 *po-kee toku sih-i-heeto-ng.*
3sg-EMPH not leave.3O.2A-FUT-M
'You will not leave (him by) himself.'

They can also function as appositions to S (5-9), A (5-10) or O, or as peripheral arguments (5-11):

5-9 *tiko ree ree-kee tu-io-ng?*
then you.nonsg 2nonsg-EMPH be.2S-pcl.PERF-M
'Then are you by yourselves?' (III-30)

5-10 *ro-ki re-keenari ngo-ji-i=to-ng?*
you.sg-ERG 2sg-EMPH do-3O.2A-PRESPROG-M
'Are you doing it by yourself?'

5-11 *kitori toku sih-u-r-ungo-ng pee-kee.*
children not leave-3pcl.O-1A.PRES-M 3nonsg-EMPH
'I do not leave children by themselves.' (XVI-72)

5.2.3 Possessive Pronouns

The person/number of possessive pronouns (both in free and bound forms) are distinguished in the same way as those of bound pronouns (§4.4.4.1) and emphatic pronouns (§5.2.2).

Free possessive pronouns consist of bound stems and gender suffixes. Bound stems are further analysable as the combinations of bound personal pronouns and the suffix /-ko/, except for the 1st person singular form. The underlying forms of bound possessive pronouns are given below:

Table 5-3a Underlying Forms of Bound Possessive Pronouns

	singular	nonsingular	
1st	ngo-	neeko- (inclusive)	noniko- (exclusive)
2nd	roko-	reeko-	
3rd	poko-	peeko-	

Bound possessive pronouns are combined with classifiers via the linker /-no-/ in classifier constructions, as in the following examples. See further discussion in §11.2.2.

5-12a *ong moo ngo-no-mung*
DEM.M coconut 1sg.POSS-LINK-CL.plant/fruit
'this/that coconut, (which is) my plant/fruit'

b *ho-ko hu'niso reeko-na-waki*
ART.M-EMPH basket 2nonsg.POSS-LINK-CL.carrier
'that basket, (which is) your (nonsg.) carrier'

Free possessive pronouns take suffixes which cross-reference the genders of their head nouns, i.e. Possessees. Gender suffixes are: /-ng/ (masculine), /-na/ (feminine), /-ni/ (diminutive and dual-paucal) and /-no/ (local). Note that the forms in diminutive and dual-paucal gender are the same. cf. Table 4-2 in §4.2.1.

The paradigm of free possessive pronouns is given below. The columns refer to the person/number of the possessive pronouns (Possessors), while the rows refer to the genders of the head nouns (Possessees).

Table 5-3b Paradigm of Free Possessive Pronouns

	M	F	DIM/DP	L
1sg	*ngo-ng*	*nga-na*	*ngo-ni*	*ngo-no*
1nonsg inc	*neeko-ng*	*neeka-na*	*neeko-ni*	*neeko-no*
1nonsg exc	*noniko-ng*	*nonika-na*	*noniko-ni*	*noniko-no*
2sg	*roko-ng*	*roko-na*	*roko-ni*	*roko-no*
2nonsg	*reeko-ng*	*reeka-na*	*reeko-ni*	*reeko-no*
3sg	*poko-ng*	*poko-na*	*poko-ni*	*poko-no*
3nonsg	*peeko-ng*	*peeka-na*	*peeko-ni*	*peeko-no*

Note that the vowel /o/ in the stem, if not preceded by another /o/, is assimilated to the following /a/ of the feminine gender suffix /-na/, due to Rule 2-9.

Examples:

5-13 *roko-ng pau* 'your food (M)'
roko-na kuraisa 'your wife (F)'
roko-ni maahni 'your little finger (DIM)'
roko-no uri '(in) your village (L)'
roko-ni kitori 'your children (DP)'

Possessive pronouns, especially those with the local suffix *-no*, are often employed in headless NPs. cf. §11.2.3.3. 3rd person possessive pronouns can be expanded by absolutive NPs. cf. §11.2.3.1.

5.2.4 The Root *poko-noming* '(his/her) name sake'

The root *poko-noming* '(his/her) name sake' consists of a bound possessive pronoun in any person/number and a bound root *-noming*.[3] It can function as a noun or as a verb stem.

poko-noming ' as a noun:

5-14 *ho-ko* *hoo* *roko-noming.*
he-EMPH ART.M 2sg.POSS-name.sake
'He is your name sake.'

[3] According to my informants, *poko-noming* can be used as a personal name, e.g. in the situation where the person whose name was given is ostracised and consequently the utterance of such a name becomes a taboo.

The 3rd person possessive pronoun in the noun *poko-noming* can be expanded by another noun which refers to the original name-bearer:

5-15 *ho-ko* *hoo* *Siunai* *poko-noming.*
he-EMPH ART.M 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-name.sake
'He is Siunai's name sake.' (XVI-119)

When it functions as a verb stem *poko-nomingng-* 'to name after',[4] the bound possessive pronoun in the verb stem either stays in 3rd person regardless of the person of the original name-bearer (as in 5-16 and 5-17), or marks the person of the original name-bearer (as in 5-18). The verbal suffixes cross-reference the person who gives the name as A, and the person whom the name is given as O.

5-16 *ong* *poo'ki* *noo* *roo* *pokonomingng-unguu-ng?*
DEM.M baby possibly you.sg name.after-3O.1A.IMAG-M
'Can I possibly name this baby after you?' (XVI-118, cf. 17-49)

5-17 *ai* *nungamong-ko* *rii-ku* *hoo* *nii*
I.tell.you man-EMPH become.3S-GEN.DS ART.M me
pokonomingng-i-hee.
name.after-3O.2A-DEFFUT
'I tell you, since it is a male baby, you will definitely name him after me.' (XVI-119)

5-18 *ai* *ngonomingng-i-heeto-ng.*
I.tell.you name.after.me-3O.2A-FUT-M
'I tell you, you will name him after me.' (XVI-119)

5.3 INTERROGATIVE PROFORMS

Interrogative proforms belong to various word classes such as pronouns, adjectives, numerals and verbs. There are two bound forms: *jee-* 'what' and *woo-* 'which'.

5.3.1 Interrogative Pronouns

Four interrogative pronouns are commonly used in Motuna. *Paa* (/pa/) 'who' is for human referents, *ua* 'what' for non-human referents, *woo* 'where' for local referents, and *jeewo* 'how' for manner referents. They occur as NP heads. They can be marked

[4] The epenthestic consonant /-ng/ is inserted. cf. §12.4.1.

for case by the same suffixes attached to noun phrases with nouns or personal pronouns as heads.

Table 5-4 Paradigm of Interrogative Pronouns

	who	what	where	how
Absolutive	*paa*	*ua*	*woo*	*jeewo*
Ergative	*pa-i*	*ua-ki*	*woo-ki*	—
Comitative	*paa-nno*	*ua-nno*	—	—
Purposive	*paa-jo*	*ua-ko*	*woo-ko*	—
Locative	*paa-jori*	*ua-kori*	—	—
Ablative	*paa-tee*	*ua-kitee*	*woo-kitee*	—
Similative	*paa-nowo*	*ua-nowo*	—	—

Examples:

5-19 *ong* *pa-i* *ku'k-u-u-ng?*
DEM.M who-ERG dig-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'Who dug this?' (XXIII-48)

5-20 *jeewo?* *ua-ko* *ah-mor-i-'=nuiee?*
how what-PURP chase-1pcl.inc.O-2A-pcl.PRESPROG.DP
'How (is it)? For what (= Why) are you chasing us?' (XV-23)

5-21 *ih!* *ong* *moi* *woo-kitee* *haarok-u-i=to-ng?*
oh.dear DEM.M almond where-ABL fall-3S-PRESPROG-M
'Oh dear! Where is this almond falling from?' (XIII-24)

5-22 *jeewo?* *ree* *woo* *pi-'=tuio-ng?*
how you.nonsg where go.2S-pcl.PRESPROG-M
'How (are you all)? Where are you going?' (XIV-37)

The bound form *jee-* 'what' occurs in temporal nouns, i.e. *jeempa* 'what time, when' (§4.4.2.5), *jee-nohno* 'during what time' (§4.4.2.6) and with the classifier *-ru* 'day' (§8.1.3.1.2). The bound form *woo-* 'which', on the other hand, is combined with classifiers via the linker /-no-/. cf. §8.1.3.2.1.

The manner adverb *jeewo-(no)ning* 'what kind of way' is derived from the pronoun *jeewo*. cf. §7.2.6.

5.3.2 Interrogative Adjective and Numeral

The interrogative adjective *uamii* 'what kind', and the interrogative numeral *jeesii* 'how many/much', function as post-head attributes in noun phrases (5-23) or predicates in nominal clauses (5-24).

5-23 *pau* *uamii* *nap-a-hee* *uwi-i-ng?*
food what.kind get-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT go.3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'What kind of food did they go to get?' (III-32)

5-24 *roko-ng* *moi* *jeesii?*
2sg.POSS-M age how.much
'How old are you? [lit. How much is your age?]'

5.3.3 Interrogative Verbs

Motuna has the following interrogative verbs:

5-25 *jeengo-* 'to do what to sb (in active voice, transitive)'
'to be involved in what (in middle voice, intransitive)'
jeek- 'to say what (intransitive)'
jeeh- 'to say what to sb/about sb/sth (transitive)'

5-26 *roo* *jeengo-ro-i-na?*
you.sg be.involved.in.what-MID.2S-NRPAST-F
'What is the matter with you [lit. What are you involved in]?' (XV-57)

5-27 *mi'no-i-ku* *noo* *jeek-u-u-ng?*
instruct-3O.2A-GEN.DS may.I.ask say.what-3S-RMPAST-M
'When you instructed him, what did he say, may I ask?' (XXXV-11)

5-28 *toku* *onoh-uh=no-ng,* *jeeh-i-i-ng?*
not understand-3O.1A.PRESPROG-M say.what.about-3O.2A-NRPAST-M
'I don't understand, what do you mean (= what did you say about it)?' (XXXV-7)

Each verb form has a corresponding participle, which expresses "a state of being". The participle *jeek-ah* has a meaning which is quite distinct from that of the original verb *jeek-*.

5-29 *jeenga-wah* 'done what to', 'involved in what'
jeek-ah 'put how'
jeeh-ah 'said what'

5-30 *ong haa ong jeenga-wah rii-ku toku nompa*
DEM.M thing DEM.M do.to-PART become.3S-GEN.DS not quickly
maapuk-u-i=to-ng?
become.full-3S-PRESPROG-M
'What was done to this thing so that this is not becoming full quickly?'
(XI-10)

5-31 *jeek-ah? ngo-i-ku mono-opee.*
put.how-PART make-3O.2A-GEN.DS see-3O.1A.DEFFUT
'How was it put? You make (= show) it, and let me see it.'

5-32 *jeeh-ah? roro-m-i-ku taaro-opee.*
say.what-PART tell-1O-2A-GEN.DS hear-3O.1A.DEFFUT
'Pardon (= What did you say)? Tell me and let me hear it.'

CHAPTER 6 THE ARTICLE AND THE DEMONSTRATIVE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Motuna has one article and one demonstrative, both of which can be used as the determiner of an NP or as NP head. They have also bound forms, which are employed with kinship roots and classifiers.

The article is used as a determiner indicating the specificity of an NP, as a neutral anaphoric or cataphoric pronoun, or as an impersonal pronoun "it" vaguely denoting a situation or surroundings. It can be used deictically only when it is marked by the emphatic suffix /-ko/, or is contrasted with the demonstrative with the help of the locational-directional (LD) nouns *koho* 'down' and *koto* 'up'; in such cases it refers to the entity outside the sphere of both the speaker and the addressee (which may be translated as 'that over there').

The demonstrative can be used either deictically or anaphorically. In the former case, it refers to the entity located within the sphere of the speaker and the addressee (which may be translated as 'this/that'). In the latter case, it is used to reintroduce a particular entity, which is either intimately known to both the speaker and the addressee, or a central topic in that particular discourse.

6.2 THE ARTICLE

6.2.1 The Paradigm of the Article

Morphologically, the article inflects according to the gender of the noun it determines or replaces.

The paradigm of the article with gender and case inflections is given below (the rows refer to the genders of head nouns, and the columns to the cases of noun phrases it determines). Note that the forms in feminine, diminutive and dual-paucal genders are the same. (cf.Table 4-2 in §4.2.1. See §2.3 for the justification of underlying forms.)

Table 6-1 Paradigm of the Article

	M	F/DIM/DP	L	MAN
Underlying Forms	ho/so	tii	ti	tiwo
Absolutive	*h/soo*	*tii*	*tii*	*tiwo*
Ergative	*h/so-i*	*tii-ngi*	*ti-ki*	—
Comitative	*h/soo-nno*	*tii-nno*	—	—
Purposive	*hoo-jo*	*tii-jo/-ngo/-ko*	*ti-ko*	—
Locative	*h/soo-jori*	*tii-jori*	—	—
Ablative	*h/so-itee*	*tii-ngitee*	*ti-kitee*	—
Similative	*h/soo-nowo*	*tii-nowo*	*tii-nowo*	—

Examples:

ó-1a	*hoo*	*nommai*	'(a) certain person/people,
	ART.M	person/people	the person/people'
b	*ho-i*	*nommai*	'by (a) certain person/people,
	ART.M-ERG	person/people	by the person/people'
6-2a	*tii*	*kuraisa*	'a certain/the woman'[1]
	ART.F	woman	
b	*tii-nno*	*kuraisa*	'with a certain/the woman'
	ART.F-COMIT	woman	
6-3a	*tii*	*uri*	'(in) a certain/the village'
	ART.L	village	
b	*ti-kitee*	*uri(-ngitee)*	'from a certain/the village'
	ART.L-ABL	village(-ABL)	

The bound form *ti-* is combined with reciprocal kinship roots and classifiers. See §4.4.4.2.1 and §8.1.3.1.1, respectively.

6.2.2 The Article as a Determiner

The article as a determiner indicates that the noun phrase is specific. It may be definite or indefinite. For example, observe the following sentence at the beginning of a story:

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[1] The article *tii* may be regarded as a dual-paucal gender form; in that case, however, the noun *kuraisa* would be marked by the dual suffix *-karo* or the paucal suffix *-naa* to avoid confusion.

6-4 *hoo-jori* *poti* *u'kisa* *tu-ki-na* *tii* *kuraisa*
ART.M-LOC time long.ago be.3S-HABITPAST-F ART.F woman
na-ra ...
one-CL.human.F
'Once upon a time lived a woman ...' (I-1)

Here *kuraisa* 'woman' is indefinite, as indicated by the 'number one' numeral classifier *na-ra* (cf. §8.2.2.1.2), but at the same time it is determined by the article, because it refers to a specific entity. On the other hand, in the following phrase, *kuraisa* 'women' is indefinite and non-specific, and hence cannot be determined by the article:

6-5 ... *kuraisa* *peeko-ng* *sikuulu* *honna ...*
women 3nonsg.POSS-M school big
'... a girls' big school (= high school) ...' (II-30)

Similarly, a noun phrase which refers to a whole class in a generic sentence, such as *nommai* 'people/human beings' in 6-6, does not take the article.

6-6 *he'ee!* *nee* *ho-ko* *nong* *kuhro* *nommai-ki*
oh.dear it.must.be ART.M-EMPH only 'plant.name' human.beings-ERG
jii *toku* *nee-wa-mo-ng.*
and not eat-3O.3pcl.A-GEN-M
'Oh, dear! The fruit of that *kuhro* tree over there (only) must not be eaten by (any) human beings.' (XXV-76)

Noun phrases with proper names or personal pronouns as their heads are inherently specific, and can be used with (as in 6-7a and 6-8a) or without (as in 6-7b and 6-8b) the article:

6-7a *Tantanu-ki* *roki* *noh-u-r-u-ng: "..."*
'ancestor's.name'-ERG just say.to-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M
'Tantanu just said to them: "..." ' (III-41)

b *tiko* *ho-i* *Tantanu* *noh-u-r-u-ng: "..."*
then ART.M-ERG 'ancestor's.name' say.to-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M
'Then Tantanu said to them: "..." ' (III-51)

6-8a *nii* *toku* *naa'ru.*
I not lazy
'I am not lazy.' (XIX-50)

b ... *tii* *nii* *pih-m-a-hee* *uhu-mo.*
ART.F me look.for-1O-3pcl.A-DEFFUT come.3pcl.S-GEN.SS
'(They) ... while they were looking for me (F).' (X-35)

In the following syntactic functions, absolutive noun phrases are non-specific and do not take the article:

1) predicates in nominal clauses, as *ko'sa-karo* '(two) friends' in:

6-9 *u'kisa tii napa-nno mahkata-nno ko'sa-karo.*
long.ago ART.DP possum-and dog and friend-dl
'Long ago the possum and the dog were friends.' (IV-2)

2) the Complements of certain intransitive (6-10) and transitive (6-11) verbal predicates:

6-10 *hoo hoo pa'pai tu-ro-ng.*
it ART.M taboo COP.3S-PERF-M
'It is still a taboo.' (XIX-10)

6-11 *hoo jaki koto ku'kui saara tong-i-'-ko-ng.*
ART.M you.should.know up butterfly swallowtail call-3O.2A-pcl-PRES-M
'The butterfly up there, you should know, is called 'swallowtail'.' (XXIII-46)

Note that in 6-10 the second article *hoo* functions as a topic marker. cf. §6.2.6.

3) terms of address, as in:

6-12 *oi po-owoi.*
hey my.brother-in-law
'Hey, my brother-in-law.' (V-14)

Nominal predicates or the Complements of verbal predicates may occasionally be determined by the demonstrative. In the following sentence, for example, the head of the nominal predicate *nii* 'me' takes the demonstrative *ong* in deictic function.

6-13 ... *ho-ko ong nii.*
it-EMPH DEM.M me
'... it is me here [lit. it is this me].' (XXIII-47)

6.2.3 The Article as NP Head

Motuna has no 3rd person free pronoun. The article can be used as the head of an argument NP:

6-14 *hoo u'kisa ngo-wor-u-ng.*
it long.ago happen-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'It happened long ago.' (VI-24)

6-15 *ho-ko ho-i ru'n-u-i=to-ng.*
it-EMPH he-ERG beat-3O.3A-PRESPROG-M
'It (= The gong) is being beaten by him.' (XIV-13)

6-16 *tii manni toku nangk-o-i-na.*
she certainly not shake-MID.3S-NRPAST-F
'She certainly did not shake.' (VII-47)

6-17 *hoo waasiih ti-ki komik-oro-ko-ng.*
ART.M story there-ERG be.finished-MID.3S-PRES-M
'The story was just finished there.' (IV-17)

6-18 ... *roo toku tiwo konn-i-i.*
you.sg not that.way behave-2S-CONT.SS
'You don't keep behaving that way:' (XXI-6)

The masculine form *h/soo* can be used cataphorically, particularly as a dummy Complement of the verb *nok-* 'to say', *noh-* 'to say to', *mi'no-*'to instruct', etc., to introduce a quotation.

6-19 *hoo noh-u-r-u-ng sikireu-ki: "..."*
it say.to-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M 'name.of.bird'-ERG
'The sikireu bird said to them as follows: "..." ' (XXIII-53)

6-20 *impa inokee-ko hoo nahah jii mi'no-or-unnee: "..."*
and.then again-EMPH it possibly and instruct-3pcl.O-1A.PERF.DP
'And then, possibly, I have also instructed them as follows: "..." ' (XV-83)

It can also stand as an impersonal pronoun, vaguely denoting a situation or surroundings which can be understood from linguistic or extralinguistic context. (See a discussion of the conjunction *hoo(=hoo)*, which is closely related to the article in this use, in §9.4.3.4.)

6-21 *he'ee! hoo roki ong koto moo.*
no it just DEM.M up coconut
'[As an answer to the children's question whether she has got drinking water or not.] No! It is just (= All I have for drinking are) those coconuts up there.' (VII-11)

The article *tii* is homonymous with the subordinating conjunction *tii* 'when'. cf.

§17.1.

The adverbalising suffix *-(no)ning* is attached to the manner article *tiwo* to derive the manner adverb *tiwo-noning* 'in that kind of way' (cf. §7.2.6). See also the conjunction *tiwongori* in §9.4.3.7.

6.2.4 The Article with the Empatic Suffix /-ko/

The article, either as a determiner or as NP head, may have special functions when the emphatic particle /-ko/[2] is attached to it. In such cases, it may be used either deictically or anaphorically. In deictic use, it refers to the entity outside the sphere of both the speaker and the addressee. In anaphoric use, it singles out the entity which is referred to in the preceding discourse. For example,

6-22a *Tantanu-ki roki noh-u-r-u-ng: "ho-ko hiuo*
'ancestor's.name' just say.to-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M ART.M-EMPH clay.pot
mono-ji-'-hee."
see-3O.2A-pcl-DEFFUT
'Tantanu just said to them: "You definitely look at that clay pot over there." ' (III-41)

b *ehkonno ho-ko hiuo ho-i pau*
now ART.M-EMPH clay.pot REL[ART.M-ERG food
o-muuro ti-muuro maapuk-ah
DEM-CL.objects.of.same.kind ART-CL.objects.of.same.kind fill-PART]
mono-wa-a-ng.
see-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
'Now they saw that clay pot filled with various kinds of food.' (III-42)

Ho-ko in 6-22a is used deictically, pointing to the clay pot which is located outside the reach of both Tantanu and the children. *Ho-ko* in 6-22b, on the other hand, is in anaphoric use, singling out the clay pot just referred to. Note that the demonstrative and article classifier constructions in juxtaposition, *o-muu-ro ti-muu-ro* in 6-22b, denote distributional plurality. cf. §10.3.3.4.

6-23a *tii-ngoo koto paruparu kuhir-i-'-hee.*
ART.DIM-EMPH up 'name.of.tree' cut.down-3O.2A-pcl-DEFFUT
'(You all) cut down that (small) paruparu tree down there.' (XXII-26)

b *"tii-ngoo tuht-ee-ji-ijo uko-ji-'-heetuio-ng."*
ART.DIM-EMPH pull.through-APPL-3O.2A-pcl.PERF.SS carry-3O.2A-pcl-FUT-M
'You all will pull that through (his arms and legs), and carry him.'(XXII-26)

[2] See §9.3 for the morphophonemic changes of this suffix.

The article in dimunitive gender with the suffix /-ko/, *tii-ngoo*, functions deictically in 6-23a. *Tii-ngoo* in 6-23b functions as NP head; it can be interpreted either deictically or anaphorically in this case.

Ho-ko, as an impersonal pronoun with the emphatic suffix, is used to refer to a situation or surroundings deictically:

6-24 *ho-ko* *ehkong* *muu=rii-ko-ng.*
it-EMPH now get.dark-PRES-M
'It got dark just now.' (X-36, cf. 14-29b)

6.2.5 The Article Used Contrastively with the Demonstrative

The demonstrative and the article contrast in deictic use, when they are accompanied by LD nouns *koho* 'down' and *koto* 'up' (cf. §4.4.2.1). In such cases, the entity referred to by the demonstrative is considered either spatially or temporally closer to the speaker and the addressee than that referred to by the article.

6-25 *inokee-ko* *ongo* *koho* *mii-kori* *inokee-ko*
again-EMPH DEM.L.PURP down knee-L again-EMPH
ti-ko *koto* *tokis-u-u-ng.*
ART.L-PURP up cut-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'Again he cut down here at the knee, and again he cut up there.' (XII-30, cf. 3-46)

See 4-44 in §4.4.2.1, where temporal contrast is expressed.

6.2.6 The Article as a Topic Marker

When the article is placed at the end of a noun phrase, it indicates that the noun phrase it determines is a clausal or sentential topic, which is definite and "given".[3] Such an NP is always in the absolutive case, and is placed at the beginning of a clause or a sentence. The gender of its head noun is marked on the Possessor nominal predicate (as in 6-26) or on the non-medial verbal predicate (as in 6-28 and 6-30).

The article in this function is always stressed, and may be pronounced after a short pause, if the NP it determines consists of two or more words.

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[3] Note that the sentential topic may be (a) "new" (therefore indefinite) in the discourse, or (b) already "given" in the discourse. (See Chafe 1976 for the definitions of "new" and "given".) In a verbal clause, the "new" topic is placed after the verb (as in 6-4 above). On the other hand, if the topic is well established in the previous discourse, it may not be expressed, and the second NP, which is not a topic, may occupy the sentence-initial position.

6-26 *ong* *waasiih* *a-wa'* *hoo* *kompaka* *poko-ng.*
DEM.M story DEM-CL.story ART.M heron 3sg.POSS-M
[NP (Argument Topic)]
'This piece of story (Topic) is about a heron.' (V-1)

6-27 *ong* *kupuna* *o-wori* *hoo* *naa'ru.*
DEM.M ancestor.spirit DEM-CL.animate ART.M lazy
[NP (Argument Topic)]
'This ancestor spirit (Topic) is lazy.' (III-9)

6-28 *nuri* *hoo* *sanaka-wo-i=to-ng.*
my.son ART.M do.hunting/fishing-MID.3S-PRESPROG-M
[NP (S Topic)]
'My son (Topic) is hunting/fishing.' (I-9)

6-29 ... *ana* *koho* *harusu* *tii* *tii* *heekoo* *kuino-kori*
DEM.F down turtle ART.F ART.L somewhere tree-L
[NP (O Topic)]
onn-a-ro ...
tie.up-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS
'... they tied up this female turtle down there (Topic), somewhere on the tree, and (they) ...' (V-37)

6-30 *tii* *tii* *tii* *napa* *noh-u-ka-na: "..."*
she ART.F ART.F possum say.to-3O.3A-PRES-F
[NP (A Topic)]
'She (Topic) said to the possum: "..." ' (X-39)

The topic NP with the article at the end may be followed by a noun in attribution.[4] Such a noun can take an attribute by itself (as in 6-33):

6-31 *tii* *tii* *pehkoro-karo* *toku* *nah-ah*
ART.DP ART.DP young.boy-dl not possibly
[NP (Argument Topic)] [Attribute]
honna-ngaro *meeng.*
big-dl very
'Those two (Topic) young boys are not possibly very big.' (XIII-59)

6-32 *roo* *tii* *mara* *toku* *kumar-i-heeta-na.*
you.sg ART.F devil not laugh-2S-FUT-F
[NP (S Topic)] [Attribute]
'You (Topic), the devil, will not laugh.' (VIII-14)

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[4] It may also be followed by a possessive attributive verbal noun phrase (cf. §16.1) or clause (cf. §17.1).

6-33 *ii!* *ong* *hoo* *neeko-ng* *kaakaa*
oh.dear DEM.M ART.M 1nonsg.inc.POSS-M protein.food
[NP (S Topic)] [Attribute]
heekoo *pi-i-ng.*
some.place go.3S-NRPAST-M
'Oh dear! Those ones (= children) (Topic), the protein food of ours, have gone somewhere.' (IX-25)

6-34 *ong* *hoo* *ro-ong* *ua-ko* *toku* *mono-ongo-ng?*
DEM.M ART.M your.sg-son what-PURP not see-3O.1A.PRES-M
[NP (S Topic)] [Attribute]
'This one (Topic), your son, why don't I see him?'

The article in above examples (6-31 – 6-34) does not determine the following nouns in attribution. It is shown by the position of the restricitve adverb *nong* 'only'. The adverb *nong* is always placed after the determiner of the NP it modifies, or after the head if such an NP lacks a determiner at the beginning (cf. §7.2.3). So, in 6-34, if the article *hoo* belonged to the following NP, then we would expect that the restrictive adverb *nong* 'only' could be placed after the article. But actually it can be placed after *ong*, or after *ro-ong*, but never after *hoo*. Compare the following sentences with 6-34:

6-35a *ong* *nong* *hoo* *ro-ong* *toku* *mono-ongo-ng.*
DEM.M only ART.M your.sg-son not see-3O.1A.PRES-M
'lit. I do not see only that one, your son.'

b *ong* *hoo* *ro-ong* *nong* *toku* *mono-ongo-ng.*
ong *hoo* *nong* *ro-ong*
'lit. I do not see that one, only your son.'

In 6-35a *nong* modifies the NP*ong hoo*, while in 6-35b it modifies the noun *ro-ong*.

6.3 THE DEMONSTRATIVE

6.3.1 The Paradigm of the Demonstrative

The demonstrative inflects according to the gender of the noun it determines like the article. It may further be marked by the suffix, which indicates the case of the noun phrase it belongs to.

The paradigm of the demonstrative with gender and case inflections is given below. Note that the forms in diminutive and dual-paucal genders are the same. There are no

form of manner gender.[5]

Table 6-2 Paradigm of the Demonstrative

	M	F	DIM/DP	L
Underlying Forms	ong	ana	oi	owo
Absolutive	*ong*	*ana*	*oi*	*owo*
Ergative	*ong-ngi*	*ana-ngi*	*oi-ngi*	*ongi*
Comitative	*onu-nno*	*ana-nno*	*oi-nno*	—
Purposive	*ong-ngo/-jo*	*ana-ngo/-jo*	*oi-ngo/-jo*	*ongo*
Locative	*ong-ngori/-jori*	*ana-ngori/-jori*	*oi-ngori/-jori*	—
Ablative	*ong-ngitee*	*ana-ngitee*	*oi-ngitee*	*ongitee*
Similative	*on-nowo*	*ana-nowo*	*oi-nowo*	*owo-nowo*

Examples:

6-36a	*ong*	*nommai*	'this/that person, these/those people'
	DEM.M	person/people	
b	*ong-ngi*	*nommai*	'by this/that person, by these/those people'
	DEM.M-ERG	person/people	
6-37a	*ana*	*kuraisa*	'this/that woman'
	DEM.F	woman	
b	*ana-nno*	*kuraisa*	'with this/that woman'
	DEM.F-COMIT	woman	
6-38a	*owo*	*uri*	'(in) this/that village'
	DEM.L	village	
b	*ongitee*	*uri(-ngitee)*	'from this/that village'
	DEM.L.ABL	village(-ABL)	

The bound form *o-* is combined with reciprocal kinship roots and classifiers. See §4.4.4.2.1 and §8.1.3.1.1, respectively.

6.3.2 The Demonstrative as a Determiner

The demonstrative can function as the determiner of a whole noun phrase. It holds the first position in the noun phrase, exactly in the same way as the article as a determiner does.

[5] Note, however, that the local form *owo* derives the manner adverb *owo-noning* 'in this kind of way' (cf. §7.2.6). When it is combined with verb stems, it again expresses a manner, rather than a local meaning. cf. §12.4.4.

Examples in deictic use:

6-39 ... *ong* *pau* *mirahu-ngung* *mono-jir-i-ng.*
DEM.M food good-pl see-3pcl.O-2A-pcl.IMP
'... (you all) look at this good food of many kinds.' (III-55)

6-40 ... *ong-jori* *ruu* *iro* *patak-ah.*
DEM.M-LOC day today arrive-PART
'... up till this day, today.' (IV-16)

6-41 ... *oi* *raang* *koho* *si'mata* *paki=paki'-ku*
DEM.DP north down cane REDUP=shake-3S-GEN.DS
nok-onga-na: "..."
realise-1S.PRES-F
'... when those canes down in the north shake, I realise: "..." ' (I-9)

6-42 ... *owo* *hausiik* *honna-ngori* *uko-i-to* *pi-ti-hee.*
DEM.L [hospital big]-L carry-3O.2A-dl.PERF.SS go.2S-dl-DEFFUT
'... you will definitely take her and go there to the big hospital.' (XV-65)

Note that in 6-41 and 6-42, the objects referred to by the heads are physically rather distant from the speaker and the addressee.

Examples in anaphoric use:

6-43 *nee* *nee* *impa* *ong* *poo'ki* *toku* *noi* *nga-warei.*
we.inc it.must.be now DEM.M baby not one make-VN
'We must not make any baby (which is our concern) now.' (XVI-47)

6-44 *ong* *haa* *ana-ngi* *Perui* *tu-u-'-ko-ng ...*
DEM.M as.you.know DEM.F-ERG 'witch's.name' kill-3O.3A-pcl-PRES-M
'As you know, this Perui kills these (children) ...' (VII-56)

In the above sentences, the entities referred to by the NPs determined by the demonstrative are central topics in the conversation.

6.3.3 The Demonstrative as NP Head

The demonstrative can function as NP head, referring to someone or something deictically.

6-45 ... *roo* *onu-nno* *tu-suu* ...
you.sg DEM.M-COMIT be.2S-dl.CONT.DS
'... while you stay with this one [= boy] ...' (XX-10)

6-46 *ana* *jeewo-ning* *jaa* *ngo-opeena-na?*
DEM.F how-towards on.earth do.to-3O.1A.FUT-F
'In what kind of way on earth shall I do to (= treat) this one (= woman)?' (XIII-27)

6-47 *oo!* *oi* *nee* *mono-o-'-ni.*
oh.dear DEM.DP it.must.be see-3O.3A-dl.RMPAST-DP
'Oh dear! He must have seen those two (= my two sons).' (XII-39)

6-48 *roo* *ongi* *toku* *tu-i* *tu-heeto-ng.*
you.sg DEM.L.ERG not be.2S-CONT.SS be.2S-FUT-M
'You will not stay here.' (III-18)

6-49 *noni* *ai* *ongi* *owo* *ru-mee-ti-kee* ...
we.exc I.tell.you DEM.L.ERG DEM.L come.out-MID.1S-dl-PRES.DP
'We two, I tell you, come out through here ...' (XIII-67)

Note that in 6-49 the head *owo* is further determined by the demonstrative in ergative case *ongi*.

The demonstraive, as NP head, is often followed by the article functioning as a topic marker. It may further be followed by a noun in attribution. cf. 6-33 and 6-34.

The demonstrative can also be placed at the end of a sentence, to repeat the sentential topic for emphasis.

6-50 *tii* *patak-ah* *hoo* *waasiih,* *ong.*
there arrive-PART ART.M story DEM.M
[NP_1] [NP_2]
'There ends the story, this one.' (I-44)

6-51 *poringi* *hia* *rorong-u-i=ta-na,* *ana.*
bird thing tell-3O.3A-PRESPROG.F DEM.F
[NP_1] [NP_2]
'The bird is saying something, that female bird.' (XXIII-9)

CHAPTER 7 ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

7.1 ADJECTIVES

7.1.1 General Characteristics

Morphologically, an adjective can be marked by a number suffix in agreement with the head noun it modifies (as in 7-1) or the argument it predicates (as in 7-2).

7-1 *... ong pau mirahu-ngung mono-jir-i-ng.*
DEM.M food good-pl see-3pcl.O-2A-pcl.IMP
'... (you all) see this good food of various kinds.' (III-55)

7-2 *roki tii peh=pehkita-ngaro nimautu-karo.*
just they.DP REDUP=small-dl handsome.male-dl
'They two (boys) were very small and handsome.' (XIII-60, cf.3-77)

Adjectives differ from nouns in that they have no inherent gender(s), and thus they can occur with nouns in any gender. However, some adjectives occur only with nouns in specific genders.

For example, the adjectives in the following pair occur only with animate nouns:

7-3 *nungamong* 'male' *kuraisa* 'female'

Nungamong and *kuraisa* have homonymous nouns. The adjectives *nungamong* 'male' and *kuraisa* 'female' can modify or predicate nouns which refer to either humans or animals, while the nouns *nungamong* 'man' and *kuraisa* 'woman' only refer to humans. cf. §4.2.1.

The following pair occurs only with human nouns:

7-4 *nimautu* 'handsome (male)' (cf. 7-2) *niraweru* 'handsome (female)'

The following adjectives are used only in attribution to animate nouns, and has masculine/feminine endings:

7-5 *mee-ng* 'real (M)' *mee-na* 'real (F)' (cf. 7-7)

Syntactically,
(1) adjectives can function as post-head attributes:

7-6 *Tantanu-ki* *pau* *honna* *meeng* *ngo-jee-u-r-u-ng.*
ancestor's.name-ERG feast big very make-APPL-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M
'Tantanu gave a very big feast for them.' (III-12)

7-7 *tiko* *tii* *Emmai* *pa-na* *nommai* *mee-na* *tii* ...
and ART.F 'male.name' his-wife human.being real-F ART.F
'And Emmai's wife, (who is) a real human being, ...' (XIII-42)

(2) adjectives can function as the heads of adjective phrases which can be:
(i) predicates in adjectival clauses:

7-8 *hoo* *poti* *roki=manni* *mirahu.*
ART.M time certainly good
'That time was certainly good.' (XXX-99, cf. 3-4)

7-9 *nii* *toku* *naa'ru.*
I not lazy
'I am not lazy.' (XIX-50)

(ii) Complements in intransitive verbal clauses:

7-10 ... *nii* *pehkita* *nuu-juu* *komik-or-u-ng.*
I small COP.1S-CONT.DS be.finished-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'... while I was small, (the war) was finished' (I-1)

(3) adjectives can be used in headless noun phrases, anaphorically referring to the bearers of the properties they denote:

7-11 ... *hoo* *rirokisa* *nop-u-mo* *nu-ka-na.*
ART.M new get-3O.3A-GEN.SS be.1S-PRES-F
[NP]
'... I keep getting a new one (= set of books).' (XVI-75)

The use of adjectives in headless NPs, however, does not occur very often.

Some adjectives have homonymous nouns referring to human beings. For example, *kaakoto* in 7-12a is an adjective, which can be used with nouns in any gender. *Kaakoto* in 7-12b, on the other hand, is a masculine noun. It is not used anaphorically, but stands on its own right. Its function seems to be different from that of *rirokisa* in 7-11. (See also *nungamong* and *kuraisa* in 7-3 above.)

7-12a *ong* *kaapa* *kaakoto* *o-m-ee.*
DEM.M cup white give.to-1O-2A.IMP
'Give that white cup to me.'

b *tiko* *ti-ki* *sikuulu-kori-ki* *ho-i* *kaakoto-ngung*
and ART.L-ERG school-L-ERG ART.M-ERG white.person-pl
ina-mar-a-ki-ng.
look.after-1pcl.exc.O-3pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'And in the school the white people used to look after us.' (VI-50)

The comparative degree of an adjective is expressed with the help of an ablative noun phrase:

7-13 ... *nee-ngitee* *soo* *kuukah* *ponnaa* *tuh-ah-ngung.*
us-ABL ART.M knowledge much be-PART-pl
'... (they) have more knowledge than us.[1]' (XXV-128)

As already mentioned in §3.3.4., adjectival participles, a subclass of participles, function exactly in the same way as adjectives. Examples:

7-14 *urah-ah* '(being) heavy' < *urah-* 'to be/become/feel heavy'
arap-ah '(being) bad' < *arap-* 'to become/be bad'
itikai-wah '(being) strong, hard' < *itikai-* 'to become/be strong'
kuroh-ah 'running, (being) fast' < *kuroh-* 'to run/be running'
arut-ah '(being) plenty' < *arut-* 'to become/be plenty' (middle)

Some adjectival participles have corresponding adjectives:

7-15	adjectival participles	adjectives
	kaakoto-wah '(being) white'	*kaakoto* 'white'
	kungkiro-wah '(being) black'	*kungkiro, kungsa* 'black'
	nimautu-wah '(looking) handsome (male)'	*nimautu* 'handsome (male)'
	niraweru-wah '(looking) handsome (female)'	*niraweru* 'handsome (female)'

The difference between the participles and adjectives in these pairs is that while the former can express temporary "states of being" as the result of certain processes or actions, the latter always express "properties". For example, the adjective *nimautu* is appropriate in 7-2 which describes the "property" of the babies. In the following sentence, however, *nimautu-wah* describes a temporary state of the referent of S,

[1] This example comes from the Pouko dialect. There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction in 1st person nonsingular.

caused by his habitual grooming, and the adjective *nimautu* cannot be used.[2]

7-16 *roki* *nimautu-wah* *nong* *kopi'-ko-ng.*
just look.handsome.male-PART only walk.3S-PRES-M
'The male, looking just (only) handsome, walks.' (III-9, cf. 15-21)

The difference of meaning between adjectival participles and adjectives is not, however, always so discrete. For example, participles and adjectives referring to colours can be used interchangeably in most contexts.

See further discussion and examples of participles in §16.2.

7.1.2 Derived Adjectives

The suffixes *-noh(i)* 'as big as' and *-ruho* 'without' are used to derive adjectives.

The suffix *-noh(i)* can derive adjectives from nouns (7-20), the article (7-17), the numeral *noi* 'one' (7-18), or even noun phrases (7-19). Those adjectives can take masculine (7-17, 7-18 and 7-20) or dimunitive (7-19) endings. Nouns in feminine or dual-paucal gender are cross-referenced by the masculine suffix, as in 7-20.

7-17 ... *ong* *kai* *tiwo-nohi-ng* *uko-onno-ng.*
DEM.M claw that.way-as.big.as-M be.carrying-3O.1A.PERF-M
'... I am carrying this claw as big as this [lit. that way].' (V-21)

7-18 *ong* *koho* *Paanaangah* *inokee* *hoo* *kaa'*
DEM.M down 'ancestor's.name' again ART.M young.tree
noi-nohi-ng *kuku'-ro* ...
one-as.big.as-M dig.3O.3A-PERF.SS
'After that Paanaangah again dug a young tree which was as big as the (previous) one, (he) ...' (XIV-11)

7-19 *ong-ko* *munu* *siri=sirim-woo-ro*
DEM.M-EMPH body REDUP=become.thin-MID.3S-PERF.SS
peh=pehkita'-ro *roki* *oi* *irihwa-noh-ni*
REDUP=become.small.3S-PERF.SS just [DEM.DIM finger]-as.big.as-DIM
rii-ra-na.
become.3S-PERF-F
'This body (of hers) became gradually thin and small, and it became just as big as this finger.' (XV-78, cf. 14-20)

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[2] The participle *nimautu-wah* in this sentence is a headless NP, functioning as the S of the predicate *kopi'-ko-ng*. Note that only NPs can be modified by the adverb *nong*. cf. §7.2.3.

7-20 *tii* *kuraisa* *Aanih-nohi-ng*.
ART.F woman 'female.name'-as.big.as-M
'The woman is as big as Aanih. '

The suffix *-ruho* 'without' is attached to nouns to derive adjectives. It has no gender inflection:

7-21 *angu-ruho* 'without arm(s)'
mii-ruho 'without name'
pomo'-ruho 'without relatives'
misi-ruho 'without land'
pau-ruho 'without food'
mooni-ruho 'without money'
manunu-ruho 'without belongings'

7-22 *hoo* *howo* *toonno-ruho* 'the house without door'
ART.M house door-without

7-23 *tii-koo* *tii* *peesi'-ruho-naa*.
they.DP-EMPH ART.DP shell.money-without-pc
'They are without shell money. '

7.1.3 *Bahuvrihi* Compounds

A noun which refers to an inalienable entity (usually a bodypart), followed by an adjective, a participle or the numeral *noi* (cf. §2.6 and §8.2.2.1.1) can constitute an exocentric or a *bahuvrihi* compound.[3] It either modifies or predicates a noun, which is the Possessor.

7-24 ... *noni* *hoo* *hipa* *mirahu-ngung* ...
we.exc ART.M [leg good]-pl
'... we (who are) with good legs, ...' (VI-56)

The following compound functions as a noun:

7-25 ... *ong-ngi* *kang=kungsa* *ahk-a-a-ng* ...
DEM-ERG black.skinned.people chase-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
'... these black-skinned people chased him ...' (XXV-127)

---

[3] I regard such a "compound" as a kind of syntactic construction, and do not associate the elements in it with "=", except when it is regarded as a lexicalised unit (as is the case with *kang=kungsa*). cf. §2.6.

7.2 ADVERBS

7.2.1 General Characteristics

Adverbs are modifiers of adjectives, adverbials, verbs, or whole noun phrases. Examples:

the adverb *meeng* 'very' which modifies the preceding adjective *ihkita* 'long' in:

7-26 *poti* *ihkita* *meeng* *uri-ngi* *tu-ko-ng.*
time long very village-ERG be.3S-PRES-M
'He stays in the village for a very long time.' (XVI-80)

and the preceding adverb *po'tee* 'much' in:

7-27 ... *tii* *pehka* *po'tee* *meeng* *ooruh-u-u-na.*
ART.F young.girl much very become.afraid-3S-RMPAST-F
'... the young girl became very much afraid.' (I-12)

the adverb *nompa* 'quickly' which modifies the following verb *kuroh-* 'to run' in:

7-28 *nompa* *kuro-roo.*
quickly run-MID.2S.IMP
'Run quickly.' (V-45)

The suffix *-(no)ning* can derive adverbs (§7.2.6). Furthermore, local/manner nouns/pronouns, some classifiers which express time or quantity, and some participles can function as adverbial modifiers in a sentence.

Adverbs are subclassified as follows according to their semantic content:

(1) manner adverbs
(2) restrictive adverbs
(3) emphatic adverbs
(4) locational/temporal adverbs

7.2.2 Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs describe the states (7-29) or the manner of activities (7-30) denoted by verbs:

7-29 *hoo* *ro-ora* *po'tee* *siiho-o-ro*
ART.M your.sg-wife's.father very become.ill-3S-PERF.SS
toku *topo* *tu-ro-ng.*
not well be.3S-PERF-M
'Your wife's father became very ill and is not well.' (I-20)

7-30 *topo* *meeng* *inak-i-heeto-ng.*
well very look.after-3O.2A-FUT-M
'You will look after him very well.' (XX-11)

Topo in 7-29 is not an adjective because it cannot take a number suffix even if the S is nonsingular. It is an adverb, functioning as a peripheral argument of the existential verb *tu(h)-* (cf. §14.3.1.4).

The adverb *nompa* 'quickly' in 7-28 is also a manner adverb. See §7.2.3 for another manner adverb *nong* 'together'.

The suffix *-(no)ning* derives manner adverbs. See §7.2.6.

7.2.3 Restrictive Adverbs

Motuna has three restrictive adverbs: (1) *roki* 'just', (2) *nong* 'only' and (3) *meeng* 'exactly, right'.

(1) The restrictive adverb *roki* 'just' can modify any constituents within a clause including noun phrases. It is usually placed before the constituents it modifies, e.g. the verb *turo=turooto-ong* and the local noun phrase *tii Perui-ko rii'*, in:

7-31 *manni* *roki* *turo=turooto-o-ng*
then just let.fall.successively-3O.3A.RMPAST-M
roki *tii* *Perui-ko* *rii'.*
just ART.L 'witch's.name'-PURP top
'Then he just kept on dropping (the coconuts) one after another, just on top of Perui.' (VII-36)

See also 7-16 and 7-19.

However, it follows the numeral *noi* 'one':

7-32 *hoo* *neeko-ng* *aarung* *toku* *noi* *roki.*
ART.M 1nonsg.inc.POSS-M way.of.life not one just
'Our way of life is just not one (= the same).' (XVI-64, cf. 8-61)

(2) Another restrictive adverb, *nong* 'only', modifies only noun phrases. It is placed after the determiner of a noun phrase (as in 7-33 and 7-34).

'when' (cf. §17.1). In the former case it is placed immediately after the determiner (7-38 and 7-39), or after the head if the NP is without determiner (7-40). In the latter case it is placed immediately after the conjunction *tii* (7-41).

7-38 *tii* *meeng* *ri'nono* *murimurih ...*
ART.L right afternoon dusk
'Right in the afternoon when it is getting dark ...' (I-10)

7-39 *... ho-i* *meeng* *mu'king* *teng-ee-u-i*
ART.M-ERG right heart call-APPL-3O.3A-CONT.SS
ngo-o-ku ...
do-3O.3A-GEN.DS
'... whenever he does it while believing it right in the (middle of his) heart, (it) ...' (XVIII-39)

7-40 *ih!* *nii* *iro* *meeng* *iro* *ong* *minno-or-upeena-na.*
oh.dear I today right today DEM.M follow-3pcl.O-1A.FUT-F
'Oh dear! I will follow those (children) today, right on this day.' (VIII-8)

7-41 *tii* *meeng* *hoo* *tu'ki* *aaring-i-ijo*
when exactly ART.M all cross.over-3O.2A-pcl.PERF.SS
komik-oro-ku *impa* *konn-i-'-heetuio-ng.*
be.finished-MID.3S-GEN.DS then walk-2S-pcl-FUT-M
'Exactly when (= As soon as) all of you cross (the log) over and it is finished, then you will walk on.' (III-51)

A discourse marker can intervene the noun phrase it modifies:

7-42 *ong* *pa-i* *jaa* *meeng* *rati'-heeto-ng?*
DEM.M who-ERG on.earth exactly find.3O.3A-FUT-M
'Exactly who, on earth, will find that (person who beats the gong)?' (XIV-12)

Note that *meeng*, in the sense of 'very', functions as an emphatic adverb, modifying attributes which denote degree, quantity, etc., within a noun phrase. See §7.2.4.

7.2.4 Emphatic Adverbs

Three emphatic adverbs, (1) *meeng* 'very', (2) *kirokowo* 'very', (3) *roki=manni* 'really' have been found in my corpus:

(1) The emphatic adverb *meeng* 'very' is placed immediately after the constituent which it modifies. It can modify adjectives (7-26) and adverbs (7-27 and 7-30). In addition,

it may modify verbs which express states:

7-43 *ore hoo roki=manni ima=ima-ree-h* *meeng*
well so certainly REDUP=be.careful-MID.2S-dl.CONT.SS very
hu-ti-heetutee.
come.3S-dl-FUT.DP
'Well, so while you are really very careful, you two will come.' (XII-7)

7-44 ... *manni mohkoruuk-ee-h* *meeng* ...
then be.close-MID.3S-dl.CONT.SS very
'... then while they two were very close (to the land), ...' (XII-36)

(2) The emphatic adverb *kirokowo* 'very' is placed before the constituent it modifies. It can modify verbs and participles.

7-45 *hoo leeta mono-ongjo* *kirokowo*
ART.M letter see-3O.1pclA.PERF.SS very
hari=hari-mara-ree.
REDUP=feel.sad-MID.1pcl.inc.S-PERF.DP
'After we saw the letter, we felt very sad.' (XV-82)

7-46 *ti-ki kuu-ngi hoo* *kirokowo* *hurot-ee-h=tutee.*
ART.L-ERG inside-ERG it very mess.self-MID.3S-dl.PRESPROG.DP
'In the inside (the situation is that) they two were arguing with each other [lit. they two were messing themselves] very much.' (XIX-49)

7-47 ... *roki=manni* *kirokowo* *toko=tokoh-ah* *tuu-juu.*
really very be.hot-PART be.3S-CONT.DS
'... while it was still really very hot.' (XIII-34)

7-48 *ho-ko haa* *kirokowo* *meeng* *urah-ah.*
ART.M-EMPH thing very very be.heavy-PART
'That thing is very very heavy.' (XIII-28)

In 7-48, the adverb *meeng* modifies *kirokowo*, which further modifies the following participle *urah-ah*.

(3) The emphatic adverb *roki=manni* 'really' derives from the restrictive adverb *roki* 'just' and the conjunction *manni* 'so'. It is placed before the constituent it modifies. It can modify adjectives (7-49), adverbs (7-50), verbs (7-51) and participles (7-47):

7-49 ... *roki=manni* *peh=pehkita* *meeng* *ore* *muuko-m-u-u-na.*
really REDUP=small very well give.birth.to-1O-3A-RMPAST-F
'... she gave birth to me, well, (as a) really very small (baby).' (VI-6)

7-50 *woi,* *roki=manni* *topo* *katu-m-i-i-ng.*
hey really well trim-1O-2A-NRPAST-M
'Hey, you trimmed my hair really well.' (IV-8)

7-51 ... *roki=manni* *nimautu-wo-i* *tii* *uri*
really look.handsome.male-MID.3S-CONT.SS ART.L village
mori'-ki-ng.
return.3S-HABPAST-M
'... he returned to the village, while looking really handsome.' (III-8)

7.2.5 Locational and Temporal Adverbs

Locations and directions are mostly expressed by nouns, pronouns, the local article or demonstrative. They may also be expressed by adverbial phrases. The suffix *-(no)ning* 'towards' can be attached to local nouns to derive locational/directional adverbs. See §7.2.6.

Temporal concepts can be expressed by words belonging to other word classes than adverbs, such as local nouns or article, some classifier constructions, adverbial phrases, or dependent verbal clauses. The following few temporal adverbs have been found in my corpus:

kotonoko 'still':
7-52 *roo* *kotonoko* *mono-r-onno-ng.*
you.sg still see-2O-1A.PERF-M
'I (can) still see you.' (III-21)

ehkong 'now, already':
7-53 *hoo=hoo* *Rumanung* *ehkong* *hu-i=to-ng.*
so the.Giant now come.3S-PRESPROG-M
'So the Giant is coming now.' (VIII-13)

ehkonno 'just then, just now':
7-54 *ehkonno* *tii* *miro* *tii-jori* *poko-ni* *maahni*
just.then ART.DIM string $_{REL}$[ART.DIM-LOC 3sg.POSS-DIM little.finger
karuk-u-u-ni *pataak-u-u-na.*
fix-3O.3A-RMPAST-DIM] pull-3O.3A-RMPAST-F
'Just then she pulled the (small) string which she had fixed on her little finger.' (I-30)

roki=tiwo 'all the time' (derives from *roki* 'just' and the manner article *tiwo* 'that way'):

7-55 *hoo* *roki=tiwo* *raatu-moro-mo* *ai* *ho-i*
so all.the.time give.advice-MID.1S-GEN.SS I.tell.you ART.M-ERG
riuku *mi-heeno-ng.*
hole go.1S-FUT-M
'So I will keep giving advice all the time, I tell you, until I die [lit. go into the hole].' (XXI-20)

na-wa'=roki 'immediately' (derives from the numeral classifier *na-wa'* 'once' and *roki* 'just'):

7-56 *oi* *jeewo-ning* *jaa* *nge-wee-to*
DEM.DP how-towards I.wonder be.involved-MID.3S-dl.PERF.SS
nawa'=roki *hu-h=tutee?*
immediately come.3S-dl.PRESPROG.DP
'I wonder in what kind of activities those two (sons of mine) were involved so that they came (back) immediately?' (XII-38)

toku=riit-ah 'without delay' (derives from the negator *toku* and the participle *riit-ah*:'taken long'):

7-57 *toku=riit-ah* *pau* *ngo-opeemoroka-na* *hoo* *nuri*
soon feast make-3O.1A.IMFUT-F ART.M my.son
puu-ro-ng *poko-ng.*
REL[die.3S-PERF-M] 3sg.POSS-M
'Soon I am going to give a feast for my son who is dead.' (XII-51)

7.2.6 Derived Adverbs with the Suffix *-(no)ning*

The suffix *-(no)ning* 'towards' is attached to:

1) locational-directional (LD) nouns (cf. §4.4.2.1), or
2) manner nouns/pronoun/article/adverbs or the local demonstrative, to derive adverbs.

1) with LD nouns:

7-58 ... *riino-ning* *ahk-u-u-ng* *hoo* *Tantanu.*
west-towards chase-3O.3A-RMPAST-M ART.M 'ancestor's.name'
'... he chased Tantanu westwards.' (III-19)

7-59 ... *koto-noning* *hurim-mo* *manni* *no'-kuu-ng: "..."*
up-towards whistle.3S-GEN.SS then say.3S-IMAG-M
'... he would whistle upwards and say: "..." ' (XVIII-10)

2) with manner nouns/pronoun/article/adverbs or the local demonstrative:

7-60
tiwo-noning	'in that kind of way'
owo-noning	'in this kind of way/in the right way'[4]
jeewo-(no)ning	'in what kind of way'
heekowo-ning	'in some kind of way/unnaturally'
muukowo-ning	'differently'
topo-noning	'quite well'

7-61 *ih!* *ana* *jeewo-ning* *jaa* *taapu-upeemoroka-na?*
oh.dear DEM.F how-towards I.wonder help-3O.1A.IMFUT-F
'Oh dear! I wonder in what kind of way I am going to help her.' (V-39)

7-62 *toku, kai,* *muukowo-noning* *konn-i-heeto-ng.*
not boy other.way-towards behave-2S-FUT-M
roo-ko *toku* *muukowo-ning* *konn-i-heeta-na.*
you.sg-also not other.way-towards behave-2S-FUT-F
'You, boy, will not behave differently. You(, girl,) will not behave differently, either.' (XXI-17)

7-63 *roo* *nupi* *roki* *topo-noning* *tu-i* *tu-heeta-na.*
you.sg my.grandchild just well-towards be.2S-CONT.SS be.2S-FUT.F
'My granddaughter, you will stay just well-behaved.' (XXI-7)

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[4] *Owo* is a local demonstrative (cf. §6.3.1), but the derived *owo-noning* is a manner demonstrative.

CHAPTER 8 CLASSIFIERS, NUMERALS AND THE 'ALL' QUANTIFIER

8.1 CLASSIFIERS

8.1.1 Introduction

Classifiers are bound morphemes. They are combined with the bound forms of the article, the demonstrative, possessive pronouns, numerals, the 'all' quantifier, etc., to constitute classifier constructions of various types. Classifier constructions in Motuna cover the functions of so-called numeral classifiers, demonstrative classifiers and genitive classifiers in other languages (cf. Craig 1994). Classifiers can also be combined with free nouns, adjectives, and verbal and participle clauses. Motuna employs the same classifying morphemes in all these constructions. The morpho-syntactic behaviour of classifiers and classifier constructions is summarised as follows:

Morphologically,

(1) classifiers are directly combined with the bound forms of:

(i) the demonstrative *o-*,

(ii) the article *ti-*,

(iii) the 'other' *muuko-*,

(iv) the bound interrogative pronoun *jee-* 'what',

(v) some adjectives,

(vi) numerals, and

(vii) the 'all' quantifier.

Some classifier constructions, especially those with numerals and the 'all' quantifier, may further take number suffixes (as in 8-1g and h).

Examples:

8-1a *o-wori* 'this/that animate'
DEM-CL.animate

b *ti-noosu* 'that concave object'
ART-CL.concave.object

c *muuka-mah* 'other thing'
other-CL.thing

d. *jee-ru* 'what day'
what-CL.day

e *pehko-'ra* 'a small portion'
small-CL.small.amount

f *no-uru* 'a/one human'
one-CL.human

g *ki-uru-ko* 'two humans'
two-CL.human-dl

h *tu'ko-ita-ro* 'both sides'
all-CL.side-dl

(2) classifiers are also bound to the following elements, via the linker *-no-*:
(i) the bound interrogative pronoun *woo-* 'which',
(ii) bound possessive pronouns,
(iii) nouns,
(iv) adjectives,
(v) verbal or participle clauses.

Examples:

8-2a *woo-no-muru* 'which part (of a long object)'
which-LINK-CL.part.of.long.object

b *ngo-na-pa* 'my shelter'
1sg.POSS-LINK-CL.shelter

c *poon-no-ita* 'eastern half/side' (XI-25)
east-LINK-CL.half/side

d *kupuna-no-ru* 'the days of ancestors' (XIV-1)
ancestor-LINK-CL.day

e *rirokisa-no-ita* 'new half/side' (XIX-3)
new-LINK-CL.half/side

f *hoo kongsi' haaro'-ki-no-mori*
[ART.M mango fall.3S-HABPAST]-LINK-CL.season
'(in) the season when mangoes fall' (VIII-1)

Syntactically, classifier constructions:

(1) function as post-head attributes within noun phrases:

8-3 *ong* *kupuna* *o-wori* *hoo* *naa'ru.*
DEM.M ancestor.spirit DEM-CL.animate ART.M lazy
'This ancestor spirit(, this animate,) is lazy.' (III-9)

8-4 ... *hoo* *huuru* *no-muru* *nong-kuu-ng* ...
ART.M pig one-part.of.long.object get.3O.3A-IMAG-M
'... he would get one piece of meat of a pig ...' (XIX-39)

8-5 ... *hoo* *Maawo* *poko-ng* *puri*
ART.M 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M head
hoo-jori *kui* *romoko-noo'* *nauk-oro-ku* ...
ART.M-LOC stick last-CL.long.object lie-MID.3S-GEN.DS
'... Maavo's head lay down on the last stick, and (they) ...' (I-27)

8-6 *moo* *woo-no-mung* *ka-warei* *haa-jee-ji-'=tuio-ng?*
coconut which-LINK-CL.fruit pick-VN want-APPL-3O.2A-pcl.PRESPROG-M
'Which coconut [lit. Coconut, which one,] do you want to have picked?' (XXXIV-2)

8-7 *tii* *kuraako* *ko-o-'-no-ngu*
ART.DP breadfruit $_{REL}$[pick-3O.3A-dl.RMPAST]-LINK-CL.lot
'a few breadfruits, the lot which two of them picked' (XII-10)

(2) are employed in headless noun phrases (unexpressed heads are understood from the context):

8-8 *ong* *poko* *o-'ri* *hoh-r-ongu*
DEM.M had.better DEM-CL.round.object throw.towards-2O-1A.GEN.DS
te-i-hee.
eat-3O.2A-DEFFUT
'I had better throw this round object (Malayan apple) towards you, and you will definitely eat it.' (XI-19)

8-9 ... *toku* *tii* *ti-ru* *umi-ki-ng* ...
not ART.L ART-CL.day go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-M
'... we didn't go on that day ...' (VI-47)

8-10 ... *manni* *tii* *ki-mun-nó* *rutum-mo* *tu-ku* ...
then ART.DP two-CL.plant-dl beat.3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS
'... then while he kept beating the two things made of plants (slit gongs), (they) ...' (XIV-11)

8-11 *roki* *hoo* *ong* *nommai-ki* *hipa*
just ART.M DEM.M [people-ERG feet
mont-a-ko-no-muru
step-3O.3pcl.A-PRES]-LINK-CL.part.of.long.object
'just that part (of the road) on which people put their feet' (XV-45)

In addition, constructions with free nouns and adjectives function as NP heads by themselves in most cases. cf. §8.1.3.2.3 and §8.1.3.2.4. Numeral classifiers can also function as NP heads. cf. §8.2.

I have attested fifty-one classifiers in my corpus and from elicitation. All these classifiers, with the examples of nouns they can modify, are listed in Table 8-1 in §8.1.2, according to their semantic categories. All the examples of classifiers in the following sections of this chapter are identified by numbers in brackets, which refer to those in Table 8-1.

8.1.2 The List of Classifiers according to Their Semantic Categories

In the following list, classifiers are grouped according to their semantic categories. Some of these categories are based on general characteristics such as 'human' and 'animate', others are based on the shapes or functions of the objects, and yet others are used primarily for quantification. In general, they are "heterogeneous, non-hierarchical, non-taxonomic" (Craig 1994: 568). Note that certain nouns can cooccur with a number of different classifiers, as exemplified in §4.3. Classifiers marked by * are unique, i.e. can cooccur with only one noun.

Table 8-1 List of Classifiers

(A) general categories:

Classifier	Gloss	Nouns it can modify
(1) *-uru*	'human'	*nommai* 'person', *nungamong* 'man', *kuraisa* 'woman', *kitori(a)* 'child', *pehka* 'girl', *pehkoro* 'boy'
(2) *-wori*	'animate'	*nommai* 'person', *kitori(a)* 'child', *huuru* 'pig', *poringi* 'bird', *koringi* 'fish', *po'jaapo* 'snake', *uruwi* 'centepede'
(3) *-mah*	'thing'[1]	*heewa/hea/hia* 'thing', *haha'* 'work'

[1] This classifier refers to 'thing' in an abstract way, and cannot modify nouns referring to specific objects. It cannot occur with numerals except for *no-* 'one' in an indefinite sense.

(B) plants/fruits/nuts/root vegetables:

(4) *-mung*	'plant/fruit/nut/egg/ things made of plant/ coin'	*sira* 'fruit/egg', *kui(no)* 'tree', *moo* 'coconut (nut/tree)', *sinoo'* 'water container made of coconut shell', *tui* 'slit gong', *moosii* 'nut', *moi* 'canarium almond (nut/tree)', *painaapo* 'pineapple', *kongsi'* 'mango (fruit/tree)', *korikorisa* 'Malayan apple (fruit/tree)', *kiina* 'kiina (unit of currency)'
(5) *-ri*	'nut with hard shells'	*moo* 'coconut', *sinoo'* 'water container made of coconut shell', *moi* 'canarium almond'
(6) *-mo'*	'bunch of nuts'	*moo* 'coconut', *moosii* 'nut', *moi* 'canarium almond'
(7) **-mee*	'banana tree'	*peero* 'banana'
(8) **-mo*	'bunch of bananas'	*peero* 'banana'
(9) **-moh*	'hand of bananas'	*peero* 'banana'
(10) **-noo*	'breadfruit'	*kuraako* 'breadfruit'
(11) *-na'*	'taro/big root'	*hame* 'taro', *karahai* 'kongkong taro', *kana'* 'big root'
(12) *-wui*	'root vegetable other than taro'	*kuiporo* 'tapioka', *poro* 'yam', *petei/pete'/peteita* 'sweet potato'

(C) objects according to their shape:

(13) *-'ri*	'round object'	*sira* 'fruit/egg', *moo* 'coconut (tree)', *sinoo'* 'water container made of coconut shell', *moosii* 'nut', *moi* 'canarium almond', *painaapo* 'pineapple', *kongsi'* 'mango', *korikorisa* 'Malayan apple', *kiina* 'kiina (unit of currency)'
(14) *-noosu*	'concave object'	*aru=aru* 'cane basket', *hakaasi* 'canoe', *kuuhai* 'coconut shell', *kaara* 'car', *diis* 'dish', *sikuuna* 'schooner'
(15) *-wa(i)*	'thin object'	*patu/hono* 'leaf', *huu* 'coconut leaf', *kaatu* 'sago leaf', *peepa* 'paper'
(16) *-'*	'slender object'	*pih* 'bamboo', *kuhetuka* 'kind of arrow', *koho'so* 'spear', *sipuuni* 'spoon', *pensol* 'pencil'
(17) *-noo'*	'stick'	*kui(no)/kaa'* 'stick'
(18) *-wi'*	'fine object'	*piira* 'tiny root', *kana'* 'root', *hii* 'hair', *paru* 'feather', *kukupi* 'vine'
(19) *-wi*	'string-shaped object'	*kururu* 'rope', *miro* 'string'
(20) *-ru*	'lengthwise object'	*soromang* 'mat made of pandanus leaves', *paaro* 'cloth', *huuru* 'lengthwise strip of pork', *blangkete* 'blanket'
(21) *-jaa*	'object which is wrapped lengthwise'	*peero* 'banana', *pia* 'wrapped and cooked sago', *irihwa* 'finger', *soosej* 'sausage'

(D) human artifacts (according to their usage):

(22) *-waki*	'carrier'	*hu'niso* 'woman's basket', *pokoto* 'man's string bag', *aakono* 'knapsack', *haaki* 'basket made of reed', *komorikah* 'small basket', *karain(g)i* 'small bag', *anu=anu* 'big cane basket'
(23) *-meng*	'cutting tool'	*mariki* 'axe', *naihe* 'knife', *saaworo* 'spade', *soo* 'saw'
(24) *-pa*	'shelter'	*howo* 'house', *kaaposo* 'club house', *pari* 'hut'
(25) **-noopi*	'bed'	*tompa* 'bed'
(26) **-waa*	'bow'	*upa* 'bow'

(E) part of something:

(27) *-naang*	'limb of the body'	*angu* 'arm/hand', *hipa* 'leg/foot', *irihwa* 'finger', *kai* 'claw/horn', *aang* 'branch'
(28) *-naai*	'small limb of the body'	*angu* 'arm', *kai* 'claw', *aang* 'twig'
(29) *-muru*	'part of long object', 'half packet/bag'	*kui(no)* 'small piece of wood', *miro* 'small piece of string', *huuru* 'small piece of pork', *napa* 'small piece of possum's meat', *waasiih/koro=koro* 'small part of story', *suuka* '(half packet of) sugar', *palawa* '(half bag of) flour'
(30) *-ita*	'half/side'	*moo* 'half coconut shell', *huruutu* 'half watermelon', *mumuno* 'side of wall', *kunto* 'side of door', *uri* 'side of village'
(31) *-ngsa*	'half of something splitted lengthwise'	*kui/horo* 'splitted plank', *ko'sa* 'one side of a shellfish', *hame* 'half of taro cut lengthwise'

(F) quantity:

(32) *-'ra*	'small amount'	*tuu* 'water', *kaakaa* 'protein food (meat, fish, etc.)', *huuru* 'pork', *pia* 'sago', *keiki* 'cake'
(33) *-ngu*	'lot'	*nommai* 'people', *kitori* 'children', *huuru* 'pigs', *hame* 'taro', *waasiih* 'story'
(34) *-rii*	'a unit of length (maximum length from the tip of one hand to the tip of the other hand)'	*peesi'* 'shellmoney', *mirumiru* 'shellmoney with knots', *kia* 'big shellmoney', *miro* 'string', *kururu* 'rope'

(G) collectives:

(35) *-po*	'group of people'	*nommai* 'people', *kuraisa* 'women', *nungamong* 'men'
(36) *-muu-ro/ -puu-ro/ -puu-ri*[2]	'objects of the same kind'	*heewa/hea/hia* 'things', *pau* 'food', *paaro* 'clothes', *huuru* 'pigs', *poringi* 'birds'
(37) *-maku*	'packet of something'	*pia* 'packet of processed sago', *rohowah* 'packet of food baked in open fire', *nukonuko* 'parcel', *maani* 'ten keenas/dollars', *suuka* 'packet of sugar'
(38) *-waku*	'bag of something'	*raisi* 'bag of rice', *kookoo* 'bag of cocoa', *koopii* 'bag of coffee', *palawa* 'bag of flour'
(39) *-matu*	'bundle/patch of something'	*pih* 'bundle of bamboo', *tongo* 'bundle of sugarcane', *kui(no)* 'bundle of firewood', *moi* 'bundle of canarium almonds', *muh(ni)* 'patch of land', *motukah* 'island'
(40) *-wu'*	'bundle/group'	*koringi* 'bundle of fish strung together', *piinat* 'bundle of peanuts', *lootu* 'denomination/sect'

(H) human environment:

(41) *-nai*	'human habitation'	*uri* 'village', *taun* 'town', *siti* 'city'
(42) **-uto*	'road'	*monare* 'road'
(43) **-raku*	'river'	*tuu* 'river'
(44) **-mita*	'mountain'	*menu* 'mountain'
(45) **-puri*	'stone'	*kupuri* 'stone'
(46) *-weena*	'area'	*potuana* 'place', *musimang* 'bush', *misi* 'ground', *urini(-ngung)* 'area', *menu-ngung* 'mountaineous area'

(I) human culture:

(47) *-ruma*	'story, song, talk'	*waasiih* 'story', *siro* 'song', *koro=koro* 'talk'

(J) temporals:

(48) *-ru/-muu*	'day'[3]	*ruu* 'day', *muu* 'night'
(49) **-winna*	'month'	*hingjoo* 'month'
(50) **-mori*	'year'	*moi* 'canarium almond season/year'
(51) *-wa'*	'time/week/story/song/ school'	*poti* 'time', *Sande* 'week', *waasiih* 'story', *siro* 'song', *sikuulu* 'school'

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[2] *-Ro* and *-ri* are nonsingular suffixes.

8.1.3 Classifier Constructions

As mentioned in §8.1.1, classifiers are either directly combined with various bound morphemes, or are combined with bound morphemes, words or clauses via the linker *-no-*. The constructions of the first type are discussed in §8.1.3.1, and those with the linker *-no-* in §8.1.3.2.

8.1.3.1 Classifier Constructions without Linker *-no-*

8.1.3.1.1 Article and Demonstrative Classifier Constructions

The bound article /ti-/ and demonstrative /o-/ can be combined with any classifiers listed in Table 8-1 in §8.1.2. A noun phrase, with an article or demonstrative classifier construction as a post-head attribute, is usually determined by an article or a demonstrative, respectively, but it may be without determiner in some cases. In either case, article and demonstrative classifier constructions are in deictic, anaphoric or cataphoric function; the former do not simply express specificity (cf. §6.1).

As post-head attributes:

with the 'plant/fruit' classifier *-mung* (4):

8-12	*hoo*	*sira*	*ti-mung*	'that egg/fruit (over there)'
	ong	*sira*	*o-mung*	'this/that egg/fruit'

with the 'slender object' classifier *-'* (16):

8-13	*hoo*	*pih*	*ti-'*	'that bamboo (over there)'
	ong	*pih*	*o-'*	'this/that bamboo'

with the 'part of long object' classifier *-muru* (29):

8-14	*hoo*	*kui*	*ti-muru*	'that piece of wood (over there)'
	ong	*kui*	*o-muru*	'this/that piece of wood'

---

[3] The form *-muu* is used to refer only to a day in the past. For example:

tiko	*manni*	*no-ru*	*no-muu*	*hoo*	*Paanaangah*
and	then	one-CL.day	one-CL.day	ART.M	'ancestor's.name'

hoo	*kaa'*	*ku'k-u-u-ng.*
ART.U	young.tree	dig-3O.3A-RMPAST-M

'And then, one day Paanaangah dug the (trunk of the) young tree.' (XIV-4)

In the above sentence, two classifiers are employed in a headless temporal NP in adverbial function. (The unexpressed head is *ruu* day'.) It seems that the classifier *-muu* cannot be used in headless NPs on its own.

with the 'small amount' classifier *-'ra* (32):

8-15	*hoo*	*tuu*	*ti-'ra*	'that small amount of water (over there)'
	ong	*tuu*	*o-'ra*	'this/that small amount of water'

with the 'month' classifer *-winna* (49):

8-16	*hoo*	*hingjoo*	*ti-winna*	'that month'
	ong	*hingjoo*	*o-winna*	'this/that month'

Vowels of classifiers are not affected by the bound article or demonstrative:

with the 'human' classifier *-uru* (1):

8-17	*hoo*	*nommai*	*ti-uru*	'that person (over there)'
	ong	*nommai*	*o-uru*	'this/that person'

with the 'half/side' classifier *-ita* (30):

8-18	*hoo*	*moo*	*ti-ita*	'that half of the coconut shell (over there)'
	ong	*moo*	*o-ita*	'this/that half of the coconut shell'

The vowel /o/ of the bound demonstrative /o-/ is assimilated to the following /a/ and /e/ due to Rule 2-9.

with the 'banana tree' classifier *-mee* (7):

8-19	*hoo*	*peero*	*ti-mee*	'that banana tree (over there)'
	ong	*peero*	*o/e-mee*	'this/that banana tree'

with the 'shelter' classifier *-pa* (24):

8-20	*hoo*	*howo*	*ti-pa*	'that house (over there)'
	ong	*howo*	*a-pa*	'this/that house'

Article and demonstrative classifier constructions either function as post-head attributes, or are employed in headless noun phrases.

(1) Examples of article classifier constructions:

(i) as post-head attributes:

8-21	*hoo*	*kaa'*	*ti-noo'*	*uko-wa-ro ...*
	ART.M	young.tree	ART-CL.long.object	carry-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS

'After they had brought that long piece of young tree with them, (they) ...' (XXIII-51)

8-22 *kai, ho-ko nommai ho-ko nupi*
boy ART.M-EMPH person ART.M-EMPH my.grandchild
ti-wori-ngo arap-ah.
ART-CL.animate-EMPH be.bad-PART
'Boy, that person, that (particular) grandchild of mine (over there) is bad.' (XXI-10)

The article classifier construction *ti-noo'* in 8-21 is used anaphorically, while *ti-wori(-ngo)* in 8-22 deictically.

(ii) employed in headless noun phrases:

8-23 *tiko tii hoo ti-muru te-u-mo tu-ku ...*
then when ART.M ART-CL.piece.of.long.object eat-3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS
'Then while he (= the demon) kept eating that part (of the body), (the younger brother) ...' (XII-37)

8-24 *inokee hoo ti-ki poongo ti-raku-kori nee-ung-heenuio-ng.*
again so ART.L-ERG east ART-CL.river-L eat-3O.1pcl.A-FUT-M
'So again we will eat it on that river over there in the east.' (X-15)

The unexpressed head in *hoo ti-muru* in 8-23, i.e. 'the body of the elder brother', is the central topic in this part of the story and is easily recoverable from the context. The classifier *-raku* in 8-24 is unique , i.e. only *tuu* 'river' can be its head. Here the classifier is used instead of the noun because the speaker is comparing "this" river with the one which they are going to visit.[4]

(2) Examples of demonstrative classifier constructions:
(i) as post-head attributes (see also 8-3):

8-25 *... tiko ong koto ku'-kori-ko tokis-u-ro*
then DEM.M up neck-L-PURP cut-3O.3A-PERF.SS
hoo ong koho o-muru
ART.M DEM.M down DEM-CL.part.of.long.object
o-jee-u-u-ng.
give.to-APPL-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'... then after he cut the upper part (of his brother's body) at the neck, he gave that lower part of his brother's body (to the demon).' (XII-36)

8-26 *ong waasiih a-wa' hoo kompaka poko-ng.*
DEM.M story DEM-CL.story ART.M heron 3sg.POSS-M
'This piece of story (I am going to tell) is about a heron.' (V-1)

[4] Classifiers tend to be used in comparison in possessive constructions as well. cf. §11.2.2.

The demonstrative classifier construction *o-muru* in 8-25 is used anaphorically, while *a-wa'* in 8-26 cataphorically.

(ii) employed in headless noun phrases (see also 8-8):

8-27 *nii* *ong-ngori* *o-wu'* *lootu-warei-ko* *toku* *haa-mu-u-ng.*
I DEM.M-LOC DEM-CL.group pray-VN-EMPH not want-1S-NRPAST-M
'I don't want to pray in this sect.' (XVIII-45)

8-28 *heekoo* *jii* *toku* *pi-ti-heetutee.*
any.place also not go.2S-dl-FUT.DP
owo *a-pa-kori* *jii* *toku* *pi-h.*
DEM.L DEM-CL.shelter-L also not go.2S-dl.CONT.SS
'You two will not go anywhere (= to anyone's house). You don't keep going to that house, either.' (XX-14)

The unexpressed head in *ong-ngori o-wu'* in 8-27 is understood from the context. In 8-28, the head of the classifier *-pa* is almost always *howo* 'house'; here the classifier is used instead of the noun for comparison.

Note that a demonstrative and an article classifier constructions, which contain the same classifer, are juxtaposed to indicate the distributional plurality of the objects referred to by the classifier. cf. §10.3.3.4.

8.1.3.1.2 *muuko-* 'other' and *jee-* 'what'

Muuko-'other' (§4.4.2.4) is directly combined with classifiers. Examples found in my corpus are given below:

8-29 *haha'* *muuka-mah* *ratik-u-u-na.*
work other-CL.thing find-3O.3A-RMPAST-F
'I found another job.' (XVI-108)

8-30 *ho-ko* *na-wa'* *tuh-ah,* *ho-ko* *muuka-wa'* ...
ART.M-EMPH one-CL.book $_{REL}$[be-PART] it-EMPH other-CL.book
'That one (book) which is (here), that is a different one ...' (XXVIII)

In 8-29, *muuka-mah* functions as a post-head attribute, while in 8-30 *muuka-wa'* is employed in a headless noun phrase functioning as a predicate in a nominal clause.

The bound interrogative pronoun *jee-* 'what' is found to occur only with the classifier *-ru* 'day', i.e. *jee-ru* 'what day'. cf. §5.3.1.

8.1.3.1.3 Bound Adjectives

The bound adjectives *pehko-* 'small' and *mohko-* 'short' are directly combined with classifiers.[5]

8-31a	*hoo*	*motukah*	*pehko-'ra*	'a/the small patch of
	ART.M	island/land	small-CL.small.amount	island/land' (I-41)
b	*tii*	*nommai*	*pehko-ngu*	'a/the small lot of people'
	ART.DP	people	small-CL.lot	
c	*tii*	*miru*	*mohko-muru*	'a/the short piece of string'
	ART.DIM	string	short-CL.piece.of.long.object	

8.1.3.2 Classifier Constructions with Linker *-no-*

8.1.3.2.1 The Bound Interrogative Pronoun *woo-* 'which'

The bound interrogative pronoun *woo-* 'which' is attached to classifiers via the linker *-no-*.

8-32a	*howo*	*woo-na-pa*	'which house'
	house	which-LINK-CL.shelter	
b	*huuru*	*woo-no-wori*	'which pig'
	pig	which-LINK-CL.animate	
c	*ruu*	*woo-no-ru*	'which day'
	day	which-LINK-CL.day	

The classifier constructions of this type seem to function as post-head attributes. See also 8-6.

8.1.3.2.2 Bound Possessive Pronouns

Bound possessive pronouns are also attached to classifiers via the linker *-no-*. Examples 5-12a in §5.2.3 is repeated.

8-33	*ong*	*moo*	*ngo-no-mung*
	DEM.M	coconut	1sg.POSS-LINK-CL.plant/fruit
	'this/that coconut, (which is) my plant/fruit'		

[5] The adjectives which express opposite meanings, i.e. *honna* 'big' and *ihkita* 'long', are combined with classifiers via the linker *-no*. e.g. *honna-no-muru* 'big piece of long object', *ihkita-no-mung* 'long plant/fruit'. cf. §8.1.3.2.4.

See §11.2.2 for further discussion.

8.1.3.2.3 Free Nouns

Classifiers which denote spatial (*-ita* 'half/side'), temporal (*-ru* 'day' and *-mori* 'season/year'), or collective (*-po* 'people') concepts, can be combined with free nouns. Classifier constructions of this type almost always constitute NP heads.[6]

The classifier *-ita* 'side' is combined with local nouns referring to specific places, directions (north/south/east/west, inside/outside, upside/underneath, etc.), which are contrasted with other places or directions.

8-34 *... ong-ngori* *Nagowisi-no-ita* *mi-i-na.*
DEM.M-LOC 'place.name'-LINK-CL.side go.1S-RMPAST-F
'... I went to the Nagovisi side. [Contrasted with the Siwai side].' (XVI-10)

Nouns in classifier constructions may take attributes:

8-35 *hoo=hoo* *tii* *patu-ko* *poon-no-ita* *ho-ko* *kupuri*
so ART.L [leaf-PURP underneath]-LINK-CL.side ART.M-EMPH stone
hoo *roki=manni* *kirokowo* *toko=tokoh-ah* *tuu-juu.*
ART.M really very be.hot-PART be.3S-CONT.DS
'So, on the side underneath leaves, stones were still really very hot. [Contrasted with the top side of the leaves.}' (XIII-34)

8-36 *...tii* *heekoo* *noniko-ng* *koh* *tu-ki-no*
ART.L some.place $_{REL}$[1nonsg.exc.POSS-M garden be.3S-HABPAST-L]
tuu *honna-no-ita-kori.*
[[river big]-LINK-CL.side]-L
'... the place [lit. some place] where our garden was, was a side (= tributary) of a big river. (contrasted with the mainstream of the 'big river'.)' (VI-28, cf. 3-10)

In 8-36, the classifier construction *tuu honna-no-ita* further takes the local derivational suffix *-kori*. cf. §4.6.1.

The classifiers *-ru* 'day' and *-mori* 'season/year' are combined with non-local nouns referring to entities which characterise time.

[6] Some of them, however, may function as post-head attributes. Compare the following classifier construtions with the one found in 8-37:

hoo *nommai* *Siuai-no-po* 'people from Siwai'
ART.M people 'place.name'-LINK-CL.people

8-37 *kupuna-no-ru* *hoo* *Siuai-no-po* *ong* *tui*
ancestor-LINK-CL.day ART.M 'place.name'-LINK-CL.people DEM.M slit.gong
toku *kuuk-a-mo-ng.*
not know-3O.3pcl.A-GEN-M
'In the days of ancestors Siwai people didn't know this slit gong.' (XIV-1)

8-38 ... *tii* *moi-no-mori* *hoo* *moi* *ko-o-hee*
ART.L almond-LINK-CL.season ART.M almond pick-3O.3A-DEFFUT
tii-nno *pa-na* *pi-'-ni.*
ART.F-COMIT his-wife go.3S-dl.RMPAST-DP
'... in the almond season, (he) went to pick almonds with his wife.' (XIII-1)

The classifier *-po* 'people' is combined with local nouns referring to the places of origin (cf. *Siuai-no-po* in 8-37), or positions (as *uru-no-po* in 8-39).

8-39 ... *hoo* *tumikei* *hoo* *uru-no-po* *hoo* *manni*
ART.M first.lot ART.M front-LINK-CL.people ART.M then
aaring-a-a-ng *ho-i* *nuinui.*
enter-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M ART.M-ERG cave
'... the first lot, the people in the front, then, entered into the cave.' (IX-19)

Apart from the examples above, the noun *hongoponongu* 'adults/elder people' (cf. §4.2.2) can be analysed as the combination of the bound root *hongopo-* 'old person' + linker *-no-* + classifier *-ngu* 'a lot'.

8.1.3.2.4 Free Adjectives

Gradable adjectives are also combined with classifiers (cf. fn 5 in §8.1.3.1.3). Again the whole constructions function as NP heads. I found only one example of this type in my corpus:

8-40 *impa* *hoo* *rirokisa-no-ita* *inokee* *romo-ki* *rorong-e-i-heeto-ng.*
now ART.M new-LINK-CL.side again later-ERG tell-APPL-3O.2A-FUT-M
'Now, you will tell about the new side (of the customs introduced by missionaries) later again. [Contrasted with the old (traditional) customs.]' (XIX-3)

8.1.3.2.5 Verbal and Participle Clauses

Classifiers can be combined with verbal or participle clauses. In such a case, the classifier may correspond to the S, O, A, or peripheral (local) argument of the predicate of the verbal/participle clause. (In the following examples, verbal/participle clauses are

underlined, and the classifiers are double-underlined.)

Note that classifier constructions in 8-43 (and 8-7) function as post-head attributes, while others (8-41, 8-42 and 8-44 – 8-47) are employed in headless NPs.

The classifier corresponds to the O argument of the predicate of the verbal clause (see also 8-7):

8-41 *ong* *topo* *inak-i-heeto-no-uru.*
DEM.M [well look.after-3O.2A-FUT]-LINK-CL.human
'This is the one [lit. human] you will look after well.' (XX-10)

8-42 *roki* *hoo* *ong* *nommai-ki* *hipa*
just ART.M DEM.M [people-ERG feet
mont-a-ko-no-muru *hoo* *misi*
step-3O.3pcl.A-PRES]-LINK-CL.part.of.long.object ART.M soil
mono-je-i-kuu-ng.
see-APPL-3O.2A-IMAG-M
'Just on that part (of the road) where people put their feet, you could see the soil.' (XV-45)

The classifier corresponds to the A argument of the predicate of the participle clause (no verbal clause of this type was found in my corpus):

8-43 ... *hoo-nno* *jii* *eejee* *nii* *minno-wah-no-wori* ...
ART.M-COMIT and my.opp.sex.sib [me follow-PART]-LINK-CL.animate
'... and with one (animate) of my brother who was following me (= next junior to me)...' (II-4)

The classifier corresponds to the S argument of the predicate of the verbal clause:

8-44 ... *hoo* *koto* *honna* *rii-kui-no-wori* ...
ART.M up [big be.3S-IMAG]-LINK-CL.animate
'... the elder one (animate) who would be big (= grown-up) ...' (XX-12)

The classifier corresponds to the S argument of the predicate of the participle clause:

8-45 ... *ong* *owo=nga-wah-no-wori,*
DEM.M [be.like.this-PART]-LINK-CL.animate
ong *ongi* *maanno-ng* ...
DEM.M $_{REL}$[here.ERG sit.3S.PERF-M]
'...this one who is like this, this (one) who is sitting here ...' (XXI-2)

The classifier corresponds to the peripheral argument of the predicate of the verbal clause:

8-46 *u'kisa hoo kitori hoo kongsi'*
long.ago ART.M children [ART.M mango
haaro'-ki-no-mori hoo kongsi'
fall.3S-HABPAST]-LINK-CL.season ART.M mango
u'w-a-hee uwi-ki-ng.
pick.from.ground-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT go.3pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'Long ago, in the season when mangoes fall, the children went to pick mangoes from the ground.' (VIII-1)

8-47 *tiko ai manni*
and I.tell.you then
tii mu'sii-wee-n-no-ru ...
ART.L [finish.mournig-MID.3S-pcl.RMPAST]-LINK-CL.day
hoo pa-aromong noh-u-u-ng: "..."
ART.M his-younger.brother say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'And, I tell you, then, on the day when people held the feast to finish the mourning period, ... (his mother) said to his younger brother: "..." ' (XII-55)

8.2 NUMERALS

8.2.1 Introduction

The numeral expressing the cardinal number 'one' has both a free and a bound forms; it expresses "indefiniteness" as well. The bound form *no-* can be combined with any classifiers.

Bound cardinal numerals from 'two' to 'five', on the other hand, can be combined only with classifiers which refer to countable entities. They are further followed by dual or paucal/plural number suffixes. There are, however, free morphemes expressing numbers 'three' to 'five', which take no classifiers and are used as the counters of more than one noun class. The numeral *angumuuka* 'five [lit. like a hand]', especially, is used as the counter of most noun classes. For example, the 'thin object' classifier *-nowi* (19) is combined with bound numerals 'one' to 'four', but is represented by *angumuuka* for 'five':

8-48 *miru no-wi* 'one string'
string one-CL.thin.object

miru ki-wi-po 'two strings'
string two-CL.thin.object-dl

miru	*pee-wi-ng*	'three strings'
string	three-CL.thin.object-pcl	
miru	*kori-wi-ng*	'four strings'
string	four-CL.thin.object-pcl	
miru	*angumuuka*	'five strings'
string	five	

Numbers above six (except for the multiples of ten) are expressed analytically. cf. §8.2.2.6 and §8.2.2.7.

Ordinals are basically formed by attaching the masculine suffix *-ng* to cardinals, or by combining cardinals with a classifier via the linker *-n(o)-*. cf. §8.2.4.

Syntactically, numerals (1) function as post-head attributes, (2) are employed in headless NPs, or (3) function as NP heads. Examples of numerals in each syntactic environment are given below.

(1) as post-head attributes:

8-49 *Oostrelia* *pi-'-heetuiee* *ong-ngori* *Sande* *pee-wa'-ngu.*
'place.name' go.2S-pcl-FUT.DP DEM.M-LOC week three-CL.time-pcl
'You will go to Australia for three weeks.' (XV-14)

8-50 *... hoo* *poo'ki* *kiisakaro-ng* *inokee*
ART.M baby two.CL.animate.dl-M again
muuko-o'-na.
give.birth.to-3O.1A.RMPAST-F
'... I again gave birth to the second baby.' (XVI-19)

(2) employed in headless noun phrases (see also 8-10):

8-51 *tiko* *tii* *peemongu-no-wori* *uko-oh*
then ART.F three.CL.animate-LINK-CL.animate carry-3O.1A.CONT.SS
kipu-kori-ki ...
womb-L-ERG
'Then while I was carrying the third one (baby) in my womb, (I) ...'
(XVI-47)

(3) as NP heads:

8-52 *tiko* *ong* *ruu* *ong* *peekang* *ronguh-oro-ku ...*
and DEM.M day DEM.M three end-MID.3S-GEN.DS
'And when these three days ended, (they) ...' (XV-67)

8-53 ... *nii* *ngo-ng* *moi* *ongi-heekoo* *angumuuka*
me 1sg.POSS-M age about five
ri-mo *nu-ku.*
be.1S-GEN.SS be.1S-GEN.DS
'... me, whose age was (being) about five.' (II-4)

In 8-52 the NP *ong peekang* is juxtaposed to the preceding NP *ong ruu*. In 8-53 the NP *ongi-heekoo angumuuka* functions as a Complement of the verb *rii(h)-* 'to become/be'.

The free numeral *noi* 'one' has special syntactic functions in negative sentences. See §8.2.2.1.1.

In the following sections, I will first discuss the morpho-syntactic characteristics of the "number one" numeral in §8.2.2.1. In §8.2.2.2 – §8.2.2.7, I will discuss the morphological structure of other cardinal numerals. The list of cardinals from 'one' to 'five', in combination with all the classifiers, is given in Table 8-2 in §8.2.3. Ordinals are discussed in §8.2.4.

8.2.2 Cardinals

The system of cardinals, so far attested, is described below.[7]

8.2.2.1 "Number One" Numeral

The number one numeral has both a free form *noi* and a bound form *-no.*

8.2.2.1.1 The Free Form *noi*

The syntactic behaviour of *noi* is different from that of other numerals. In attribution, it usually occupies a post-head position, but not always, unlike other numerals (cf. §10.3.3.4 and 10.3.4.2). It has special functions in negative sentences. It can modify both countable and uncountable nouns, expressing "indefiniteness" in general.

[7] There are gaps which neither of my main informants could fill. Especially the paradigms of those numeral classifiers which are not often used in daily conversation are incomplete. See Table 8-2. They must be filled by older speakers in the future. In my corpus of texts large numbers (such as year numbers) are expressed by English numerals.

It has also a distinct local form *noo* which only functons as NP head.

Examples in attribution:

8-54 *ih!* *pau* *noi* *ne-i-hee ...*
oh.dear food some eat-3O.2A-DEFFUT
[NP]
'Oh dear! You will definitely eat some food ...' (XIII-35)

8-55 *howo* *noi* *konn-i-ng.*
house a build-3O.2A-pcl.IMP
[NP]
'(You many) build a house.' (XIX-12)

In negative sentences, *noi* is always preceded by a word expressing negation, such as *toku* 'not' (cf. §9.2) and *tana-kitee* 'scarcely [lit. from industry]'.

8-56 *roo* *haha'* *honna* *toku* *noi* *ngo-i-heeta-na.*
you.sg work big not any do-3O.2A-FUT-F
'You will not do any big work.' (XIX-32)

8-57 *u'kisa* *tui* *moikui-ki* *toku* *noi* *ku'k-a-ki-ng.*
long.ago slit.gong 'name.of.tree'-ERG not a dig-3O.3pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'Long ago people did not dig a gong from *moikui* trees.' (XXIII-1)

8-58 *tiko* *hoo-ko* *pau* *manni* *roki* *tana-kitee* *noi*
and ART.M-EMPH food certainly just scarcely any
nop-ung-ki-ng.
get-3O.1pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'And as for the food, we certainly used to get scarcely any.' (VI-27)

In negative "existential" (8-59) and "possessive" (8-60) verbal clauses, the Perfect forms of the existential verb *tu(h)-* 'to be' (§14.3.1.4) and *tuh-ee-* 'to have' (§14.6.1), respectively, can be left unexpressed. *Toku noi* modify S and C arguments, respectively, of such clauses.

8-59 *impa* *hoo* *monare* *ree* *turu-ree-'-kuu-ng* *toku* *noi*
now ART.M way REL[you.nonsg return-MID.2S-pcl-IMAG-M] not a
(tu-ro-ng).
be.3S-PERF-M
'Now there is not a way by which you could return.' (XV-15)

8-60 *nii* *miika* *toku* *noi* *(tuh-ee-nno-ng).*
I leftover.of.betel.nut not any be-APPL-PERF.1S-M
'I have not any leftover of betel nuts.' (IX-5)

Noi can also function as a predicate:

8-61 *hoo* *neeko-ng* *aarung* *toku* *noi* *roki.*
ART.M 1nonsg.inc.POSS-M way.of.life not one just
'Our way of life is just not one (= the same).' (XVI-64, cf. 7-32)

In 8-62, *noi* constitutes a *bahuvrihi* compound, incorporating a comitative noun phrase (cf. §2.6 and §7.1.3).

8-62 ... *kitori* *kuraisa-ngung* ... *nii-nno* *koro=koro* *noi-ngung* ...
child female-PL [me-COMIT language one]-PL
'... the female children who have one language with me ...' (XVI-1)

Noi is also employed in a headless noun phrase, anaphorically referring to the entity understood from the context.

8-63 *mu-ro* *inokee* *noi* *uko-opeeno-ng.*
come.1S-PERF.SS again some carry-3O.1A.FUT-M
'I will come and carry some (almonds) again.' (XIII-28)

8-64 *nii* *toku* *noi.*
I not any
'I have not any (shell).' (VIII-32)

Noi, with the meaning 'one thing/something/anything', stands as the head of a noun phrase which introduces a new topic:

8-65 *noi-ko* *hoo* *kuwawa* *jii* *si'ri* *i'saru*
one.thing--EMPH ART.M guava and passion.fruit gingerplant
kokor-um-mo *arut-ur-um-mo* ...
pick-3O.1pcl.A-GEN.SS collect-3pcl.O-1pcl.A-GEN.SS
'Another thing (to tell you) is that we used to pick guava, passion fruits and gingerplants, and collect them, (and we) ...' (II-25)

8-66 *tiko* *roki* *hoo* *noi* *nee-ung-ki-ng* *ong* *pia* ...
and just ART.M one $_{REL}$[eat-3O.1pcl.A-HABPAST-M] DEM.M sago
'And just another thing we used to eat was this sago ...' (VI-31)

Noi has a distinct local form *noo* 'one/some/any place' which only functions as NP head.

8-67 *noo-ki* *kong=konn-i-i=to-ng?*
any.place-ERG REDUP=walk-2S-PRESPROG-M
'Are you going towards any place?' (XXXI-2)

8-68 *oo* *noo-ki* *roki* *tuh-ah-karo* *nong* *ri-ipi-ti-kui ...*
well one.place-ERG just be-PART-dl together be-1S-dl-IMAG
'Well, if we two had lived together just in one place, ...' (XVI-64)

In 8-67, *noo* can be replaced by the local noun *heekoo* 'any place' (§4.4.2.3), but not in 8-68.

8.2.2.1.2 The Bound Form *no-*

The bound "number one" numeral *no-* can be combined with any classifiers. It can be combined with those which express abstract or collective categories, quantity, etc. which cannot occur with other numerals. See examples in 8-69b. The classifier constructions of the latter type are usually employed in headless NPs.

8-69a	*nommai*	*no-wori*	'an/one (animate) person' (2)
	howo	*na-pa*	'a/one (shelter) house' (24)
	ruu	*no-ru*	'a/one day' (48)
b	*na-mah*		'a thing' (3)
	no-ngu		'a lot' (33)

Note that after the bound form /no-/, the initial nasal /n/ of a classifier is dissimilated to /r/.

Rule 8-1 Dissimilation of Initial /n/ of Classifiers

n -> r / no- (numeral) _ V (classifier)

Examples:

8-70	*kui*	*no-roo'*	'a/one stick' (from *-noo'* (17))
	uri	*na-rai*	'a/one village' (from *-nai* (41))

Note that the 'human' classifier *-uru* can be substituted by the gender sufix /-N/ (masculine) or /-na/ (feminine), only when it is combined with the "number one" numeral /no-/. In such a case, the /n/ of the feminine form /-na/ undergoes Rule 8-1:

8-71a	*tii*	*kuraisa*	*na-ra*	'a woman'
	ART.F	woman	one-F	
b	*ong*	*nommai*	*no-ng*	'this/that (one) man'
	ART.M	person	one-M	

Other examples of *no-* classifier constructions:

(1) functioning as post-head attributes (see also 8-4):

8-72 *ih! urukoh ong peero na-jaa*
oh.dear first DEM.M banana one-CL.object.wrapped.lengthwise
kuuri-ingu ne-i-ro pi-hee.
cook.over.fire-3O.1A.GEN.DS eat-3O.2A-PERF.SS go.2S-DEFFUT
'Oh dear! I will first cook a banana over fire, and you will definitely eat it and go.' (V[illegible])

8-73 *hoo [illegible] na-wai kokor-oro-ku*
ART.M leaf one-CL.thin.object pick.up.self-MID.3S-GEN.DS
nok-i-ti-heetutee: "..."
realise-3O.2A-dl-FUT.DP
'When a leaf falls off, you two will realise: "..." ' (XII-7)

(2) employed in headless NPs:

8-74 *toku-ko na-mah kuuk-o'-na.*
not-EMPH one-CL.thing know-1S.RMPAST-F
'I didn't know even a thing.' (V-25)

8-75 *no-ngu hoo-jori kohni haha'w-ee-'-ki-ng,*
one-CL.lot ART.M-LOC gardens work-MID.3S-pcl-HABPAST-M
no-ngu-ko hoo urini riituh-a-ki-ng.
one-CL.lot--EMPH ART.M area repair-3O.3pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'One lot (= some of them) used to work in the gardens, and another lot (= others) also used to repair the area.' (II-20, cf. 9-43)

The numeral *no-*, in combination with a classifier denoting quantity or time, can be the head of a peripheral NP which functions adverbially. Compare the attributive (a) and adverbial (b) use of *no-* classifier constructions in 8-76 and 8-77:

8-76a ... *hoo tuu no-'ra ino-o-ro ...*
ART.M water one-CL.small.amount fetch-3O.3A-PERF.SS
'... after she had fetched a little water, (she) ...' (XI-32)

b ... *no-'ra* *taapu-r-opeena-na.*
one-CL.small.amount help-2O-1A.FUT-F
'... I will help you a little.' (X-34)

8-77a *hoo-jori* *poti* *na-wa'* • *ong* *Aalu-no-po*
ART.M-LOC time one-CL.time DEM.M 'place.name'-LINK-CL.people
nak-a-a-ng: "..."
say-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'At one time these people from Alu said: "..." ' (III-10)

b *tiko* *na-wa'* *noh-u-r-u-ng: "..."*
and one-CL.time say.to-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M
'And once he said to them: "..." ' (III-60)

8.2.2.2 *ki-* 'two'

The "number two" numeral *ki-* is combined with a classifier which refers to a countable entity, and a dual number suffix. There are four dual number suffixes --- *-ko*, *-ro*, *-no*, and *-po*. Each classifier is combined with only one (or two, in some cases) of these suffixes. The combination is, to a certain extent, phonologically motivated.

(1) The suffix *-no* usually occurs with classifiers which contain a nasal consonant, especially /N/ as a final consonant. e.g.:

8-78 *ki-mun-no* 'two plants/fruits' (4)
ki-naan-no 'two limbs' (27)
ki-mo-no 'two bunches of bananas' (8)
ki-na'-no 'two roots of taro' (11)

(2) The suffix *-po* usually occurs with classifiers which contain *w*. e.g.:

8-79 *ki-wui-po* 'two root vegies other than taro' (12)
ki-wa(i)-po (~ ki-wa(i)-no) 'two thin objects' (15)
ki-wi'-po 'two fine objects' (18)

however:
8-80 *ki-ri-po* 'two nuts with hard shells' (5)

(3) If the last syllable of a classifier contains the alveolar *s* or *t* (but never *r*), the following suffix would be *-ro*. e.g.:

8-81	*ki-noosu-ro*	'two concave objects' (14)
	ki-ngsa-ro	'two halves of sth split lengthwise' (31)
	ki-matu-ro	'two bundles' (39)
	ki-ita-ro	'two sides/halves' (30)

(4) The consonant of the last syllable of the classifier is never *k* if it takes the dual suffix *-ko*, and is never *-r* if it takes the dual suffix *-ro*.

8-82	*ki-uru-ko*	'two humans' (1)
	ki-pa-ko	'two shelters' (24)
	ki-puri-ko	'two stones' (45)
	ki-noopi-ro	'two beds' (25)
	ki-maku-ro	'two packets' (37)
	ki-raku-ro	'two rivers' (43)

Apart from these phonological conditionings, which dual suffix a particular classifier takes is lexically determined.

8.2.2.3 *pee-* 'three' and *kori-*'four'

Pee- 'three' and *kori-* 'four' are combined with classifiers referring to countable entities, which are further followed by one of the paucal/plural number suffixes (*-ngu*, *-nu*, *-'*, *-i*, *-h*, etc.). Which of the paucal/plural number suffixes a particular classifier takes is lexically determined in most cases. The only phonological factor I could find is that a classifier which ends with two successive vowels, or with a glottal stop, is always followed by the suffix *-ngu*.[8] e.g.:

8-83	*pee-waa-ngu, kori-waa-ngu*	'three, four bows' (26)
	pee-wui-ngu, kori-wui-ngu	'three, four root vegies other than taro' (12)
	pee-wa'-ngu, kori-wa'-ngu	'three, four times/weeks etc.' (51)
	pee-wi'-ngu, kori-wi'-ngu	'three, four fine objects' (18)

Examples of paucal/plural suffixes:

8-84	*pee-men-nu, kori-men-nu*	'three, four cutting tools' (23)
	pee-waki-', kori-waki-'	'three, four carriers' (22)
	pee-winna-i, kori-winna-i	'three, four months' (49)
	pee-rii-h, kori-rii-h	'three, four units of length' (34)

One instance of metathesis (the final /H/ of the classifier /-moH/ and the paucal/plural

[8] I am not sure whether *pee-mongu, kori-mongu* 'three, four humans' (1) should be segmented as *pee-mo-ngu* and *kori-mo-ngu*. If so, then they are exceptions of the generalisation given here.

suffix /-no/ switch):

8-85 *pee-mo-no-h*, *kori-mo-no-h* 'three, four (hands of bananas)'

My informants could not remember the forms which are not frequently used. *Peekang*, *peerima* etc. for 'three', and *korikang*, *muuwomi* etc. for 'four', are used as neutralised forms, common to three or more noun classes. cf. Table 8-2.

8.2.2.4 "Number Five" Numerals *angumuuka* and *puu-*

As mentioned in §8.2.1, 'five' is expressed by the free numeral *angumuuka* for most noun classes (cf. Table 8-2). There are, however, at least three exceptions:

8-86	*puu-noruu*	'five humans'
	puu-no	'five animates, pigs'
	puu-ki'	'five units of length'

The bound form *puu-* is also used in ordinals such as *puu-no-ru* 'the fifth day (of the week), Friday' (cf. §8.2.4).

8.2.2.5 Multiples of 'Ten'

'Ten' seems to be expressed by *na-rang*, 'twenty' by *ki-ran-no*, for most noun classes. The numeral *na-rang* consists of the numeral *no-* 'one' and the classifier *-rang* 'ten'. The numeral *ki-ran-no*, on the other hand, consists of *ki-* 'two', *-rang* and the dual number suffix *-no*.

Humans and pigs are counted differently:

8-87a	*no-ro*	'ten humans, animates (except for pigs)'
	ki-no-ngo	'twenty humans'
b	*no-u*	'ten pigs'
	ki-u-no	'twenty pigs'

In 8-87a, /-no/ is probably the underlying form of the classifier 'ten humans (or animates)', which is realised as *-ro* after the numeral /no-/ due to dissimilation (Rule 8-1). *-Ngo* in *ki-no-ngo* in 8-87a, and *-no* in *ki-u-no* in 8-87b, are dual number suffixes.

I could not establish the forms which express numbers over twenty, except for the

following forms referring to 'humans' and 'pigs' (the final *-ng* is a paucal/plural number suffix):

8-88	*pee-no-ng*	'thirty humans, pigs'
	kori-no-ng	'forty humans'

8.2.2.6 Numerals from 'Six' to 'Nine'

Numbers from 'six' to 'nine' are expressed analytically, by numeral classifiers from 'one' to 'four' respectively with the ergative suffix /-ki/, and a numeral classifier expressing 'ten'. For example,

with *-pa* 'shelter' (24):

8-89a *na-pa-ngi* *na-rang*
one-CL.shelter-ERG one-CL.ten
'six shelters [lit. (after five) one towards ten shelters]'

b *ki-pa-kee* *na-rang*
two-CL.shelter-dl.ERG one-CL.ten
'seven shelters [lit. (after five) two towards ten shelters]'

c *pee-pa-i-ngi* *na-rang*
three-CL.shelter-pcl-ERG one-CL.ten
'eight shelters [lit. (after five) three towards ten shelters]'

d *korikang-ngi* *na-rang*
four-ERG one-CL.ten
'nine shelters [lit. (after five) four towards ten shelters]'

'Ten' is the number of the fingers of both hands. The numbers from 'six' to 'nine' are counted after all the five fingers of one hand have been counted. The numbers with the ergative suffix fill the gap between 'five' and 'ten'.

Note that the ergative suffix /-ki/ is susceptible to Rule 4-1 in §4.2.2 and Rule 4-5 in §4.5. The realisation of /-ki/ as *-ngi* in 8-89a, c and d is due to Rule 4-1. The form *ki-pa-kee* in 8-89b is the fusion of /ki-pa-ko/ and /-ki/, due to Rule 4-5b. Other examples:

with *-uru* 'human' (1):

8-90	*no-uru-ngi*	*no-ro*	'six humans' (Rule 4-1)
	one-CL.human-ERG	one-CL.ten.humans	
	ki-uru-kee	*no-ro*	'seven humans' (Rule 4-5b)
	two-CL.human-dl.ERG	one-CL.ten.humans	

	pee-mongu-i	*no-ro*	'eight humans' (Rule 4-5a)
	three-CL.human.pcl-ERG	one-CL.ten.humans	
	kori-mongu-i	*no-ro*	'nine humans' (Rule 4-5a)
	four-CL.human.pcl-ERG	one-CL.ten.humans	
	kori-noruu-ngi	*no-ro*	'idem' (Rule 4-1)
	three-CL.human.pcl-ERG	one-CL.ten.humans	

with *-matu* 'bundle of something' (39):

8-91	*na-matu-ngi*	*na-rang*	'six bundles' (Rule 4-1)
	one-CL.bundle-ERG	one-CL.ten	
	ki-matu-ree	*na-rang*	'seven bundles' (Rule 4-5b)
	two-CL.bundle-dl.ERG	one-CL.ten	
	pee-matu-'-ngi	*na-rang*	'eight bundles' (Rule 4-1)
	three-CL.bundle-pcl-ERG	one-CL.ten	
	kori-matu-'-ngi	*na-rang*	'nine bundles' (Rule 4-1)
	four-CL.bundle-pcl-ERG	one-CL.ten	

8.2.2.7 Other Numerals

Numbers from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' are also expressed analytically, by numeral classifiers from 'one' to 'nine' respectively with the ergative suffix /-ki/, and a numeral expressing 'twenty'. Similarly, numbers from 'twenty-one' to 'twenty-nine' are expressed by the same first members respectively and a numeral expressing 'thirty', etc. I will illustrate this with the 'human' classifier *-uru* below:

8-92a	*no-uru-ngi*	*ki-no-ngo*
	one-CL.human-ERG	two-CL.ten.humans-dl
	'eleven humans [lit. one towards two tens humans]'	
b	*ki-uru-kee*	*ki-no-ngo*
	two-CL.human-dl.ERG	two-CL.ten.humans-dl
	'twelve humans [lit. two towards two tens humans]'	
c	*pee-mongu-i*	*ki-no-ngo*
	three-CL.human.pcl-ERG	two-CL.ten.humans-dl
	'thirteen humans [lit. three towards two tens humans]'	

d *kori-mongu-i/kori-noruu-ngi* *ki-no-ngo*
four-CL.human.pcl-ERG two-CL.ten.humans-dl
'fourteen humans [lit. four towards two tens humans]'

e *puu-noruu-ngi* *ki-no-ngo*
five-CL.human.pcl-ERG two-CL.ten.humans-dl
'fifteen humans [lit. five towards two tens humans]'

f *no-uru-ngi* *no-ro-ngi* *ki-no-ngo*
[one-CL.human-ERG one-CL.ten.humans]-ERG two-CL.ten.humans-dl
'sixteen humans [lit. (after five) one towards ten humans (i.e. six humans) towards two tens humans]'

g *ki-uru-kee* *no-ro-ngi* *ki-no-ngo*
[two-CL.human-dl.ERG one-CL.ten.humans]-ERG two-CL.ten.humans-dl
'seventeen humans [lit. (after five) two towards ten humans (i.e. seven humans) towards two tens humans]'

h *pee-mongu-i* *no-ro-ngi* *ki-no-ngo*
[three-CL.human.pcl-ERG one-CL.ten.humans]-ERG two-CL.ten.humans-dl
'eighteen humans [lit. (after five) three towards ten humans (i.e. eight humans) towards two tens humans]'

i *kori-mongu-i/kori-noruu-ngi* *no-ro-ngi* *ki-no-ngo*
[four-CL.human.pcl-ERG one-CL.ten.humans]-ERG two-CL.ten.humans-dl
'nineteen humans [lit. (after five) four towards ten humans (i.e. nine humans) towards two tens humans]'

j *ki-no-ngo*
two-CL.ten.humans-dl
'twenty humans'

k *no-uru-ngi* *pee-no-ng*
one-CL.human-ERG three-CL.ten.humans-pcl
'twenty-one humans [lit. one towards three tens humans]'

l *ki-uru-kee* *pee-no-ng*
two-CL.human-dl.ERG three-CL.ten.humans-pcl
'twenty-two humans [lit. two towards three tens humans]'
.....

8.2.3 Paradigms of Numerals from 'One' to 'Five'

The paradigms of numerals from 'one' to 'five' with classifiers listed in Table 8-1 are given below. "–" means no form is available for that particular classifier. Forms

with "?" are accepted by only one of my informants. "??" indicates that neither of my informants remember that particular form.

Table 8-2 Paradigms of Numerals from 'One' to 'Five'

	one	two	three	four	five
(1)	*no-uru*	*ki-uru-ko*	*pee-mongu*	*kori-mongu*	*angumuuka*
		ki-ura-ro		*kori-noruu*	*puu-noruu*
(2)	*no-wori*	*kiisakaro*	*pee-nnoro*	*kori-wurui*	*puu-no*
(3)	*na-mah*	–	–	–	–
(4)	*no-mung*	*ki-mun-no*	*peerima*	*muuwomi*	*angumuuka*
(5)	*no-ri*	*ki-ri-po*	*peerima*	*muuwomi*	*angumuuka*
(6)	*no-mo'*	*ki-mo'-no*	*??*	*??*	*??*
(7)	*ne-mee*	*ki-mee-no*	*??*	*??*	*??*
(8)	*no-mo*	*ki-mo-no*	*??*	*??*	*??*
(9)	*no-moh*	*ki-moh-no*	*pee-monoh*	*kori-monoh*	*angumuuka*
(10)	*no-roo*	*ki-noo-no*	*??*	*??*	*??*
(11)	*na-ra'*	*ki-na'-no*	*pee-na'-ngu*	*kori-na'-ngu*	*angumuuka*
(12)	*no-wui*	*ki-wui-po*	*pee-wui-ngu*	*kori-wui-ngu*	*angumuuka*
(13)	*no-'ri*	*ki-'ri-ko*	*peerima*	*muuwomi*	*angumuuka*
(14)	*no-roosu*	*ki-noosu-ro*	*pee-noosaa*	*kori-noosaa*	*angumuuka*
(15)	*na-wa(i)*	*ki-wa(i)-po*	*pee-wai-ngu*	*kori-wai-ngu*	*angumuuka*
		ki-wa(i)-no	*pee-wang*	*kori-wang*	
(16)	*no-'*	*ki-'-ko*	*peekang*	*korikang*	*angumuuka*
(17)	*no-roo'*	*ki-noo'-no*	*??*	*??*	*??*
(18)	*no-wi'*	*ki-wi'-po*	*pee-wi'-ngu*	*kori-wi'-ngu*	*angumuuka*
(19)	*no-wi*	*ki-wi-po*	*pee-wi-ng*	*kori-wi-ng*	*angumuuka*
(20)	*no-ru*	*ki-ru-ko*	*peekang*	*korikang*	*angumuuka*
(21)	*na-jaa*	*ki-jaa-ko*	*pee-jaa-ngu*	*kori-jaa-ngu*	*angumuuka*
(22)	*na-waki*	*ki-waki-ro*	*pee-waki-'*	*kori-waki-'*	*angumuuka*
(23)	*ne-meng*	*ki-men-no*	*pee-men-nu*	*??*	*??*
(24)	*na-pa*	*ki-pa-ko*	*pee-pa-i*	*korikang*	*angumuuka*
(25)	*no-roopi*	*ki-noopi-ro*	*pee-noosaa*	*kori-noosaa*	*angumuuka*
(26)	*na-waa*	*ki-waa-po*	*pee-waa-ngu*	*kori-waa-ngu*	*angumuuka*
(27)	*na-raang*	*ki-naan-no*	*peekang*	*korikang*	*angumuuka*
(28)	*na-raai*	*ki-naai-no*	*peekang*	*korikang*	*angumuuka*
(29)	*no-muru*	*ki-muru-ko*	*pee-muru-i*	*kori-muru-i*	*angumuuka*
(30)	*no-ita*	*ki-ita-ro*	*??*	*??*	*??*

	one	two	three	four	five
(31)	*no-ngsa*	*ki-ngsa-ro*	*pee-nongsaa*	*kori-nongsaa*	*angumuuka*
(32)	*no-'ra*	*ki-'ra-ko*	*pee-ra'-ngu*	*kori-ra'-ngu*	*angumuuka*
(33)	*no-ngu*	–	–	–	–
(34)	*no-rii*	*ki-rii-ko*	*pee-rii-h*	*kori-rii-h*	*?puu-ki'*
(35)	*no-po*	–	–	–	–
(36)	*no-muu-ro*	–	–	–	
	no-puu-ro				
	no-puu-ri				
(37)	*na-maku*	*ki-maku-ro*	*pee-maku-'*	*kori-maku-'*	*angumuuka*
(38)	*na-waku*	*ki-waku-ro*	*pee-waku-'*	*kori-waku-'*	*angumuuka*
(39)	*na-matu*	*ki-matu-ro*	*pee-matu-'*	*kori-matu-'*	*angumuuka*
(40)	*no-wu'*	*ki-wu'-po*	*??*	*??*	*??*
(41)	*na-rai*	*ki-nai-no*	*pee-nai-ngu*	*kori-nai-ngu*	*angumuuka*
(42)	*no-uto*	*ki-uto-ro*	*peekang*	*korikang*	*angumuuka*
(43)	*na-raku*	*ki-raku-ro*	*pee-raku*	*??*	*??*
(44)	*no-mita*	*ki-mita-ro*	*??*	*??*	*??*
(45)	*no-puri*	*ki-puri-ko*	*peerima*	*korikang*	*angumuuka*
(46)	*ne/o-weena'*	–	–	–	–
	one	two	three	four	five
(47)	*no-ruma*	*ki-ruma-ko*	*??*	*??*	*??*
(48)	*no-ru/-muu*	*ki-ru-no*	*peekang*	*korikang*	*angumuuka*
(49)	*no-winna*	*ki-winna-ro*	*pee-winna-i*	*kori-winna-i*	*angumuuka*
(50)	*no-mori*	*ki-mori-ko*	*pee-morii-nga*	*kori-morii-nga*	*angumuuka*
(51)	*na-wa'*	*ki-wa'-no*	*pee-wa'-ngu*	*kori-wa'-ngu*	*angumuuka*
		ki-wa'-po			

8.2.4 Ordinals

Ordinals 'first' and 'last' are expressed by the bound forms *tumiko-* and *romoko-* respectively, which are combined with classifiers. The linker *-no-* may intervene.

Ordinals from 'second' to 'fifth' are formed by attaching the masculine suffix *-ng* to cardinals, or by combining cardinals with classifiers via the linker *-no-*.

All the examples of ordinals with the linker *-no-* are obtained in elicitation sessions. In some cases the use of *-no-* seems to be optional (e.g. *tumiko-uru/ tumiko-no-uru* 'first human').

with *-uru* 'human' (1):

8-93	*tumiko(-no)-uru*	'first human'
	romoko(-no)-uru	'last human'
	ki-uru-ko-ng/ ki-uru-ko-no-uru	'second human'[9]
	pee-mongu-ng/ pee-mongu-no-uru	'third human'
	kori-mongu-ng	'fourth human'
	kori-mongu-no-uru/ kori-noruu-no-uru	
	puu-noruu-no-uru	'fifth human'
	[nouru-ngi no-ro]-no-uru	'sixth human'
	no-ro-no-uru	'tenth human'

with *-wori* 'animate' (2):

8-94	*tumiko(-no)-wori*	'first animate'
	romoko(-no)-wori	'last animate'
	kiisakaro-ng/ kiisakaro-no-wori	'second animate'
	pee-nnoro-ng/ peekan-no-wori	'third animate'
	kori-wurui-no-wori/ korikan-no-wori	'fourth animate'
	puu-no-ng/ puu-no-no-wori	'fifth animate'
	[no-wori-ngi no-ro]-no-wori	'sixth animate'
	no-ro-no-wori	'tenth animate'

with *-ru* 'day' (48):[10]

8-95	*tumiko-ru*	'first day'
	romoko-ru	'last day'
	ki-ru-no-ng/ ki-ru-no(-no)-ru	'second day'
	peekan-no-ru	'third day'
	korikan-no-ru	'fourth day'
	puu-no-ng/ puu-no-ru	'fifth day'
	[no-ru-ngi na-ran]-no-ru	'sixth day'
	na-ran-no-ru	'tenth day'

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[9] The forms with the mixture of 'human' classifiers and 'animate' classifiers, such as *ki-uru-ko-nowori/ kiira-ro-nowori* 'second person', *pee-mongu-nouru* 'third person', are used to count babies or small children.

[10] The days of the week are expressesd in the following way:

Mande 'Monday', *kirunong/kiruno(-no)-ru* 'Tuesday', *peekan-no-ru* 'Wednesday', *korikan-no-ru* 'Thursday', *Praide* or *puu-no-ng/puu-no-ru* 'Friday', *Satade* 'Saturday', and *Sande* 'Sunday'.

with *-wa'* 'time/story etc.' (51):

8-96	*tumika-wa'*	'first time'
	tumika-watu-ng	'first story'
	romoka-wa'	'last time'
	romoka-watu-ng	'last story'
	ki-wa'-no-ng	'second time/story'
	pee-wa'-ngu-ng	'third time/story'
	kori-wa'-ngu-ng	'fourth time/story'
	angumuuka-ng	'fifth time/story'
	[na-wa'-ki naran]-na-wa'	'sixth time/story'
	naran-na-wa'	'tenth time/story'

In 8-96, the final /Q/ of the classifier /-waQ/ is articulated to *tu* when followed by the suffix /-N/, due to Rule 2-10b.

Two examples of ordinals with the bound form *tumiko-* 'first' are given below. *Tumiko-mori* in 8-97 functions as a post-head attribute, while *tumika-wa'* in 8-98 is the head of a local noun phrase which functions adverbially (cf. 8-76 and 8-77 in §8.2.2.1.2):

8-97 *impa hoo moi tumiko-mori topo ti-ki nop-ut-u-ng.*
and.then ART.M year first-CL.year well there-ERG spend-3O.1A-RMPAST-M
'And then I spent the first year there well.' (XVI-5)

8-98 *tiko tumika-wa' hoo kuino noi aaring-ku*
then first-CL.time ART.M log a go.over.3O.3A-GEN.DS
hoo moi haarok-u-i.
ART.M almond fall-3S-CONT.SS
'Then, whenever she first went over a log, an almond kept falling down.' (XIII-25)

An example of a classifier with the bound form *romoko-* 'last' is given below. See also 8-5. Both *romoko-noo'* in 8-5 and *romoko-muru* in 8-99 function as post-head attributes.

8-99 *... ong moi romoko-muru nowinna-ngi na-rang ...*
DEM.M year last-CL.part.of.long.object six.CL.month
ronguh-ut-u-ng.
finish-3O.1A-RMAPST-M
'... I finished the latter part of the year, i.e. six months ...' (XVI-96)

All the other examples of ordinals found in my corpus are given below. *Ki-mori-ko-ng* in 8-100 functions as a post-head attribute, while *ki-mori-ko-ng* in 8-101 is employed in a headless NP:

8-100 *... hoo-jori moi ki-mori-ko-ng ngo-ong-hee*
ART.M-LOC year two-CL.year-dl-M $_{REL}$[do-3O.1pcl.A-DEFFUT
turu-mara-a-ng-ngori ...
return-MID.1pcl.exc.S-RMPAST-M]-LOC
'... in the second year (of study), to do which I came back ...' (VI-52)

8-101 *hoo-jori ki-mori-ko-ng manni hoo moi ronguh-ah-no-ki*
ART.M-LOC two-CL.year-dl-M then [ART.M year finish-PART]-L-ERG
roti-mon-na.
get.married-MID.1S.RMPAST-F
'In the second year, when that year finished, I got married.' (XVI-6)

The following ordinals are not further analysable. They were found to function only as NP heads in my corpus.

8-102a *tumikeu* 'first group'
romokeu 'last group'

b *tumikei* 'first lot' (cf. 8-39)
romokei 'last lot'

c *tumikeehera* 'eldest child'
romokeehera 'youngest child'

8-103 *manni tumikeu konn-a-mo uru-ku*
then first.group move-3pcl.S-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-GEN.DS
mono-wa-'-kuu-ng.
see-3O.3pcl.A-pcl-IMAG-M
'Then they would see the first group (of possums) keep moving.'(XVIII-17)

8-104 *empata hoo ho-ko hoo romokeehera hoo Siromai.*
and then ART.M-EMPH ART.M youngest.child ART.M 'male.name'
'And then, that youngest child('s name) was Siromai.' (XXIV-115)

8.3 The Quantifier *tu'ki* 'all'

The quantifier *tu'ki* 'all' functions as an attribute, usually placed at the end of an NP (but not always, cf. §10.3.4.3):

8-105 ... *hoo* *urini* *tu'ki* *maapuk-u-u-ng.*
ART.M area all become.full-3S-RMPAST-M
'... all the area became full (of water).' (I-39)

8-106 *tiwongori* *nommai* *tu'ki-ngi* *nah-a-ki-ng: "..."*
therefore [people all]-ERG say.about-3O.3pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'Therefore all the people said about him: "..." ' (III-5)

It can also be employed in a headless noun phrase, referring to the entity understood from the context:

8-107 *tii* *meeng* *hoo* *tu'ki* *aaring-i-ijo*
ART.L right ART.M all go.over-3O.2A-pcl.PERF.SS
komik-oro-ku ...
finish-MID.3S-GEN.DS
'Right at the time when (you) all go over (the log), and it finishes, (you) ...' (III-51)

8-108 *hoo* *tu'ki* *koro=koro-o-'-ku*
ART.M all REDUP=speak.to-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.DS
turu-wee-'-ki-ng.
return-MID.3S-pcl-HABPAST-M
'After he spoke to all (the birds), they returned.' (XIV-23)

The bound form *tu'ko-* can be combined with classifiers. In 8-109, it is combined with the 'half/side' classifier *-ita*, followed by the nonsingular suffix *-ro*. *Tu'ko-ita-ro* functions as a post-head attribute:

8-109 *hoo* *pee-moro* *tu'ko-ita-ro* --- *kuraisa* *po-moro*
ART.M their-relative.pcl all-CL.side-nonsg woman her-relative.pcl
nungamong *po-moro, ...*
man his-relative.pcl
'Their relatives on both sides, the man's (= bridegroom's) relatives and the woman's (= bride's) relatives, ...' (XIX-17)

CHAPTER 9 OTHER MINOR WORD CLASSES

9.1 DISCOURSE MARKERS

Discourse markers express the attitudes of the speaker with regards the propositions of whole clauses. They are as follows:

haa	'as you know'
jaa	'I wonder, on earth'
jaki	'you should know'
nee	'it must be, O.K.?'
nehe	'do you agree?'
ai	'I tell you'
noo	'possibly, may I ask, take'
poko	'there's no other way, please'
meekuhing/meekusing	'actually, really'
nah-ah	'I wonder, possibly'
tang-ah	'I/you suppose'
toku	'I am afraid/I don't know etc.'

Nah-ah and *tang-ah* are participles functioning as discourse markers; they are discussed in §16.3.2.6. *Toku* primarily functions as a negator; it is discussed in §9.2.

9.1.1 *haa* 'as you know'

The discourse marker *haa* 'as you know' expresses that the speaker reminds the addressee of a certain fact (which he/she assumes that the addressee already knew).[1] It is always placed after the sentential topic.

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[1] The discourse marker *haa* probably derives from the noun *haa* (the short form of *heewa*, *hia*) 'thing'. For example, the noun *haa* in the following sentence (repetition of 7-48) can be interpreted as a discourse marker, if *ho-ko* is regarded as an anaphoric pronoun rather than the determiner:

ho-ko	*haa*	*kirokɔwo*	*meeng*	*urah-ah.*
ART.M-EMPH	thing	very	very	be.heavy-PART

'That thing is very very heavy.' (XIII-28)

9-1 *ah!* *owo* *haa* *maa* *ruma'-ko-no.*
oh.no DEM.L as.you.know faeces smell.3S-PRES-L
'Oh no! Here, as you know, smells the faeces.' (X-15)

9-2 *roo* *tii* *haa* *kuma=kuma=nong=nga-wah.*
you.sg ART.F as.you.know giggler(laugh=only=make-PART)
'You are a giggler, as you know. [That's why we don't want to take you with us.]' (VIII-9)

9.1.2 *jaa* 'I wonder, on earth'

The discourse marker *jaa* 'I wonder, on earth' is used in sentences with interrogative or indefinite proforms. It expresses that the speaker is uncertain about the proposition of the sentence. The discourse marker *toku* 'I am afraid, I don't know, etc.' is often used in combination (as in 9-4, see also 9-31 in §9.1.11).

9-3 *ana* *jeewo-ning* *jaa* *ngo-opeena-na?*
DEM.F how-towards I.wonder make-3O.1A.FUT-F
'I wonder in what kind of way I will make (= treat) this (woman).' (XIII-27)

9-4 *hii!* *ong* *toku* *nee* *heekoo-ki* *ong-ngi*
oh.dear DEM.M I.am.afraid it.must.be some.way-ERG DEM.M-ERG
jaa *moo* *kiin-a-ku* *tu-u-'-ko-ng.*
I.wonder coconut.tree climb-3pcl.S-GEN.DS kill-3O.3A-pcl-PRES-M
'Oh dear! I am afraid these (children) must have climbed the coconut tree somehow, (I wonder how), and she must have killed them.' (VII-29)

9.1.3 *jaki* 'you should know'

The discourse marker *jaki* 'you should know' indicates that the speaker is drawing the attention of the addressee towards a piece of information, which the speaker thinks the addressee doesn't know or misinterprets.

9-5 *hoo* *jaki* *timpa* *rorong-us-i-ng.*
it you.should.know that.time say-3O.1A-NRPAST-M
'You should know that I (already) said it at that time.' (XXII-38)

9-6a *ong* *pa-i* *ku'k-u-u-ng?*
DEM.M who-ERG dig-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'Who dug this?' (XXIII-48)

b *ho-i-ko* *jaki* *Paanaangah.*
ART.M-ERG-EMPH you.should.know 'ancestor's.name'
'You should know that it was done by that Paanaangah.' (XXIII-49)

9.1.4 *nee* 'it must be, O.K.?'

The discourse marker *nee* 'it must be ~, O.K.?' indicates that the speaker wants to confirm that his/her information or idea is shared with the addressee. (The speaker may address him- or herself, as in 9-7).

The first syllable *ne* of *nee* is always pronounced with a high pitch, which is followed by a sharp falling contour in the second syllable *e*. cf. §2.8.

9-7 *ih!* *nii* *nee* *mara-nno* *konn-opi-h=nuto-ng.*
oh.dear I it.must.be evil.spirit-COMIT walk-1S-dl.PRESPROG-M
'Oh dear! I must be walking with a spirit.' (XIII-26)

9-8 ... *no-mung* *hoh-r-opee,* *nee?*
one-CL.fruit throw.towards-2O-1A.DEFFUT O.K.
'... I will definitely throw one fruitt (= Malayan apple) towards you, O.K.?' (XI-21)

9.1.5 *nehe* 'do you agree?'

The discourse marker *nehe* is similar to *nee* both in meaning and syntactic behaviour.

Nee signals that the speaker is quite sure that his/her idea is shared with the addressee, and he/she is only confirming it. In the case of *nehe* 'do you agree?', on the other hand, the speaker is not so sure about it.

As is the case with *nee*, the first syllable of *nehe* is always pronounced with a high pitch, which is followed by a sharp falling contour in the second syllable *he*. cf. §2.8.

9-9 ... *hoo* *mara* *hoo-jori* *ti-weena* *tuh-ah* *nehe*
ART.M spirit $_{REL}$[ART.M-LOC ART-CL.area be-PART] do.you.agree
koro=koro-wa-mo ...
REDUP=speak-3pcl.S-GEN.SS
'... while the spirits, who live in that area, do you agree?, are speaking ...' (XVIII-11)

9-10 *owo-noning* *nehe?*
this.way-towards do.you.agree
'In this kind of way, do you agree?' (XIX-27)

9.1.6 *ai* 'I tell you'

The discourse marker *ai* 'I tell you' signals that the speaker is going to tell the addressee a fact, or his/her own idea. It can be placed anywhere in a sentence, but most frequently after the sentential topic.

9-11 *nii* *ai* *rumanung-ngung-ngi* *uko-m-a-a-ng.*
me I.tell.you dwarf-pl-ERG carry-1O-3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
'I tell you, the dwarfs carried me (away).' (IX-34)

9-12 *tiko* *tiwo* *nge-wee-ijo* *ai* *manni*
and that.way be.engaged-MID.3S-pcl.PERF.SS I.tell.you certainly
ponnaang-a-a-ng.
become.many-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'And after they were engaged (in the events) that way, I tell you, they certainly became many.' (KK-54)

The interjection *ai* 'or' is homonynous with this discourse marker. cf. 9.5.4.

9.1.7 *noo* 'possibly, may I ask?, take'

The discourse marker *noo* 'possibly, may I ask?' is often used in interrogative sentences (as in 9-13 and 9-14). In a sentence consisting of *noo* and a noun phrase, the speaker asks the addressee to take the object referred to by the noun phrase (as in 9-15).[2]

9-13 *tiitii.* *tuu* *noo* *no-'ra* *tuh-ee-n-na-na?*
granny water possibly one-CL.small.amount be-APPL-2S-PERF-F
'Granny. Have you possibly got a little water?' (VII-10)

9-14 *noo* *jeewo?*
may.I.ask how
'May I ask how (it was)?' (VII-44)

9-15 *noo* *hoo* *ong* *ummah.*
take ART.M DEM.M knotted.rope.for.climbing
'Take this knotted rope for climbing.' (VII-13)

[2] In a story "Perui the Witch", a child shoots a kind of arrow towards Perui's home and says:

Perui-no *noo* *uri!*
'witch's.name'-L home
'Go to Perui's home!' (VII-2)

I do not know how to interpret *noo* in this sentence. It seems to be somehow related to the *noo* discussed above, but I cannot pinpoint the common semantic component at this stage.

9.1.8 *poko* 'there's no other way, please'

The discourse marker *poko* 'there's no other way, had better' always occupies the second position in a sentence. It signals that the speaker is forced to accept a certain situation, or the necessity of a certain action. The speaker signals the end of a conversation or show the agreement to the other's proposal, by using *poko* in set phrases with *mirahu* 'good' (as in 9-16) and *oso* 'O.K.' (as in 9-17b).

9-16 *mirahu* *poko* *manni.* *urisih-i-woro.*
good there's.no.other.way then leave-2S-OPT
'O.K., there is no other way (than to finish our conversation), then. You may go [lit. I wish you would leave].' (XXXI-13)

9-17a *ku'kui* *nok-u-u-ng:* *"ong* *nii* *mi'no-m-i-'-kui* *manni*
butterfly say-3S-RMPAST-M DEM.M me tell-1O-2A-pcl-IMAG then
ni-ngi *ratik-unguu-ng* *ho-ko* *nommai* *ti-wori-ngo."*
I-ERG find-3O.1A.IMAG-M ART.M-EMPH person ART-CL.animate-EMPH
'The butterfly said: "If you all tell me about this, then I could find that particular person (whom you are looking for)." ' (XXIII-37)

b *nah-a-a-ng:* *"oso* *poko.* *noni* *hoo* *tui*
say.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M O.K. there's.no.other.way we.EXC ART.M slit.gong
ku'k-u-m-mo *unu-ku* *ti-ki* *heekoo*
dig-3O.1A-pcl-GEN.SS be.1pcl.exc.S-GEN.DS ART.L-ERG some.place
pi-ro *pih-roo.*
go.2S-PERF.SS make.search-MID.2S.IMP
'They said to him: "O.K., there's no other way (than to ask you to look for him). While we are digging the slit gong, you go somewhere to make a search." ' (XXIII-38)

It is also used with Imperative (as in 9-18) or Definite Future (as in 9-19) verbal forms, to express request.

9-18 *roo* *poko* *hiisia* *roki=tiwo* *ihkitak-ee.*
you.sg please beach all.the.time become.long-2S.IMP
'You beach, please become longer and longer.' (III-25)

9-19 *ong* *poko* *o-'ri* *hoh-r-ongu*
DEM.M please DEM-CL.round.object throw.towards-2O-1A.GEN.DS
te-i-hee.
eat-3O.2A-DEFFUT
'Let me throw this round one (Malayan apple) towards you, and you please eat it.' (XI-19)

9.1.9 *meekuhing/meekusing* 'actually, really'

Meekuhing/meekusing (*h* and *s* are in free variation) can function as an adjective, with the meaning 'true':

9-20 *jeewo? hoo koro=koro taaro-onno-ng noo*
how ART.M words $_{REL}$[hear-3O.1pcl.A.PERF-M] possibly
meekuhing?
true
'How? Are the words we have heard possibly true?' (XVI-54)

In the following example, it functions as a discourse marker:

9-21 *meekuhing tii noni ari=ari-mor-u-ko-ng.*
really ART.DP us.exc commit.adultery.cheating-1pcl.exc.O-3A-PRES-M
'He really commits adultery, cheating us.' (XVI-58, cf.15-186)

9-22 *tiko meekuhing hoo G. tii muungo uu*
and actually ART.M 'male.name' ART.L night um
ring ngo-woro-ku ti-kitee ongitee koto Daawin ...
ring make-MID.3S-GEN.DS ART.L-ABL DEM.L.ABL up 'place.name'
'And actually G. made a phone call, um, last night, from up there in Darwin ...' (XXVII)

9.2 THE NEGATOR *toku*

Toku can function either as the negator of verbs, adjectives, adverbs or participles. It is placed immediately before the element it negates.[3]

as the negator of a verbal predicate:

9-23 *toku huhu-mo-i-na.*
not be.wrong-MID.1S-NRPAST-F
'I was not wrong.' (I-31)

as the negator of an adjectival predicate:

9-24 *nii toku naa'ru.*
I not lazy
'I am not lazy.' (XIX-50)

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[3] Unless it is intervened by a conjunction or a discourse marker. e.g. *nah-ah* and *roruki* in 9-69b.

as the negator of an attributive adjective:

9-25 ... *tii tii hoo aarung toku mirahu kunato-o-heeta-na.*
she ART.F ART.M way.of.life not good encounter-3O.3A-FUT-F
'... she will encouter hardships [lit. the way of life which is not good].' (XXI-11)

as the negator of an adverb:

9-26 *tiko hoo ruupang toku nompa maapuk-u-u-ng.*
and ART.M bamboo.container not quickly become.full-3S-RMPAST-M
'And the bamboo container did not become full quickly.' (XI-9)

When it is placed before a "number one" classifier *noi* or *no-* (cf. §8.2.2.1), it denotes a total negation:

9-27 *misi-ko toku no-'ra totu'-ki-ng.*
soil-EMPH not one-CL.small.amount touch.3O.3A-HABPAST-M
'He did not even touch the soil a little.' (III-9)

9-28 *toku no-uru mono-oh=na-na.*
not one-CL.human look.at-3O.1A.PRESPROG-F
'I am not looking at anyone.' (X-29)

The adverbs *meero* 'yet' and *runni* 'very' always occur in negative sentences in combination with *toku*:

9-29 *toku meero mohkoruuk-u-i=to-ng.*
not yet approach-3O.3A-PRESPROG-M
'The time (for marriage) has not yet been approaching.' (XIX-11)

9-30 ... *toku runni meekusingngoota-wa-mo ...*
not very believe-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS
'... while they were not believing it very much, (they) ...' (III-56)

Toku can also function as a discourse marker, expressing a negative thought or feeling of the speaker about the event described in the sentence. In such a case it is placed at the beginning of the sentence (as in 9-31), or after a sentential topic (as in 9-32), with a discourse marker which expresses the speaker's judgement (*jaa* 'I wonder' in 9-31 and 9-4, and *nee* 'it must be' in 9-32).

9-31 ... *toku paa jaa turong-ung-heemee'ko-ng?*
not whom I.wonder send-3O.1pcl.A-IMFUT-M
'... (I don't know) who, I wonder, are we going to send?' (XXIII-36)

9-32 *ih!* *ong* *toku* *nee* *nii* *mim-m-a-ko-ng.*
oh.dear DEM.M not it.must.be me trick-1O-3pcl.A-PRES-M
'Oh dear! These (children) must have tricked me. (I could not forsee it.) '
(VIII-46)

9.3 THE EMPHATIC SUFFIX /-ko/

The emphatic suffix /-ko/ can be attached to any word except for interjections. It can modify a particular word, phrase, clause or sentence. It singles out the element it is attached to.

When it modifies a clause or a sentence, or a conjunction or a discourse marker, it expresses the concessive meaning 'even, if only'. It can also mark two successive clauses or sentences, with the meaning 'A, and also B'.

The suffix /-ko/ may be realised as *-ngo* under the environment specified in Rule 4-1. e.g. *ti-wori-ngo* in 9-33. When this suffix is attached to personal pronouns, the article and the demonstrative, the following changes occur:

(1) The underlying short vowels of monosyllabic pronouns /ni/, /ro/ and /pa/ are realised as long vowels; but in the case of the article /ho ~ so/, the vowel may be realised either short or long. *-Ko* is simply attached to the underlying forms of all the other pronouns.

9-33 /ni/ 'I' + /-ko/ 'EMPH' –> *nii-ko*
/ro/ 'you.sg' + /-ko/ 'EMPH' –> *roo-ko*
/pa/ 'who' + /-ko/ 'EMPH' –> *paa-ko*
/ho ~ so/ 'ART.M' + /-ko/ 'EMPH' –> *ho(o)-ko ~ so(o)-ko*
/noni/ 'we.exc' + /-ko/ 'EMPH' –> *noni-ko*
/nee/ 'we.inc' + /-ko/ 'EMPH' –> *nee-ko*
/ree/ 'you.nonsg' + /-ko/ 'EMPH' –> *ree-ko*

(2) The /o/ of the suffix /-ko/ is realised as a long vowel for an extra emphasis, with the article /tii/, and with /ho-ko ~ so-ko/ which is the emphatic form of the article /ho ~ so/. (See §6.2.4 for the function of /-ko/ when it is attached to the article. This lengthening does not occur in the concessive or contrastive use of these words.)

9-34 /tii/ 'ART.F/DIM/DP' + /-ko/ 'EMPH' –> *tii-koo ~ tii-ngoo*
/ho-ko ~ so-ko/ 'ART.M-EMPH' + /-ko/ 'EMPH' –> *ho-ko-koo ~ so-ko-koo*

Note that the /o/ of the suffix /-ko/ is also realised as a long vowel after the locative suffix /-kori/, or after the local article in purposive case /ti-ko/.

The emphatic suffix /-ko/ is attached to:

(1) the determiner (or the head, if without determiner) of an argument NP,
(2) an attribute in an NP,
(3) a verbal/nominal/adjectival predicate,
(4) an adverb,
(5) a discourse marker,
(6) the negator, or
(7) a conjunction.

Examples:

attached to the pronoun *roo* 'you.sg' as the head of an S NP:

9-35 *jeewo?* *roo-ko* *woo-ki* *pi-i=ta-na?*
how you.sg-EMPH where-ERG go.2S-PRESPROG-F
'How? Which way are you (and not others) going?' (XIV-15)

attached to the determiner *hoo* of the O NP *hoo nommai ti-wori* 'that person', and the attribute *ti-wori* 'that (human)' within the same NP:

9-36 ... *ni-ngi* *ratik-unguu-ng* *ho-ko* *nommai* *ti-wori-ngo.*
I-ERG find-3O.1A.IMAG-M ART.M-EMPH person ART-CL.animate-EMPH
'I could find that particular person (whom you are looking for).' (XXIII-27)

attached to the verbal noun *patak-arei* which is the Complement of the participle *haa-wah*, and to the participle predicate *haa-wah* itself. The latter *-ko* modifies the whole clause and expresses "concession" (*rii-ku* expresses the cause, cf. §17.2.3):

9-37 *... toku tii heekoo patak-arei-ko haa-wah-ko*
not ART.L some.place arrive-VN-EMPH want-PART-EMPH
rii-ku ...
become.3S-GEN.DS
'... even in case she is not likely to arrive somewhere (= even in case she is not likely to grow up properly to a certain age), ...' (VI-8)

attached to the medial verb *ahku-wa-i*:

9-38 *ahku-wa-i-ko uwi-i-ng.*
chase-3O.3pcl.A-CONT.SS-EMPH go.3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'They went only in chase of her.' (X-31)

attached to the conjunction *manni* (with a concessive meaning):

9-39 *manni-ko hoo moroking ong-ngi nuri*
then-EMPH ART.M flying fox REL[DEM.M-ERG my son
tu-u-mo aru'-ko-ng te-i-mo
kill-3O.3A-GEN.SS pile.up.3O.3A-PRES-M] eat-3O.2A-GEN.SS
kana'-roro-mo tu-kui-na.
eat.protein-MID.2S-GEN.SS be.2/3S-IMAG-F
'Otherwise (= If only you agree to get married with my son, then) you could keep on eating the proteinous meat of the flying foxes which this son of mine kills and piles up.' (I-5)

One example where *-ko* is inserted as an infix to split the causative suffix *-ooto* (with a concessive meaning):

9-40 *paa-mo paa-mo paa-mo*
cry.3S-GEN.SS cry.3S-GEN.SS cry.3S-GEN.SS
sih-oo-ko-ta-wa-mo toku pu'k-a-ki-ng.
stop-CAUS-EMPH-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS not persuade-3O.3pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'While he kept crying, even though they tried to make him stop, they could not persuade him.' (IX-12)

The first words of two successive clauses or sentences can be marked by *-ko*, to express the meaning 'A, and also B':

attached to the adverb *inokee*:

9-41 *inokee-ko* *ongo* *koho* *mii-kori* *inokee-ko*
again-EMPH DEM.L.PURP down knee-L again-EMPH
ti-ko *koto* *tokis-u-u-ng.*
ART.L-PURP up cut-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'Again he cut it (= the lower part of the body of his brother) down at the knee, and again he also cut it up (at the joint of the thigh).'(XII-30, cf. 3-46)

attached to the adjectives (predicates) *honna* and *peh=pehkita*:

9-42a *honna-ko* *rii-ku* *hoo* *muukowo* *kor-u-heeto-ng.*
big-EMPH become.3S-GEN.DS then other.way speak-3S-FUT-M
'In case it (=the slit gong) is big, then it will speak (= sound) in one way.' (XIV-45)

b *peh=pehkita-ko* *rii-ku* *muukowo* *koru-heetong.*
REDUP=small-EMPH become.3S-GEN.DS other.way speak-3S-FUT-M
'And also, in case it is very small, it will speak (= sound) in another way.' (XIV-45, cf. 4-71a - b)

The first element may not be marked by *-ko*, if it is understood from the context.

9-43 *no-ngu* *hoo-jori* *koh* *haha'w-ee-'-ki-ng,*
one-CL.lot ART.M-LOC garden work-MID.3S-pcl-HABPAST-M
no-ngu-ko *hoo* *urini* *riituh-a-ki-ng.*
one-CL.lot-EMPH ART.M area repair-3O.3pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'One lot (= some of them) used to work in the garden, and another lot (= others) also used to repair the area.' (II-20, cf. 8-75)

9-44a *oo.* *hoo=hoo* *manni* *toku* *na-mah* *honung-u-i-na.*
well so certainly not one-CL,thing feel-3S-NRPAST-F
'Well. So she certainly did not feel a thing.' (VII-42)

b *toku-ko* *nangk-o-i-na.*
not-EMPH shake-MID.3S-NRPAST-F
'She did not shake, either.' (VII-42)

9.4 CONJUNCTIONS

Motuna has the following conjunctions:

(1) the coordinating conjunction *jii* 'and, or, also, either', which conjoins words, phrases or clauses:
(2) the suffix *-nno* coordinate nouns within an NP
(3) conjunctions which coordinate clauses; they are:

impa	'and now, and then'
manni	'then, so, certainly'
tiko	'and, then, so'
hoo(=hoo)	'so, now, then'
tiko(=hoko)	'because'
roruki	'but, however'
tiwongori	'thus, therefore'

Clauses are combined primarily by chaining, and the conjunctions listed in (3) are used to maintain the coherence of discourse. See Ch 17 for a discussion of inter-clausal relations. Two subordinating conjunctions which introduces temporal medial verbal clauses, *tii* 'when' and *tii-nohno* 'while', are discussed in §17.1.

9.4.1 The Coordinating Conjunction *jii* 'and, or, also, either'

The conjunction *jii* 'and, or, also, either' conjoins two or more words, phrases, or clauses, at the same syntactic level. The speaker either lists or contrasts the entities/events referred to by the elements conjoined by *jii*. In the former case, *jii* is optional.[4]

conjoining words:

9-45 ... *hoo* *ruu* *peekang* *jii* *korikang* *nong-ki-ng.*
ART.M day three or four take.3O.3A-HABPAST-M
'... it used to take three or four days.' (VI-43)

[4] See 9-51 and 9-52 below. See 7-2, where two adjectives *peh=pehkita-ngaro* 'very small-dl' and *nimautu-karo* 'handsome (male)-dl' are conjoined without *jii*.

9-46 *noi-ko* *hoo* *kuwawa* *jii* *si'ri* *i'saru*
one.thing-EMPH ART.M guava and passion.fruit gingerplant
kokor-um-mo *arut-ur-um-mo*
pick-3O.1pcl.A-GEN.SS collect-3pcl.O-1pcl.A-GEN.SS
ti-ki *hiru-ngori* *jii* *tuu-kori* *uu-mara-mo*
ART.L sea-L and river-L wash-MID.1pcl.inc.S-GEN.SS
tee-ur-ung-ki-ng.
eat-3pcl.O-1.pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'Another thing (to tell you) is that we used to pick guava, passion fruits and gingerplants, and collect them, and while washing ourselves in the sea and river, we used to eat them.' (II-25, cf. 15-120)

conjoining noun phrases:

9-47 *hoo* *pa-kaio* *toku* *maari'-kuu-ng*
ART.M his-grandfather not have.rest.3S-IMAG-M
hoo *jii* *pu-umo* *tii* *jii* *po-oku.*
ART.M or his-father ART.F or his-mother
'His grandfather wouldn't have rest, nor his father nor his mother, or else.' (XXI-27)

conjoining verbal noun phrases which function as Complements of the verb *mi'no-* 'to instruct':

9-48 *manni* *mi'=mi'no-or-u-ng* *hoo* *kohni* *nga-warei,*
then REDUP=instruct-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M ART.M garden make-VN
hoo *jii* *pau* *muukisa* *muukisa* *kiino-warei.*
ART.M and food different different plant-VN
'Then he instructed them to make the garden, and to plant different kinds of food.' (III-61)

conjoining verbal clauses:

9-49 *... manni* *uuh-oro-mo* *jii* *sii'h-oro-mo*
then wash.self-MID.3S-GEN.SS and put.oil.on.self-MID.3S-GEN.SS
ruhruhw-oro-mo *roki=manni*
comb.self's.hair-MID.3S-GEN.SS really
nimautu-wo-i ...
look.handsome.male-MID.3S-CONT.SS
'... then while he washes himself, puts oil on his body, and combs his hair, and looking really handsome, (he) ...' (III-8)

9-50a ... *ho-i* *sikuuna* *umi-ki-ng.*
ART.M-ERG boat go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-M
'... we used to go by boat.' (VI-41)

b ... *ho-i* *monare* *jii* *umi-ki-ng.*
ART.M-ERG road also go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-M
'... we also used to go on the road.' (VI-42)

As seen above, *jii* is placed between conjoined elements, if each of them consists of only one word. If three or more words are conjoined, *jii* is not repeated (cf. the first part of 9-46) except for special cases (see below). If the element which is conjoined consists of more than one word, *jii* can be placed in the middle of such element; usually after the determiner if it is a noun phrase (cf. 9-47 and 9-48).

If *jii* is used redundantly, it indicates either (1) that the speaker wants to point out the importance of each conjoined element to the addressee (as in 9-51), or that the list of such elements is not exhaustive (as in 9-52, see also 9-47):

9-51 *heekoo* *jii* *toku* *pi-ti-heetutee.*
any.place and not go.2S-dl-FUT.DP
owo *a-pa-kori* *jii* *toku* *pi-h.*
DEM.L DEM-CL.shelter-L also not go.2S-dl.CONT.SS
'You two will not go anywhere. Nor go into that house.' (XX-14)

9-52 *ree-ti-ki* *jii* *ro-oku-ki* *jii*
your.nonsg-mother's.mother-ERG and your.sg-mother-ERG and
ra-mamo-ki *jii* *ra-kapu-ki* *jii*
your.sg-elder.sister-ERG and your.sg-mother-in-law-ERG and
tiwo-noning *mi'na-wa-m-mo-ng.*
that.way-towards instruct-3O.3pcl.A-pcl-GEN-M
'Your grandmother, mother, elder sister, mother-in-law, etc., instruct them in that kind of way.' (XX-27)

The conjunction *jii* can be used in combination with the comitative case suffix *-nno* to coordinate two or more noun phrases:

9-53 *tii nuka, hoo-nno eejee honna, hoo-nno jii*
ART.F my.mother ART.M-COMIT my.opp.sex.sib big ART.M-COMIT and
eejee nii minno-wah=no-wori, tii-nno jii -
my.opp.sex.sib REL[me follow-PART]-LINK-CL.animate ART.F-COMIT and
naramana tuutu tu'ni kaa-woo-ro tu-i,
my.younger.sister baby just be.born-MID.3S-PERF.SS be.3S-IMPERF.SS
nii ngo-ng moi ongi-heekoo angumuuka
me 1sg.POSS-M age about five
ri-mo nu-ku.
be.1S-GEN.SS be.1S-GEN.DS
'My mother, my elder brother, my (one) brother after me, my little younger sister who was just born and was (with us), and me, whose age was about five.' (II-4)

9.4.2 The Suffix *-nno* 'and' as a Coordinating Conjunction

The suffix *-nno* is used to conjoin two nouns within a noun phrase. Note that the syntactic function of this suffix differs from that of the comitative case suffix *-nno* which conjoins two NPs. cf. §3.2.2.3 and 9-53 above.

In the following example, two nouns *nuka* and *umoka*, coordinated by the suffix *-nno*, constitute the head of the ergative noun phrase *tii-ngi nuka-nno umoka-nno*.

9-54 *... tii-ngi nuka-nno umoka-nno no-m-u-'-na: "..."*
ART.DP-ERG my.mother-and my.father-and say.to-1O-3A-dl.RMPAST-F
'... my mother and father said to me: "..." ' (VI-10)

In the following example, the noun phrase *poowoi-nno* by itself constitutes the head of an absolutive noun phrase, which functions as a term of address:

9-55 *oi po-owoi-nno.*
hey my-brother-in-law-and
'Hey, brother-in-law (and someone else).' (V-17)

In this case, the suffix *-nno* indicates as if the speaker addresses not only the listener referred to by *po-owoi*, but another person who is not overtly referred to. This is a device to express politeness towards the addressee with the implication of duality. cf. §4.2.2.

9.4.3 Conjunctions Conjoining Clauses

9.4.3.1 *impa* 'and then, now'

The local noun *impa* 'this time, now' (cf. §4.4.2.5) functions as NP head. Like any local nouns/pronouns, it can function as an adverbial modifier of a verb by itself:

9-56 *hoo nee muumiaku impa patak-u-i=to-ng.*
ART.M it.must.be lord now arrive-3S-PRESPROG-M
'The lord (= my dearest son) must be arriving now.' (I-10)

The conjunction *impa*, on the other hand, is used to connect a clause with a preceding independent clause (as in 9-58 and 9-59) or medial clause (as in 9-57). It is always placed at the beginning of a second clause, introducing the description of an event which the speaker wants to focus on. It is often used to introduce a new topic in the discourse (as in 9-58b and 9-59).

9-57 *umi-ro impa ruu ong angumuuka*
go.1pcl.exc.S-PERF.SS and.then day DEM.M five
nop-unno impa tii kitoria-naa
spend-3O.1A.PERF.SS and.then ART.DP children-PC
nop-ur-unno turu-mara-a-ni.
take-3pcl.O-1pcl.A.PERF.SS return-MID.1pcl.inc.S-RMPAST-DP
'We went, and then I spent those five days, and then we took those children and returned.' (XV-48)

9-58a *hoo utu pongi=pongir-or-u-ng.*
ART.M post REDUP=be.broken-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'The posts (of houses) was broken (because of an earthquake).' (XVI-15)

b *impa hoo misionari noni-jo mohkoo-ki aa'-ki-ng.*
and.now ART.M missionary us.EXC-PURP vicinity-ERG sleep.3S-HABPAST-M
'Now, a missionary used to sleep (= live) near us.' (XVI-16)

9-59 *impa ong kuupii.*
now DEM.M nuptial
'Now, (I will talk about) this nuptial.' (XIX-4)

9.4.3.2 *manni/ma'ni* 'then, so, certainly'

The conjunction *manni/ma'ni*[5] 'then, so, certainly' is also used to connect a clause with a preceding independent clause (as in 9-60b) or medial clause (as in 9-60a). It indicates that the speaker is going to describe an event, which logically or naturally

[5] The form *ma'ni* is attested only a few times in the texts by two female speakers.

follows the event described in the previous clause, or understood from the context (9-61). It may be placed at the beginning of a clause (9-60a), or after the first or second word of the clause, especially after the sentential topic (9-60b and 9-61).

9-60a *tiwo=tiih-ku* *manni* *haa-u-u-na*
that.way=say.to.3O.3A-GEN.DS then want-3S-RMPAST-F
ho-i *Maawo* *roti-i-hee.*
ART.M-ERG 'male.name' marry-3O.3A-DEFFUT
'After Maawo's mother told her that way, (then) she wanted Maawo to marry herself (= she accepted Maawo's mother's proposal that Maawo marry her).' (I-6)

b *tii* *pehka* *manni* *tii* *Maawo* *o-noku*
ART.F young.girl so ART.L 'male.name' DEM-mother.and.child
peeko-no *kung-a-a-na.*
3nonsg.POSS-L bring.to.one's.place-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
'So they brought the young girl (as a bride) to Maawo and his mother's place.' (I-7)

9-61 *hu'uung!* *tii* *manni* *toku* *nangk-o-i-na.*
no she certainly not move-MID.3S-NRPAST-F
'No! She certainly (= as you suspected) did not move.' (VII-47)

It is often used in combination with the conjunction *tiko*. See 9-62d in §9.4.3.3.

9.4.3.3 *tiko* 'and, then, so'

The conjunction *tiko* 'and, then, so' probably derives from the local article *tii* in the purposive case.

Tiko introduces an independent clause, and connects it to the preceding clause which is also usually independent.[6] It indicates the temporal or logical sequence of a chain of events. Observe the following sequence of sentences at the beginning of a narrative:

9-62a *kupuna-no-ru* *hoo* *Siuai-no-po* *ong* *tui*
ancestor-LINK-CL.day ART.M 'place.name'-LINK-CL.people DEM.M slit.gong
toku *kuuk-a-mo-ng.*
not know-3O.3pcl.A-GEN-M
'In the days of ancestors Siwai people didn't know this slit gong.' (XIV-1)

[6] I have attested a few examples where the preceding clause is a medial clause. Such a medial clause, however, may be regarded as a separate sentence on a phonological ground (cf. §2.8 and §17.1). e.g.:

haaro'-ro *manni.* *tiko* *jeewo-ning* *koto* *ngo-woro-hee?*
fall.3S-PERF.SS certainly and how-towards up make.self-MID.3S-DEFFUT
'He certainly fell. And how on earth could he make himself upright?' (V-5)

b *tiko roki ong koho kupuri ku'k-a-mo*
and just DEM.M down stone dig-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS
ru'n-a-ki-ng.
beat-3O.3pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'And they just used to dig the stone (which was down on the ground) and beat it.' (XIV-2)

c *tiko hoo poko-ng kung=kung=kung tii heekoo toku*
and ART.M 3sg.POSS-M hollow.sounds ART.L any.place not
pata'-ki-ng ihkoo.
arrive.3S-HABPAST-M far
'And its hollow sounds did not reach anywhere far.' (XIV-3)

d *tiko manni nomu=no-muu hoo Paanaangah*
and so REDUP=one-CL.day ART.M 'ancestor's.name'
hoo kaa' ku'k-u-u-ng.
ART.M young.tree dig-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'And so, one day, Paanaangah dug a young tree.' (XIV-4)

Note that in 9-62d, where the narrator describes an activity which is the consequence of the situation described in 9-62a - c, she uses the conjunction *manni* in addition to *tiko*.

9.4.3.4 *hoo(=hoo)* 'so, now, then'

The conjunction *hoo(=hoo)* 'so, now, then' obviouly derives from the masculine form of the article *hoo*, which vaguely summarises the background situation expressed in the previous clause (9-63) or understood from the context (9-64 and 9-65). The second *hoo*, which is optional, derives from the same article functioning as a topic marker. (The second *hoo*, if present, is invariably stressed. cf. §6.2.6.) *Hoo(=hoo)* thus introduces a sentence or a clause, often with a new topic, with a certain illocutionary force:

9-63 *roo tii manni toku kumar-i-heeta-na. hoo=hoo*
you.sg ART.F certainly not laugh-2S-FUT-F then
Rumanung nuu-m-u-ijo hoo=hoo hu-heeworoko-ng.
the.Giant smell-1O.3A-pcl.PERF.SS then come.3S-IMFUT-M
'You will certainly not laugh. Then (if you laugh) the Giant will smell us, and immediately come.' (VIII-11)

9-64 *hoo=hoo impa hoo ngo-m poti pata'-ko-ng.*
so now ART.M 1sg.POSS-M time arrive.3S-PRES-M
'So (= your work having been done), now my time has arrived.' (IV-?)

9-65 *oo!* *hoo=hoo* *taapu-r-opeemoroka-na.*
yes now help-2O-1A.IMFUT-F
'Yes! Now (= as I have worked out a very good plan) I am going to help her.' (V-40)

9.4.3.5 *tiko(=hoko)* 'because'

The conjunction *tiko* 'because' seems to derive from the local article *tii* in purposive case, and the optional *hoko* from the masculine article *hoo* with the emphatic suffix *-ko*. The conjunction *tiko(=hoko)* is always placed at the beginning of an independent clause, which denotes the cause of the event described by the previous independent clause.

9-66 *impa-ko* *hoo* *toku* *mu-kui-na.* *tiko=hoko* *hoo* *Sande*
now-EMPH then not come.1S-IMAG-F because ART.M week
kori-wa-'ngu *ronguh-oro-ku* *inokee* *mi-ti-kee*
four-CL.time-pcl end-MID.3S-GEN.DS again go.1S-dl-PRES.DP
tii *hausiiki.*
ART.L hospital
'Even now I wouldn't come (= go home). Because whenever four weeks end (= after every four weeks) we two go to hospital.' (XV-86)

9-67 *umi-mo* *ti-ki* *unu-i* *hoo* *aarung*
go.1pcl.exc.S-GEN.SS there-ERG be.1pcl.exc.S-CONT.SS ART.M situation
kirokowo *meeng* *haapot-ut-u-ng.* *tiko* *tii-koo*
really very find.difficult-3O.1A-RMPAST-M because there-EMPH
ihkoo, *inokee-ko* *ho-i* *sikuuna* *umi-ki-ng.*
far again-EMPH ART.M-ERG boat go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-M
'We went, and while staying there, I found the situation really very difficult. Because the place was far, and also because we used to go by boat.' (VI-41)

9.4.3.6 *roruki* 'but, however'

The conjunction *roruki* 'but, however' expresses that the sentence contrasts with the previous sentence, or with something which is understood from the context. It may be placed at the beginning of a clause (9-68b), or after the word which focuses on such contrast (e.g. after the negator *toku* and the discourse marker *nah-ah* 'possibly' in 9-69b).

9-68a *tiko ong hoo impa nii-nno nu-to-ng*
and DEM.M ART.M $_{REL}$[now me-COMIT be.1S-dl.PERF-M]
nungamong, nii ho-i ina-m-mo nu-ka-na.
man me he-ERG look.after-1O.3A-GEN.SS be.1S-PRES-F
'And this man, who now lives with me, he (used to) look after me.' (XVI-76)

b *roruki toku noh-u-mo nu-ko-ng:*
but not say.to-3O.1A-GEN.SS be.1S-PRES-M
"nii ngo-ng-ngi nungamong-ngi si-n-na-na."
me 1sg.POSS-M-ERG man-ERG leave-1O.3A-PERF-F
'But (= Although he used to look after us) I did not say to him: "My husband has left me." ' (XVI-77)

9-69a *... hoo o'koo menu hingng-oro-mo ti-ko*
ART.M that mountain be.broken-MID.3S-GEN.SS there-PURP
rokut-u-u-na.
bury-3O.3A-RMPAST-F
'... that mountain buried her while it was being broken.' (XIII-11)

b *ong hoo menu toku nah-ah roruki*
DEM.M ART.M mountain not possibly however
hingng-or-u-ng.
break.self-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'This mountain, however (= although it was broken), could not possibly break by itself.' (XIII-12)

9.4.3.7 *tiwongori* 'thus, therefore'

The conjunction *tiwongori* 'thus, therefore' derives from the manner article *tiwo* 'that way' and the local suffix *-ngori*. It introduces an independent clause denoting an event, which is caused by the event or situation described by the previous sentence.

9-70a *manni tii Maawo po-oku nok-u-u-na:*
then ART.F 'male.name' his-mother say-3S-RMPAST-F
"nuri Maawo. hoo motukah pehko-'ra oi
my.son 'male.name' ART.M island small-CL.small.amount DEM.DP
nupi-ng peeko-ng no-'ra motuk-e-ir-ee'."
my.grandchild-pcl 3nonsg.POSS-M one-CL.little spare-APPL-3O.2pcl.A-pcl-IMP
'Then Maawo's mother said: "My son Maawo. Spare a small patch of island for these grandchildren of mine,." ' (I-41)

b *tiwongori* *ong* *motukah* *a-matu*
therefore DEM.M island DEM-CL.patch
motuk-e-u-r-u-ng *ho-i* *Maawo.*
spare-APPL-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M ART.M-ERG 'male.name'
'Therefore Maawo spared this patch of island for them.' (I-42)

9.5 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are the words which either can constitute single utterences by themselves, or are syntactically isolated from other elements in a sentence. They can be subcategorised as follows:

(1) emotive interjections
(2) interjections for attracting attention
(3) interjections for response
(4) filler words

The endings of emotive interjections, and some interjections for response, are characterised by a level high pitch (cf. §2.8).

Note that in some interjections, such as *ehe'ehee* 'laughter', *u'uung* 'yes', *hu'uung* 'no' and *he'ee* 'no', a glottal stop occurs between vowels, which is not permissible in general phonotactic rules (cf. §2.4.1).

9.5.1 Emotive Interjections

(1) *ah* 'oh, no!': expression of disgust or disagreement. cf. 9-1.

(2) *hii, ih, iih, hiih, ii* 'oh dear!, look!': they are the expressions of surprise or disappointment, when uttered to oneself. When uttered to someone other than oneself, they are the signals to attract his/her attention. (See also 9-4, 9-7, etc.)

9-71 *ii!* *ana* *poopito* *koto* *hia* *ua?* *mono-ji-ng.*
look DEM.F eastwards up thing what look.at-3O.2A-pcl.IMP
'Look! What is that thing up towards the east? (You all) look at it.' (IX-31)

(iii) *ehe'ehee*: an imitation of laughter.

9-72 *ehe'ehee! nii pa-i no-ng-ka-na: "him-mu-ra-na"?*
hi.hi.hi me who-ERG say.about-1O.3A-PRES-F decay-1S-PERF-F
'Hi hi hi! Who just said about me: "I have decayed"?' (VIII-22)

9.5.2 Interjections for Attracting Attention

(1) *jee* 'dear': used to attract the attention of someone who is intimate to the speaker.[7]

(2) *oi, woi* 'hey': used to attract the attention of anyone.

9-73 *woi, roki=manni topo katu-m-i-i-ng.*
hey really well trim-1O-2A-NRPAST-M
'Hey, you trimmed my hair really well.' (IV-8)

9.5.3 Interjections for Response

(1) *ung, u'uung, oo, o, aitiko* 'yes'. *Ung, u'uung, oo* are more casual than the last two. (See also 9-65.)

9-74 *ung. hoo manni ngo-o-kuu-ng.*
yes it certainly do-3O.3A-IMAG-M
'Yes. He would certainly do it.' (XVIII-28)

(2) *oso* 'O.K.': expresses that the speaker accepts what the other said, or a certain undesirable situation involving the other (e.g. separation). It is often used with the particle *poko* (cf. §9.1.8).

9-75 *oso kai haano-i-ti-hee.*
O.K. friend try-3O.2A-dl-DEFFUT
'O.K., friend, you try it.' (XVIII-28)

(3) *he'ee!, hu'uung!, orukoo, rorukoo* 'no'. *He'ee!* and *hu'uung!* is more casual than the last two. cf. 9-61.

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[7] No example in my corpus of narratives and conversation. Found in traditional songs (Oliver, 1955: 276-278) and in a modern poem written by one of my informants.

9.5.4 Filler Words

(1) *ore, orere, oo* 'well, you see': they are signals to attract the attention of the addressee in the middle of discourse, when the speaker is going to say or explain something which he/she wants to focus on. *orere* seems to be the emphatic form of *ore*.

9-76 *... hoo=hoo tiwo-noning roki hoo=hoo maari maari*
so that.way-towards just so stop stop
konn-om-mo hoo kitoria-ngung ore
proceed-1pcl.S-GEN.SS ART.M children-pl well
nop-ur-um-mo ore konn-om-mo
take-3pcl.O-1pcl.A-GEN.SS well proceed-1pcl.S-GEN.SS
tii sikuulu-kori patak-ong-ki-ng.
ART.L school-L arrive-1pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'... so, the schooner proceeded just in that way stopping many places, well, as we took the children on the schooner, well, we proceeded, and (thus) we arrived at school.' (VI-49)

(2) *o'koo* 'that': used when the speaker can't remember a particular word, either as a substitute for it, or as a signal of asking the addressee to wait till he/she remembers it.

9-77 *tiko komi'-ro tii-jori o'koo kururu hoo o'koo*
and finish.3O.3A-PERF.SS ART.DIM-LOC that rope ART.M that
hipa kais-u-i manni noh-u-u-ng:
leg hold-3O.3A-CONT.SS then say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'And when the possum finished it (= trimming the hair of the dog), he held that rope with those legs of his, and then said to the dog:' (IV-12)

(3) *ai* 'or, no': used to suggest a possible alternative to the addressee in an interrogative sentence (as in 9-78), or to signal that the speaker made a mistake, or finds a more appropriate expression after he/she uttered something, and wants to substitute it (as in 9-79).

9-78 *tiko hoo hoo korono roki no-uru-ki ngo-o-mo-ng?*
and so ART.M prayer just one-CL.human-ERG do-3O.3A-GEN-M
ai ho-i ...?
or ART.M-ERG
'And so, is the prayer said just by one person? Or by ...?' (XVIII-6)

9-79 *tiko (rumaruuh-a-ku ai) rumaruuh-a-ro ...*
so come.to.life-3pcl.S-GEN.DS no come.to.life-3pcl.S-PERF.SS
'Thus when they came to life(, he, no), they ...' (VII-52)

CHAPTER 10 THE NOUN PHRASE

10.1 THE HEAD OF THE NOUN PHRASE

In Motuna, nouns, pronouns, the article, the demonstrative, numerals and some classifier constructions can stand as the heads of noun phrases. Examples (NP heads are underlined):

the common noun *kupuna* 'ancestor spirit' as head:

10-1 *ong* *kupuna* *o-wori* *hoo* *naa'ru.*
DEM.M ancestor.spirit DEM-CL.animate ART.M lazy
'This ancestor spirit is lazy.' (III-9)

the local noun *koto* 'up' as head:

10-2 ... *ti-kitee* *koto* *nok-u-u-ng:*
ART.L-ABL up say-3S-RMPAST-M
'... he said from up (in the tree):' (XIII-6)

the personal pronouns *nii* 'I' and *roo* 'you (sg)' as heads:

10-3 *tiko* *nii* *roo* *ku-n-opee* *mu-ka-na.*
and I you.sg take.to.one's.place-2O-1A.DEFFUT come.1S-PRES-F
'And I came to take you (with me) to my home.' (I-21)

the article with the emphatic suffix *tii-koo* as head:

10-4 *tii-koo* *haa* *puu-i-na.*
ART.F-EMPH as.you.know die.3S-NRPAST-F
'That female one over there, as you know, is already dead.' (XII-47)

the demonstrative *ong* as head:

10-5 *ong* *rook-us-i-ng.*
DEM.M spit.out-3O.1A-NRPAST-M
'I have already spat that out.' (IX-7)

the numeral *noi* as head:

10-6 *tiko roki hoo noi nee-ung-ki-ng ong pia ...*
and just ART.M one $_{REL}$[eat-3O.1pcl.A-HABPAST-M] DEM.M sago
'And just another thing we used to eat was this sago ...' (VI-31)

Motuna extensively uses headless noun phrases. Any attributes, including adjectives, classifier constructions, the 'all' quantifier, possessors, relative clauses, etc. can be employed in such NPs. See corresponding chapters.

Two or more nouns can be coordinated at nuclear level, either by the conjunction *jii*, or by the suffix *-nno*. cf. §9.4.1 and §9.4.2.

10.2 SIMPLE NP STRUCTURE

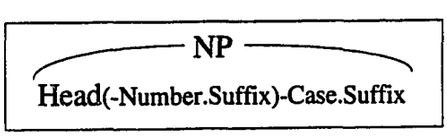
The head of a noun phrase may be determined by an article and/or a demonstrative, and may take attributes such as adjectives, nouns, classifier constructions, numerals, Possessors, relative clauses, etc.

Within the NP, the gender of the NP head is cross-referenced by the inflection of the determiner(s), or by suffixes on various attributes. cf. §4.2.1.

The number of the head, on the other hand, is indicated by a number suffix on the noun itself or on the attributes. cf. §4.2.2.

The noun phrase without determiner and attributes shows the following structure:

Diagram 10-1a Structure of Simple NP without Determiner



Examples:

10-7a *nommai* 'a person/people'
person

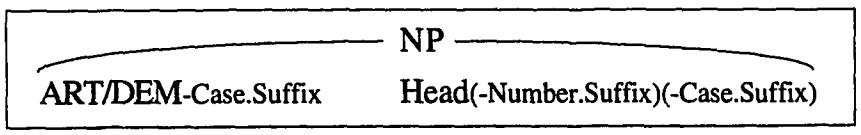
b *nommai-ngi* 'by a person/people'
person-ERG

c *nommai-ngung-ngi* 'by many people'
person-pl-ERG

As discussed in Ch 3, case suffixes indicate the syntactic functions of noun phrases. Note that the absence of a case suffix (as in 10-7a) also indicates a specific syntactic function the noun phrase fulfills --- such as the argument of an adjectival clause in 10-1, the A topic and the O of a transitive verbal clause as in 10-3, the S of an intransitive verbal clause as in 10-5, etc.

When the noun phrase is determined by an article or a demonstraive, a case suffix is attached to the determiner. A number suffix may be attached to the head (and its attributes, cf. §10.3.1), but never to the determiner.

Diagram 10-1b Structure of Simple NP with a Determiner



Examples:

10-8a	*hoo-nno*	*nommai*	'with a/the person, with (the) people'
	ART.M-COMIT	person	
b	*hoo-nno*	*nommai-ngung*	'with many people'
	ART.M-COMIT	person-pl	
10-9a	*ong-ngi*	*nommai*	'by this/that person, by these/those people'
	DEM.M-ERG	person	
b	*oi-ngi*	*nommai-karo*	'by these/those two people'
	DEM.DP-ERG	person-dl	

Examples where both determiners and heads are marked by case suffixes:[1]

10-10	*tii-nno*	*noni-nno*	'with us (exclusive)' (XVI-58)
	ART.DP-COMIT	us.exc-COMIT	
10-11	*ti-ki*	*sikuulu-kori-ki*	'in the school' (VI-50)
	ART.L-ERG	school-L-ERG	
10-12	*ongitee*	*howo-no-ngitee*	'from home here'
	DEM.L.ABL	home-L-ABL	

An article and a demonstrative can cooccur in the first position of an NP in this order. In such a case, a case suffix is obligatorily attached to the article. It may also be

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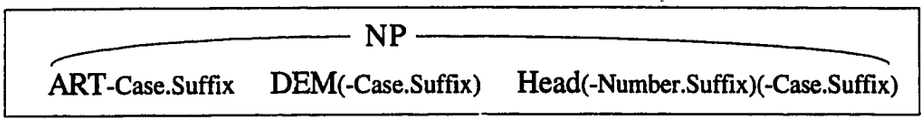
[1] In a periphral argument NP, a case suffix is often attached to the head as well.

attached to the demonstrative and/or the head noun.[2]

Diagram 10-1c Structure of Simple NP with Two Determiners



Examples:

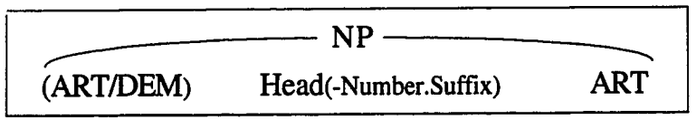
10-13 *ho-i* *ong* *korono* 'by these prayers' (XVIII-32)
ART.M-ERG DEM.M prayer

10-14 *hoo-nno* *onu-nno* *kaakoto* 'with this white man' (XVI-114)
ART.M-COMIT DEM.M-COMIT white.man

10-15 *ti-ki* *ongi* *Kjambera-ki* 'there in Canberra' (XV-28)
ART.L-ERG DEM.L.ERG 'place.name'-ERG

Finally, the article as a topic marker can occupy the final position of an absolutive NP (cf. §6.2.6):

Diagram 10-1d Structure of Simple NP in Absolutive Case with Topic Marker



Examples:

10-16 *nii* *tii* *kuhirai-moro-heena-na.*
I ARTF burn.off.bush-MID.1S-FUT-F
[NP (S Topic)]
'I (female) will burn off the bush.' (XIX-34)

10-17 *hoo* *Paanaangah* *hoo* *toku* *koro=koro-o-ng.*
ART.M 'ancestor's.name' ART.M not REDUP=speak.to-3O.3A.RMPAST-M
[NP (O Topic)]
'She did not speak to Paanaangah.' (XIV-32)

---

[2] Again, in a periphral NP, a case suffix is often attached to the demonstrative, and to the head as well.

10.3 ATTRIBUTES

10.3.1 Overview of the Structure of NPs with Attributes

Attributes are defined as modifying constituents within the noun phrase, except for the determiner(s). Attributes can be classified as follows:

(1) Pre-head attributes:

(i) the restrictive adverb *roki* 'just'.

(ii) the restrictive adverb *meeng* 'exactly, right'.

(iii) local-directional (LD) nouns.

(iv) absolutive noun phrases which are the expansions of the 3rd person Possessors of non-reciprocal kinship terms, or nouns which are cross-referenced by the bound demonstrative of reciprocal kinship terms.

(v) nouns, usually with the purposive suffix, which modify local nouns denoting positions.

All the five types of pre-head attributes can potentially cooccur in this order (*roki* occurs before the determiner, and all the others after the determiner).

(2) Post-head attributes:

(i) nouns/pronouns in juxtaposition to the heads.

(ii) local noun phrases in ergative or ablative case.

(iii) adjectives and adjectival participles.

(iv) classifier constructions and numerals.

(v) relative clauses which require a 3rd person possessive pronoun as a relative pronoun.

All the five types of post-head attributes can potentially cooccur. The order of (ii), (iii) and (iv) are variable. Post-head relative clauses are usually placed after them.

(3) Attributes which can be placed in either position:

(i) the restrictive adverb *nong* 'only'.

(ii) the numeral *noi* 'one/some/any'.

(iii) the quantifier *tu'ki* 'all'.

(iv) Possessors and local nouns with gender suffixes.

(v) Possessor nouns/pronouns with the ergative suffix.

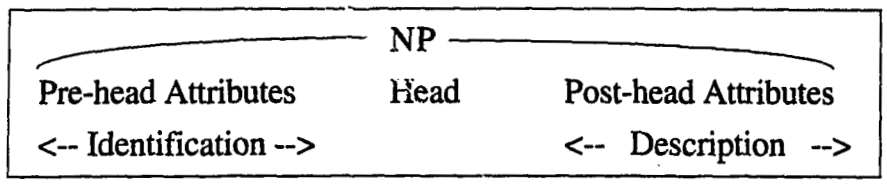
(vi) relative clauses without relative pronouns.

Classifier constructions, *noi* and *tu'ki* cannot cooccur. Two Possessors or two relative

clauses cannot cooccur. The restrictive adverb *nong* does not occur with *meeng* but it can occur with *roki*.

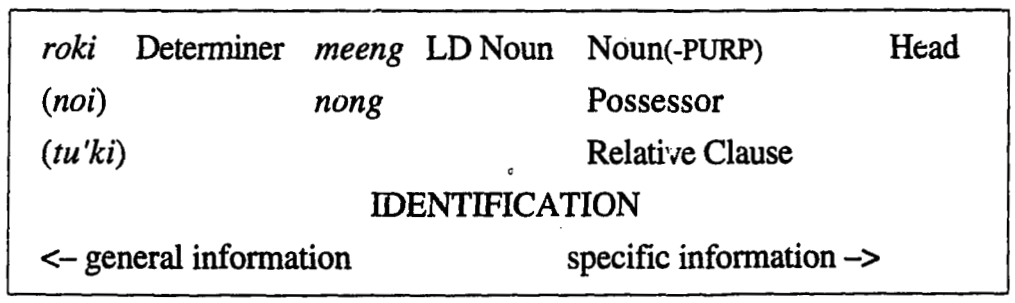
Motuna places NP attributes, either in pre-head or post-head positions, primarily according to their pragmatic functions. Pre-head attributes are used to *identify* the entities referred to by the heads; post-head attributes, on the other hand, *describe* their characteristics. Schematically,

Diagram 10-2a Major Functions of NP Attributes



The relative order of pre-head attributes is fixed. Among them, those which give more specific information for identification (such as possessive pronouns, Possessor noun phrases or nouns, nouns which modify local nouns of positions, or pre-head relative clauses), are placed closer to the heads, while those which give more general information, such as LD nouns and restrictive adverbs, are placed farther away.[3] Schematically,

Diagram 10-2b Major Functions of Pre-head Attributes



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[3] Seiler (1978: 309) summarises the sequential order of modifying elements in the noun phrase (which he calls "determiners") in High German as follows:

> "The potential of a determiner D for singling out the object referred to by the head noun N increases proportionally with the positional distance of D from N."

According to Mosel (1984: 27-28), the order of pre-head NP modifiers in Tolai is governed by the same principle.

Motuna distinguishes "identification" and "description" as two separate parameters, and within each parameter there seems to be a continuum, which is reflected in the positional distance of modifiers from the head. The order of the pre-head modifiers which "identify" the entity referred to by the head seems to be governed by Seiler's principle. But that of the post-head modifiers which "describe" it seems to be governed by more complex principles, as discussed below.

The order of post-head attributes are variable, but they seem to be arranged according to the following principles:

(1) The one which expresses a category more inherent to the entity referred to by the head noun tends to be placed closer to the head. On the other hand, the one which gives descriptive details tends to be placed farther away. (Thus nouns or adjectives which denote inherent characteristics are placed next to the heads, while relative clauses are usually placed farther away.)
(2) The one which gives given information tends to be placed nearer to the head, while the one which gives new information tends to be placed farther away from the head.
(3) Among those which give new information, the one which expresses more important information in that particular context tends to be placed nearer to the head.

Some examples of noun phrases with attributes are given below. (NP heads are underlined.)

the adjective *honna* 'big', and the numeral classifier *na-waki* 'a carrier', after the head *aru=aru* 'basket':

10-18 *hoo-jori* *aru=aru* *honna* *na-waki*
ART.M-LOC cane.basket big one-CL.carrier
'in a big cane basket' (I-11)

the locational-directional (LD) noun *ngoho* 'somewhere down', and the noun *moo* 'coconut tree' with the purposive suffix, before the head local noun *u'wah-no* 'bottom part':

10-19 *tii* *owo* *ngoho* *moo-ko* *u'wah-no*
ART.L DEM.L somewhere.down coconut-PURP base-L
'there somewhere down around the bottom part (of the trunk) of the coconut tree' (VII-17)

the adjective *honna* 'big', and the relative clause *kaara konna-mong*'cars run', after the head *monare* 'road':

10-20 *hoo-nowo* *monare* *honna* *kaara* *konn-a-mo-ng*
ART.M-SIML road big $_{REL}$[cars run-3pcl.S-GEN-M]
'like a main road where cars run' (XV-47)

the Possessor noun phrase *kuraisa peeko-ng* 'girls" before, and the adjective *honna* 'big' after, the head *sikuulu* 'school':

10-21 *kuraisa* *peeko-ng* *sikuulu* *honna*
women 3nonsg.POSS-M school big
'a girls' big school (= high school)' (II-30)

the adjective *kuraisa* 'female', the local article in ergative case *ti-ki* 'there', and the *bahuvrihi* compound with a numeral *nii-nno koro=koro noi* 'who have one language with me' (cf. §8.2.2.1.1), the numeral classifier *kori-mongu* 'four humans', after the head *kitori* 'child'. The adjective *kuraisa* and the compound *nii-nno koro=koro noi* are marked by the plural suffix *-ngung*, and the numeral classifier *kori-mongu* is marked by the comitative case suffix *-nno*. These suffixes indicate the number and the case of the whole NP.

10-22 *kitori* *kuraisa-ngung* *ti-ki* *nii-nno* *koro=koro* *noi-ngung*
child female-pl there-ERG [me-COMIT language one]-pl
kori-mongu-nno
four-CL.human.pcl-COMIT
'with four female children there who speak the same language as mine' (XVI-1)

As seen in 10-22, if a nonsingular noun is the head of a noun phrase with attributes, attributes such as possessive pronouns, adjectives and relative clauses may be marked by a number suffix.[4] Another example where the plural suffix *-ngung* is attached to both the head and a relative participle clause:

10-23 *hoo* *nommai-ngung* *uri-ngi* *tuh-ah-ngung*
ART.M person-pl $_{REL}$[village-ERG be-PART]-pl
'the people who live in the village' (XIII-30)

A case suffix is obligatorily attached to the determiner if there is one. In addition, it may also be attached to the head and attributes. If the NP is without determiner, it is obligatorily attached to the last attribute, and optionally to the head and other attributes.

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[4] The following is an example of a noun phrase obtained from elicitation, which contains two attirbutes as well as the head marked by the same (paucal) number suffix:

Kangku *poko-ni-naa* *huuru-naa* *angumuuka* *kaakoto-naa*
'male.name' 3sg.POSS-DP-pc pig-pc five white-pc
'Kangku's five white pigs'

10-24 *nommai* *tu'ki-ngi*
people all-ERG
'by all the people' (III-5)

10-25 *ngo-ng-ngi* *nungamong-ngi*
1sg.POSS-M-ERG man-ERG
'by my man (= husband)' (XVI-77)

10-26 *kuraisa-nno* *no-wori-nno*
woman-COMIT one-CL.animate-COMIT
'with a woman' (XVI-52)

10-27 *ti-ki* *ngo-no-ki* *uri-ngi*
ART.L-ERG 1sg.POSS-L-ERG village-ERG
'in my village' (XVI-48)

10-28 *ongo* *heekoo-ko* *mohkoo-ko* *nii* *haha'-moro-ko-no-ko ...*
DEM.L.PURP somewhere-PURP near-PURP $_{REL}$[I work-MID.1S-PRES-L]-PURP
'here somewhere near where I work ...' (XVI-100)

In the following sections, I will discuss pre-head attributes, post-head attributes, and attributes which can be placed in either position, in §10.3.2, §10.3.3 and §10.3.4 respectively. Relative clauses are discussed together in §10.3.4.6.

10.3.2 Pre-head Attributes

10.3.2.1 Restrictive Adverbs *roki* 'just' and *meeng* 'exactly, right'

Restrictive adverbs *roki* 'just' and *meeng* 'exactly, right' can function as the attributes of noun phrases. The adverb *roki* is placed in the very first position of the whole noun phrase (10-29), and *meeng* after the determiner (10-30). (cf. §7.2.3.)

10-29 *hoo* *roki* *ho-i* *ngo-ng* *king=king* *tiwo-noning*
so just ART.M-ERG 1sg.POSS-M thought that.way-towards
[NP]
rorong-ungi-ng.
tell-3O.1A.HABPAST-M
'So I used to say in that kind of way just in my thought.' (VI-21)

10-30 *tii* *meeng* *ri'nono* *murimurih ...*
ART.L right afternoon dusk
[NP]
'Right in the afternoon when it is getting dark ...' (I-10)

10.3.2.2 Locational-directional (LD) Nouns

Locational-directional nouns (LD nouns) always occu py the position after the determiner and before the head, following the adverb *meeng* if it is present. Examples (repetitions of 4-32 and 4-33):

10-31 *oi* *raano* *nupi-ng*
DEM.DP north my.grandchild-pcl
'these grandchildren of mine in the north' (XXXI-4)

10-32 *tii* *koho* *po-oro*
ART.F down her-daughter
'her daughter down there' (X-21)

See further examples in §4.4.2.1.

10.3.2.3 Attributes of Kinship Terms

As discussed in §4.4.4, there are two types of kinship terms; basic and dyadic. Basic kinship terms with 3rd person pronominal Possessors can be expanded by nominal Possessors in absolutive case. Dyadic kinship terms with the bound demonstrative can also be modified by nouns. Modifying noun phrases or nouns always precede kinship terms.

10-33 *hoo* *ong* *koho* *kitoria* *pee-mo*
ART.M DEM.M down children their-father
'the father of these children born earlier' (XVI-36, cf. 11-6)

10-34 *tii* *napa* *o-noku*
ARTDP possum DEM-mother.and.child
'the possum and her mother/ the possum and her daughter'(X-20, cf. 11-22)

See further examples and discussion in §11.2.1.

10.3.2.4 Attributes of Local Nouns Denoting Positions

Local nouns which denote positions can be modified by preceding nouns and pronouns, usually with the purposive suffix /-ko/. Examples (repetitions of 4-51 and 4-52):

10-35 *roki* *tii* *Perui-ko* *rii'* 'just (on) top of Perui' (VII-36)
just ART.L 'witch's.name'-PURP top

10-36 *noni-jo* *mohkoo-ki* 'in our vicinity' (XVI-14)
us.exc-PURP vicinity-ERG

Some nouns take an unmarked noun as an attribute (repetition of 4-58):

10-37 *tii* *tuutu* *romo* 'after the war' (II-3)
ART.L war after

See further examples in §4.4.2.2.

10.3.3 Post-head Attributes

10.3.3.1 Nouns and Pronouns in Juxtaposition

Nouns or pronouns, juxtaposed to the heads, characterise, or give additional information about, the entities referred to by their heads. The head nouns or pronouns often denote abstract or generic concepts, e.g. *hea/hia/heewa* 'thing, something' (10-38), *heekoo* 'some place' (10-39), *poti* 'time' (10-40).

10-38 *hia* *kui* *roki* *ni-ngi* *onoh-u-h=no-ng*
thing tree $_{REL}$[just I-ERG think.of-3O.1A-PRESPROG-M]
kuhir-i-ng.
cut.down-3O.2A-pcl.IMP
'(You all) cut down the thing, a tree, which I am just thinking of.'(XXII-21)

10-39 ... *tii* *heekoo* *motukah-no* *patak-u-'-ni.*
ART.L some.place island-L arrive-3S-dl.RMPAST-dl
'... they two arrived somewhere on the island.' (XII-4, cf. 4-64)

10-40 *hoo-jori* *poti* *Kirismas=maaritah*
ART.M-LOC time Christmas=holiday
'at the time of Christmas holidays' (II-32)

Modifying nouns can further be followed by classifier construcrions (10-41), relative clauses (10-38), etc., which can be regarded either as the modifiers of their heads, or as those of the modifying nouns themselves:

10-41 *ong* *hea* *kuino* *o-mung*
DEM.M thing tree DEM-CL.plant
'this particular tree [lit. this thing, a tree, this plant]' (XII-55)

Modifying nouns or pronouns commonly denote:

(1) sex and/or age:

10-42 *tii* *kuraisa* *pehka*
ART.F woman young.girl
'a certain/the woman, a young girl' (XIX-5)

10-43 *ho-i* *pa-rato* *hongoponori*
ART.M-ERG his-father's.father old.man
'by his father's father, an old man' (XIX-37)

(2) title:

10-44 *ho-ko* *(nee)* *nuri* *muumiaku*
ART.M-EMPH it.must.be my.son lord
'(it must be) that son of mine, the lord' (I-9)

10-45 *ong* *Maawo* *po'jaapo*
DEM.M 'male.name' snake
'this Maawo, the Snake' (I-15)

(3) proper name:

10-46 *ho-i* *tuu* *Pipiru*
ART.M-ERG river 'river.name'
'in the river Pipiru' (XXII-3)

10-47 *tii* *ngo-no* *uri* *Kaakotokori*
ART.L 1sg.POSS-L village 'village.name'
'my village Kaakotokori' (II-32)

(4) other kind of characterisation:

10-48 *tii* *meeng* *ri'nono* *murimurih*
ART.L right afternoon dusk
'right in the afternoon when it is getting dark' (I-10, cf. 10-30)

10-49 *tii* *Emmai* *pa-na* *nommai* *mee-na* *tii*
ART.F 'male.name' his-wife human.being real-F ART.F
'Emmai's wife, a real human being' (XIII-42, cf. 7-7)

10-50 *kui* *ua-kori* *uko-warei?*
tree what-LOC carry-VN
'On what kind of tree should we carry it?' (XXII-12)

In 10-49, the adjective *meena* clearly modifies the modifying noun *nommai*, and not the NP head *pa-na*. In 10-50, the locative suffix *-kori* marks the whole NP which consists

of the head noun *kui* 'tree' and the interrogative pronoun *ua* 'what' in juxtaposition.

The same noun can be repeated within the same NP to express distributional plurality. Note that in 10-51 the ergative suffix *-ki* marks the whole NP *ihkoo ihkoo*. *Maari maari* in 10-52 functions as a peripheral NP of the verb *konn-*'to move'.

10-51 *nee* *ihkoo* *ihkoo-ki* *tuh-ah-karo.*
we.inc.nonsg far.place far.place-ERG be-PART-dl
'We two live in far places from each other.' (XVI-64)

10-52 ... *hoo=hoo* *maari* *maari* *konn-om-mo* ...
so rest rest move-1pcl.S-GEN.SS
'... so while we moved, resting many times, (we) ...' (VI-49)

10.3.3.2 Local Noun Phrases in Ergative or Ablative Case

Local noun phrases in ergative or ablative case modify the preceding nouns or noun phrases. Three examples are found in my corpus (see also *ti-ki* in 10-22):

the ergative NP *ti-ki Kihili*:
10-53 *hoo* *sikuulu* *ti-ki* *Kihili*
ART.M school ART.L-ERG 'place.name'
'the school at Kihili' (II-30)

the ablative NP *ho-itee Ruugara-ni jii Aaru*:[5]
10-54 *hoo* *nommai* *ho-itee* *Ruugara-ni* *jii* *Aalu*
ART.M people ART.M-ABL 'place.name'-all.areas and 'place.name'
'the people from all the areas in Ruugara (Buin) and from Alu' (III-6)

10.3.3.3 Adjectives and Adjectival Participles

Adjectives and adjectival participles are usually placed immediately after the head.[6]

[5] Strictly speaking, this is not a local NP, because the head nouns *Ruugara-ni* and *Aalu*, although they denote place names, are masculine. The former is a collective noun derived from a local proper name by the suffix *-ni*. cf. §4.4.2.

[6] The only exception found in my corpus is *u'kisanung* 'ancient' in:

... *hoo* *u'kisanung* *korono-ko* *hoo=hoo* *manni* *tuu-juu.*
ART.M ancient prayer-also so certainly be.3S-CONT.DS
'... while certainly the ancient prayers also still exist.' (XVIII-36)

However, *u'kisanung* probably derives from *u'kisa-ng* 'ancient time-M', and it still seems to retain the characteristic of a possessive noun phrase, i.e. its relative freedom of positioning (cf. §10.3.4.4). In this example *u'kisanung* is used in contrast with the modern prayers introduced by Christianity, and thus used for identification, rather than for description. cf. §10.3.1.

If two or more adjectives or such participles occur, the unmarked order seems to be:

sex + evaluation/size + shape + colour + quantity/order

Below are all the examples in my corpus in which two adjectives cooccur in one noun phrase:

nungamong and *kuraisa* (sex) + *honna* (size):

10-55 *hoo* *nommai* *nungamong* *jii* *kuraisa* *honna-ngung* *tu'ki*
ART.M people male and female big-pl all
'all the big (= adult) male and female people' (II-19)

honna (size) + *rinu'rong* (order):

10-56 *hoo* *tuutu* *honna* *rinu'rong*
ART.M war big last
'the last big war' (II-1)

honna (size) + *simiri* (order):

10-57 *hoo-nno* *G.* *po-ong* *honna* *no-wori* *simiri*
ART.M-COMIT 'male.name' his-son big one-CL.animate eldest
'with G.'s one big [= grown-up] eldest son' (XV-52)

mirahu (evaluation) + *ponnaa* (quantity):

10-58 *pau* *mirahu* *ponnaa*
food good plenty
'plenty of good food' (III-46)

Further examples obtained in elicitation sessions are given below:

honna (size) + *ihkaato* (shape):

10-59 *ong* *monare* *honna* *ihkaato*
DEM.M road big long
'this big long road'

pehkita (size) + *kaakoto* (colour):

10-60 *Kangku* *poko-na* *huuru* *pehkita* *kaakoto* *no-wori*
'male.name' 3sg.POSS-F pig small white one-CL.animate
'one of Kangku's small white female pigs'

In 10-60, *kaakoto* may precede *pehkita* in certain context, although the above order is preferred. The numeral classifier *no-wori* can also be placed next to the head for emphasis.

The same applies to the order of the adjectival participles *kaakoto-wah* and *kaamuak-ah* in the following example:

kaamuak-ah (shape) + *kaakoto-wah* (colour) + *ponnaa* (quantity)

10-61	*hoo*	*sira*	*kaamuak-ah*	*kaakoto-wah-ngung*	*ponnaa*
	ART.M	fruit	be.round-PART	be.white-PART-pl	many

'many white round fruits'

10.3.3.4 Classifier Constructions and Numerals

Classifier constructions and numerals[7] are usually placed in the same position as adjectives denoting quantity (as in 10-57, 10-60 and 10-62), before relative clauses (as in 10-62 – 10-64).

10-62	*hoo-jori*	*aru=aru*	*honna*	*na-waki*	*ti-ki*
	ART.M-LOC	cane.basket	big	one-CL.carrier	$_{REL}$[ART.L-ERG
	nunuku'-no-ki		*ponor-ah*		
	cool.corner.of.house-L-ERG		put-PART]		

'in a big cane basket which had been put at a cool corner of the house' (I-11)

10-63	*hoo*	*moi*	*ki-mori-ko*	*noni-kee*
	ART.M	year	two-CL.year-dl	$_{REL}$[1nonsg.exc-REFL
	unu-mo		*unu-ko-ng*	
	be.1pcl.exc.S-GEN.SS		be.1pcl.exc.S-PRES-M]	

'the two years which we spent living on our own' (XVI-92)

10-64	*tii*	*po-oro*	*no-wori*	*poko-ng*	*mii*
	ART.F	her-daughter	one-CL.animate	$_{REL}$[3sg.POSS-M	name
	Koongaa	*tang-ah*			
	'female.name'	call-PART]			

'a daughter of hers, whose name was (called) Koongaa' (XI-31)

As mentioned in §8.1.3.1.1, a demonstrative and an article classifier constructions, which contain the same classifier, are often juxtaposed to indicate the distributional plurality of the entities referred to by the classifier. Examples:

a demonstrative + an article classifier constructions with *-muu-ro* 'object of the same kind-nonsg' (36) as attributes:

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[7] The free numeral *noi* 'a/one/some/any' may occupy pre-head position. cf. §10.3.4.2.

10-65 ... *ho-ko* *hiuo* *ho-i* *pau*
ART.M-EMPH clay.pot REL[ART.M-ERG food
o-muu-ro *ti-muu-ro*
DEM-CL.object.of.same.kind-nonsg ART-CL.object.of.same.kind-nonsg
maapuk-ah *mono-wa-a-ng.*
fill-PART] see-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
'... they saw the pot filled with all kinds of food.' (III-42)

a demonstrative + an article classifier constructions with *-noosu-ro* (14) 'concave object-nonsg' as attributes:

10-66 *hoo-jori-ko* *hiru* *hoo* *Japani* *peeko-ng* *sikuuna-ngung*
ART.M-LOC-EMPH sea ART.M Japanese 3nonsg.POSS-M schooner-pl
o-noosu-ro *ti-noosu-ro* *pono=ponor-ah.*
DEM-CL.concave.object-nonsg ART-CL.concave.object-nonsg REDUP=put-PART
'In the sea, too, many Japanese ships were sunken all over.' (II-13)

a demonstrative + an article classifier constructions with *-mah* (3) 'thing' in a headless NP:

10-67 ... *hoo-jo* *a-mah* *ti-mah* *tuku=tuku-u-kuu-ng.*
ART.M-PURP DEM-CL.thing ART-CL.thing REDUP=send-3O.3A-IMAG-M
'... she would send her child for various things.' (XX-7)

The combination of an article and a "number one" numeral classifier construction seems to fulfill the same function.

an article construction + a "number one" numeral classifier constructions with *-uru* (1) 'human' in a headless NP:

10-68 *tiinohno* *ti-uru-ki* *no-uru-ki* *hoo* *pau*
while ART-CL.human-ERG one-CL.human-ERG ART.M food
mono-o-mo *aani-i-mo* *noh-u-i: "..."*
look.at-3O.3A-GEN.SS claim-3O.3A-GEN.SS say.about-3O.3A-CONT.SS
'While everyone of them was looking at the food, they claimed it as his or hers, saying about it: "..." ' (III-43)

10.3.4 Attributes Which Can Occupy Either Pre-head or Post-head Positions

10.3.4.1 The Restrictive Adverb *nong* 'only'

The restrictive adverb *nong* 'only' modifies the whole noun phrase. It can be placed either after the determiner, or after the head if the NP has no determiner in the initial position. See examples in §7.2.3.

10.3.4.2 *Noi* 'a/one/some/any'

As mentioned in §8.2.2.1.1, the preferred position of the numeral *noi* 'a/one/some/any', as an attribute, is after the head, usually among adjectives (10-69 – 10-71) and before relative clauses (10-74).

10-69 ... *hia* *noi* *mirahu* *ngo-opee* ...
thing a good do-3O.1A.DEFFUT
'... so that I may do a good thing ...' (VI-22)

10-70 ... *hoo* *poti* *noi* *ihkita* *nop-u-u-ng.*
ART.M time a long take-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'... it took a long time.' (XII-42)

10-71 *hoo-ko* *pau* *honna* *noi* *nga-wa-i=ro-no.*
ART.M-EMPH feast big a make-3O.3pcl.A-PRESPROG-L
'(There) people are giving a big feast.' (I-20)

10-72 ... *hoo-nno* *nommai* *noi* *roo-nno*
ART.M-COMIT people some REL[you.sg-COMIT
haha'-ree-'-ki-ng.
work-MID.2S-pcl-HABPAST-M]
'... with some people who used to work with you.' (XV-7)

However, *noi* can precede the head in certain circumstances. In 10-73b, the narrator's activity, i.e. 'to go to her father and family's place', is contrasted with the activities at other times described in 10-73a and c. The phrase *noi-ngori poti-kori* especially contrasts with *na-wa'-ko* in 10-73c.

10-73a *tii* *ngo-no* *uri* *Kaakotokori* *hoo-jori* *poti*
ART.L 1sg.POSS-L village 'place.name' ART.M-LOC time
Kirismas=maaritah *tii* *teeti* *mono-opee*
Christmas=holiday ART.F my.mother's.mother see-3O.1A.DEFFUT
mi-ma-na.
go.1S-GEN-F
'I used to go to my village Kaakotokori on Christmas holidays to see my grandmother.' (II-32)

b *noi-ngori* *poti-kori* *tii* *umoka-ra-no* *mi-ma-na.*
some-LOC time-LOC ART.L my.father-pcl-L go.1S-GEN-F
'At some times I used to go to my father and family's place.' (II-33)

c *na-wa'-ko* *tii* *Solomoni* *moomoo* *po-moro*
one-CL.time-EMPH ART.L 'place.name' my.dad his-relative.nonsg
mono-or-upee *mi-ma-na.*
see-3pcl.O-1A.DEFFUT go.1S-GEN-F
'Sometimes I also used to go to the Solomon Islands to see my father's relatives.' (II-34)

Noi can also be right-dislocated, especially in negative sentences. In the following sentence, *noi* modifies the first NP *ong balusu.*

10-74 *ong* *balusu* *owo* *reeko-no* *toku* *noi* *pi-heeto-ng.*
DEM.M aeroplane DEM.L you.nonsg.POSS-L not any go.3S-FUT-M
'Not any of these planes will go to your place.' (XV-13)

10.3.4.3 The Quantifier *tu'ki* 'all'

The quantifier *tu'ki* 'all' is usually placed at the end of a noun phrase (cf. §8.3).

10-75 ... *hoo* *nommai* *nungamong* *jii* *kuraisa* *honna-ngung* *tu'ki*
ART.M person male and female big-pl all
ho-i *haha'* *uwi-ki-ng.*
ART.M-ERG work go.3pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'... all the big (= adult) male and female people used to go for work.' (II-19, cf. 10-55)

It can also be placed before the NP for emphasis. In 10-76a and b, the two events ("operations") are contrasted; in the first operation nothing was taken out, but in the second operation 'all' the internal parts (affected by cancer) were taken out.

10-76a *harak-a-ro-ko* *toku* *nah-a-a-na:*
cut.open-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS-EMPH not say.about-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
"ti-mah *ngo-wo-i-na."*
ART-CL.thing happen-MID.3S-NRPAST-F
'Even after cutting her (stomach) open, they did not say about her: "That thing happened." ' (XV-68)

b *tiko* *tii* *meeng* *harak-a-ro* *tu'ki* *hoo* *hia*
and when exactly cut.open-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS all ART.M thing
nep-ee-wa-ro *impa* *nah-a-a-na:*
take-APPL-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS now say.about-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
"hii! *ana* *ai* *kjangsa* *ngo-woo-ra-na."*
oh.dear DEM.F I.tell.you cancer be.involved-MID.3S-PERF-F
'And only when they cut her (stomach) open and took all the things out from her, then they said about her: "Oh dear! She has got cancer, I tell you." ' (XV-69)

10.3.4.4 Possessors and Local Attributive Nouns with Gender Suffixes

Possessors and local attributive nouns with gender suffixes (cf. §11.2.3) are usually placed in pre-head positions. But unlike other modifiers which are almost strictly pre-head, they can be placed in post-head positions, emphasising new information.

For example, the following sentence describes that the "rotting juices", made from Maawo the Snake's decayed tail, were unexpectedly found by his children. The Possessor NP *Maawo poko-ng* 'Maawo's' follows the head *hing* 'rotting juices', giving new information:

10-77a *impa* *ru'kahw-ee-ijo* *hoo* *hing*
now do.cooking-MID.3S-pcl.PERF.SS ART.M rotting.juices
Maawo *poko-ng* *ti-ko* *po'k-ah-no-ko*
'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M ART.L-PURP REL[hide-PART-L-PURP
ratik-a-ro *hoo* *pau* *kokihk-a-a-ng.*
find-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS ART.M food season-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
'Now, after they cooked, they found Maawo's rotting juices where they had been hidden, and they seasoned the food (with them).' (I-35, cf. 17-90)

Two sentences later the Possessor refers to already given information; this time it is placed in pre-head position.

10-77b *ong* *nee* *nuri* *Maawo* *poko-ng* *hing*
DEM.M it.must.be my.son 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M rotting.juices
ti-ko *po'k-ah-no-ko* *ratik-a-ro*
ART.L-PURP REL[be.hidden-PART-L-PURP] find-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS
ong *pau* *kokihk-a-a-ng.*
DEM.M food season-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
'Those (grandchildren) must have found my son Maawo's rotting juices where they had been hidden, and have seasoned this food (with them).' (I-37)

See §11.2.3 for further examples.

10.3.4.5 Possessor Nouns/Pronouns Marked by the Ergative Suffix

Possessor nouns/pronouns marked by the ergative suffix can also occupy either pre-head or post-head positions. See §11.2.4.

10.3.4.6 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are discussed in §17.3 in full detail. Here I will give a few examples to illustrate their general functions.

Relative clauses can be (1) those which require a 3rd person possessive pronoun as a relative pronoun, or (2) those which do not require it.

Relative clauses of the first type are always placed after the head (see also 10-64):

10-78 *ho-i* *nommai* *poko-ng* *mii* *Tantanu*
ART.M-ERG person $_{REL}$[3sg.POSS-M name 'ancestor's.name']
'by the person whose name is Tantanu' (III-55)

Relative clauses of the second type are more often placed after the head (10-79), but they may also occupy pre-head positions (10-80), or may place the heads within themselves (cf. §17.3.3).

10-79 *ong* *koona-ngung* *ong-ngori* *raaring*
DEM.M bone-pl $_{REL}$[DEM.M-LOC space.around.house
pirir-oo-ro-ng *ua* *poko-ng?*
be.scattered-MID.3S-PERF-M] what 3sg.POSS-M
'Where have these bones come from [lit. Of what are these bones], which were scattered outside the house?' (I-3)

10-80 ... *hoo* *boom-ngi* *ngo-o-r-u-ng* *riuku*
ART.M $_{REL}$[bomb-ERG make-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M] hole
[NP]
ho-i *misi* *maapuk-oota-wa-mo.*
ART.M-ERG soil become.full-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS
'... while they were filling the holes bombs had made with soil.' (II-9)

Note that in 10-80 the relative clause is primarily used to identify the entities referred to by the head. The entities referred to by *riuku* 'holes' is introduced for the first time in the discourse and we can not identify what they are if the relative clause is absent from the sentence. In 10-79, on the other hand, the relative clause gives additional description, which is omissible without causing any communicative difficulties.

CHAPTER 11 POSSESSIVE AND OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS

11.1 INTRODUCTION

A possessive construction involves two nominals, which play the grammatical roles of the Possessor and the Possessee respectively. Semantically, the entities referred to by the Possessees are roughly characterised as belonging to the entities referred to by the Possessors. Their relationships include those of ownership, part-whole, bodypart, kinship relations, etc.

Possessive constructions are classified into three types:

(1) kinship possessive constructions, in which Possessees are basic kinship roots.
(2) classifier possessive constructions, in which Possessees are classifiers.
(3) other possessive constructions, in which Possessees are neither kinship roots nor classifiers, and Possessors cross-reference the genders of Possessees.

Kinship and classifier possessive constructions are either single words or head-marking, and other possessive constructions are essentially dependent-marking. Note also that in kinship and classifier possessive constructions, Possessors always precede Possessees, but in other possessive constructions, Possessors can be placed after Possessees if they describe, rather than identify, Possessees. cf. §10.3.1 and §10.3.4.4.

This chapter is organised in the following way:

In §11.2, all the possessive and other constructions at phrase level are discussed.

In §11.2.1, I will discuss kinship possessive constructions with basic kinship terms. Kinship constructions with dyadic kinship terms, though they are not possessive constructions, are also discussed in this section.

In §11.2.2, I will discuss classifier possessive constructions.

In §11.2.3, I will discuss other possessive constructions, in which Possessors cross-reference the genders of Possessees. I also include attributive constructions with local nouns which cross-reference the genders of the head nouns. Headless possessive and attributive constructions are also discussed in this section.

In §11.2.4, I will discuss nouns and pronouns marked by the ergative suffix, which function as Possessors.

Finally, in §11.3, possessive and local constructions in nominal clauses are discussed.

Possession is also expressed by the applicative verb *tuh-ee-* (cf. §14.6.1), the participles *tuh-ah* and *tuh-ee-wah* (cf. §16.3.2.1).

11.2 CONSTRUCTIONS AT PHRASE LEVEL

11.2.1 Kinship Constructions

Kinship relations are expressed by single words, or by the constructions of a head-marking type.

As discussed in §4.4.4, there are two types of kinship terms; basic and dyadic. Basic kinship terms always require Possessors.

In this section, I will discuss:

(1) kinship possessive constructions, in which Possessees are basic kinship roots, and Possessors are:

(i) bound personal pronouns, or

(ii) 3rd person bound pronouns expanded by absolutive noun phrases.

(2) kinship constructions, in which dyadic kinship roots are bound to:

(i) bound personal pronouns in nonsingular forms, or

(ii) the bound demonstrative, which cross-references preceding nouns.

11.2.1.1 Kinship Possessive Construcions

There are two types of possessive constructions which involve basic kinship roots as Possessees:

(1) Possessors are personal pronouns bound to Possessees. (cf. §4.4.4.1 for morphological details.)

Examples:

11-1a *nuka* 'my mother'
my.mother

b *po-oku* 'his/her mother'
his/her-mother

c *noni-kuku-uri'* 'our (exc) more than two mothers'
our.exc-mother-pcl

11-2a *i-mo'* 'my relative'
my-relative

b *nee-mo'* 'our (inc) relative'
our.inc-relative

c *po-moro* 'his/her relatives'
his/her-relative.nonsg

11-3 *roo* *ho-i* *ro-ora* *jii* *ro-owoi-ka*
you.sg ART.M-ERG your.sg-wife's.father and your.sg-wife's.brother-nonsg
pu'j-ee-r-a-a-ng.
shout-APPL-2O-3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
'Your father-in-law and brothers-in-law called you.' (I-20)

(2) Possessors are absolutive noun phrases, which are regarded as the expansions of 3rd person pronouns bound to Possessees. Possessors always precede Possessees. (Possessors are underlined in the following examples.)

11-4 *tii* *Emmai* *pa-na*
ART.F 'male.name' his-wife
'Emmai's wife' (XIII-42)

11-5 *hoo* *kuraisa* *po-moro*
ART.M young.woman her-relative.pcl
'the young woman's relatives' (I-16)

11-6 *hoo* *ong* *koho* *kitoria* *pee-mo*
ART.M DEM.M down children their-father
'the father of these children born earlier' (XVI-36)

Note that in 11-6 the article *hoo* determines the whole NP whose head is the Possessee *-mo* 'father', while the demonstrative *ong* determines only the expanded Possessor NP whose head is *kitoria*.

An example of two successive possessive constructions:

11-7 *ruu no-ru tii Maawo po-oku paa-nna*
day one-CL.day ART.F 'male.name' his-mother her-brother's.daughter
na-wa' tii pa-kapu mono-o-hee
one-CL.time ART.F her-father's.sister see-3O.3A-DEFFUT
kopi=kopim-mo pi-i-na
REDUP=walk.3S-GEN.SS go.3S-RMPAST-F
'One day Maawo's mother's niece (brother's daughter) once went walking to see her aunt.' (I-2)

11.2.1.2 Kinship Constructions with Dyadic Kinship Roots

In kinship constructions with dyadic kinship roots, dyadic kinship roots are bound to:

(1) personal pronouns in nonsingular forms, which refer to all the members in the kin relations denoted by the kinship roots. The linker *-n(o)-* intervenes between bound pronouns and roots. (cf. §4.4.4.2 for morphological details.)

11-8a *nee-no-ku* 'we (inc) mother and child'
we.inc-LINK-mother.and.child

b *nee-no-oku-ru* 'we (inc) mother(s) and child(ren) (pcl)'
we.inc-LINK-mother.and.child-pcl

11-9a *noni-na-ka* 'we (exc) father and child'
we.exc-LINK-father.and.child

b *noni-na-ka-nnu* 'we (exc) father(s) (and mother) and child(ren) (pcl)'
we.exc-LINK-father.and.child-pcl

11-10 *... ho-i umoka tii poko-no Solomoni*
ART.M-ERG my.father ART.L 3sg.POSS-L 'place.name'
pataa-moru-u-ni noni-no-oku-ru.
lead-1pcl.exc.O.3A-RMPAST-DP we.exc-LINK-mother.and.child-pcl
'... my father led us, my mother and her children, to his Solomon Islands.' (II-3, cf. 4-85)

(2) the bound demonstrative /o-/, which cross-references preceding nouns. The linker *-n(o)-* may intervene between the bound demonstrative and the root. Preceding nouns refer to one of the members in the kin relations denoted by the kinship roots.

11-11 *tii* *Maawo* *o-no-ku*
ART.DP 'male.name' DEM-LINK-mother.and.child
'the mother-child relation, in which Maawo is a member (= Maawo and his mother)' (I-19)

11-12 *omonno* *tii* *napa* *o-no-ku*
escape.3S.PERF.SS ART.DP possum DEM-LINK-mother.and.child
siimpai-wee-ti-mo *tu-ti-ku* *mono-o-'-ni.*
do.sweeping-MID.3S-dl-GEN.SS be.3S-dl-GEN.DS see-3O.3A-dl.RMPAST-DP
'While escaping, she (= the owl) saw the possum and her daughter keep sweeping.' (X-20)

11-13 *turu-mara-ro* *impa* *ti-kitee* *manni*
return-MID.1pcl.exc.S-PERF.SS then there-ABL certainly
oi *Siuai* *a-na-ka* *uru-ki*
ART.DP 'male.name' DEM-LINK-father.and.child front-ERG
hu-'-ni.
come.3S-dl.RMPAST-DP
'When we returned, then, from there, certainly, that Siunai and his father first came.' (XV-50)

Note that in 11-12, the noun *napa* 'possum' could refer to either 'mother' or 'daughter', and, in 11-13, *Siunai* to either 'father' or 'child'. The interpretation depends on the context.

An example of the combination of a reciprocal and a non-reciprocal kinship constructions:

11-14 *tiko* *hoo* *oi* *P.* *o-no-ori'* *pee-mo*
and ART.M DEM.DP 'female.name' DEM-LINK-sister.pcl their-father
turu-woo-ro *impa* *nii-ko* *manni*
return-MID.3S-PERF.SS and.then I-EMPH certainly
tini-mon-na.
be.transferred-MID.1S.RMPAST-F
'And P. and her sisters' father returned, and then, I was certainly transferred.' (XVI-40, cf. 17-12)

11.2.2 Classifier Possessive Constructions

Classifier possessive constructions are either single words or head-marking constructions. Possessees are classifiers, and Possessors are:

(1) possessive pronouns bound to the Possessees, or
(2) 3rd person possessive pronouns bound to the Possessees, which are expanded by

nouns.

In all classifier possessive constructions, the linker *-no-* precedes classifiers (cf. §8.1.3.2.2). Classifier possessive constructions may function as post-head attributes, may be employed in headless NPs, or may stand as NP heads.

(1) Examples of classifier possessive constructions with pronominal Possessors:

11-15 *ong* *moo* *ngo-no-mung* *roki=manni* *mutih-ah.*
DEM.M coconut 1sg.POSS-LINK-CL.fruit really be.tasty-PART
'This coconut which I own (i.e. from my tree) is really tasty.'

11-16 *hoo* *howo* *peeko-na-pa* *kaatu-ki* *konn-ah.*
ART.M house 3nonsg.POSS-LINK-CL.shelter sago.leaf-ERG build-PART
'Their house (is distinct in that it) is built with sago leaves.'

11-17 *Hoio* *u'kisa* *pi-i-ng* *hoo-nno*
'ancestor's.name' long.ago go.3S-RMPAST-M ART.M-COMIT
poko-no-po ...
3sg.POSS-LINK-CL.people
'Hoijo went with his people long ago ...' (XX-3)

11-18 ... *tii* *noniko-no-ita-kori* *si-m-a-a-na.*
ART.L 1nonsg.exc.POSS-LINK-CL.side-L put-1O-3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
'... they put (= transferred) me to our side.' (XVI-7)

In both 11-15 and 11-16, classifier possessive constructions function as attributes. In 11-17, the classifier possessive construction *poko-no-po* functions as the head of a comitative noun phrase by itself.[1] In 11-18, the suffix *-kori* is attached to the classifier possessive construction *noniko-no-ita* to derive a local noun, which functions as the head of a local noun phrase in absolutive case.

The constructions such as 11-15 and 11-16 are likely to be used in comparisons. The classifiers focus on 'the coconut I own', in contrast with the coconuts from other people's trees, or 'their house' in contrast with other people's houses. General descriptions of possession, on the other hand, lack classifiers.

11-19 *ngo-ng* *moo* *roki=manni* *mutih-ah.*
1sg.POSS-M coconut really be.tasty-PART
'My coconut is certainly tasty.'

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[1] In certain context, this may be regarded as a headless NP, where the head noun such as *nommai* 'people' is left unexpressed. This sentence, however, is placed at the beginning of a story, and the classsifier construction seems to stand on its own. cf. §8.1.3.2.3.

11-20 *peeko-ng* *howo* *kaatu-ki* *konn-ah.*
3nonsg.POSS-M house sago.leaf-ERG build-PART
'Their house is built with sago leaves.'

(2) Examples of classifier possessive constructions with nominal Possessors:

11-21 *ong* *howo* *hoo* *Maawo* *poko-na-pa.*
DEM.M house ART.M 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-LINK-CL.shelter
'This house is Maavo's shelter [in contrast with others' houses].'

Only one example is found in my corpus:

11-22 *hoo* *lootu* *poko-no-ita* *jii* *hia* *roki=manni*
ART.M prayer 3sg.POSS-LINK-CL.side and thing really
topo *kuuk-arei-ko* *haa=haa-jee-m-a-i ...*
well know-VN-EMPH REDUP=want-APPL-1O-3pcl.A-CONT.SS
'They always wanted me to know things related to Christianity [lit. the side of Christian prayers and other things, in contrast with traditional prayers and customs] really well, (he) ...' (VI-19)

Semantically, classifier possessive constructions express:
1) the relationship between an object and its owner (11-15, 11-16 and 11-21),
2) the social relationship between a person and other persons who belong to him/her (11-17),
3) associative relationship (11-18 and 11-22).

11.2.3 Other Possessive Constructions and Local Attributive Constructions

In possessive constructions other than kinship or classifier constructions, Possessors cross-reference the genders of Possessees. These constructions express bodypart, part-whole, ownership relationships, etc. (§11.2.3.1).

In local attributive constructions, head nouns are modified by local nouns, which show gender agreement with their heads (§11.2.3.2). These constructions express spatial or temporal relationships. They include bodypart relationships, and relationships between a person and his/her place of origin.

Note that bodypart relationships are expressed either by possessive or by local attributive constructions.

As already discussed in §10.3.4.4, the Possessors or local nouns in these constructions can be placed either in pre-head or in post-head positions.

11.2.3.1 Other Possessive Construcions

They take three types of Possessors:

(1) Possessors are possessive pronouns. Possessees can be any nouns in any gender, including verbal nouns which are in masculine gender (11-32).

11-23 *hoo* *noniko-ng* *paaro-ngung*
ART.M 1nonsg.exc.POSS-M clothes-pl
'our clothes' (II-23)

11-24 *hoo-jori* *poti* *noi* *ngo-ng*
ART.M-LOC time some 1sg.POSS-M
'at some time when I am free' (VI-58)

11-25 *ana* *nga-na* *kuraisa*
DEM.F 1sg.POSS-F woman
'this wife of mine' (XIII-49)

11-26 *oi* *ngo-ni* *angu*
DEM.DIM 1sg.POSS-DIM arm
'this (small) arm of mine' (XII-24)

11-27 *tii* *poko-no* *uri*
ART.L 3sg.POSS-L village
'(to) her village' (VII-56)

11-28 *o'koo owo* *ngo-no* *kuruhi-kori* *nompa* *kuro-roro-hee.*
that DEM.L 1sg.POSS-L pouch-L quickly run-MID.2S-DEFFUT
'You will definitely run quickly here into my pouch. [Uttered by a pos sum.]' (X-26)

11-29 *... tii-ngi* *peeka-na* *panaa* *poko-ng* *mii* *Kohkaa*
ART.F-ERG 3nonsg.POSS-F ancestress $_{REL}$[3sg.POSS-M name 'female.name']
hoo *urah* *tuuh-ee-u-'-ko-ng.*
ART.M fontanel push.through-APPL-3O.3A-pcl-PRES-M
'... their ancestress, whose name is Kohkaa, pushes (her nail) through their fontanels (to kill them).' (XI-2)

11-30 *... ho-itee* *roko-ng* *mu'king* *hu-ku ...*
ART.M-ABL 2sg.POSS-M heart come.3S-GEN.DS
'... whenever it comes from your heart, (they) ...' (XVIII-42)

11-31 *pau impa ho-itee reeko-ng tana nop-i-m-mo*
food now ART.M-ABL 2nonsg.POSS-M industry get-3O.2A-pcl-GEN.SS
tu-'-heetuio-ng.
be.2S-pcl-FUT-M
'Now you (all) will keep getting food if you are industrious [lit. from your industry].' (III-60)

11-32 *ong waasiih hoo ngo-ng ngawa=nga-warei ti-kitee*
DEM.M story ART.M 1sg.POSS-M REDUP-be.involved-VN ART.L-ABL
u'kisa kaa-mon-no rorong-upeemoroka-na.
REL[long.ago be.born-MID.3S.RMPAST-L] tell-3O.1A.IMFUT-F
'I am going to tell this story, which is about my life [lit. all what I was involved in] since I was born long ago.' (VI-1)

(2) Possessors are non-local noun phrases in absolutive case.[2]

11-33 *manni hoo Tantanu-ng mii siro-wa-mo ...*
then ART.M 'ancestor's.name'-M name sing-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS
'Then while they sang Tantanu's name, (they) ...' (III-54)

11-34 *manni tii Maawo-ni pokoring ti-muru*
then ART.DIM 'male.name'-DIM tail ART-CL.part.of.long.object
tii-ngi po-oku u'j-u-ro ...
ART.F-ERG his-mother pick.up-3O.3A-PERF.SS
'Then when his (= Maawo's) mother picked up that part of Maawo's tail, (she) ...' (I-32)

11-35 ... *hoo napa-m maa mono-wa-ro ...*
ART.M possum-M faeces see-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS
'... after they saw the possum's faeces, (they) ...' (XVIII-20)

(3) Possessors are 3rd person possessive pronouns, which are expanded by non-local noun phrases in absolutive case.

11-36 *mareua poko-ng tu'na*
'plant.name' 3sg.POSS-M leaf
'the leaves of the *mareua* plant' (I-4)

---

[2] The Possessor can take a determiner, e.g.:

ong ana kuraisa-ng nungamong
DEM.M [DEM.F woman]-M man
'This man (= husband) of that woman'

11-37 *hoo* *hing* *Maawo* *poko-ng*
ART.M rotten.juices 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M
'Maawo's rotting juices [= rotting juices from Maawo the Snake's decayed tail, cf. §10.3.4.4]' (I-35)

11-38 ... *toki=tokis-a-a-ng* *hoo* *Maawo* *poko-ng* *munu.*
REDUP=cut-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M ART.M 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M body
'... they cut Maawo's body (into pieces).' (I-27)

11-39 ... *hoo* *kompaka* *hiiro-woo-ro* *konn-u-mo*
ART.M heron become.hungry-MID.3S-PERF.SS walk-3S-GEN.SS
pi-i-ng *tii* *hanganori* *no-wori* *poko-no* *koh.*
go.3S-RMPAST-M ART.L old.woman one-CL.animate 3sg.POSS.L garden
'... the heron became hungry and went walking to the garden of an old woman.' (V-2)

11-40 *hoo-jori* *poti* *u'kisanung* *kupuna* *peeko-ng* ...
ART.M-LOC time ancient ancestor.spirit 3nonsg.POSS-M
'In the ancient time of ancestor spirits ...' (XI-1)

Semantically, the above three constructions express any of the following "possessive" relationships:

1) bodypart relationships (11-26, 11-28 and 11-30, 11-34 and 11-35, and 11-37 and 11-38),
2) part-whole relationships (11-36),
3) ownership relations (11-23 and 11-39),
4) person and his/her name (11-33),
5) characterisations of time (11-24 and 11-40),
6) identifications of relationships between two (groups of) persons (11-25 and 11-29),
7) identifications of relationships between a (group of) person and an object (11-27),
8) relationships between the agent and/or the undergoer and an event in which he/she is involved (11-31 and 11-32).

11.2.3.2 Local Attributive Construcions

In local attributive constructions, modifying local nouns (underlined in the following examples) cross-reference the genders of the head nouns. They are either derived by the local suffix *-kori* (or its allomorph *-ngori* or *-jori*, cf. §4.6.1) as in 11-41 and 11-43, or underived as in 11-42.

11-41 ... *tii* *uri* *hoo-nno* *pa-rato-kori-ng* *puri* *hukar-u-u-ng.*
ART.L home ART.M-COMIT his-elder.brother-L-M head arrive-3S-RMPAST-M
'... he arrived home with his elder brother's head.' (XII-37)

11-42 *hoo* *waasiih* *u'kisa-ng* *mirahu-ngung* *rorong-i-hee.*
ART.M story old.time-M good-pl tell-3O.2A-DEFFUT
'You will definitely tell (the) good stories from old time.'[3]

11-43 ... *no-wori* *dachi-ngori-na* *ti-ki-koo* *tu-mo*
one-CL.animate Holland-L-F there-ERG-EMPH be.3S-GEN.SS
tu-ka-na.
be.3S-PRES-F
'... an animate (female) from Holland (= a Dutch woman) used to live there, too.' (XXVIII)

The NP *no-wori dachi-ngori-na* in 11-43 is headless.

Attributive NPs with local nouns express:

1) bodypart relationships (11-41),
3) relationships between an object and its time of origin (11-42), and
2) relationships between a person and his/her place of origin (11-43).

Local nouns derived from verbal nouns can also enter into this construction. In such a case, the head noun corresponds to the O argument of the original verb from which the verbal noun is derived. (The examples of this construction are mostly found in the corpus of the Pouko dialect. See also 11-54 and 11-67.)

11-44 ... *ong* *neeko-ng* *kaastom* *toku* *rorih-arei-kori-ng*
DEM.M 1nonsg.POSS-M custom not forget-VN-L-M
king=kingng-u-mo *noh-uh=no-ng.*
REDUP=think.of-3O.3A-GEN.SS say.about-3O.1A.PRESPROG-M
'... I am thinking of our[4] custom which should not be forgotten [lit. our custom of not forgetting], and talking about it.' (XXIV-121)

11.2.3.3 Headless Possessive and Attributive Constructions

The constructions discussed in §11.2.3.1 and §11.2.3.2 can be headless, if the entities referred to by the whole constructions are understood from the context. It is

[3] Note that the attributive noun phrase *u'kisa-ng* is placed nearer to the evaluative adjective *mirahu*. In this case, the former clearly expresses the category more inherent to *waasiih* 'story' than the latter. cf. §10.3.1 and §10.3.3.3.

[4] The Pouko dialect does not distinguish inclusive/exclusiveness. cf. §1.2.

especially the case when the Possessor is marked by the local gender suffix *-no*. Examples:

(1) pronominal Possessors:

11-45 ... *owo* *ngo-no* *toku* *uhu-ko-ng.*
DEM.L 1sg.POSS-L not come.3pcl.S-PRES-M
'... they do not come to my (place).' (III-18)

11-46 *owo* *reeko-no* *impa* *kunto-wo-i-no.*
DEM.L 2nonsg.POSS-L now be.closed-MID.3S-NRPAST-L
'That (place) of yours has already been closed (=blockaded).' (XV-15)

11-47 ... *ti-ki* *poko-no-ki* *kaah-wa-a-ng*
ART.L 3sg.POSS-L-ERG cremate-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
hoo *Hoio.*
ART.M 'ancestor's.name'
'... they cremated Hoio in his (village).' (XXII-39)

One example is found where the Possessor is marked by the dual-paucal gender suffix *-ni*. It is further marked by the paucal number suffix *-naa*, which should have been attached to the head if it was present:

11-48 *ih!* *ngo-ni-naa.*
oh.dear 1sg.POSS-DP-pc
'Oh dear! My (dear) ones.' (VIII-31)

(2) nominal Possessors:

11-49 *tii* *Maawo* *poko-no* *pi-ro* *noh-i-heeto-ng: "..."*
ART.L 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-L go.2S-PERF.SS say.to-3O.2A-FUT-M
'After you go to Maawo's (place), you will say to him: "..." ' (I-20)

11-50 ... *Paupiahe* *tanaku'* *poko-no* *tii*
'ancestor's.name' industrious 3sg.POSS-L ART.L
pau *ponnaa* *arut-ah-no.*
food plenty be.in.abundance-PART-L
'... in (the place) of Paupiahe the Industrious, food is in abundance.' (III-7)

11-51 *tii* *pehka* *manni* *tii* *Maawo* *o-noku*
ART.F young.girl then ART.L 'male.name' DEM-mother.and.child
peeko-no *kung-a-a-na.*
3nonsg.POSS-L bring.to.one's.place-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
'Then they brought the young girl (as a bride) to Maawo and his mother's (house).' (I-7)

Note that in 11-51 the 3rd person pronoun *peeko-no* expanded by the kinship construction *Maawo o-noku* stand as Possessor, the head of which is not expressed.

Attributive constructions can also be headless. For example (see also 11-43):

11-52 *ana* *Siapani-ngori-na* *roki=manni* *niraweru.*
DEM.F Japan-L-F really beautiful.F
'That Japanese female is really beautiful.'

Examples of verbal nouns with the derivational suffix *-kori* without heads (in both examples, the unexpressed heads are in masculine gender):

11-53 *ho-ko* *koho* *roki* *tee-warei-kori-ng* *pihk-a-hee*
ART.M-EMPH down REL[just eat-VN-L-M look.for-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT
uwi-mo *nga-wa-mo-ng ...*
go.3pcl.S-GEN.SS do-3O.3pcl.A-GEN-M]
'The ordinary one (= prayer), which they say while they are just going to look for something to eat, ...' (XVIII-5)

11-54 *ai* *hoo* *tiwo-ning* *koro-warei-kori-ng*
I.tell.you so that.way-towards speak-VN-L-M
o-m-u-io-ng.
give.to-1O.3A.pcl.PERF-M
'So, I tell you, he gave to us the one (= language) which should be spoken in that kind of way.' (XXIV-48)

11.2.4 Possessor Nouns/Pronouns Marked by the Ergative Suffix

Nouns or pronouns marked by the ergative suffix occasionally function as Possessors. They often override the possessive constructions discussed in §11.2.1.1, §11.2.2 and §11.2.3.1, giving redundant information. They focus on the roles Possessors play in kin or ownership relationships referred to by the whole constructions. Examples:

11-55 *tii tii ni-ngi nga-na kuraisa.*
she ART.F I-ERG 1sg.POSS-F woman
'She is, in relation to me, my woman (=wife).'

11-56 *ho-ko hoo Maawo-ngi poko-na-pa.*
it-EMPH ART.M 'male.name'-ERG 3sg.POSS-LINK-CL.shelter
'That is Maawo's own shelter.'

All the examples from my corpus are given below. They are all kin Possessors:

11-57 *tii napa-ki po-oro*
ART.F possum-ERG her-daughter
'the possum's daughter' (X-21)

11-58 *hoo paapaa ni-ngi*
ART.M my.mother's.brother I-ERG
'my paternal uncle (in relation to me)' (XVI-113)

11-59 *ni-ngi turuworoku eejee*
I-ERG returning my.opp.sex.sib
'my grandmother's brother (my opposite sex sibling two generations senior to me)'[5] (XXVII)

11-60 ... *hoo ong koho kitoria pee-mo hoo ni-ngi nungamong*
ART.M DEM.M down children their-father ART.M I-ERG man
urukosing kalabuus-kori-ki tuu-juu ...
first prison-L-ERG be.3S-CONT.DS
'... while the father of these children born earlier, (who is) my first husband (in relation to me), was in prison, (I) ...' (XVI-36, cf. 4-43)

Note that in 11-60, the ergative noun phrase *ni-ngi* is used instead of the possessive pronoun *ngo-ng*, because the speaker indicates that the husband-wife relationship between the man and herself at that time is especially significant to her.

11.3 POSSESSIVE AND LOCAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN NOMINAL CLAUSES

Possessive relationships can be expressed in nominal clauses, as mentioned in §3.3.2. In nominal clauses, Possessees stand as arguments, and Possessors as

[5] See fn 16 in Table 4-5.

predicates. Possessors always cross-reference the genders of the Possessees, as is the case with the possessive constructions at phrase level (cf. §11.2.3.1).

11-61 *ong sira hoo ho-ko kui poko-ng.*
DEM.M fruit ART.M ART.M-EMPH tree 3sg.POSS-M
[Argument (Possessee)] [Predicate (Possessor)]
'This fruit is of that tree over there.'

11-62 *oi peesi' tii Aanih-ni.*
DEM.DIM shell.money ART.DIM 'female.name'-DIM
[Argument (Possessee)] [Predicate (Possessor)]
'This (pretty) shell money is Aanih's.'

The Possessor nouns/pronouns with the ergative suffix can modify the predicate:

11-63 *ho-ko hoo ho-i-koo poko-ng.*
it-EMPH ART.M he-ERG-EMPH 3sg.POSS-M
[Argument (Possessee)] [Predicate (Possessor)]
'That is certainly his own.'

In all the examples found in my corpus, Possessors are a 3rd person singular possessive pronoun *po-kong* expanded by noun phrases (cf. 3-75), or verbal clauses (11-64):

11-64 *ong waasiih hoo ngowo=ngo-woro-ku moo*
DEM.M story ART.M $_{POSS}$[REDUP=happen-MID.3S-GEN.DS coconut
[Argument (Possessee)] [Predicate (Possessor) --->
ratik-or-u-ng poko-ng.
find-MID.3S-RMPAST-M] 3sg.POSS-M
--->]
'This story is about how it happened that the coconuts were found.' (XII-1)

Note that in 11-64, the 3rd person possessive pronoun *poko-ng* after the verbal clause can be left out. cf. §17.1.

Local nouns can also stand as predicates in nominal clauses. This construction expresses the local/temporal origin of the referent of the argument NP. Examples:

11-65 *ong waasiih hoo u'kisa-ng.*
DEM.M story ART.M old.days-M
[Argument] [Predicate]
'This story is of old days.'

11-66 *tii-koo* *tii* *kuraisa* *Siapani-ngori-na.*
ART.F-EMPH ART.F woman Japan-L-F
[Argument] [Predicate]
'That woman over there is from Japan.'

11-67 *ai* *neeko-ng* *koro=koro* *soo* *u'kisa* *so-ingi*
I.tell.you 1nonsg.POSS-M language REL[ART.M long.ago ART.M-ERG
[Argument --->
kupuna *o-m-u-io-ng* *empa* *nee-ki*
ancestor.spirit give.to-1O-3A-pcl.PERF-M] now we-ERG
--->] [Predicate --->
toku *rorih-arei-kori-ng.*
not forget-VN-L-M
--->]
'I tell you, our language, which the ancestor spirit gave to us long ago, is of not forgetting now by us (= should not be forgotten by us now).'[6]

[6] The forms *so-ingi/ho-ingi* 'ART.M-ERG' and *empa(ta)* 'now' are found only in the Pouko dialect (I deliberately retain the forms *soo* and *so-ingi* in this example, although they are substitutable for *hoo* and *ho-ingi*). As mentioned earlier, there is also no inclusive/exclusive disctinction in 1st person nonsingular. cf. §1.2.

CHAPTER 12 PREVIEW OF VERBS

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Verbs in Motuna distinguish the following grammatical categories:

(1) Active and middle voice. They are distinguished by different sets of S/A/O cross-referencing bound morphemes. Motuna also has a periphrastic passive construction (cf. §16.3.4).
(2) Medial and non-medial verbs. I call the verbs which mark switch-reference "medial verbs", while those which don't "non-medial verbs".[1] Switch-reference markings indicate whether the "themes"[2] of the medial verbal clauses are the same as, or are different from, those of the following clauses.[3] Fully inflected non-medial verbs, on the other hand, cross-reference the genders of the sentential topics.
(3) Fourteen TAM categories for non-medial verbs, and three for the same subject forms and two for the different subject forms of medial verbs.
(4) Verb stems may be underived or derived. Derived stems may take one or more of the four valency changing suffixes --- stimulative, applicative, causative and reciprocal.

As mentioned in §3.2.1, verbs consist of the following morphological elements.

1) verb stems,
2) bound morphemes which cross-reference the person and number of core argument(s),
3) tense/aspect/mood (hence TAM) suffixes, and

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[1] Note that "medial verbs" do not necessarily occupy the medial positions of sentences; they may even stand as the heads of separate sentences, cf. §17.1. Some "non-medial verbs", on the other hand, may function as the heads of dependent embedded clauses, and in such cases they may occupy sentence-medial positions.

[2] Themes often coincide with the grammatical subjects (S or A) of the verbs, but not always, cf. §17.1. Although "same/different theme" are more appropriate labels than "same/different subject" for medial verbal endings, I use the latter terminology in this thesis, following the convention of the grammatical description of Papuan languages.

[3] More precisely, "controlling clauses". cf. §15.4.1.

4a) fully inflected non-medial verbs further cross-reference the genders of topical arguments,
4b) other non-medial verbs have no additional markings, and
4c) medial verbs mark switch-reference.

I repeat the examples 3-2b, 3-2d and 3-2c below:

12-1a	*mono-m-a-ki-na* see-1O-3pcl.A-HABPAST-F	'they used to see me (F Topic)'
b	*taapu-r-opi-ti-hee* help-2O-1A-dl-DEFFUT	'we two will definitely help you (sg)/ I will definitely help you two'
c	*kuuto-woro-ku* wait-MID.3S-GEN.DS	'when he/she waited, sb else...'

12-1a is a fully inflected non-medial verb, which cross-references the feminine gender of the sentential topic by the last suffix *-na*. 12-b is a non-medial verb, which has no gender marking. 12-1c is a medial verb; the suffix *-ku* marks both General TAM and Different Subject categories. Note also that 12-1a and 12-1b take active voice O/A suffixes, while 12-1c takes a middle voice S suffix.

Syntactically, verbs may take:

(1) core noun phrases (S, A or O), which are obligatorily cross-referenced.
(2) Complements (Cs), which are not cross-referenced but are nevertheless syntactically obligatory. Complements can be noun phrases, adjective phrases, adverbials, verbal clauses or quotations.
(3) peripheral arguments, which are syntactically optional.

See discussion and examples in §3.3.1.1 and §3.3.1.2.

The following topics are discussed in the rest of this chapter.
In §12.2, I will overview the morphological structure of verbs.
In §12.3, I will discuss different types of cross-referencing.
In §12.4, I will discuss different types of underived verb stems.

A full discussion of verbal morphology will be given in Ch 13. A full account of valency, together with valency changing derivations, will be given in Ch 14. The functions of TAM suffixes will be discussed in detail in Ch 15.

12.2 MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF VERBS

12.2.1 Verb Stems

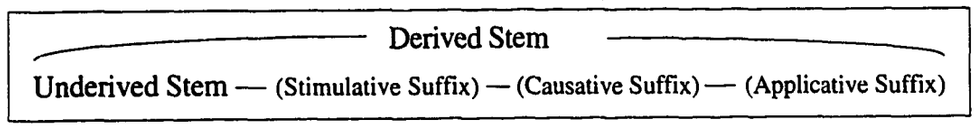
Verb stems are either underived or derived.

Underived stems may be purely verbal, or may be roots which are not categorised for noun/verb or adjective/verb distinction. Some stems are loan words from English or Tok Pisin. There are also compound stems. See §12.4 for further discussion.

Derived verb stems may be (1) non-reciprocal or (2) reciprocal.

(1) Derived non-reciprocal stems are formed by attaching one to three valency-changing suffixes (stimulative, causative, and/or applicative, in this order) to underived verb stems.

Diagram 12-1a Structure of Derived Non-Reciprocal Verb Stem



The forms and functions of valency-changing suffixes are roughly as follows:

(i) the stimulative suffix *-sii(h)-* is attached to intransitive verb stems which denote subjective feelings or emotive actions. The stimulative suffix demotes the original S which refers to the Experiencer, and promotes the Stimulus of such experience to S status. (cf. 12-1b)

(ii) the causative suffix *-(w)ooto-* is attached to intransitive verb stems.[4] It introduces a new A argument. (cf. 12-1c and 12-2b)

(iii) the applicative suffix *-(j)ee-* is attached to any verb stems. In most cases it intro duces a new Undergoer argument (O, C, or S) or a Possessor.[5] (cf. 12-1d, 12-2c and 12-4a.)

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[4] It can be attached to verb stems which take both active voice (transitive) and middle voice (intransitive) suffixes. However, I will argue in §14.5.2. that the causative suffix allows only the latter (intransitive) readings in such cases.

[5] But not always. See §14.6.

Examples:

12-1a	*ruuto-* be.attracted-	'to be attracted'
b	*ruuto-sii-* be.attracted-STIML-	'to be attractive'
c	*ruuto-sii-wooto-* be.attracted-STIML-CAUS-	'to make sb attractive'
d	*ruuto-sii-woote-jee-* be.attracted-STIML-CAUS-APPL-	'to make sb's (sb/sth) attractive/ to make (sb/sth) attractive for sb/sth'

12-2a	*puu-* die-	'to die'
b	*puu-wooto-* die-CAUS-	'to cause to die'
c	*puu-woote-jee-* die-CAUS-APPL-	'to cause sb's (sb/sth) to die/ to cause (sb/sth) to die for/against the benefit of sb'

(2) Reciprocal verb stems are formed by combining reduplicated forms of (derived or underived) non-reciprocal verb stems with the verbal suffix /-tu(h)/. (cf. 12-3b and 12-4b.) Reciprocal verb stems can further take the causative suffix. (cf. 12-3c and 12-4c.)

Diagram 12-1b Structure of Reciprocal Verb Stem

REDUP=Non-Reciprocal Verb Stem=*tu(h)* — (Causative Suffix)

Examples:

12-3a	*mono-* see-	'to see'
b	*mono=mono=tuh-* REDUP=see=RECIP-	'to see one another'
c	*mono=mono=tuh-ooto-* REDUP=see=RECIP-CAUS-	'to cause to see one another'

12-4a	*iirong-ee-/ iireng-ee-*[6] get.angry-APPL-	'to get angry with'
b	*ii=iirong-ee=tuh-/ iireng-ee=tuh-* REDUP=get.angry-APPL=RECIP-	'to get angry with one another'
c	*ii=iirong-ee=tuh-ooto-/ iireng-ee=tuh-ooto-* REDUP=get.angry-APPL=RECIP-CAUS-	'to make angry with one another'

[6] The vowel /o/ in the stem /iirong-/ is optionally assimilated to the following *e* due to Rule 2-9b.

12.2.2 Cross-referencing Markings

The person and number of core arguments are cross-referenced on the verb stem. There are five types of cross-referencing markings --- four in active voice and one in middle voice (cf. §12.3.2 for a discussion in more detail):

(1) In active voice:

(i) O and A person/number suffixes (attached to transitive verb stems)

(ii) S_O person/number suffixes which consist of O suffixes and the 3rd person dummy A suffix (attached to intransitive verb stems)

(iii) S_A person/number suffixes which are formally identical with A suffixes (attached to intransitive verb stems)

(iv) Consonant alternation of the stems which mark the person of S, and number suffixes (five irregular intransitive verb stems)

(2) In middle voice:

middle S person/number suffixes (attached to intransitive verb stems).

The surface forms of person/number markings are summarised in Tables 12-2a - c.[7]

Table 12-2a Surface Forms of Person Markings in Active Voice

	transitive stem		intransitive stem		
	O suffix	A suffix	S_O suffix	S_A suffix	irregular stem
1st	*-m*	*-o(p(i)~m~ng~t~h~s)* *-u(p(i)~m~ng~t~h~s)*	*-mu*	*-o(p(i)~m~ng~t~h~s)*	*n ~ m*
2nd	*-r*	*-i*	*-ru*	*-i*	*t ~ h ~ p*
3rd	*-ø*	*-u* (sg/dl)/*-(w)a* (pcl)	*-u*	*-u* (sg/dl)/*-(w)a* (pcl)	*t(r) ~ h ~ p(w)*

Table 12-2b Surface Forms of Person Markings in Middle Voice

	singular S	nonsingular S	
1st	*-mor(o) ~ -mo(o) ~ moi*	*-mee* (inc)	*-mara* (exc)
2nd	*-ror(o) ~ -ro(o) ~ roi*	*-ree*	
3rd	*-(w)or(o) ~ (w)o(o) ~ (w)oi*	*-(w)ee*	

[7] Vowels and consonants in these markings are often fused with or assimilated to preceding stems or following TAM suffixes. These alternations are not included in the following tables. See Ch 13 for a detailed analysis of morphophonemic changes. The underlying froms of all the cross-referencing morphemes are summarised in Tables 13-13 and 13-15.

Table 12-2c Surface Forms of S/O/A Number Markings

sg	*-ø*
dl	*-t(i) ~ -h ~ -s*
pcL	*-r(u) ~ -' ~ -N*

Examples:

/mono-/ 'to see/look at' as a transitive verb stem, which takes O and A suffixes:[8]

12-5 *mono-m-u-h-ni* 'he just saw us two/ they two just saw me'
see-1O-3A-dl.NRPAST-DP

the intransitive verb stem /haa-/ 'to want/agree' which takes S_O suffixes:

12-6 *haa-mu-ki-na* 'I (F) used to want'
want-1S_O-HABPAST-F

the intransitive verb stem /kumar-/ 'to laugh' which takes S_A suffixes:

12-7 *kumar-i-heeta-na* 'you (F) will laugh'
laugh-2S_A-FUT-F

the intransitive verb stem /pi(h)-/ 'to go', the consonant alternation of which marks the person of S:

12-8 *pi-i=ta-na* 'you (F)/she are/is going'
go.2/3S_{IRR}-PRESPROG-F

the intransitive verb stem /turu-/ 'to return' which takes middle voice S suffixes:

12-9 *turu-wee-'-ki-ng* 'they more than two used to return'
return-MID.3nonsg.S-pcl-HABPAST-M

Verb stems may take more than one type of cross-referencing suffixes listed above. Most verb stems which take O and A suffixes in active voice, in particular, can take middle voice suffixes as well.

[8] I will indicate the distinction between S_O, S_A and S_{IRR} (irregular S), in the interlinear text in the following examples and in 12-17 - 12-20, for the sake of illustration. I will simply use the symbol "S" for all the S markings in the rest of my thesis. Similarly, I will indicate the distinction between singular and nonsingular middle S forms in the interlinear text in 12-9 and 12-19, but not elsewhere.

12.2.3 TAM Suffixes

TAM suffixes come after person/number cross-referencing markings. They may further be followed by a gender suffix or a switch-reference marking.

(1) A fully inflected non-medial form consists of one of the following ten TAM suffixes and a gender suffix.

Table 12-3a Non-medial TAM Suffixes (followed by Gender Suffixes)

names	abbreviations	suffixes (underlying forms)
General	GEN	/-mo/
Present	PRES	/-ko/
Present Progressive	PRESPROG	/-i=tu(h)/
Present Perfect	PERF	/-ro/
Near Past	NRPAST	/-i/
Habitual Past	HABPAST	/-ki/
Remote Past	RMPAST	/-u/
Future	FUT	/-hee-tu(h)/
Immediate Future	IMFUT	/-hee-MID-ko/
Imaginative	IMAG	/-kui/

Examples of fully inflected non-medial forms of the intransitive verb stem /mon-/ 'to look', with a 3rd person singular masculine S:

12-10a *mon-u-mo-ng* 'he always looks'
look-3S-GEN-M

b *mon-u-ko-ng* 'he looks'
look-3S-PRES-M

c *mon-u-i=to-ng* 'he is looking'
look-3S-PRESPROG-M

d *mon-u-ro-ng* 'he has already looked'
look-3S-PERF-M

e *mon-u-u-ng*[9] 'he looked (today)'
look-3S-NRPAST-M

[9] The underlying form of the Near Past suffix /-i/ is assimilated to the preceding cross-referencing suffix /-u/. As a result, the surface form is identical with the Remote Past form. (The underlying form of the Remote Past suffix is /-u/.) cf. Rule 13-7 in §13.2.1.15.

f *mon-u-ki-ng* 'he used to look'
look-3S-HABPAST-M

g *mon-u-u-ng* 'he looked (more than a month ago)'
look-3S-RMPAST-M

h *mon-u-heeto-ng* 'he will look'
look-3S-FUT-M

i *mon-u-heeworoko-ng* 'he is going to look'
look-3S-IMFUT-M

j *mon-u-kuu-ng*[10] 'he would look'
look-3S-IMAG-M

(2) Other non-medial forms take the following TAM suffixes. They are not followed by gender suffixes.

Table 12-3b Non-medial TAM Suffixes (without Gender Suffixes)

names	abbreviations	suffixes (underlying forms)
Imaginative[11]	IMAG	/-kui/
Definite Future	DEFFUT	/-hee/
Imperative	IMP	(/-o/)[12]
Optative	OPT	/-woro/
Negative Optative	NEGOPT	/-raa/

Examples of non-medial forms of the intransitive verb stem /mon-/ 'to look', with a 3rd person singular masculine S, without gender markings:

12-11a *mon-u-kui* ... 'if he looks ...'
look-3S-IMAG

b *mon-u-hee* 'he will definitely look'
look-3S-DEFFUT

---

[10] The final /i/ of the Imaginative suffix /-kui/ is realised as *u* before the archinasal /N/. cf. Rule 13-9 in §13.2.1.15.

[11] Verbs in Imaginative TAM take gender suffixes in independent clauses, but do not take them in dependent embedded clauses. Compare 12-10j with 12-11a.

[12] The realisation of the Imperative suffix is highly irregular. See Ch 13.

c *mon-oo*[13] 'let him look'
look-3S.IMP

d *mon-u-woro* 'I wish he would look'
look-3S-OPT

e *mon-u-raa* 'I wish he would not look'
look-3S-NEGOPT

(3) Medial SS forms take General, Perfect or Continuous suffixes without any additional markings. Medial DS forms take General or Continuous suffixes which also indicate a Different Subject category.

Table 12-3c Medial TAM Suffixes

names	abbreviations	suffixes (underlying forms)
General Same Subject	GEN.SS	/-mo/
Perfect Same Subject	PERF.SS	/-ro/
Continuous Same Subject	CONT.SS	/-i/
General Different Subject	GEN.DS	/-ku/
Continuous Different Subject	CONT.DS	/-juu/

12-12a *mon-u-mo* 'while he is looking, he ...' or
look-3S-GEN.SS 'whenever he looks, he ...'

b *mon-u-ro* 'after he looks/looked, he ...'
look-3S-PERF.SS

c *mon-u-i* 'while he is/was watching, he ...'
watch-3S-CONT.SS

d *mon-u-ku* 'after he looks/looked, sb else ...' or
look-3S-GEN.DS 'whenever he looks, sb else ...'

e *mon-uu-juu*[14] 'while he is/was watching, sb else ...'
watch-3S-CONT.DS

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[13] The Imperative suffix /-o/ assimilates the preceding 3rd person singular S_A suffix /-u/. cf. §13.2.2.10.

[14] The preceding 3rd person S suffix /-u/ is geminated before /-juu/. cf. Rule 13-10 in §13.2.1.15.

12.2.4 Gender Suffixes

The TAM suffixes listed in Table 12-1a are obligatorily followed by the following gender suffixes (cf. Table 4-2 in §4.2.1):

Table 12-4 Gender Suffixes

names	abbreviations	suffixes (underlying forms)
masculine	M	/-N/
feminine	F	/-na/
dimunitive	DIM	/-ni/
local	L	/-no/
manner	MAN	/-nowo/
dual-paucal	DP	(/-ni/)[15]

Examples of gender suffixes attached to the General TAM form of the transitive verb stem /mono-/ 'to see/look at', with a 3rd person O and A. (Note that the 3rd person O is zero-marked, and the 3rd person A suffix /-u/ is assimilated to the stem-final /o/ of /mono-/.)

12-13a	*mono-o-mo-ng* see-3O.3A-GEN-M	'he always sees him/her/it, she always sees him/it' (M Topic)
b	*mono-o-ma-na*[16] see-3O.3A-GEN-F	'she always sees him/it, he always sees her' (F Topic)
c	*mono-o-mo-ni* see-3O.3A-GEN-DIM	'he/she always sees it' (DIM Topic)
d	*mono-o-mo-no* see-3O.3A-GEN-L	'he/she always sees him/her/it (at a place)' (L Topic)
e	*mono-o-mo-nowo* see-3O.3A-GEN-MAN	'he/she always sees him/her/it (in a way)' (MAN Topic)
f	*mono-o-ti-mee*[17] see-3O.3A-dl-GEN.DP	'they two always see him/her/it, he/she always sees them two' (DP Topic)

[15] The dual-paucal gender form is fused with the preceding /-o/ to be realised as *-ee*, as exemplified in 12-13f and g. cf. Rule 13-11a in §13.2.1.15. It is realised as *-ni* elsewhere.

[16] The /o/ of the General TAM suffix /-mo/ is assimilated to the /a/ of the following feminine suffix /-na/, due to Rule 2-9a.

[17] The /o/ of the General TAM suffix /-mo/ and the dual-paucal suffix are fused to be realised as *-ee* due to Rule 13-11a in §13.2.1.15.

g *mono-o-m-mee* 'he/she always sees them few'
see-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.DP (DP Topic)

h *mono-o-m-mo-ng* 'he/she always sees them many'
see-3O.3A-pcl-GEN-M (M Topic)

12.3 CROSS-REFERENCING MARKINGS AND VALENCY

12.3.1 Basic Voice Distinction

In Motuna, verbs have a basic voice distinction (cf. Klaiman 1988, 1991). That is, every verb stem must select one of the two sets of pronominal markings --- active or middle --- in any TAM. According to the combinability of either or both of these sets, verb stems can be categorised as follows:

(1) "active-middle" stems which can take both active and middle markings,
(2) "active-only" stems which can take only active markings, and
(3) "middle-only" stems which can take only middle markings.

The majority of verb stems, which function as transitive verbs (i.e. cross-reference the person and number of O and A) in active voice, belong to the first type.[18] In addition, a small number of intransitive verb stems can take both active and middle suffixes.[19]

The verb stems of the second and the third types are intransitive.

Examples:

(1) "active-middle" stems:

12-14a /uuh-/ in active voice: 'to wash sb/sth'
in middle voice: 'to have a bath/wash oneself'

b /pokuk-/ in active voice: 'to hide sb/sth'
in middle voice: 'to hide (oneself)', 'to be hidden'

c /taapu-/ in active voice: 'to help sb'
in middle voice: 'to participate'

d /mono-/ in active voice: 'to see/look at sb/sth'
in middle voice: 'to see/look at oneself', 'to appear', 'to be careful'

[18] According to my informants, some derived verb stems with the causative or the applicative suffix can also take middle suffixes. However, there are no examples of such verbs in my corpus.

[19] See examples in §14.3.1.1 and §14.3.1.2.

e /ngo-/ in active voice: 'to make/do sth, to do (sth) to sb'
in middle voice: 'to make oneself ~', 'to be engaged in process/event', 'to happen'

(2) "active-only" stems:

12-15

/haa-/ 'to want/agree'	/siiho-/ 'to become/be ill'
/kumar-/ 'to laugh'	/kopin-/ 'to walk/move'
/mon-/ 'to look'	/kuuk-/ 'to (get to) know'
/haarok-/ 'to fall'	/rii(h)-/ 'to become/be'
/tu(h)-/ 'Copula, to be (exist)'	/pi(h)-/ 'to go'

(3) "middle-only" stems:

12-16

/kuroh-/ 'to run/be at a run'	/neQw-/ 'to sit down/be sitting'
/turu-/ 'to return'	/miHw-/ 'to move/jump vigorously'
/turio-/ 'to become/be alarmed'	/hiiro-/ 'to become/be hungry'
/sikuulu-/ 'to be educated'	/tupurai-/ 'to burn off the bush'
/ruQkaHw-/ 'to do the cooking'	/nimautu-/ 'to look handsome (male)'

12.3.2 Verbs with Active Pronominal Markings and Transitivity

In active voice, verbs cross-reference one or two core argument NPs. The verbs which take only one core argument (S), such as /siiho-/ 'to become/be ill', /kumar-/ 'to laugh', and /pi(h)-/ 'to go', are intransitive verbs. On the other hand, those with two core arguments (O and A), such as /ngo-/ 'to make/do sth, to do (sth) to sb', /to-/ 'to hit/kill sb/sth', /o-/ 'to give (sth) to sb', /nai-/ 'to show (sth) to sb', are transitive verbs.[20]

All the transitive verbs are marked by a set of pronominal suffixes, which usually consist of an O suffix, an A suffix, and a number suffix, in that order. See the following example:

/mono-/ 'to see/look at' as a transitive verb (cf. 12-5. The dual suffix is fused with the following Near Past suffix):

12-17

... *noni*	*nee*	*ho-i*	*Honging*	*mono-**m**-**u**-**h**-ni.*	
us.exc	it.must.be	ART.M-ERG	'demon's.name'	see-**1O**-**3A**-**dl**.NRPAST-DP	
[O]		[	A	]	

'... Honging must have seen us two.' (XII-9)

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[20] There are, however, cases where we cannot decide the transitivity of particular verb stems simply in terms of cross-referencing markings. See §14.2.

Intransitive verbs in active voice take one of the three types of pronominal markings --- S_O person/number suffixes, S_A person number suffixes, and consonant alternation of the stems --- listed as (1) (ii) ~ (iv) in §12.2.2

I call the verbs which take the suffixes of the first type "S_O verbs", those with the suffixes of the second type "S_A verbs", and the last type "irregular verbs". Examples:

the S_O verb /haa-/ 'to want/agree' (cf. 12-6):

12-18 ... *tii* *uri* *pih-arei-ko* ***haa-mu-ki-na.***
ART.L home go-VN-EMPH want-1 S_O-HABPAST-F
[C]
'... I often wanted to go home.' (VI-17)

the S_A verb /kumar-/ 'to laugh' (cf. 12-7):

12-19 *roo* *tii* *mara* *toku* *kumar-**i**-heeta-na.*
you.sg ART.F devil not laugh-2 S_A-FUT-F
[S]
'You, the devil, will not laugh.' (VIII-14)

the irregular verb /pi(h)-/ 'to go' (cf. 12-8):

12-20 *jeewo?* *roo-ko* *woo-ki* ***pi-i=ta-na?***
how you.sg-EMPH where-ERG go.2 S_{IRR}-PRESPROG-F
[S]
'How (is it)? Which way are you going?' (XIV-15)

Among the three types of intransitive verbs mentioned above, S_A verbs are the largest in number. The majority of S_A verbs denote volitional activities, but some of them denote uncontrollable events (such as /haarok-/ 'to fall') or processes (such as /hoNnak-/ 'to grow up').

Only twenty-odd S_O verbs (including those found in elicitation sessions) have been attested, which are all semantically characterised as "Patient- or Experiencer-oriented".

There are only five irregular verbs. They are semantically heterogenous, and are all high frequency items.

Verb stems in each class are exemplified below. More comprehensive lists of S_O and S_A verbs are given in §14.3.1.1 and §14.3.1.2, respectively.

S_O verb stems:

12-21 /haa-/ 'to want/agree' /siiho-/ 'to become/be ill'
/tuh-ee-/ 'to have' (applicative verb stem derived from the irregular verb stem /tuh-/ 'to be' below)

S_A verb stems:

12-22 /kumar-/ 'to laugh'
/mon-/ 'to look'
/rii(h)-/ 'to become/be'

irregular verb stems:

12-23 /tu(h)-/ 'Copula, to be (exist)'
/pi(h)-/ 'to go'
/hu(h)-/ 'to come'
/puu(h)-/ 'to die'
/paa(h)-/ 'to cry'

12.3.3 Verbs with Middle Pronominal Markings

Verbs in middle voice cross-reference only one argument; thus they are regarded as intransitive verbs. Although there are many verb forms with middle suffixes which can take two arguments, the subject arguments of such verbs cannot usually take the ergative case suffix.[21]

The common semantic characteristic of verbs in middle voice is that they denote events/activities, which centre on only one, and no other, participant. If the denoted event/activity is agentive, that sole participant is the affected entity.[22] If it is non-agentive, that participant is simply the Undergoer of the whole event.

As mentioned in §12.3.1, the following two types of stems can take middle suffixes:

(1) active-middle stems which can take both active and middle suffixes, and
(2) middle-only stems which can take only middle suffixes.

12.3.3.1 Active-Middle Verb Stems

The majority of active-middle verb stems function as transitive verbs in active voice.

[21] The verb /hoHk-/ 'to throw over' is the only exception for this. *cf.* §14.2.

[22] According to Klaiman (1991: 315), "affectedness" is "a characteristic of a participant in a verbally encoded situation which is typically sentinent, is outranked for potential control by no other participant, and upon which devolve the principal effects of the denoted event or situation."

The S arguments of such verb stems in middle voice correspond to (1) A=O, (2) O, or (3) A arguments in active voice. Accordingly, they show three types of semantic contrast listed below. Note that the same verb stem may take more than two types of S arguments. For example, /mono-/ 'to see/look at (in active voice)' can take all the three types, with the meanings 'to see/look at oneself', 'to appear', and 'to be careful' in middle voice, as exemplified in 12-14d. The stem /ngo-/ 'to make/do sth, to do (sth) to sb (in active voice)' can also take three types of S arguments in middle voice. See 12-14e and §14.3.2.2.1.

(1) A and O (active) correspc nd to S (middle) [reflexive action]

The reflexive action described in middle voice may be a voluntary or involuntary action, or a habitual activity involving oneself,[23] which directs towards oneself or one's bodypart. Examples:

/mono-/ 'to see/look at sb/sth' (active), 'to see/look at oneself' (middle):

12-24a *ho-ko* *hiuo* *mono-ji-'-hee.*
ART.M-EMPH clay.pot look.at-3O.2A-pcl-DEFFUT
'You (all) will definitely look at the clay pot.' (III-41)

b *pi-hee* *impa* *tii* *kannuku-kori.* *mono=mono-roo.*
go.2S-DEFFUT now ART.L puddle-L REDUP=look.at.self-MID.2S.IMP
'You will definitely go to the puddle now. Look at yourself carefully .' (IV-7)

/tokis-/ 'to cut sb/sth' (active), 'to cut one's bodypart' (middle):

12-25a *oi* *angu* *tokis-i-ro* *hoh-roro-hee.*
DEM.DIM arm cut-3O.2A-PERF.SS throw.over-MID.2S-DEFFUT
'You will definitely cut this arm and throw it over.' (XII-24)

b ... *hoo* *irihwa* *n-ajaa* *u'kisa*
ART.M finger one-CL.wrapped.object.lengthwise $_{REL}$[long.ago
haha'-moro-mo *tokis-or-u-ng* ...
work-MID.1S-GEN.SS cut.self-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'... one of her fingers which she cut long ago while she was working ...' (VIII-46)

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[23] The verbs which denote 'groomin g', such as /uuh-/ 'to wach oneself' and /sii'h-/ 'to put oil on oneself', can be interpreted this way. The meanings e pressed by these verbs are characterised more as 'activities involving oneself' than as 'punctual reflexive actions', and thus are close to the semantic content expressed by the type (3) stems below.

other examples (see also 12-14a, b and e):

12-26	/rakar-/	'to cover sb/sth' (active)
		'to cover oneself' (middle)
	/siiQh-/	'to put oil on sb' (active)
		'to put oil on oneself' (middle)
	/nauk-/	'to lay sb/sth' (active)
		'to lie down/be lying' (middle)

(2) O (active) corresponds to S (middle) [autonomous process/event]

The verb in middle voice expresses an autonomous process or event. The subject (S) undergoes the effects of the whole process/event. Examples:

/pokuk-/ 'to hide sb/sth' (active), 'to be hidden' (middle):

12-27 *tii* *poku'-ro* *manni* *ti-ki* *po'k-oi-juu* ...
there hide.3O.3A-PERF.SS then there-ERG be.hidden-MID.3S-CONT.DS
'When she (= the possum) hid her (= the owl) there, and while she (= the owl) was hidden there, ...' (X-28, cf. 3-31)

/arut-/ 'to pile up/collect sth in abundance' (active), 'to become/be plenty' (middle):

12-28a *tiko* *kokonno* *arut-u-u-ng*.
and pick.from.tree.3O.3A.PERF.SS collect.in.abundance-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'And he picked and collected plenty of fruit from the tree.' (XII-56)

b *tii* *uri* *pau* *mirahu-ngung* *Tantanu-ki*
ART.L village food good-pl REL['ancestor's.name'-ERG
o-m-u-r-i-ng *arut-oo-ro-no*.
give.to-1O-3A-pcl-NRPAST-M] be.plenty-MID.3S-PERF-L
'In the village good food which Tantanu gave us is plenty.' (III-46)

Other examples (see also 12-14d and e):

12-29	/komik-/	'to finish sth' (active)
		'to be finished' (middle)
	/tani-/	'to awaken sb' (active)
		'to wake up' (middle)
	/to-/	'to hit/kill sb/sth' (active)
		'to hit oneself (against sth)'[24] (middle)

[24] This is not a reflexive action, since the event described by this verb form is always caused by an external agent or controller. S often refers to an inanimate object (such as "a tree which was cut down") or an animate entity without any scope of control (such as "a baby").

(3) A (active) corresponds to S (middle) [activity in which one is involved]

The subject of the verb, both in active and middle voices, is the controller of the described action or activity. The verb in active voice expresses a transitive action which the Agent (A) performs towards the Patient (O), while the verb in middle voice expresses the Agent's (S) activity in which the Patient is irrelevant or unspecified. In the latter case, the verb may take an absolutive noun phrase as a Complement, which refers to a non-specific or habitual event or activity (as in 12-31b). Examples:

/taapu-/ 'to help sb' (active), 'to participate' (middle):

12-30a *jeewo?* *ni-ngi* *noo* *taapu-r-ong-kuu-ng?*
how I-ERG possibly help-2O-1pcl.A-IMAG-M
'How? Could I possibly help you all?' (XIV-26)

b *Paanaangah* *ehkong* *taapu-woo-ro*
'ancestor's.name' now participate-MID.3S-PERF.SS
pihk-a-i=ro-ng.
look.for-3O.3pcl.A-PRESPROG-M
'Now Paanaangah participates, and they start [lit. are] looking for it.' (XXIII-26)

/komik-/ 'to finish sth' (active), 'to finish (sth)' (middle):[25]

12-31a *nii-ko* *ong* *siimpai* *komik-unno* ...
I-EMPH DEM.M sweeping finish-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS
'After I have finished this sweeping, (I) ...' (XXXIII-10, cf. 12-51a)

b *sikuulu* *komik-oro-ku* ...
schooling finish-MID.3S-GEN.DS
'After he finished schooling, (they) ...' (II-19)

Other examples (see also 12-14d and e):

12-32 /kuuto-/ 'to wait for sb' (active)
'to wait/be waiting' (middle)
/huhut-/ 'to deceive sb' (active)
'to tell a lie' (middle)
/miNk-/ 'to play sth/to play a trick on sb' (active)
'to play/dance' (middle)

---

[25] Note that in 12-31a the O NP of *komik-* in active voice, *ong siimpai*, refers to a specific event, while in 12-31b the Complement of *komik-* in middle voice, *sikuulu* 'schooling', refers to a non-specific event.

12.3.3.2 Middle-Only Verb Stems

Middle-only verb stems are classified into the following three subtypes (1)' ~ (3)', the semantic content of which is similar to that of (1) ~ (3), respectively, in §12.3.3.1:

(1)' [physical action which crucially involves one's body]

The denoted action may be voluntary or involuntary. Examples:

/kuror-/ 'to run/be at a run':

12-33 *nompa* *kuro-roo.*
quickly run-MID.2S.IMP
'Run quickly.' (V-45)

/neQw-/ 'to sit down/be sitting':

12-34 *tiko* *manni* *ti-ki* *ne'w-o-i* *manni*
and then there-ERG be.sitting-MID.3S-CONT.SS then
hoo *uruwi* *noh-u-u-ng: "..."*
ART.M centepede say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'And then, while sitting there, he said to the centepede: "..." ' (VII-39)

Other examples:

12-35 /miHw-/ 'to move/jump vigorously'
/turu-/ 'to return'
*/suQk-/ 'to jump'
*/kakapi-/ 'to crawl like a caterpillar'

The verbs marked by * have transitive counterparts with causative meanings, which do not seem to be used very often.[26]

Note that /neQw-/ with middle suffixes (12-34) and /maap-/ with active (S_A) suffixes have exactly the same meaning. Similarly, /morik-/ 'to return' with active (S_A) suffixes seems to be the synonym of /turu-/ with middle suffixes (12-35). Which of the two synonymous verbs in these pairs is used in a particular context largely depends on social factors. In general, the words, whose initial syllables are identical with those of tabooed names, are avoided. This is probably one of the major reasons why Motuna has many pairs of synonymous words.

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[26] I include the verbs such as /hurir-/ ('to blow' in active voice and 'to fly' in middle voice) and /nauk-/ ('to lay down' in active voice and 'to lie down/be lying' in middle voice) in the reflexive category (1) in §12.3.3.1. The boundary between (1) and (1)', however, is fuzzy in these cases.

(2)' [uncontrollable process/event which affects oneself]

The process or event expressed by the verb of this class is typically somatic. The referent of S is animate, and undergoes the effects of the whole process/event which he/she cannot control. Examples:

/turio-/ 'to become/be alarmed':

12-36 *... manni* *turio-woro-mo* *nok-u-u-na: "..."*
then be.alarmed-MID.3S-GEN.SS say-3S-RMPAST-F
'... then, being alarmed, she said: "..." ' (I-22)

/hiiro-/ 'to become/be hungry':

12-37 *u'kisa* *manni* *hoo* *kompaka* *hiiro-woo-ro*
long.ago then ART.M heron become.hungry-MID.3S-PERF.SS
konn-u-mo *pi-i-ng ...*
walk-3S-GEN.SS go.3S-RMPAST-M
'Long ago the heron became hungry and went walking ...' (V-2)

Other examples:

12-38 /haring-/ 'to become/be worried'
/nimautu-/ 'to look handsome (male)'
/kaa-/ 'to be born'
/kinot-/ 'to become/be drowned'

(3)' [complex activity in which one is involved]

The majority of stems in this subclass are derived from nouns which denote complex activities. Original nouns include loan words from English or Tok Pisin such as *sikuulu(-)* 'school(ing)/to be educated' and *kiki-* 'to play soccer' (cf. 12.4.3), and nouns with the derivational suffix *-ai* such as *tupur-ai* 'burning off of the bush' and *siimp-ai* 'sweeping' (cf. §12.4.1).

The subject of the verb is involved in the described activity as an Agent, but there is no specifiable Patient. Examples:

/sikuulu-/ 'to be educated':

12-39 *tiko* *ti-ki* *aat-o-mo* *sikuulu-moro-ki-na.*
and there-ERG stay.overnight-1S-GEN.SS be.educated-MID.1S-HABPAST-F
'And I used to stay in the dormitory [lit. stay overnight there] and be educated.' (VI-14)

/tupurai-/ 'to burn off the bush' (cf. /tupur-/ 'to burn sth in the bush'):

12-40 *nii* *tii* *tupurai-moro-heeta-na.*
I ART.F burn.off.bush-MID.1S-FUT-F
'I will burn off the bush.' (XIX-34)

Other examples:

12-41 /kiki-/ 'to play soccer' (loan from English or TokPisin)
/lootu-/ 'to say prayer' (loan from Tok Pisin)
/siiNpai-/ 'to do the sweeping' (cf. /siiNp-/ 'to sweep sth')
/itikai-/ 'to gain strength' (cf. /itik-/ 'to hang sth')
/ruQkaHw-/ 'to do the cooking' (cf. /ruQk-/ 'to cook sth/sb')

12.4 UNDERIVED VERB STEMS

As mentioned in §12.1., underived verb stems may be:

(1) purely verbal,
(2) roots which are not categorised for noun/verb distinction,
(3) roots which are not categorised for adjective/verb distinction,
(4) loan words, or
(5) compounds.

In the following sections, I will discuss the stems of the types (2), (3), (4) and (5) in turn.

12.4.1 Nominal/Verbal Roots

All the roots of this type, which have been found in my corpus, are given below.

Note that an epenthetic /k/ is attached to the roots to formall the S_A verb stems and some transitive verb stems. (The epenthetic /k/ may optionally be realised as /ng/ under the phonological environments specified in Rule 4-1.) If the original noun ends with /N/, /ng/ is attached, and if it ends with /H/ or /Q/, /w/ is attached, to form any type of verb root.

These consonants do not seem to be derivational suffixes. They are needed for phonological reasons. The epenthetic /k/[27] is necessary because S_A (and A) person

[27] Note that the back /k/ is the commonest among the stop consonants. cf. fn 12 in §2.2.3.

suffixes are vowels (cf. Table 12-2a), so if the preceding stem ends with a vowel, assimilation will occur and the person distinction of S_A/A will be obscured in some cases. A glide is needed after /N/, /H/ or /Q/, because these C_2 consonants cannot be followed directly by a vowel due to the constraint of syllable structure (cf. §2.4.1).

These epenthetic consonants are also attached to adjectival/verbal roots. See §12.4.2.[28]

(1) S_O verb stems:

12-42 /siiho-/ 'to become/be ill'$_F$ <-> *siiho* 'illness'
/musiQka-/ 'to feel pain' <-> *musi'ka* 'pain'

12-43a *siiho honna ngo-woro-mo tiwo ngo-woro-ka-na.*
illness big be.involved-MID.3S-GEN.SS that.way be.involved-MID.3S-PRES-F
'As she is seriously ill [lit. While she is involved in big illness], she suffers that way (from small illnesses) all the time.' (XV-54)

b *hoo ro-ora po'tee siiho-o-ro*
ART.M your.sg-wife's.father much become.ill-3S-PERF.SS
toku topo tu-ro-ng.
not well be.3S-PERF-M
'Your wife's father became seriously ill and he is not well.' (I-20)

(2) S_A verb stems:

12-44 /manik-/ 'to hunt a possum' <-> *mani* 'hunting of a possum'
/riQnonok-/ 'to become/be afternoon'[29] <-> *ri'nono* 'afternoon'

12-45a *tiko kuuruu hoo mani-ki toku pi-i-ng.*
and owl ART.M hunting.of.possum-ERG not go.3S-RMPAST-M
'And the owl didn't go for the hunting of possums.' (X-7)

b ... *roo pi-ro manik-i-heeto-ng.*
you.sg go.3S-PERF.SS hunt.possum-2S-FUT-M
'You will go and hunt possums.' (X-6)

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[28] According to these criteria, if a noun corresponds to a verb stem which ends with a consonant other than /k/, /ng/ or /w/, it is regarded as derived from the corresponding verb. e.g. *hing* 'rotten juices' <– /hiNh-/ 'to decay' (S_O), *maari* 'rest, stop' <– /maarit-/ 'to rest' (S_A). The root-final /ng/ after a vowel may be underlyingly /k/ or /ng/. If it is underlyingly /ng/, again the noun is regarded as derived from the verb. e.g. *iiro* 'anger' <– /iirong-/ 'to get angry' (S_A). See §13.4.2.3 for the criterion of deciding the underlying form of a root-final consonant.

[29] cf. §14.3.1.3.

(3) the stems which can function as transitive verbs in active voice (note that the last two verbs are without an epenthetic consonant):

12-46 /irimak-/ 'to chew (betel mixture)' (transitive) <-> *irima* 'betel mixture'
'to chew betel mixture' (S_A)
/pauk-/ 'to feed sb/sth' (transitive) <-> *pau* 'food'
'to take a meal' (middle)
/paarok-/ 'to smoke sth' (transitive) <-> *paaro* 'smoke rack'
/pokonomiNng-/ 'to name after'[30] (transitive) <-> *pokonoming* '~'s name sake'
/siro-/ 'to sing (a song)' (transitive) <-> *siro* 'song'
/raatu-/ 'to give advice to sb' (transitive) <-> *raatu* 'advice'

12-47 ... *hoo* *o'koo* *irima* *irimak-a-mo* *manni*
ART.M that betel.mixture chew-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS then
nok-u-u-ng: "..."
say-3S-RMPAST-M
'... while they were chewing that betel mixture, he said: "..." ' (IX-1)

12-48 *owo* *nommai ...* *siro* *noi* *siro-o-ko-no.*
DEM.L person song a sing-3O.3A-PRES-L
'Here someone [lit. a person] ... sings a song.' (XIII-56)

(4) verb stems only with middle suffixes (cf. §12.3.3.2 (3)').

12-49 /hahaQw-/ 'to work'[31] <-> *haha'* 'work'
/kanaQw-/ 'to eat protein food' <-> *kana'* 'protein food (e.g. meat, green vegies)'
/sanaka-/ 'to do the hunting/fishing' <-> *sanaka* 'hunting/fishing'
/ruQkaHw-/ 'to do the cooking' <-> *ru'kah* 'cooking'
/siiNpai-/ 'to do the sweeping' <-> *siimpai* 'sweeping'
/itikai-/ 'to gain strength' <-> *itikai* 'strength'
/tupurai-/ 'to burn off the bush' <-> *tupurai* 'burning off the bush'
/kuhirai-/ 'to cut down trees' <-> *kuhirai* 'cutting down trees'
/kehurai-/ 'to do the writing' <-> *kehurai* 'writing'

---

[30] cf. §5.2.4.

[31] This verb root seems to be also used as a transitive verb in the meaning of 'to work at sth'. But the latter use is much less frequent. All the ten examples in my corpus are in middle voice.

12-50a *... ho-i* *haha'* *uwi-ki-ng*
ART.M.ERG work go.3pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'... they used to go for work.' (II-19)

b *no-ngu* *hoo-jori* *kohni* *haha'w-ee-'-ki-ng* ...
one-CL.lot ART.M-LOC gardens work-MID.3S-pcl-HABPAST-M
'One lot (= some of them) used to work in the gardens ...' (II-20)

12-51a *nii-ko* *ong* *siimpai* *komik-unno* *tii* *tuu-kori*
I-EMPH DEM.M sweeping finish-3O.1A.PERF.SS ART.L water-L
mi-ro *uu-moro-heena-na.*
go.1S-PERF.SS wash.self-MID.1S-FUT-F
'After I have finished this sweeping, I will go to the river and wash myself.' (XXXIII-10, cf. 12-31a)

b *he'ee!* *nii* *tii* *roki* *siimpai-mo-i=na-na.*
no I ART.F just do.sweeping-MID.1S-PERSPROG-F
'No! I am just sweeping.' (X-29)

12.4.2 Adjectival/Verbal Roots

Following are all the roots of this type found in my corpus:

(1) S_A verb stems:

12-52 /poNnaak-/ 'to become plenty' <-> *ponnaa* 'plenty'
/hoNnak-/ 'to grow up' <-> *honna* 'big'
/ihkitak-/ 'to become/be long' <-> *ihkita* 'long'
/neetuk-/ 'to ripen' <-> *neetu* 'ripe'
/tuwarak-/ 'to become/be skinny' <-> *tuwara'* 'skinny'[32]

12-53a *Tantanu-ki* *pau* *mirahu* *ponnaa* *o-m-u-r-i-ng.*
'ancestor's.name'-ERG food good plenty give.to-1O-3A-pcl-NRPAST-M
'Tantanu gave plenty of good food to us.' (III-46)

b *tiko* *tiwo* *nge-wee-ijo* *ai* *manni*
and that.way be.involved-MID.3S-pcl.PERF.SS I.tell.you certainly
pom=ponnaang-a-a-ng.
REDUP=become.plenty-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'And after they had made it that way, I tell you, they certainly became plenty gradually.' (XI-29)

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[32] The glottal stop in the adjectival root is absent before the epenthetic /k/ in the verbal root.

Some roots may take both S_A and middle suffixes. When they take S_A suffixes, an epenthetic /k/ is attached to them. (There is no observable semantic difference between them.)

12-54 /kaakotok-/ 'to become/be white' (S_A) <-> *kaakoto* 'white'
/kaakoto-/ 'to become/be white' (middle)
/pehkitak-/ 'to become/be small' (S_A) <-> *pehkita* 'small'
/pehkita-/ 'to become/be small' (middle)

(2) verb roots which function as transitive verbs in active voice:

12-55 /mirahu-/ 'to make sb/sth good' (transitive) <-> *mirahu* 'good'
'to become/be good' (middle)

12-56a ... *ong* *pau* *mirahu-ngung* *mono-jir-i-ng.*
DEM.M food good-pl look.at-3pcl.O-2A-pcl.IMP
'... look at this (plenty of) good food.' (III-55)

b ... *ti-ko-koo* *koho* *mirahu-iri-'-ku*
ART.L-PURP-EMPH down make.good-3O.2pcl.A-pcl-GEN.DS
ongo-ko *koto* *uhu-mo* *mirahu-wee-'-heero-ng.*
DEM.L.PURP-EMPH up come.3pcl.S-GEN.SS become.good-MID.3S-pcl-FUT-M
'... if you make them good at the early stage of their life, they will also become good when they reach the later stages of their life.' (XXI-25, cf. 4-44)

(3) verb roots only with middle suffixes:

12-57 /naaQru-/ 'to become/be lazy' <-> *naa'ru* 'lazy'
/nimautu-/ 'to look handsome (male)' <-> *nimautu* 'handsome (male)'

12-58a *nii* *toku* *naa'ru.*
I not lazy
'I am not lazy.' (XIX-50)

b *nah-ah:* *"nuri* *jii* *nuro* *jii* *romo-ki*
think-PART my.son and my.daughter and back-ERG
naa'ru-woo-raa-ko.
become.lazy-MID.3S-NEGOPT-EMPH
'"I wish: "My son and daughter would not become lazy later." ' (XX-6)

12.4.3 Loan Words

Loan words are occasionally used as verb roots. Their sources are Tok Pisin and English. In the majority of cases it is difficult to tell which of these languages they are derived from.

Most of the stems of this type have been found in the corpus of daily conversation of my two main informants, and in the life stories of the two informants who have less contact with other native speakers (and thus use loan words quite frequently):

(1) verb roots which function as transitive verbs in active voice:

12-59 /sengsi-/ ~ /senisi-/ 'to change sth' (active)
'to change (intransitive)' (middle)
< "change" (English), "senis" (Tok Pisin)
/puulu-/ 'to pull sb/sth' (active)
'to be engaged in pulling' (middle)
< "pull" (English) or "pul" (Tok Pisin)
/maaking-/ 'to represent sth'
< "marking" (English) or "makim" (Tok Pisin)

The following examples come from the data in the Pouko dialect:[33]

12-60a ... *soo* *yangpela-ngung* *soo* *koro=koro* *sengsi-wa-mo*
ART.M young.people-pl ART.M language change-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS
roki *so-i* *tunup-ah* *koro-wa-aro-ng* ...
just ART.M-ERG be.straight-PART speak-3pcl.S-PRESPROG-M
'... the young people are changing the language (= the Pouko dialect) and are speaking just in the straight one (= the standard Motuna).' (XXIV-25)

b *ai* *meekusing* *manni* *sengsi-wo-i=to-ng*
I.tell.you truly certainly change-MID.3S-PRESPROG-M
soo *neeko-ng* *koro=koro.*
ART.M 1nonsg.POSS.M language
'Certainly, I tell you, that our language is really changing.' (XXIV-86)

(2) verb stems with middle suffixes only (cf. §12.3.3.2 (3)' and §12.4.1 (4)):[34]

---

[33] As elsewhere, the forms *soo* and *so-i* are retained as they are. *Neeko-ng* in 12-59b refers to nonsingular 1st person without inclusive/exclusive distinction. The present progressive form *koro-wa-a=ro-ng* in 12-59b should be *koro-wa-i=ro-ng* in the standard Motuna.

[34] Some of them are nominal/verbal roots. e.g. *sikuulu* 'school/education', *lootu* 'prayer'.

12-61 /sikuulu-/ 'to be educated' < "school" (E) or "skul" (TP)
/lootu-/ 'to say prayer' < "lootu" (TP)
/holidee-/ 'to spend holidays' < "holiday" (E) or "holide" (TP)
/kiki-/ 'to play soccer' < "kick" (E) or "kikim" (TP)
/kiating-/ 'to catch (a plane)' < "catching" (E)
/uini-/ 'to win' < "win" (E or TP)
/misionari-/ 'to do the missionary work'
< "missionary" (E) or "misinari" (TP)

12-62 ... *tii-nno* *holidee-wee-m-mo* *turu-woro-ka-na.*
them.DP-COMIT spend.holiday-MID.3S-pcl-GEN.SS return--MID.3S-PRES-F
'... she spends holidays with them and returns.' (XXVIII)

12-63 ... *tii* *ri'nono* *tii* *uri* *umi-mo*
ART.L afternoon ART.L village go.1pcl.exc.S-GEN.SS
kiki-mara-mo-ng.
play.soccer-MID.1pcl.exc.S-GEN-M
'... in the afternoon we used to go to the village and play soccer.' (XXX-18)

12.4.4 Compound Verb Stems

Some verb roots incorporate their arguments to constitute compound verb stems.[35] They are of the following types:

(1) the stem consists of a noun (which corresponds to the O argument) and a transitive verb root. Only one verb stem of this type has been attested:

/ruma=ruuh-/ 'to come back to life' < *ruma* 'breath, life' and /ruuh-/ 'to find'

12-64 *manni* *hoo* *king* *hung=hungk-ee-u-'-ku* *manni*
then ART.M nose REDUP=put.in-APPL-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.DS then
e'seheng-a-ro *ruma=ruu=ruuh-a-a-ng.*
sneeze-3pcl.S-PERF.SS life-REDUP=find.3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'Then when he put (something) in every one of their noses, they sneezed and came to life one after another.' (VIII-51, cf. 15-179)

(2) the stem consists of a noun (which corresponds to the Complement) and an intransitive verb root. Again, only one verb stem of this type has been attested.

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[35] Note that when they are reduplicated, the original roots, and not the incorporated arguments, are reduplicated, as is shown in 12-63.

/muu=rii(h)-/ 'to get dark' < *muu* 'night' and /rii(h)-/ 'to become'

12-65 ... *ho-ko* *ehkong* *muurii-ko-ng*.
it-EMPH now get.dark.3S-PRES-M
'... it got dark just now.' (X-36)

(3) the stem consists of the local/manner demonstrative/article (which corresponds to a peripheral argument) and a verb root. Four verb stems of this type have been attested. The meanings of the original verb roots may be quite different from the ones of the compound stems.

12-66 /owo=nok-/ 'to become one' < *owo* 'here (the local demonstrative)' + /nok-/'to say'
/owo=noh-/ 'to do this way to' < *owo* 'here (the local demonstrative)' + /noh-/ 'to say to'
/tiwo=tiik-/ 'to say that way' < *tiwo* 'that way (the manner article)' + /tiik-/ 'to say'
/tiwo=tiih-/ 'to say that way to' < *tiwo* 'that way (the manner article)' + /tiih-/ 'to swear to'

Note that /tiwo=tiik-/ and /tiwo=tiih-/ always follow quotations in direct speech, as in 12-69 and 12-70.

12-67 ... *manni* *ho-itee* *roko-ng* *mu'king* *hu-ku*
certainly ART.M-ABL 2sg.POSS-M heart come.3S-GEN.DS
impa *owo=no'-ko-ng*.
and.then become.one.3S-PRES-M
'... certainly whenever it (= the Christian prayer) comes from your heart, it becomes one (with the traditional prayer).' (XVIII-42)

12-68 *ku'kui* *mohkoruuk-oo-ro* *hoo* *kaa'*
butterfly get.close-MID.3S-PERF.SS ART.M young.tree
owo=noh-ku *ku'kui* *roki* *hotuk-uu-juu*
do.this.way.to.3O.3A-GEN.DS butterfly just stick.to-3S-CONT.DS
owo=noh-u-u-ng.
do.this.way.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'After the butterfly got close, he did this way to (= threw away) the young tree (which he was holding), and while the butterfly was sitting on it, he did this way to (= threw away) it.' (XXIII-40)

12-69 ("...") *tii* *honghah* *tiwo=tiik-u-u-na*.
ART.F female.prawn.with.eggs say.that.way-3S-RMPAST-F
'("...") The female prawn with eggs said that way.' (V-10)

12-70 ("...") *tiwo=tiih-ku* *roki* *mihw-or-u-ng.*
say.to.that.way.3O.3A-GEN.DS just move.vigorously-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'("...") After he said to it (= the leaf) that way, it just moved vigorously.'
(XII-18)

CHAPTER 13 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

13.1 INTRODUCTION

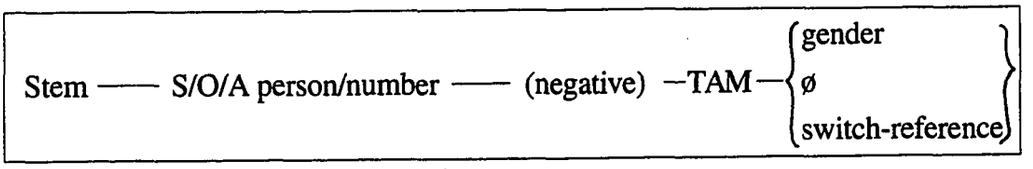
As mentioned in §12.2.2, verbs are classified as follows according to the types of cross-referencing markings they take.

(1) In active voice:
  (i) transitive verbs, which take O and A person/number suffixes.
  (ii) S_O intransitive verbs, which take O person/number suffixes and the 3rd person dummy A suffix.
  (iii) S_A intransitive verbs, which take A person/number suffixes.
  (iv) irregular intransitive verbs, which mark the person of S by the consonant alternation of the stems, and the number of S by suffixes.
(2) In middle voice:
  intransitive verbs which take middle voice person/number suffixes.

The paradigms of verbs in Motuna are described according to this classification.

Verbs take TAM suffixes listed in Table 12-3a - c after cross-referencing morphemes. In addition, the negative infix /-woo-/ can be placed between cross-referencing markings and the Imaginative, General DS, Continuous SS or DS medial suffix. TAM suffixes may be followed by gender suffixes in the case of fully inflected non-medial verbs, or may be fused with a switch-reference marking in the case of medial verbs. Schematically,

Diagram 13-1 Basic Structure of Verbs



Any adjacent morphemes may undergo rather complex morphophonemic changes.

All the TAM suffixes listed in Table 12-3a - c are given in Table 13-2 in a different order. They will be indicated by capital letters hereafter. For example, "definite future TAM" will be simply represented by "Definite Future" or "DEFFUT".

Table 13-2 List of TAM Suffixes

names of suffixes	underlying forms	abbreviations
(1a) General Same Subject	/-mo/	GEN.SS
(1b) General	/-mo/-Gender	GEN
(2) Present	/-ko/-Gender	PRES
(3a)* Continuous Same Subject	/-i/	CONT.SS
(3b) Present Progressive	/-i=tu(h)-/-Gender	PRESPROG
(4a) Perfect Same Subject	/-ro/	PERF.SS
(4b) Perfect	/-ro/-Gender	PERF
(5) Near Past	/-i/-Gender	NRPAST
(6) Habitual Past	/-ki/-Gender	HABPAST
(7) Remote Past	/-u/-Gender	RMPAST
(8a) Definite Future	/-hee/	DEFFUT
(8b) Future	/-hee-tu(h)/-Gender	FUT
(8c) Immediate Future	/-hee-MID-ko/-Gender	IMFUT
(9)* Imaginative	/-kui/(-Gender)	IMAG
(10) Imperative	(/-o/)	IMP
(11) Optative	/-woro/	OPT
(12) Negative Optative	/-raa/	NEGOPT
(13)* General Different Subject	/-ku/	GEN.DS
(14)* Continuous Different Subject	/-juu/	CONT.DS

The suffix marked by * may be preceded by the negative infix /-woo-/.

The Imperative suffix is usually realised as *-o*, but it is irregular especially after the paucal/plural number suffix /-ru/.

The list of gender suffixes, given in Table 12-4, is repeated below:

Table 13-3 List of Gender Suffixes

names	abbreviations	suffixes (underlying forms)
masculine	M	/-N/
feminine	F	/-na/
dimunitive	DIM	/-ni/
local	L	/-no/
manner	MAN	/-nowo/
dual-paucal	DP	(/-ni/)

The dual-paucal gender suffix is fused with the preceding vowel /-o/ to be realised as *-ee*, and is realised as *-ni* elsewhere. It is deleted after a /Vi/ sequence in Near Past and Imaginative. cf. Rule 13-11 in §13.2.1.15.

In this chapter, I will discuss the paradigms of verbs in the following order:

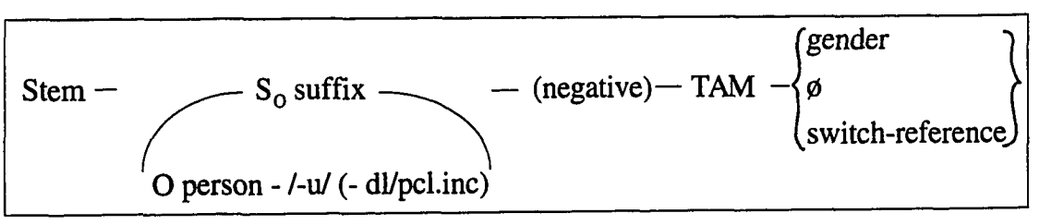
(1) In §13.2, I will discuss the paradigms of cross-referencing S markings of intransitive verbs, in combination with the negative infix, TAM suffixes, and gender or switch-reference markings. I will discuss the paradigm of S_O verbs (§13.2.1), S_A verbs (§13.2.2), irregular verbs (§13.2.3), and middle verbs (§13.2.4) in turn. In §13.2.5, the cross-referencing markings of intransitive verbs of all types are summarised.
(2) In §13.3, the paradigms of transitive verbs are discussed and summarised in the same way as above.
(3) In §13.4, all verb stems are categorised according to their phonological shapes. I will discuss the morphophonemic processes, which affect them when they are combined with cross-referencing markings.

13.2 PARADIGMS OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS

13.2.1 S_O Verbs

S_O verbs have the following morphological structure:

Diagram 13-4 Structure of S_O Verbs



The paradigm of the underlying forms of S_O cross-referencing suffixes is given in Table 13-5:

Table 13-5 Paradigm of S_O Cross-referencing Suffixes (Underlying Forms)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	-m-u	-r-u	-u
DL	-m-u-ti	-r-u-ti	-u-ti
PCL.INC	-m-u-ru	-r-u-ru	–
PCL.EXC	-mor-u	–	-ur-u[1]

As is shown in Diagram 13-4 and Table 13-5, S_O suffixes are analysed as the combinations of O (/-m/, /-r/ or zero) and the invariable (dummy) 3rd person A suffix /-u/ in singular.[2] In dual number, and in paucal/plural inclusive, they additionally take the suffixes /-ti/ and /-ru/, respectively, after /-u/. Paucal/plural exclusive O suffixes /-mor/ (1st) and /-ur/ (3rd) precede /-u/. Note that inclusive/exclusive distinction exists only in paucal/plural number.

The full paradigm of S_O verb /kaah-/ 'to disagree/not to want', with all the TAM suffixes listed in Table 13-2, the negative infix /-woo-/, and masculine/feminine/dual-paucal gender suffixes in Table 13-3, is discussed below. Note that the stem-final /h/ is deleted before a consonant due to Rule 13-16 in §13.4.1.

13.2.1.1 General SS and General

The underlying form of the General SS suffix is /-mo/. The paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/ is dearticulated to an archinasal before a CV syllable with a voiced consonant, and is realised as *m* in this case. cf. Rule 13-6 below.

(1a) General Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-mo*	*kaa-r-u-mo*	*kaah-u-mo*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-mo*	*kaa-r-u-ti-mo*	*kaah-u-ti-mo*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-m-mo*	*kaa-r-u-m-mo*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-mo*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-mo*

[1] According to one of my main informants, S_A suffix /-a/ (3rd person pcl) may be alternatively used with some S_O verbs, such as /haa-/ 'to agree/want', /kaah-/ 'to disagree/not to want' and /hunok-/ 'to become/be full in stomach'. There are, however, no such examples in my corpus.

The 3rd pcl S_O suffix /-uru/ is analysed as the combination of a 3rd paucal/plural O suffix /-ur/ and a 3rd A suffix /-u/. In the case of middle verbs, on the other hand, /ru/ of the 3rd person paucal/plural S suffix is affected by Rules 13-1, 13-2, 13-5 and 13-6 below, and thus is analysed as a separate morpheme. In the case of transitive verbs, too, /ru/ of the 3rd person paucal/plural O suffix is affected by the same set of rules. cf. §13.2.4 and §13.3.

[2] In the following examples (in §13.2.1.1 - §13.2.1.14) these suffixes are divided by the boundary "-", but in the rest of my thesis S_O person suffixes are treated as single segments.

The General suffix /-mo/ is followed by a gender suffix in independent clauses. The vowel /o/ of /-mo/ is assimilated to *a* of the following feminine suffix /-na/ (Rule 2-9). It is fused with the following dual-paucal gender suffix to be realised as *-mee* (Rule 13-11).

(1b) General

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*kaa-m-u-mo-ng*	*kaa-r-u-mo-ng*	*kaah-u-mo-ng*
F	*kaa-m-u-na-na*	*kaa-r-u-ma-na*	*kaah-u-ma-na*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-mee*	*kaa-r-u-ti-mee*	*kaah-u-ti-mee*
PC INC	*kaa-m-u-m-mee*	*kaa-r-u-m-mee*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-mee*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-mee*
PL INC	*kaa-m-u-m-mo-ng*	*kaa-r-u-m-mo-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-mo-ng*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-mo-ng*

13.2.1.2 Present

The underlying form of the Present suffix is /-ko/. It is used only in independent clauses and is obligatorily followed by a gender suffix.

The paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/ is dearticulated to a glottal stop before a CV syllable with a voiceless consonant. cf. Rule 13-6 below.

As is the case with /-mo/ above, the vowel /o/ of /-ko/ is assimilated to *a* of the following feminine suffix /-na/ (Rule 2-9). /-ko/ is also fused with the following dual-paucal suffix to be realised as *-kee* (Rule 13-11).

(2) Present

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*kaa-m-u-ko-ng*	*kaa-r-u-ko-ng*	*kaah-u-ko-ng*
F	*kaa-m-u-ka-na*	*kaa-r-u-ka-na*	*kaah-u-ka-na*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-kee*	*kaa-r-u-ti-kee*	*kaah-u-ti-kee*
PC INC	*kaa-m-u-'-kee*	*kaa-r-u-'-kee*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-kee*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-kee*
PL INC	*kaa-m-u-'-ko-ng*	*kaa-r-u-'-ko-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-ko-ng*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-ko-ng*

13.2.1.3 Continuous SS and Present Progressive

The underlying form of the Continuous SS suffix is /-i/. This form surfaces, when it is separated from the preceding cross-referencing suffixes by the intervention of the negative infix /-woo-/. The paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/ is again dearticulated to an archinasal due to (Rule 13-6).

(3a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-woo-i*	*kaa-r-u-woo-i*	*kaah-u-woo-i*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-woo-i*	*kaa-r-u-ti-woo-i*	*kaah-u-ti-woo-i*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-m-woo-i*	*kaa-r-u-m-woo-i*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-woo-i*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-woo-i*

When the Continuous SS suffix directly follows cross-referencing suffixes, the following changes occur:

-ti (dual) + -i# –> -s-i# –> -H# (due to Rules 13-2a and 13-3)
-ru (pcl.inc) + -i# –> -r-i# –> -Q# (due to Rules 13-2b and 13-5)

(3a) Continuous Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-i*	*kaa-r-u-i*	*kaah-u-i*
DL	*kaa-m-u-h*	*kaa-r-u-h*	*kaah-u-h*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-'*	*kaa-r-u-'*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-i*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-i*

The Present Progressive suffix consists of /-i/ and /-tu(h)/. The suffix /-tu(h)/ derives from the existential verb /tu(h)-/. It inflects according to the person/number of S, in the follwing way (they are the reduced forms of the existential verb /tu(h)-/ in Present Perfect):

Table 13-6 Inflection of Suffix /-tu(h)/

	SG	DL	PCL.INC	PCL.EXC
1st person	*-no*	*-nuto*	*-nuio*	*-no*
2nd person	*-to*	*-tuto*	*-tuio*	–
3rd person	*-to*	*-tuto*	–	*-ro*

The suffixes /-i/ and /-tu(h)/ are intervened by the boundary "=".[3]

The Present Progressive form is used only in an independent clause and is obligatorily followed by a gender suffix. The final /o/ of the inflectional endings of the suffix /-tu(h)/ is assimilated to the feminine suffix (Rule 2-9), and are fused with the dual-

[3] That they are intervened by the boundary "=" rather than "-" is shown by the following fact: the change ri -> Q occurs either stem-finally or before a CV syllable where C is voiceless, and ri -> N before a CV syllable where C is voiced, due to Rule 13-5. We find the forms *kaa-m-u-'-nuiee/ kaa-m-u-'-nuio-ng* with 1st person paucal/plural inclusive Ss. Here, although the following /n/ is voiced, /ri/ is realised as a glottal stop, and not as a nasal; this fact can be explained if we assume that /ri/ is followed by a boundary between phonological words.

paucal gender suffix (Rule 13-11).

(3b) Present Progressive

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*kaa-m-u-i=no-ng*	*kaa-r-u-i=to-ng*	*kaah-u-i=to-ng*
F	*kaa-m-u-i=na-na*	*kaa-r-u-i=ta-na*	*kaah-u-i=ta-na*
DL	*kaa-m-u-h=nutee*	*kaa-r-u-h=tutee*	*kaah-u-h=tutee*
PC INC	*kaa-m-u-'=nuiee*	*kaa-r-u-'=tuiee*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-i=nee*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-i=ree*
PL INC	*kaa-m-u-'=nuio-ng*	*kaa-r-u-'=tuio-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-i=no-ng*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-i=ro-ng*

13.2.1.4 Perfect SS and Perfect

The underlying form of the Perfect SS suffix is /-ro/. It is fused with the preceding dual suffix /-ti/ and the paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/, as follows (Rule 13-1):

/-ti/ (dual/ + /-ro/ (PERF) –> -to
/-ru/ (pcl.inc) + /-ro/ (PERF)# –> -ijo#

(4a) Perfect Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-ro*	*kaa-r-u-ro*	*kaah-u-ro*
DL	*kaa-m-u-to*	*kaa-r-u-to*	*kaah-u-to*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-ijo*	*kaa-r-u-ijo*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-ro*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-ro*

The Perfect suffix /-ro/ is followed by a gender suffix in independent clauses. Assimilation to *a* (Rule 2-9) and fusion with the dual-paucal gender suffix (Rule 13-11) occur as usual. Note that the glide *j* does not occur in paucal/plural inclusive forms when /-ro/ is followed by another morpheme.[4]

---

[4] The Perfect SS form with a 1st pcl S is pronounced [haːmɷɪzo] (*haa-m-u-ijo*) with a fricative [z], while the Perfect form with a 1st pcl S followed by a masculine gender suffix [haːmɷɪjoŋ] (*haa-m-u-io-ng*) with a glide [j], by the informant from Kaakotokori. I tentatively regard the former [z] as phonemic, and the latter [j] as non-phonemic. Other informants pronounce [j] in both cases. cf. §2.2.4.

(4b) Perfect

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*kaa-m-u-ro-ng*	*kaa-r-u-ro-ng*	*kaah-u-ro-ng*
F	*kaa-m-u-ra-na*	*kaa-r-u-ra-na*	*kaah-u-ra-na*
DL	*kaa-m-u-tee*	*kaa-r-u-tee*	*kaah-u-tee*
PC INC	*kaa-m-u-iee*	*kaa-r-u-iee*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-ree*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-ree*
PL INC	*kaa-m-u-io-ng*	*kaa-r-u-io-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-ro-ng*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-ro-ng*

13.2.1.5 Near Past

The underlying form of the Near Past suffix is the same as that of the Continuous SS suffix /-i/. It is used only in independent clauses, and is obligatorily followed by a gender suffix.

The dual and paucal/plural inclusive suffixes are fused with it in the same way as with the Continuous suffix. The fused forms /-s-i/ and /-r-i/ further undergoes Rules 13-3 and 13-5 respectively, and the former is realised as *-h*, while the latter *-n*, before the dual-paucal gender suffix /-ni/.

When the Near Past suffix /-i/ is followed by the back nasal *-ng* of the masculine suffix /-N/, and preceded by a back vowel *u* of the dummy 3rd A suffix, it is realised as a high back vowel *u* due to assimilation (cf. Rule 13-7 below):

/-u/ (dummy 3rd A) + /-i/ (NRPAST) + /-N/# –> -u-u-ng#

The dual-paucal suffix /-ni/ is deleted if it is preceded by a Near Past suffix /-i/, which is further preceded by another vowel, in this case /-u/ (Rule 13-11).

/-ni/ (DP) –> ø / V- i- (NRPAST) _

(5) Near Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*kaa-m-u-u-ng*	*kaa-r-u-u-ng*	*kaah-u-u-ng*
F	*kaa-m-u-i-na*	*kaa-r-u-i-na*	*kaah-u-i-na*
DL	*kaa-m-u-h-ni*	*kaa-r-u-h-ni*	*kaah-u-h-ni*
PC INC	*kaa-m-u-n-ni*	*kaa-r-u-n-ni*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-i*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-i*
PL INC	*kaa-m-u-r-i-ng*	*kaa-r-u-r-i-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-u-ng*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-u-ng*

13.2.1.6 Habitual Past

The underlying form of the Habitual Past suffix is /-ki/. It is used only in independent clauses and is obligatorily followed by a gender suffix.

The paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/ is dearticulated to /Q/ before /-ki/ (Rule 13-6).

(6) Habitual Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*kaa-m-u-ki-ng*	*kaa-r-u-ki-ng*	*kaah-u-ki-ng*
F	*kaa-m-u-ki-na*	*kaa-r-u-ki-na*	*kaah-u-ki-na*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-ki-ni*	*kaa-r-u-ti-ki-ni*	*kaah-u-ti-ki-ni*
PC INC	*kaa-m-u-'-ki-ni*	*kaa-r-u-'-ki-ni*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-ki-ni*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-ki-ni*
PL INC	*kaa-m-u-'-ki-ng*	*kaa-r-u-'-ki-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-ki-ng*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-ki-ng*

13.2.1.7 Remote Past

The underlying form of the Remote Past suffix is /-u/. It is used only in independent clauses and is obligatorily followed by a gender suffix.

The vowels of the dual and the paucal/plural inclusive suffixes are dropped before /-u/, and the resulted forms undergo the following changes:

/-ti/ (dl) + /-u/ (RMPAST) + /-ni/ –> -t-u-ni –> -Q-ni (Rules 13-2 and 13-4)
/-ru/ (pcl.inc) + /-u/ (RMPAST) + /-ni/ –> -r-u-ni –> -N-ni (Rules 13-2 and 13-6)

(7) Remote Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*kaa-m-u-u-ng*	*kaa-r-u-u-ng*	*kaah-u-u-ng*
F	*kaa-m-u-u-na*	*kaa-r-u-u-na*	*kaah-u-u-na*
DL	*kaa-m-u-'-ni*	*kaa-r-u-'-ni*	*kaah-u-'-ni*
PC INC	*kaa-m-u-n-ni*	*kaa-r-u-n-ni*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-u-ni*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-u-ni*
PL INC	*kaa-m-u-r-u-ng*	*kaa-r-u-r-u-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-u-ng*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-u-ng*

13.2.1.8 Definite Future, Future and Immediate Future

The underlying form of the Definite Future suffix is /-hee/. The paucal/plural inclusive /-ru/ is dearticulated to /Q/ before /-hee/ (Rule 13-6).

(8a) Definite Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-hee*	*kaa-r-u-hee*	*kaah-u-hee*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-hee*	*kaa-r-u-ti-hee*	*kaah-u-ti-hee*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-'-hee*	*kaa-r-u-'-hee*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-hee*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-hee*

The Future suffix consists of /-hee/ and /-tu(h)/. See §13.2.1.3 for the inflection of /-tu(h)/.[5] It is obligatorily followed by a gender suffix.

(8b) Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*kaa-m-u-heeno-ng*	*kaa-r-u-heeto-ng*	*kaah-u-heeto-ng*
F	*kaa-m-u-heena-na*	*kaa-r-u-heeta-na*	*kaah-u-heeta-na*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-heenutee*	*kaa-r-u-ti-heetutee*	*kaah-u-ti-heetutee*
PC INC	*kaa-m-u-'-heenutee*	*kaa-r-u-'-heetuiee*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-heenee*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-heeree*
PL INC	*kaa-m-u-'-heenuio-ng*	*kaa-r-u-'-heetuio-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-heeno-ng*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-heero-ng*

The Immediate Future suffix consists of /-hee/, middle voice suffixes, and the Present suffix /-ko/. Middle voice suffixes cross-reference the person and number of S (see the paradigm in §13.2.4). They are further followed by a gender suffix.

(8c) Immediate Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*kaa-m-u-heemoroko-ng*	*kaa-r-u-heeroroko-ng*	*kaah-u-heeworoko-ng*
F	*kaa-m-u-heemoroka-na*	*kaa-r-u-heeroroka-na*	*kaah-u-heeworoka-na*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-heemeetikee*	*kaa-r-u-ti-heereetikee*	*kaah-u-ti-heeweetikee*
PC INC	*kaa-m-u-'-heemee'kee*	*kaa-r-u-'-heeree'kee*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-heemarakee*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-heewee'kee*
PL INC	*kaa-m-u-'-heemee'ko-ng*	*kaa-r-u-'-heeree'ko-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-heemarako-ng*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-heewee'ko-ng*

13.2.1.9 Imaginative

The Imaginative suffix /-kui/, when used in dependent embedded clauses, is not followed by a gender suffix. It may be preceded by the negative infix /-woo-/. The paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/ is dearticulated as usual (Rule 13-6).

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[5] There is no evidence to show whether /-hee/ and /-tu(h)/ are intervened by a boundary "-" or "=". I use the symbol "-" in Tables, but do not divide them in my examples.

(9a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Imaginative (in dependent embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-woo-kui*	*kaa-r-u-woo-kui*	*kaah-u-woo-kui*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-woo-kui*	*kaa-r-u-ti-woo-kui*	*kaah-u-ti-woo-kui*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-m-woo-kui*	*kaa-r-u-m-woo-kui*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-woo-kui*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-woo-kui*

(9a) Imaginative (in dependent embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-kui*	*kaa-r-u-kui*	*kaah-u-kui*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-kui*	*kaa-r-u-ti-kui*	*kaah-u-ti-kui*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-'-kui*	*kaa-r-u-'-kui*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-kui*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-kui*

It is obligatorily followed by a gender suffix in independent clauses. The final vowel /i/ of /kui/ is assimilated to the backness of the following nasal *-ng* (Rule 13-9).

/-kui/ (IMAG) + /-N/# –> -ku-u-ng

The dual/paucal suffix is deleted before /-kui/. (Rule 13-11. See also §13.2.1.5.)

(9b) Imaginative (in non-embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*kaa-m-u-kuu-ng*	*kaa-r-u-kuu-ng*	*kaah-u-kuu-ng*
F	*kaa-m-u-kui-na*	*kaa-r-u-kui-na*	*kaah-u-kui-na*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-kui*	*kaa-r-u-ti-kui*	*kaah-u-ti-kui*
PC INC	*kaa-m-u-'-kui*	*kaa-r-u-'-kui*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-kui*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-kui*
PL INC	*kaa-m-u-'-kuu-ng*	*kaa-r-u-'-kuu-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-kuu-ng*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-kuu-ng*

13.2.1.10 Imperative

The underlying form of the Imperative suffix seems to be /-o/, which assimilates the preceding vowel *u* of the dummy 3rd A suffix. The /i/ of the dual suffix /-ti/ is dropped before this /-o/ (Rule 13-2). However, the Imperative suffix is realised as zero before the paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/, which, in turn, is dearticulated to an archinasal in word-final position (cf. Rule 13-6).

(10) Imperative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-mo-o*	*kaa-ro-o*	*kaah-o-o*
DL	*kaa-m-u-t-o*	*kaa-r-u-t-o*	*kaah-u-t-o*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-ng*	*kaa-r-u-ng*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-o*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-o*

13.2.1.11 Optative

The underlying form of the Optative suffix is /-woro/. The paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/ is dearticulated to an archinasal before it (Rule 13-6).

(11) Optative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-woro*	*kaa-r-u-woro*	*kaah-u-woro*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-woro*	*kaa-r-u-ti-woro*	*kaah-u-ti-woo-kui*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-m-woro*	*kaa-r-u-m-woro*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-woro*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-woo-kui*

13.2.1.12 Negative Optative

The underlying form of the Negative Optative suffix is /-raa/. It is fused with the preceding dual suffix /-ti/ and the paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/, in the same way as the Perfect suffix /-ro/ (due to Rule 13-1. cf. §13.2.1.4).

/-ti/ (dual) + /-raa/ (OPTNEG) –> -taa
/-ru/ (pcl.inc) + /-raa/ (OPTNEG) –> -iaa[6]

(12) Negative Optative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-raa*	*kaa-r-u-raa*	*kaah-u-raa*
DL	*kaa-m-u-taa*	*kaa-r-u-taa*	*kaah-u-taa*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-iaa*	*kaa-r-u-iaa*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-raa*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-raa*

13.2.1.13 General DS

The underlying form of the General Different Subject medial suffix is /-ku/. It may be preceded by the negative infix /-woc-/. The paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/ is dearticulated as usual (Rule 13-6).

[6] The Optative form with a 1st person pcl S is pronounced as [haːmɷɹjaː] by all my informants. cf. fn 4.

(13*) negative infix /-woo-/ + General Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-woo-ku*	*kaa-r-u-woo-ku*	*kaah-u-woo-ku*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-woo-ku*	*kaa-r-u-ti-woo-ku*	*kaah-u-ti-woo-ku*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-m-woo-ku*	*kaa-r-u-m-woo-ku*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-woo-ku*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-woo-ku*

(13) General Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-ku*	*kaa-r-u-ku*	*kaah-u-ku*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-ku*	*kaa-r-u-ti-ku*	*kaah-u-ti-ku*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-'-ku*	*kaa-r-u-'-ku*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-ku*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-ku*

13.2.1.14 Continuous DS

The underlying form of the Continuous Different Subject medial suffix is /-juu/, which surfaces after the negative infix /-woo-/.

(14*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-u-woo-juu*	*kaa-r-u-woo-juu*	*kaah-u-woo-juu*
DL	*kaa-m-u-ti-woo-juu*	*kaa-r-u-ti-woo-juu*	*kaah-u-ti-woo-juu*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-m-woo-juu*	*kaa-r-u-m-woo-juu*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-u-woo-juu*	-----	*kaah-ur-u-woo-juu*

The vowel of the preceding dummy 3rd A suffix /-u/ is geminated before /-juu/ (Rule 13-10). The suffix /-juu/ is also fused with the preceding dual suffix as follows (Rule 13-2):

/-ti/ (dual) + /-juu/ (CONT.DS) –> -suu

The paucal/plural suffix /-ru/ is dearticulated to an archinasal before /-juu/ (Rule 13-6).

(14) Continuous Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*kaa-m-uu-juu*	*kaa-r-uu-juu*	*kaah-uu-juu*
DL	*kaa-m-u-suu*	*kaa-r-u-suu*	*kaah-u-suu*
PCL INC	*kaa-m-u-ng-juu*	*kaa-r-u-ng-juu*	-----
EXC	*kaa-mor-uu-juu*	-----	*kaah-ur-uu-juu*

13.2.1.15 Summary of Morphophonemic Changes

Morphophonemic changes which affect cross-referencing suffixes, TAM suffixes and gender suffixes discussed above are summarised below. The changes which affect Imperative suffixes are discussed separately in §13.2.1.10 rather than formalised here. Rule 13-8 does not apply to the paradigms of S_0 verbs, but applies to the paradigms of other intransitive and transitive verbs discussed below (cf. §13.2.2.7 and §13.3.7), and thus is given here for convenience.

(A) Rules of Fusion of Dual and Paucal/Plural Suffixes:

Rule 13-1 Fusion of DL and PCL Suffixes with Perfect/Negative Optative Suffixes

The underlying /r/ of the perfect and Negative Optative suffix fuses with the preceding dual and paucal/plural suffixes.[7]

(a) -ti (DL) + -rV –> -tV	cf. (4a) and (12)
(b) -ru (PCL) + -rV –> -ijV/ _ #	cf. (4a)
-iV/ Elsewhere	cf. (4b) and (12)

Rule 13-2 DL and PCL Suffixes before Vowel/Glide

The /t/ of the dual suffix /-ti/ is realised as *s* when it is followed by /i/ or /j/.[8] The /i/ of the dual suffix /-ti/ and /u/ of the paucal/plural suffix /-ru/ is dropped before a vowel or a glide.

(a) -ti (DL) –> -s / _ -i	cf. (3a), (3b), (5)
-t / _ -V (V≠i)	cf. (7), (10)
-ti (DL) + -juu –> -suu	cf. (14)
(b) -ru (PCL) –> -r / _ -V	cf. (3a), (3b), (5), (7)

[7] See fn 4 and 6.

[8] Historically the phoneme /s/ was an allophone of /t/ before /i/. cf. §2.2.2.

(B) Rules of Dearticulation (these rules apply after all the other rules which affect cross-referencing suffixes):

Rule 13-3 Dearticulation of /s-i/ to /H/

The sequence /s-i/ is dearticulated to /H/ before a (phonological) word bound ary, or before a CV sequence followed by a (phonological) word boundary.

s-i –> H / _ - (CV) #	cf. (3a), (3b), (5)

Rule 13-4 Dearticulation of /t-u/ to /Q/

The sequence /t-u/ is dearticulated to /Q/ before a CV sequence followed by a (phonological) word boundary.

tu –> Q / _ - CV #	cf. (7)

Rule 13-5 Dearticulation of /-r-i/ to /-N/ and /-Q/

The sequence /-r-i/ formed due to Rule 13-2 is dearticulated to /-N/ or /-Q/, in the following environments.

-r (pcl.inc) -i –> -N / _ - C V [+voiced]	cf. (5)
-Q / _ - (C V (V))# [-voiced]	cf. (3a), (3b)

Rule 13-6 Dearticulation of /-ru/ and /-r-u/ to /-N/ and /-Q/

The paucal/plural inclusive suffix /-ru/, or a sequence /-r-u/ formed due to Rule 13-2b, is dearticulated to /-N/ or /-Q/, in the following environments.

{-ru (pcl.inc) / -r (pcl.inc) -u} –> -N / _ - (C V (V))# [+voiced]	cf. (1a), (1b), (3a*), (7), (9a*), (10), (11), (13*), (14*)
-Q / _ - C V [-voiced]	cf. (2a), (6), (8a), (8b), (8c), (9a), (9b), (13)

(C) Rules of TAM and Gender Suffixes:

Rule 13-7 Assimilation of Near Past Suffix

V_i (V_i) -i (NRPAST) -> V_iV_i / _ -ng [+back]	cf. (5)

Rule 13-8 Realisation of Remote Past Suffix

(a) and (b) apply in this order.

(a) r-i + -u (RMPAST) -> r-i-ru / _ -N

(b) $V_i(V_i)$ + -u (RMPAST) -> V_iV_i

Rule 13-9 Assimilation of /i/ of IMAG Suffix

kui (IMAG) -> kuu / _ -ng	cf. (9b)

Rule 13-10 Gemination of Vowel before CONT DS Suffix

A single vowel is geminated, when it is immediately followed by the Continuous Different Subject suffix /-juu/ (this rule applies after Rule 13-2).

V_i -> V_iV_i / C- _ -juu (CONT.DS)	cf. (14)

Rule 13-11 Realisation of DP Gender Suffix

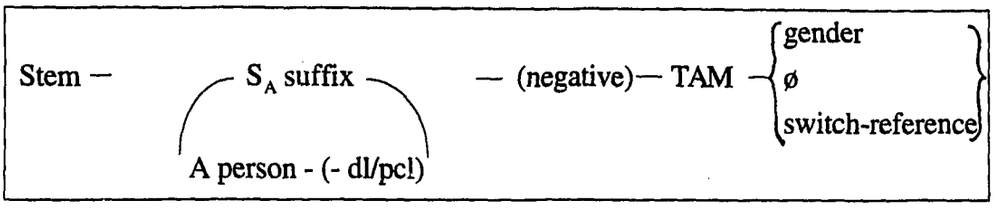
(a), (b) and (c) apply in this order. These rules apply before Rules 13-3 - 13-6.

(a) -o -{DP} -> -ee	cf. (1b), (2), (3b), (4b), (8b), (8c)
(b) {DP} -> -ni	cf. (5), (6), (7)
(c) -ni -> ø / -Vi (NRPAST/IMAG)	cf. (5), (9b)

13.2.2 S_A Verbs

S_A verbs have the following morphological structure:

Diagram 13-7 Structure of S_A Verbs



The paradigm of the underlying forms of S_A cross-referencing suffixes is given below:

Table 13-8 Paradigm of S_A Cross-referencing Suffixes (Underlying Forms)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	-o(C)- (fused with following suffixes)	-i	-u
DL	-opi-ti	-i-ti	-u-ti
PCL	-opi-ru ~ -oN	-i-ru	-wa

S_A person suffixes --- /-o(C)/, /-opi/ and /-oN/ (1st), /-i/ (2nd), and /-u/ and /-wa/ (3rd) --- are identical in form with, and undergo the same morphophonemic changes as, A person suffixes in transitive verbs. Thus, in the morphophonemic analysis below, they are simply called "A suffixes".

Note that the initial /w/ of the 3rd person paucal/plural A suffix /-wa/ is dropped after a consonant. See Rule 13-16b in §13.4.1. Nonsingular number may be expressed by a person suffix (/-oN/ for 1st paucal/plural and /-wa/ for 3rd paucal/plural), or by an additional number suffix /-ti/ (dual) or /-ru/ (paucal/plural).

Inclusive/exclusive distinction does not exist in A cross-referencing suffixes.[9]

The full paradigm of the S_A verb /mon-/ 'to look', with all the TAM suffixes listed in Table 13-2, the negative infix /-woo-/, and masculine/feminine/dual-paucal gender suffixes in Table 13-3, is discussed below. I will not make comments on the morphophonemic processes which have already been discussed in §13.2.1. The realisation of 1st person A suffixes is highly irregular; it is summarised in §13.2.2.15. Note that the vowel /o/ of the stem is assimilated to the following *a* due to Rule 2-9a.

[9] However, the suffix /-tu(h)/ and middle voice suffixes distinguish inclusiveness/exclusiveness of S. Thus in Present Progressive, Future and Immediate Future TAMs, inclusive and exclusive forms exist in 1st person paucal/plural. cf. §13.2.2.3 and §13.2.2.8.

13.2.2.1 General SS and General

The 1st person A suffix is realised as *-o* in singular and *-om* (< /-oN/) in paucal/plural. It is always realised as *-opi* before the dual suffix /-ti/.

(1a) General Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-o-mo*	*mon-i-mo*	*mon-u-mo*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-mo*	*mon-i-ti-mo*	*mon-u-ti-mo*
PCL	*mon-om-mo*	*mon-i-m-mo*	*man-a-mo*

(1b) General

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mon-o-mo-ng*	*mon-i-mo-ng*	*mon-u-mo-ng*
F	*mon-o-ma-na*	*mon-i-ma-na*	*mon-u-ma-na*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-mee*	*mon-i-ti-mee*	*mon-u-ti-mee*
PC	*mon-om-mee*	*mon-i-m-mee*	*man-a-mee*
PL	*mon-om-mo-ng*	*mon-i-m-mo-ng*	*man-a-mo-ng*

13.2.2.2 Present

The 1st person A suffix is fused with the following Present suffix to be realised as *-ongo* in singular. It is realised as *-ong* (<– /-oN/) in paucal/plural.

(2) Present

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mon-ongo-ng*	*mon-i-ko-ng*	*mon-u-ko-ng*
F	*mon-onga-na*	*mon-i-ka-na*	*mon-u-ka-na*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-kee*	*mon-i-ti-kee*	*mon-u-ti-kee*
PC	*mon-ong-kee*	*mon-i-'-kee*	*man-a-kee*
PL	*mon-ong-ko-ng*	*mon-i-'-ko-ng*	*man-a-ko-ng*

13.2.2.3 Continuous SS and Present Progressive

The 1st person A suffix is fused with the following negative infix /-woo-/ to be realised as *-opoo-* in singular. It is either realised as *-ong* (<– /-oN/), or is fused with the negative infix to be realised as *-ompoo-*, in paucal/plural.

(3a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-opoo-i*	*mon-i-woo-i*	*mon-u-woo-i*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-woo-i*	*mon-i-ti-woo-i*	*mon-u-ti-woo-i*
PCL	*mon-ompoo-i/* *mon-om-woo-i*	*mon-i-m-woo-i*	*man-a-woo-i*

The 1st person A suffix is again fused with the following Continuous SS suffix /-i/, to be realised as *-oh*. The 1st person A suffix is realised as *-pi* before the dual suffix /-ti/ and the paucal/plural suffix /-ru/, and these number suffixes undergo Rules 13-2, 13-5 and 13-6.

(3a) Continuous Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-oh*	*mon-i-i*	*mon-u-i*
DL	*mon-opi-h*	*mon-i-h*	*mon-u-h*
PCL	*mon-opi-'*	*mon-i-'*	*man-a-i*

See Table 13-6 for the inflection of the suffix /tu(h)-/ in Present Progressive forms.

(3b) Present Progressive

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mon-oh=no-ng*	*mon-i-i=to-ng*	*mon-u-i=to-ng*
F	*mon-oh=na-na*	*mon-i-i=ta-na*	*mon-u-i=ta-na*
DL	*mon-opi-h=nutee*	*mon-i-h=tutee*	*mon-u-h=tutee*
PC INC	*mon-opi-'=nuiee*	*mon-i-'=tuiee*	-----
EXC	*mon-opi-'=nee*	-----	*man-a-i=ree*
PL INC	*mon-opi-'=nuio-ng*	*mon-i-'=tuio-ng*	-----
EXC	*mon-opi-'=no-ng*	-----	*man-a-i=ro-ng*

13.2.2.4 Perfect SS and Perfect

The 1st person A suffix, in singular and in paucal/plural, is fused with the following Perfect suffix /-ro/ to be realised as *-nno* and *-ngjo* respectively. Rules 13-1 and 13-11 apply.

(4a) Perfect Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-onno*	*mon-i-ro*	*mon-u-ro*
DL	*mon-opi-to*	*mon-i-to*	*mon-u-to*
PCL	*mon-ongjo*	*mon-i-ijo*	*man-a-ro*

(4b) Perfect

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mon-onno-ng*	*mon-i-ro-ng*	*mon-u-ro-ng*
F	*mon-onna-na*	*mon-i-ra-na*	*mon-u-ra-na*
DL	*mon-opi-tee*	*mon-i-tee*	*mon-u-tee*
PC	*mon-ongjee*	*mon-i-iee*	*man-a-ree*
PL	*mon-ongjo-ng*	*mon-i-io-ng*	*man-a-ro-ng*

13.2.2.5 Near Past

The 1st person A suffix, in singular, is realised as *-os* before the Near Past suffix. The sequence /s-i/ thus formed is realised as *h* before /-na/ due to Rule 13-3. The 1st person A suffix is realised as *-pi* before the dual suffix /-ti/ and the paucal/plural suffix /-ru/, and these number suffixes undergo Rules 13-2, 13-5 and 13-6.

(5) Near Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mon-os-i-ng*	*mon-i-i-ng*	*mon-u-u-ng*
F	*mon-oh-na*	*mon-i-i-na*	*mon-u-i-na*
DL	*mon-opi-h-ni*	*mon-i-h-ni*	*mon-u-h-ni*
PC	*mon-opi-n-ni*	*mon-i-n-ni*	*man-a-i*
PL	*mon-opi-r-i-ng*	*mon-i-r-i-ng*	*man-a-a-ng*

13.2.2.6 Habitual Past

The 1st person A suffix is fused with the following Habitual Past suffix to be realised as *-ongi* in singular. It is as *-ong* (<– /-oN/) in paucal/plural.

(6) Habitual Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mon-ongi-ng*	*mon-i-ki-ng*	*mon-u-ki-ng*
F	*mon-ongi-na*	*mon-i-ki-na*	*mon-u-ki-na*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-ki-ni*	*mon-i-ti-ki-ni*	*mon-u-ti-ki-ni*
PC	*mon-ong-ki-ni*	*mon-i-'-ki-ni*	*man-a-ki-ni*
PL	*mon-ong-ki-ng*	*mon-i-'-ki-ng*	*man-a-ki-ng*

13.2.2.7 Remote Past

The 1st person A suffix, in singular, is realised as *-ot* before the Near Past suffix. The sequence *tu* is dearticulated to /Q/ before /-na/ due to Rule 13-4. The Remote Past suffix /-u/ is assimilated to the following *a* of the 3rd pcl A suffix /-wa/ (Rule 13-8b). The 1st person A suffix is realised as *-pi* before the dual suffix /-ti/ and the paucal/plural suffix /-ru/, and these number suffixes undergo Rules 13-2, 13-5 and 13-6.

(7) Remote Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mon-ot-u-ng*	*mon-i-i-ng*	*mon-u-u-ng*
F	*mon-o'-na*	*mon-i-i-na*	*mon-u-u-na*
DL	*mon-opi-'-ni*	*mon-i-'-ni*	*mon-u-'-ni*
PC	*mon-opi-n-ni*	*mon-i-n-ni*	*man-a-a-ni*
PL	*mon-opi-r-u-ng*	*mon-i-r-u-ng*	*man-a-a-ng*

13.2.2.8 Definite Future, Future and Immediate Future

The 1st person A suffix is fused with the following Definite Future suffix /-hee/ to be realised as *-opee* in singular. It is realised as *-ong* (<– /-oN/) in paucal/plural.

(8a) Definite Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-opee*	*mon-i-hee*	*mon-u-hee*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-hee*	*mon-i-ti-hee*	*mon-u-ti-hee*
PCL	*mon-ong-hee*	*mon-i-'-hee*	*man-a-hee*

(8b) Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mon-opeeno-ng*	*mon-i-heeto-ng*	*mon-u-heeto-ng*
F	*mon-opeena-na*	*mon-i-heeta-na*	*mon-u-heeta-na*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-heenutee*	*mon-i-ti-heetutee*	*mon-u-ti-heetutee*
PC INC	*mon-ong-heenuiee*	*mon-i-'-heetuiee*	-----
EXC	*mon-ong-heenee*	-----	*man-a-heeree*
PL INC	*mon-ong-heenuio-ng*	*mon-i-'-heetuio-ng*	-----
EXC	*mon-ong-heeno-ng*	-----	*man-a-heero-ng*

(8c) Immediate Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mon-opeemoroko-ng*	*mon-i-heeroroko-ng*	*mon-u-heeworoko-ng*
F	*mon-opeemoroka-na*	*mon-i-heeroroka-na*	*mon-u-heeworoka-na*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-heemeetikee*	*mon-i-ti-heereetikee*	*mon-u-ti-heeweetikee*
PC INC	*mon-ong-heemee'kee*	*mon-i-'-heeree'kee*	-----
EXC	*mon-ong-heemarakee*	-----	*man-a-heewee'kee*
PL INC	*mon-ong-heemee'ko-ng*	*mon-i-'-heeree'ko-ng*	-----
EXC	*mon-ong-heemarako-ng*	-----	*man-a-heewee'ko-ng*

13.2.2.9 Imaginative

See 13.2.2.3 for the fusion of the 1st A suffix and the negative infix /-woo-/.

(9a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Imaginative (in depedent embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-opoo-kui*	*mon-i-woo-kui*	*mon-u-woo-kui*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-woo-kui*	*mon-i-ti-woo-kui*	*mon-u-ti-woo-kui*
PCL	*mon-ompoo-kui/ mon-om-woo-kui*	*mon-i-m-woo-kui*	*man-a-woo-kui*

The 1st person A suffix is fused with the following Imaginative suffix to be realised as *-ongui* in singular. It is realised as *-ong* (<– /-oN/) in paucal/plural. Rules 13-9 and 13-11 apply.

(9a) Imaginative (in depedent embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-ongui*	*mon-i-kui*	*mon-u-kui*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-kui*	*mon-i-ti-kui*	*mon-u-ti-kui*
PCL	*mon-ong-kui*	*mon-i-'-kui*	*man-a-kui*

(9b) Imaginative (in indepedent clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mon-onguu-ng*	*mon-i-kuu-ng*	*mon-u-kuu-ng*
F	*mon-ongui-na*	*mon-i-kui-na*	*mon-u-kui-na*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-kui*	*mon-i-ti-kui*	*mon-u-ti-kui*
PC	*mon-ong-kui*	*mon-i-'-kui*	*man-a-kui*
PL	*mon-ong-kuu-ng*	*mon-i-'-kuu-ng*	*man-a-kuu-ng*

13.2.2.10 Imperative

The Imperative suffix is fused with the preceding 2nd A suffix /-i/ to be realised as *-ee*. After the 3rd pcl A suffix /-wa/, it is realised as *-wo*.

The 1st person A is realised as *-om* in singular. In paucal/plural, it is realised as *-opi*, and the Imperative suffix is realised as zero. Rules 13-2 and 13-6 apply.

(10) Imperative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-om-o*	*mon-ee*	*mon-o-o*
DL	*mon-opi-t-o*	*mon-i-t-o*	*mon-u-t-o*
PCL	*mon-opi*	*mon-i-ng*	*man-a-wo*

13.2.2.11 Optative

The 1st person A suffix is fused with the Optative suffix /-woro/ to be realised as *-oporo* in singular, and is realised either as *-ong* (<– /-oN/), or is fused with the Optative suffix to be realised as *-omporo*, in paucal/plural.

(11) Optative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-oporo*	*mon-i-woro*	*mon-u-woro*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-woro*	*mon-i-ti-woro*	*mon-u-ti-woro*
PCL	*mon-omporo/ mon-om-woro*	*mon-i-m-woro*	*man-a-woro*

13.2.2.12 Negative Optative

The 1st person A suffix, in singular and in paucal/plural, is fused with the following Perfect suffix /-raa/ to be realised as *-nnaa* and *-ngjaa* respectively. Rule 13-1 applies.

(12) Negative Optative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-onnaa*	*mon-i-raa*	*mon-u-raa*
DL	*mon-opi-taa*	*mon-i-taa*	*mon-u-taa*
PCL	*mon-ongjaa*	*mon-i-iaa*	*man-a-raa*

13.2.2.13 General DS

See §13.2.2.3 for the fusion of the 1st A suffix and the negative infix /-woo-/.

(13*) negative infix /-woo-/ + General Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-opoo-ku*	*mon-i-woo-ku*	*mon-u-woo-ku*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-woo-ku*	*mon-i-ti-woo-ku*	*mon-u-ti-woo-ku*
PCL	*mon-ompoo-ku/ mon-om-woo-ku*	*mon-i-m-woo-ku*	*man-a-woo-ku*

The 1st person A suffix is fused with the following General DS suffix to be realised as *-ongu* in singular. It is realised as *-ong* (<– /-oN/) in paucal/plural.

(13) General Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-ongu*	*mon-i-ku*	*mon-u-ku*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-ku*	*mon-i-ti-ku*	*mon-u-ti-ku*
PCL	*mon-ong-ku*	*mon-i-'-ku*	*man-a-ku*

13.2.2.14 Continuous DS

See §13.2.2.3 for the fusion of the 1st A suffix and the negative infix /-woo-/.

(14*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-opoo-juu*	*mon-i-woo-juu*	*mon-u-woo-juu*
DL	*mon-opi-ti-woo-juu*	*mon-i-ti-woo-juu*	*mon-u-ti-woo-juu*
PCL	*mon-ompoo-juu/ mon-om-woo-juu*	*mon-i-m-woo-juu*	*man-a-woo-juu*

The 1st person A suffix is fused with the Continuous DS suffix to be realised as *-osuu*. Rules 13-2 and 13-10 apply.

(14) Continuous Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mon-osuu*	*mon-ii-juu*	*mon-uu-juu*
DL	*mon-opi-suu*	*mon-i-suu*	*mon-u-suu*
PCL	*mon-ong-juu*	*mon-i-ng-juu*	*man-aa-juu*

13.2.2.15 Realisation of 1st Person A Suffix

The realisation of the 1st person A suffix is as follows:

Rule 13-12 Realisation of 1st Person A Suffix

The following rules apply before Rules 13-1 – 13-5.

The 1st person A suffix, in singular, is combined with the following TAM suffixes to take various forms:

(a) {1st A} -m –> -o-m
(b) {1st A} -k –> -ong
(c) {1st A} -w, -h –> -op
(d) {1st A} -r –> -oNn
(e) {1st A} -i –> -os-i
(f) {1st A} -juu –> -osuu
(g) {1st A} -u –> -ot-u
(h) {1st A} -o –> -om-o

It is realised as /-opi/ before the dual suffix /-ti/:

(i) {1st A} –> -opi / _ -ti

In paucal/plural number, it, again, takes various forms. It fuses with the /r/ of the Perfect and Negative Optative suffixes, and /w/ of the Optative suffix and the negative infix. It is realised as *-opi* word-finally, as *-opi-r*[10] before a vowel, and *-oN* in other environments.

(j) {1st.pcl.A} - r –> -oNj
(k) {1st.pcl.A} - w –> -oN-wV ~ -oNpV
(l) {1st.pcl.A} –> -opi / _ #
-opi-r / _ -V
-oN / Elsewhere

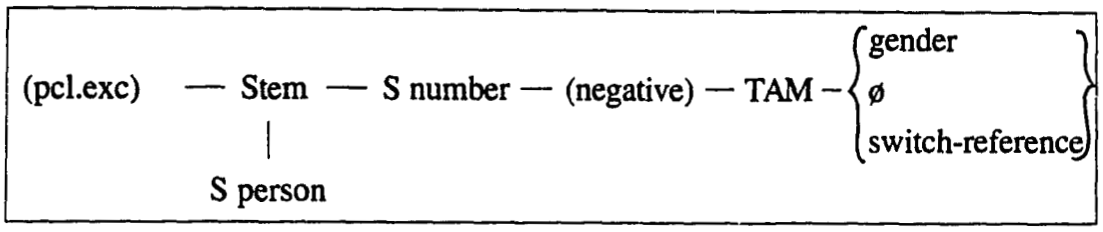
[10] The underlying form is regarded as /-opi-ru/, where the paucal/plu ral suffix /-ru/ is affected by Rules 13-2 and 13-6.

13.2.3 Irregular Intransitive Verbs

Motuna has five intransitive verbs which mark the person of S by the consonant alternation of their stems. Among them, three verbs --- /tu(h)-/ 'Copula, to be', /pi(h)-/ 'to go', and /hu(h)-/ 'to come' --- mark the paucal/plural exclusiveness of 1st and 3rd person Ss by the prefix /u-/.[11] The other two verbs --- /paa(h)-/ 'to cry' and /puu(h)-/ 'to die' --- mark it by the suffix /-ra/. (In all these verb stems, the stem-final consonant /h/ occurs only when they are followed by a derivational suffix.)

The morphological structure of three irregular verbs, /tu(h)-/ 'Copula, to be', /pi(h)-/ 'to go', and /hu(h)-/ 'to come', is:

Diagram 13-9a Structure of Irregular Verbs (1)



The morphological structure of two irregular verbs, /paa(h)-/ 'to cry' and /puu(h)-/ 'to die', is:

Diagram 13-9b Structure of Irregular Verbs (2)

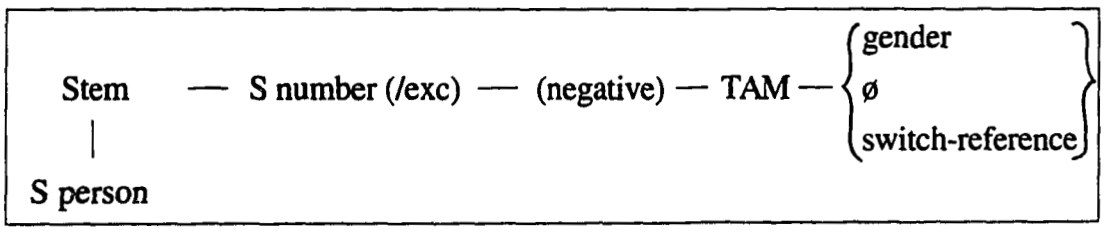


Table 13-10 in the next page shows how the stems of these five verbs mark the person, number and inclusive/exclusive distinction of S:

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[11] The prefix /u-/ is treated as a separate segment in the following tables and paradigms, but in the rest of my thesis it is not separated from the verb stem.

Table 13-10 Paradigms of Cross-referencing Markings of Irregular Verb Stems (Underlying Forms)

(1) /tu(h)-/ 'Copula, to be'

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	nu	tu	tu
DL	nu-ti	tu-ti	tu-ti
PCL.INC	nu-ru	tu-ru	–
PCL.EXC	u-nu	–	u-ru

(2) /pi(h)-/ 'to go'

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	mi	pi	pi
DL	mi-ti	pi-ti	pi-ti
PCL.INC	mi-ru	pi-ru	–
PCL.EXC	u-mi	–	u-wi

(3) /hu(h)-/ 'to come'

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	mu	hu	hu
DL	mu-ti	hu-ti	hu-ti
PCL.INC	mu-ru	hu-ru	–
PCL.EXC	u-mu	–	u-hu

(4) /paa(h)-/ 'to cry'

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	maa	paa	paa
DL	maa-ti	paa-ti	paa-ti
PCL.INC	maa-ru	paa-ru	–
PCL.EXC	maa-ra	–	paa-ra

(5) /puu(h)-/ 'to die'

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	muu	puu	puu
DL	muu-ti	puu-ti	puu-ti
PCL.INC	muu-ru	puu-ru	–
PCL.EXC	muu-ra	–	puu-ra

The paradigms of cross-referencing markings of /pi(h)-/ 'to go' and /paa(h)-/ 'to cry', with all the TAM suffixes listed in Table 13-2, the negative infix /-woo-/, and masculine/feminine/dual-paucal gender suffixes in Table 13-3, are discussed in §13.2.3.1 and §13.2.3.2, respectively. Except for Imperative forms, all the morpho-phonemic changes follow the rules described in §13.2.1, and I will not make comments on them.

The paradigm of /tu(h)-/ is defective. It has optional forms in Perfect (cf. §13.2.3.1.4). The Imperative form of /hu(h)-/ slightly deviate from that of /pi(h)-/ (cf. §13.2.3.1.10).

13.2.3.1 The Paradigm of /pi(h)-/ 'to go'

13.2.3.1.1 General SS and General

(1a) General Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-mo*	*pi-mo*	*pi-mo*
DL	*mi-ti-mo*	*pi-ti-mo*	*pi-ti-mo*
PCL INC	*mi-m-mo*	*pi-m-mo*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-mo*	-----	*u-wi-mo*

(1b) General

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mi-mo-ng*	*pi-mo-ng*	*pi-mo-ng*
F	*mi-ma-na*	*pi-ma-na*	*pi-ma-na*
DL	*mi-ti-mee*	*pi-ti-mee*	*pi-ti-mee*
PC INC	*mi-m-mee*	*pi-m-mee*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-mee*	-----	*u-wi-mee*
PL INC	*mi-m-mo-ng*	*pi-m-mo-ng*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-mo-ng*	-----	*u-wi-mo-ng*

13.2.3.1.2 Present

(2) Present

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mi-ko-ng*	*pi-ko-ng*	*pi-ko-ng*
F	*mi-ka-na*	*pi-ka-na*	*pi-ka-na*
DL	*mi-ti-kee*	*pi-ti-kee*	*pi-ti-kee*
PC INC	*mi-'-kee*	*pi-'-kee*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-kee*	-----	*u-wi-kee*
PL INC	*mi-'-ko-ng*	*pi-'-ko-ng*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-ko-ng*	-----	*u-wi-ko-ng*

13.2.3.1.3 Continuous SS and Present Progressive

(3a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-woo-i*	*pi-woo-i*	*pi-woo-i*
DL	*mi-ti-woo-i*	*pi-ti-woo-i*	*pi-ti-woo-i*
PCL INC	*mi-m-woo-i*	*pi-m-woo-i*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-woo-i*	-----	*u-wi-woo-i*

(3a) Continuous Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-i*	*pi-i*	*pi-i*
DL	*mi-h*	*pi-h*	*pi-h*
PCL INC	*mi-'*	*pi-'*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-i*	-----	*u-wi-i*

(3b) Present Progressive

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mi-i=no-ng*	*pi-i=to-ng*	*pi-i=to-ng*
F	*mi-i=na-na*	*pi-i=ta-na*	*pi-i=ta-na*
DL	*mi-h=nutee*	*pi-h=tutee*	*pi-h=tutee*
PC INC	*mi-'=nuiee*	*pi-'=tuiee*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-i=nee*	-----	*u-wi-i=ree*
PL INC	*mi-'=nuio-ng*	*pi-'=tuio-ng*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-i=no-ng*	-----	*u-wi-i=ro-ng*

13.2.3.1.4 Perfect SS and Perfect

(4a) Perfect Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-ro*	*pi-ro*	*pi-ro*
DL	*mi-to*	*pi-to*	*pi-to*
PCL INC	*mi-ijo*	*pi-ijo*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-ro*	-----	*u-wi-ro*

(4b) Perfect

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mi-ro-ng*	*pi-ro-ng*	*pi-ro-ng*
F	*mi-ra-na*	*pi-ra-na*	*pi-ra-na*
DL	*mi-tee*	*pi-tee*	*pi-tee*
PC INC	*mi-iee*	*pi-iee*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-ree*	-----	*u-wi-ree*
PL INC	*mi-io-ng*	*pi-io-ng*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-ro-ng*	-----	*u-wi-ro-ng*

In the case of the copula/existential verb /tu(h)-/, 1st and 2nd/3rd singular forms in Perfect, with a masculine suffix /-N/, have two forms, i.e.: *nu-ro-ng ~ no-ng* (1st sg) and *tu-ro-ng ~ to-ng* (2nd/3rd sg).

13.2.3.1.5 Near Past

(5) Near Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mi-i-ng*	*pi-i-ng*	*pi-i-ng*
F	*mi-i-na*	*pi-i-na*	*pi-i-na*
DL	*mi-h-ni*	*pi-h-ni*	*pi-h-ni*
PC INC	*mi-n-ni*	*pi-n-ni*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-i*	-----	*u-wi-i*
PL INC	*mi-r-i-ng*	*pi-r-i-ng*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-i-ng*	-----	*u-wi-i-ng*

13.2.3.1.6 Habitual Past

(6) Habitual Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mi-ki-ng*	*pi-ki-ng*	*pi-ki-ng*
F	*mi-ki-na*	*pi-ki-na*	*pi-ki-na*
DL	*mi-ti-ki-ni*	*pi-ti-ki-ni*	*pi-ti-ki-ni*
PC INC	*mi-'-ki-ni*	*pi-'-ki-ni*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-ki-ni*	-----	*u-wi-ki-ni*
PL INC	*mi-'-ki-ng*	*pi-'-ki-ng*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-ki-ng*	-----	*u-wi-ki-ng*

13.2.3.1.7 Remote Past

(7) Remote Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mi-i-ng*	*pi-i-ng*	*pi-i-ng*
F	*mi-i-na*	*pi-i-na*	*pi-i-na*
DL	*mi-'-ni*	*pi-'-ni*	*pi-'-ni*
PC INC	*mi-n-ni*	*pi-n-ni*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-i-ni*	-----	*u-wi-i-ni*
PL INC	*mi-r-u-ng*	*pi-r-u-ng*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-i-ng*	-----	*u-wi-i-ng*

13.2.3.1.8 Definite Future, Future and Immediate Future

(8a) Definite Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-hee*	*pi-hee*	*pi-hee*
DL	*mi-ti-hee*	*pi-ti-hee*	*pi-ti-hee*
PCL INC	*mi-'-hee*	*pi-'-hee*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-hee*	-----	*u-wi-hee*

(8b) Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mi-heeno-ng*	*pi-heeto-ng*	*pi-heeto-ng*
F	*mi-heena-na*	*pi-heeta-na*	*pi-heeta-na*
DL	*mi-ti-heenutee*	*pi-ti-heetutee*	*pi-ti-heetutee*
PC INC	*mi-'-heenutee*	*pi-'-heetuiee*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-heenee*	-----	*u-wi-heeree*
PL INC	*mi-'-heenuio-ng*	*pi-'-heetuio-ng*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-heeno-ng*	-----	*u-wi-heero-ng*

(8c) Immediate Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mi-heemoroko-ng*	*pi-heeroroko-ng*	*pi-heeworoko-ng*
F	*mi-heemoroka-na*	*pi-heeroroka-na*	*pi-heeworoka-na*
DL	*mi-ti-heemeetikee*	*pi-ti-heereetikee*	*pi-ti-heeweetikee*
PC INC	*mi-'-heemee'kee*	*pi-'-heeree'kee*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-heemarakee*	-----	*u-wi-heewee'kee*
PL INC	*mi-'-heemee'ko-ng*	*pi-'-heeree'ko-ng*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-heemarako-ng*	-----	*u-wi-heewee'ko-ng*

13.2.3.1.9 Imaginative

(9a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Imaginative (in dependent embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-woo-kui*	*pi-woo-kui*	*pi-woo-kui*
DL	*mi-ti-woo-kui*	*pi-ti-woo-kui*	*pi-ti-woo-kui*
PCL INC	*mi-m-woo-kui*	*pi-m-woo-kui*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-woo-kui*	-----	*u-wi-woo-kui*

(9a) Imaginative (in dependent embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-kui*	*pi-kui*	*pi-kui*
DL	*mi-ti-kui*	*pi-ti-kui*	*pi-ti-kui*
PCL INC	*mi-'-kui*	*pi-'-kui*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-kui*	-----	*u-wi-kui*

(9b) Imaginative (in independent clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*mi-kuu-ng*	*pi-kuu-ng*	*pi-kuu-ng*
F	*mi-kui-na*	*pi-kui-na*	*pi-kui-na*
DL	*mi-ti-kui*	*pi-ti-kui*	*pi-ti-kui*
PC INC	*mi-'-kui*	*pi-'-kui*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-kui*	-----	*u-wi-kui*
PL INC	*mi-'-kuu-ng*	*pi-'-kuu-ng*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-kuu-ng*	-----	*u-wi-kuu-ng*

13.2.3.1.10 Imperative

The Imperative suffix is fused with the preceding /-i/ of the 1st and 2nd S stems to be realised as *-ee*. (In the case of /hu(h)-/ 'to come', the fused form is *moo* (1st) and *hoo* (2nd).) After the 3rd singular S form it is realised as *-woo*. After the 1st and 3rd paucal/plural exclusive forms, it is realised as *-wo*. Rules 13-2 and 13-6 apply.

The copula/existential verb /tu(h)-/ has no Imperative forms.

(10) Imperative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mee*	*pee*	*pi-woo*
DL	*mi-t-o*	*pi-t-o*	*pi-t-o*
PCL.INC	*mi-ng*	*pi-ng*	–
PCL.EXC	*u-mi-wo*	–	*u-wi-wo*

13.2.3.1.11 Optative

(11) Optative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-woro*	*pi-woro*	*pi-woro*
DL	*mi-ti-woro*	*pi-ti-woro*	*pi-ti-woro*
PCL INC	*mi-m-woro*	*pi-m-woro*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-woro*	-----	*u-wi-woro*

13.2.3.1.12 Negative Optative

(12) Negative Optative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-raa*	*pi-raa*	*pi-raa*
DL	*mi-taa*	*pi-taa*	*pi-taa*
PCL INC	*mi-iaa*	*pi-iaa*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-raa*	-----	*u-wi-raa*

13.2.3.1.13 General DS

(13*) negative infix /-woo-/ + General Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-woo-ku*	*pi-woo-ku*	*pi-woo-ku*
DL	*mi-ti-woo-ku*	*pi-ti-woo-ku*	*pi-ti-woo-ku*
PCL INC	*mi-m-woo-ku*	*pi-m-woo-ku*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-woo-ku*	-----	*u-wi-woo-ku*

(13) General Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-ku*	*pi-ku*	*pi-ku*
DL	*mi-ti-ku*	*pi-ti-ku*	*pi-ti-ku*
PCL INC	*mi-'-ku*	*pi-'-ku*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-ku*	-----	*u-wi-ku*

13.2.3.1.14 Continuous DS

(14*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mi-woo-juu*	*pi-woo-juu*	*pi-woo-juu*
DL	*mi-ti-woo-juu*	*pi-ti-woo-juu*	*pi-ti-woo-juu*
PCL INC	*mi-m-woo-juu*	*pi-m-woo-juu*	-----
EXC	*u-mi-woo-juu*	-----	*u-wi-woo-juu*

(14) Continuous Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*mii-juu*	*pii-juu*	*pii-juu*
DL	*mi-suu*	*pi-suu*	*pi-suu*
PCL INC	*mi-ng-juu*	*pi-ng-juu*	-----
EXC	*u-mii-juu*	-----	*u-wii-juu*

13.2.3.2 The Paradigm of /paa(h)-/ 'to cry'

13.2.3.2.1 General SS and General

(1a) General Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-mo*	*paa-mo*	*paa-mo*
DL	*maa-ti-mo*	*paa-ti-mo*	*paa-ti-mo*
PCL INC	*maa-m-mo*	*paa-m-mo*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-mo*	-----	*paa-ra-mo*

(1b) General

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*maa-mo-ng*	*paa-mo-ng*	*paa-mo-ng*
F	*maa-ma-na*	*paa-ma-na*	*paa-ma-na*
DL	*maa-ti-mee*	*paa-ti-mee*	*paa-ti-mee*
PC INC	*maa-m-mee*	*paa-m-mee*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-mee*	-----	*paa-ra-mee*
PL INC	*maa-m-mo-ng*	*paa-m-mo-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-mo-ng*	-----	*paa-ra-mo-ng*

13.2.3.2.2 Present

(2) Present

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*maa-ko-ng*	*paa-ko-ng*	*paa-ko-ng*
F	*maa-ka-na*	*paa-ka-na*	*paa-ka-na*
DL	*maa-ti-kee*	*paa-ti-kee*	*paa-ti-kee*
PC INC	*maa-'-kee*	*paa-'-kee*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-kee*	-----	*paa-ra-kee*
PL INC	*maa-'-ko-ng*	*paa-'-ko-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-ko-ng*	-----	*paa-ra-ko-ng*

13.2.3.2.3 Continuous SS and Present Progressive

(3a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-woo-i*	*paa-woo-i*	*paa-woo-i*
DL	*maa-ti-woo-i*	*paa-ti-woo-i*	*paa-ti-woo-i*
PCL INC	*maa-m-woo-i*	*paa-m-woo-i*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-woo-i*	-----	*paa-ra-woo-i*

(3a) Continuous Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-i*	*paa-i*	*paa-i*
DL	*maa-h*	*paa-h*	*paa-h*
PCL INC	*maa-'*	*paa-'*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-i*	-----	*paa-ra-i*

(3b) Present Progressive

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*maa-i=no-ng*	*paa-i=to-ng*	*paa-i=to-ng*
F	*maa-i=na-na*	*paa-i=ta-na*	*paa-i=ta-na*
DL	*maa-h=nutee*	*paa-h=tutee*	*paa-h=tutee*
PC INC	*maa-'=nuiee*	*paa-'=tuiee*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-i=nee*	-----	*paa-ra-i=ree*
PL INC	*maa-'=nuio-ng*	*paa-'=tuio-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-i=no-ng*	-----	*paa-ra-i=ro-ng*

13.2.3.2.4 Perfect SS and Perfect

(4a) Perfect Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-ro*	*paa-ro*	*paa-ro*
DL	*maa-to*	*paa-to*	*paa-to*
PCL INC	*maa-ijo*	*paa-ijo*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-ro*	-----	*paa-ra-ro*

(4b) Perfect

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*maa-ro-ng*	*paa-ro-ng*	*paa-ro-ng*
F	*maa-ra-na*	*paa-ra-na*	*paa-ra-na*
DL	*maa-tee*	*paa-tee*	*paa-tee*
PC INC	*maa-iee*	*paa-iee*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-ree*	-----	*paa-ra-ree*
PL INC	*maa-io-ng*	*paa-io-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-ro-ng*	-----	*paa-ra-ro-ng*

13.2.3.2.5 Near Past

(5) Near Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*maa-ng*	*paa-ng*	*paa-ng*
F	*maa-i-na*	*paa-i-na*	*paa-i-na*
DL	*maa-h-ni*	*paa-h-ni*	*paa-h-ni*
PC INC	*maa-n-ni*	*paa-n-ni*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-i*	-----	*paa-ra-i*
PL INC	*maa-r-i-ng*	*paa-r-i-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-a-ng*	-----	*paa-ra-a-ng*

13.2.3.2.6 Habitual Past

(6) Habitual Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*maa-ki-ng*	*paa-ki-ng*	*paa-ki-ng*
F	*maa-ki-na*	*paa-ki-na*	*paa-ki-na*
DL	*maa-ti-ki-ni*	*paa-ti-ki-ni*	*paa-ti-ki-ni*
PC INC	*maa-'-ki-ni*	*paa-'-ki-ni*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-ki-ni*	-----	*paa-ra-ki-ni*
PL INC	*maa-'-ki-ng*	*paa-'-ki-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-ki-ng*	-----	*paa-ra-ki-ng*

13.2.3.2.7 Remote Past

(7) Remote Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*maa-ng*	*paa-ng*	*paa-ng*
F	*maa-na*	*paa-na*	*paa-na*
DL	*maa-'-ni*	*paa-'-ni*	*paa-'-ni*
PC INC	*maa-n-ni*	*paa-n-ni*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-a-ni*	-----	*paa-ra-a-ni*
PL INC	*maa-r-u-ng*	*paa-r-u-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-a-ng*	-----	*paa-ra-a-ng*

13.2.3.2.8 Definite Future, Future and Immediate Future

(8a) Definite Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-hee*	*paa-hee*	*paa-hee*
DL	*maa-ti-hee*	*paa-ti-hee*	*paa-ti-hee*
PCL INC	*maa-'-hee*	*paa-'-hee*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-hee*	-----	*paa-ra-hee*

(8b) Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*maa-heeno-ng*	*paa-heeto-ng*	*paa-heeto-ng*
F	*maa-heena-na*	*paa-heeta-na*	*paa-heeta-na*
DL	*maa-ti-heenutee*	*paa-ti-heetutee*	*paa-ti-heetutee*
PC INC	*maa-'-heenutee*	*paa-'-heetuiee*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-heenee*	-----	*paa-ra-heeree*
PL INC	*maa-'-heenuio-ng*	*paa-'-heetuio-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-heeno-ng*	-----	*paa-ra-heero-ng*

(8c) Immediate Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*maa-heemoroko-ng*	*paa-heeroroko-ng*	*paa-heeworoko-ng*
F	*maa-heemoroka-na*	*paa-heeroroka-na*	*paa-heeworoka-na*
DL	*maa-ti-heemeetikee*	*paa-ti-heereetikee*	*paa-ti-heeweetikee*
PC INC	*maa-'-heemee'kee*	*paa-'-heeree'kee*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-heemarakee*	-----	*paa-ra-heewee'kee*
PL INC	*maa-'-heemee'ko-ng*	*paa-'-heeree'ko-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-heemarako-ng*	-----	*paa-ra-heewee'ko-ng*

13.2.3.2.9 Imaginative

(9a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Imaginative (in dependent embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-woo-kui*	*paa-woo-kui*	*paa-woo-kui*
DL	*maa-ti-woo-kui*	*paa-ti-woo-kui*	*paa-ti-woo-kui*
PCL INC	*maa-m-woo-kui*	*paa-m-woo-kui*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-woo-kui*	-----	*paa-ra-woo-kui*

(9a) Imaginative (in dependent embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-kui*	*paa-kui*	*paa-kui*
DL	*maa-ti-kui*	*paa-ti-kui*	*paa-ti-kui*
PCL INC	*maa-'-kui*	*paa-'-kui*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-kui*	-----	*paa-ra-kui*

(9b) Imaginative (in independent clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*maa-kuu-ng*	*paa-kuu-ng*	*paa-kuu-ng*
F	*maa-kui-na*	*paa-kui-na*	*paa-kui-na*
DL	*maa-ti-kui*	*paa-ti-kui*	*paa-ti-kui*
PC INC	*maa-'-kui*	*paa-'-kui*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-kui*	-----	*paa-ra-kui*
PL INC	*maa-'-kuu-ng*	*paa-'-kuu-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-kuu-ng*	-----	*paa-ra-kuu-ng*

13.2.3.2.10 Imperative

The Imperative suffix is realised as *-o* and zero after dual and paucal/plural suffixes in 1st and 2nd persons, and Rules 13-2 and 13-6 apply.

It is realised as *-wo* elsewhere except in 3rd person singular, where it is realised as *-woo*.

(10) Imperative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-wo*	*paa-wo*	*paa-woo*
DL	*maa-t-o*	*paa-t-o*	*paa-ti-wo*
PCL INC	*maa-ng*	*paa-ng*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-wo*	-----	*paa-ra-wo*

13.2.3.2.11 Optative

(11) Optative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-woro*	*paa-woro*	*paa-woro*
DL	*maa-ti-woro*	*paa-ti-woro*	*paa-ti-woro*
PCL INC	*maa-m-woro*	*paa-m-woro*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-woro*	-----	*paa-ra-woro*

13.2.3.2.12 Negative Optative

(12) Negative Optative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-raa*	*paa-raa*	*paa-raa*
DL	*maa-taa*	*paa-taa*	*paa-taa*
PCL INC	*maa-iaa*	*paa-iaa*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-raa*	-----	*paa-ra-raa*

13.2.3.2.13 General DS

(13*) negative infix /-woo-/ + General Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-woo-ku*	*paa-woo-ku*	*paa-woo-ku*
DL	*maa-ti-woo-ku*	*paa-ti-woo-ku*	*paa-ti-woo-ku*
PCL INC	*maa-m-woo-ku*	*paa-m-woo-ku*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-woo-ku*	-----	*paa-ra-woo-ku*

(13) General Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-ku*	*paa-ku*	*paa-ku*
DL	*maa-ti-ku*	*paa-ti-ku*	*paa-ti-ku*
PCL INC	*maa-'-ku*	*paa-'-ku*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-ku*	-----	*paa-ra-ku*

13.2.3.2.14 Continuous DS

(14*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-woo-juu*	*paa-woo-juu*	*paa-woo-juu*
DL	*maa-ti-woo-juu*	*paa-ti-woo-juu*	*paa-ti-woo-juu*
PCL INC	*maa-m-woo-juu*	*paa-m-woo-juu*	-----
EXC	*maa-ra-woo-juu*	-----	*paa-ra-woo-juu*

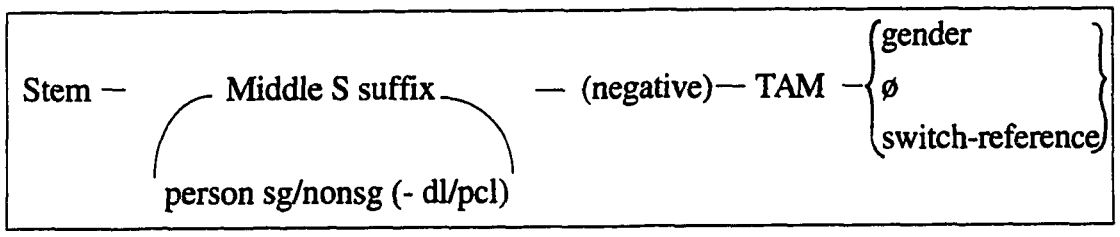
(14) Continuous Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*maa-juu*	*paa-juu*	*paa-juu*
DL	*maa-suu*	*paa-suu*	*paa-suu*
PCL INC	*maa-ng-juu*	*paa-ng-juu*	-----
EXC	*maa-raa-juu*	-----	*paa-raa-juu*

13.2.4 Intransitive Verbs with Middle Voice Suffixes

Intransitive verbs in middle voice have the following morphological structure:

Diagram 13-11 Structure of Middle Verbs



The paradigm of the underlying forms of middle S cross-referencing suffixes is given below:

Table 13-12 Paradigm of Cross-referencing Suffixes in Middle Voice (Underlying Forms)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	-moro	-roro	-woro
DL	-mee-ti	-ree-ti	-wee-ti
PCL.INC	-mee-ru	-ree-ru	–
PCL.EXC	-mara	–	-wee-ru[12]

[12] Logically speaking, verbs should take distinct exclusive forms in 3rd person paucal/plural, but in middle voice the paucal/plural (inclusive) suffix /-ru/ is attached to the 3rd person nonsingular suffix. This suffix is susceptible to Rules 13-2 and 13-6. cf. fn 1.

The singular suffixes /-moro/, /-roro/ and /-woro/ are fused in various ways with the following TAM suffixes. Those changes are summarised in §13.2.4.15.

I found three verbs which take the 2nd person suffix beginning with /n/ instead of /r/, i.e. /noro/ ~ /nee-ti/ ~ /nee-ru/. They are: /sih-/ 'to be quiet', /tung-/ 'to enter', and /ruh-/ 'to come out'.[13]

The paradigm of the intransitive verb in middle voice /turu-/ 'to return', with all the TAM suffixes listed in Table 13-2, the negative infix /-woo-/, and masculine/feminine/dual-paucal gender suffixes in Table 13-3, is given below.

13.2.4.1 General SS and General

(1a) General Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moro-mo*	*turu-roro-mo*	*turu-woro-mo*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-mo*	*turu-ree-ti-mo*	*turu-wee-ti-mo*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-m-mo*	*turu-ree-m-mo*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-mo*	----	*turu-wee-m-mo*

(1b) General

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*turu-moro-mo-ng*	*turu-roro-mo-ng*	*turu-woro-mo-ng*
F	*turu-moro-ma-na*	*turu-roro-ma-na*	*turu-woro-ma-na*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-mee*	*turu-ree-ti-mee*	*turu-wee-ti-mee*
PC INC	*turu-mee-m-mee*	*turu-ree-m-mee*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-mee*	-----	*turu-wee-m-mee*
PL INC	*turu-mee-m-mo-ng*	*turu-ree-m-mo-ng*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-mo-ng*	----	*turu-wee-m-mo-ng*

13.2.4.2 Present

(2) Present

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*turu-moro-ko-ng*	*turu-roro-ko-ng*	*turu-woro-ko-ng*
F	*turu-moro-ka-na*	*turu-roro-ka-na*	*turu-woro-ka-na*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-kee*	*turu-ree-ti-kee*	*turu-wee-ti-kee*
PC INC	*turu-mee-'-kee*	*turu-ree-'-kee*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-kee*	-----	*turu-wee-'-kee*
PL INC	*turu-mee-'-ko-ng*	*turu-ree-'-ko-ng*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-ko-ng*	----	*turu-wee-'-ko-ng*

---

[13] Note that the stem-final consonant is dropped before the 1st and 2nd person suffixes, due to Rule 13-16a in §13.4.1.

13.2.4.3 Continuous SS and Present Progressive

(3a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moro-woo-i*	*turu-roro-woo-i*	*turu-woro-woo-i*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-woo-i*	*turu-ree-ti-woo-i*	*turu-wee-ti-woo-i*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-m-woo-i*	*turu-ree-m-woo-i*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-woo-i*	-----	*turu-wee-m-woo-i*

/ro/ of the singular S suffixes (/-moro/, /-roro/ and /-woro/) is dropped before the Continuous SS and Present Progressive suffixes:

(3a) Continuous Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-mo-i*	*turu-ro-i*	*turu-wo-i*
DL	*turu-mee-h*	*turu-ree-h*	*turu-wee-h*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-'*	*turu-ree-'*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-i*	-----	*turu-wee-'*

(3b) Present Progressive

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*turu-mo-i=no-ng*	*turu-ro-i=to-ng*	*turu-wo-i=to-ng*
F	*turu-mo-i=na-na*	*turu-ro-i=ta-na*	*turu-wo-i=ta-na*
DL	*turu-mee-h=nutee*	*turu-ree-h=tutee*	*turu-wee-h=tutee*
PC INC	*turu-mee-'=nuiee*	*turu-ree-'=tuiee*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-i=nee*	-----	*turu-wee-'=ree*
PL INC	*turu-mee-'=nuio-ng*	*turu-ree-'=tuio-ng*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-i=no-ng*	----	*turu-wee-'=ro-ng*

13.2.4.4 Perfect SS and Perfect

Singular S suffixes are realised as *-moo* (1st), *-roo* (2nd) and *-woo* (3rd) before the Perfect SS suffix /-ro/:

(4a) Perfect Same Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moo-ro*	*turu-roo-ro*	*turu-woo-ro*
DL	*turu-mee-to*	*turu-ree-to*	*turu-wee-to*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-ijo*	*turu-ree-ijo*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-ro*	----	*turu-wee-ijo*

(4b) Perfect

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*turu-moo-ro-ng*	*turu-roo-ro-ng*	*turu-woo-ro-ng*
F	*turu-moo-ra-na*	*turu-roo-ra-na*	*turu-woo-ra-na*
DL	*turu-mee-tee*	*turu-ree-tee*	*turu-wee-tee*
PC INC	*turu-mee-iee*	*turu-ree-iee*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-ree*	-----	*turu-wee-iee*
PL INC	*turu-mee-io-ng*	*turu-ree-io-ng*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-ro-ng*	----	*turu-wee-io-ng*

13.2.4.5 Near Past

/ro/ of the singular S suffixes (/-moro/, /-roro/ and /-woro/) is dropped before the Near Past suffix /-i/ followed by a CV syllable; only the last /o/ is dropped before the Near Past suffix /-i/ followed by /-N/.

(5) Near Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*turu-mor-i-ng*	*turu-ror-i-ng*	*turu-wor-i-ng*
F	*turu-mo-i-na*	*turu-ro-i-na*	*turu-wo-i-na*
DL	*turu-mee-h-ni*	*turu-ree-h-ni*	*turu-wee-h-ni*
PC INC	*turu-mee-n-ni*	*turu-ree-n-ni*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-i*	-----	*turu-wee-n-ni*
PL INC	*turu-mee-r-i-ng*	*turu-ree-r-i-ng*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-a-ng*	----	*turu-wee-r-i-ng*

13.2.4.6 Habitual Past

(6) Habitual Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*turu-moro-ki-ng*	*turu-roro-ki-ng*	*turu-woro-ki-ng*
F	*turu-moro-ki-na*	*turu-roro-ki-na*	*turu-woro-ki-na*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-ki-ni*	*turu-ree-ti-ki-ni*	*turu-wee-ti-ki-ni*
PC INC	*turu-mee-'-ki-ni*	*turu-ree-'-ki-ni*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-ki-ni*	-----	*turu-wee-'-ki-ni*
PL INC	*turu-mee-'-ki-ng*	*turu-ree-'-ki-ng*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-ki-ng*	----	*turu-wee-'-ki-ng*

13.2.4.7 Remote Past

/o/ of the singular S suffixes (/-moro/, /-roro/ and /-woro/) is dropped before the Remote Past suffix /-u/.

(7) Remote Past

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*turu-mor-u-ng*	*turu-ror-u-ng*	*turu-wor-u-ng*
F	*turu-mon-na*	*turu-ron-na*	*turu-won-na*
DL	*turu-mee-'-ni*	*turu-ree-'-ni*	*turu-wee-'-ni*
PC INC	*turu-mee-n-ni*	*turu-ree-n-ni*	----
EXC	*turu-mara-a-ni*	----	*turu-wee-n-ni*
PL INC	*turu-mee-r-u-ng*	*turu-ree-r-u-ng*	----
EXC	*turu-mara-r-u-ng*	----	*turu-wee-r-u-ng*

13.2.4.8 Definite Future, Future and Immediate Future

(8a) Definite Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moro-hee*	*turu-roro-hee*	*turu-woro-hee*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-hee*	*turu-ree-ti-hee*	*turu-wee-ti-hee*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-'-hee*	*turu-ree-'-mee*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-hee*	-----	*turu-wee-'-hee*

(8) Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*turu-moro-heeno-ng*	*turu-roro-heeto-ng*	*turu-woro-heeto-ng*
F	*turu-moro-heena-na*	*turu-roro-heeta-na*	*turu-woro-heeta-na*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-heenutee*	*turu-ree-ti-heetutee*	*turu-wee-ti-heetutee*
PC INC	*turu-mee-'-heenuiee*	*turu-ree-'-heetuiee*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-heenee*	-----	*turu-wee-'-heeree*
PL INC	*turu-mee-'-heenuio-ng*	*turu-ree-'-heetuio-ng*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-heeno-ng*	-----	*turu-wee-'-heero-ng*

(8c) Immediate Future

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*turu-moro-heemoroko-ng*	*turu-roro-heeroroko-ng*	*turu-woro-heeworoko-ng*
F	*turu-moro-heemoroka-na*	*turu-roro-heeroroka-na*	*turu-woro-heeworoka-na*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-heemeetikee*	*turu-ree-ti-heereetikee*	*turu-wee-ti-heeweetikee*
PC INC	*turu-mee-'-heemee'kee*	*turu-ree-'-heeree'kee*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-heemarakee*	-----	*turu-wee'-hee-wee'-kee*
PL INC	*turu-mee-'-heemee'ko-ng*	*turu-ree-'-heeree'ko-ng*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-heemarako-ng*	-----	*turu-wee-'-heewee'ko-ng*

13.2.4.9 Imaginative

(9a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Imaginative (in dependent embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moro-woo-kui*	*turu-roro-woo-kui*	*turu-woro-woo-kui*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-woo-kui*	*turu-ree-ti-woo-kui*	*turu-wee-ti-woo-kui*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-m-woo-kui*	*turu-ree-m-woo-kui*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-woo-kui*	-----	*turu-wee-m-woo-kui*

(9a) Imaginative (in dependent embedded clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moro-kui*	*turu-roro-kui*	*turu-woro-kui*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-kui*	*turu-ree-ti-kui*	*turu-wee-ti-kui*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-'-kui*	*turu-ree-'-kui*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-kui*	-----	*turu-wee-'-kui*

(9b) Imaginative (in independent clauses)

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG M	*turu-moro-kuu-ng*	*turu-roro-kuu-ng*	*turu-woro-kuu-ng*
F	*turu-moro-kui-na*	*turu-roro-kui-na*	*turu-woro-kui-na*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-kui*	*turu-ree-ti-kui*	*turu-wee-ti-kui*
PC INC	*turu-mee-'-kui*	*turu-ree-'-kui*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-kui*	-----	*turu-wee-'-kui*
PL INC	*turu-mee-'-kuu-ng*	*turu-ree-'-kuu-ng*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-kuu-ng*	----	*turu-wee-'-kuu-ng*

13.2.4.10 Imperative

/ro/ of the singular S suffixes (/-moro/, /-roro/ and /-woro/) is dropped before the Imperative suffix /-o/. The glide *w* is inserted after the 1st paucal/plural exclusive suffix /-mara/.

(10) Imperative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-mo-o*	*turu-ro-o*	*turu-wo-o*
DL	*turu-meet-o*	*turu-reet-o*	*turu-weet-o*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-ng*	*turu-ree-ng*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-wo*	-----	*turu-wee-ng*

13.2.4.11 Optative

(11) Optative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moro-woro*	*turu-roro-woro*	*turu-woro-woro*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-woro*	*turu-ree-ti-woro*	*turu-wee-ti-woro*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-m-woro*	*turu-ree-m-woro*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-woro*	-----	*turu-wee-m-woro*

13.2.4.12 Negative Optative

Singular S suffixes are realised as *-moo* (1st), *-roo* (2nd) and *-woo* (3rd) before the Negative Optative suffix /-raa/. cf. §13.2.4.4.

(12) Negative Optative

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moo-raa*	*turu-roo-raa*	*turu-woo-raa*
DL	*turu-mee-taa*	*turu-ree-taa*	*turu-wee-taa*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-iaa*	*turu-ree-iaa*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-raa*	-----	*turu-wee-iaa*

13.2.4.13 General DS

(13*) negative infix /-woo-/ + General Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moro-woo-ku*	*turu-roro-woo-ku*	*turu-woro-woo-ku*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-woo-ku*	*turu-ree-ti-woo-ku*	*turu-wee-ti-woo-ku*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-m-woo-ku*	*turu-ree-m-woo-ku*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-woo-ku*	-----	*turu-wee-m-woo-ku*

(13) General Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moro-ku*	*turu-roro-ku*	*turu-woro-ku*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-ku*	*turu-ree-ti-ku*	*turu-wee-ti-ku*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-'-ku*	*turu-ree-'-ku*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-ku*	-----	*turu-wee-'-ku*

13.2.4.14 Continuous DS

(14*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moro-woo-juu*	*turu-roro-woo-juu*	*turu-woro-woo-juu*
DL	*turu-mee-ti-woo-juu*	*turu-ree-ti-woo-juu*	*turu-wee-ti-woo-juu*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-m-woo-juu*	*turu-ree-m-woo-juu*	-----
EXC	*turu-mara-woo-juu*	-----	*turu-wee-m-woo-juu*

Singular S suffixes are realised as *-moi* (1st), *-roi* (2nd) and *-woi* (3rd) before the Continuous DS suffix /-juu/.

(14) Continuous Different Subject

	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	*turu-moi-juu*	*turu-roi-juu*	*turu-woi-juu*
DL	*turu-mee-suu*	*turu-ree-suu*	*turu-wee-suu*
PCL INC	*turu-mee-ng-juu*	*turu-ree-ng-juu*	-----
EXC	*turu-maraa-juu*	-----	*turu-wee-ng-juu*

13.2.4.15 Realisation of Singular Middle Suffixes

The morphophonemic changes of singular middle suffixes are summarised below:

Rule 13-13 Realisation of Singular Middle Voice Suffixes

The 1st/2nd/3rd person singular suffixes, in the underlying forms /-moro/, /-roro/ and /-woro/ respectively, are realised as follows:

-Coro –>	-Cor / _ -u, iN
	-Co / _ -o, -i* (-i* is not followed by N)
	-Coi / _ -juu
	-Coo / _ -r
	-Coro / Elsewhere

13.2.5 Summary of Cross-referencing Markings of Intransitive Verbs

Underlying forms of cross-referencing markings of four types of intransitive verbs, given in Tables 13-5, 13-8, 13-10 and 13-12, are summarised in Table 13-13 in the next page. See also Table 12-2a - c.

From Table 13-13 it may be summarised that:

(1) 1st person is marked either by a nasal consonant (prèdominantly by /m/) or a vowel /o/.

(2) 2nd person is predominantly marked either by /r/ (alternatively, /p/ or /h/), or a high front vowel /i/.

(3) 3rd person is predominantly marked by zero or the labial glide /w/ (alternatively, /p/ or /h/), or a back vowel /u/, or /wa/.

(4) Singular number is zero, dual number is marked by /-ti/, paucal/plural inclusive

number by /-ru/. Paucal/plural exclusive is marked by special forms.

(5) In addition, singular and nonsingular numbers are contrasted by the vowel /o/ and /ee/ in middle voice suffixes (except for the 1st person exclusive which is marked by the vowel /a/).

The persons of free, reflexive and possessive pronouns (§5.2) are contrasted in similar ways to the cross-referencing markings shown above. In general, the 1st person of these pronouns is marked by the nasal /n/, the 2nd person by /r/, and the 3rd person by /p/. Singular and nonsingular number (except for 1st person exclusive) are indicated by the vowel /o/ and /ee/, respectively, in most cases.

Table 13-13 Underlying Cross-referencing Markings of Intransitive Verbs

	S_O verbs	S_A verbs	irregular verbs (stems)	middle voice
1st SG	-m-u	-oC	mV ~ nV	-moro
DL	-m-u-ti	-opi-ti	mV-ti ~ nV-ti	-mee-ti
PCL.INC	-mu-ru	-opi(-ru) ~ -oN	mV-ru ~ nV-ru	-mee-ru
PCL.EXC	-mor-u	-opi(-ru) ~ -oN	u-mV ~ u-nV ~ mV-ra	-mara
2nd SG	-r-u	-i	pV ~ hV ~ rV	-roro
DL	-r-u-ti	-i-ti	pV-ti ~ hV-ti ~ rV-ti	-ree-ti
PCL	-r-u-ru	-i-ru	pV-ru ~ hV-ru ~ rV-ru	-ree-ru
3rd SG	-u	-u	pV ~ hV ~ rV	-woro
DL	-u-ti	-u-ti	pV-ti ~ hV-ti ~ rV-ti	-wee-ti
PCL	-ur-u	-wa	u-wV ~ u-hV ~ u-rV ~ pV-ra	-wee-ru

13.3 CROSS-REFERENCING SUFFIXES OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs have the following basic morphological structure:

Diagram 13-14 Basic Structure of Transitive Verbs

Stem — O person – A person – (dl/pcl) – (negative) — TAM – { gender / ø / switch-reference }

As is shown above, the cross-referencing marking of transitive verbs consists of O and A person suffixes (which may also indicate paucal/plural number and exclusiveness), and a dual or paucal/plural number suffix. The paradigm of O and A person/number suffixes is given in Table 13-15a in page 330. The morphological structure of the suffixes given in Table 13-15a is analysed in Table 13-15b in page 331. The underlying forms of person and number suffixes are summarised in Tables 13-15c and 13-15d in page 332.

Note that A suffixes are identical with S_A suffixes, and O suffixes with the initial consonants of S_O suffixes. cf. Table 13-13.[14] Note also that inclusive/exclusive distinction exists only in paucal/plural O.[15] The initial /w/ of the 3rd person paucal/plural A suffix /-wa/ is dropped after a consonant, as is mentioned in §13.2.2, due to Rule 13-16b.

The only exception I have attested for Table 13-15 is the verb /kung-/ 'to bring/take sb to one's place', which takes a 2nd person O suffix /-n/ instead of /-r/. See similar exceptions of middle voice suffixes in §13.2.4.

Number suffixes are also identical with those used with intransitive verbs. In some cases, however, the reduplication of an /rV/ string may indicate the nonsingularity of O and/or A. Such reduplication may be obligatory or optional. (Optional reduplication is indicated by square brackets in Tables 13-15a and b.)

To sum up, the number of O and A is indicated as follows:

(1) If O is singular, a number suffix (/-ti/ for dual and /-ru/ for pcl), or the pcl form of A (in 1st and 3rd persons), reflects the number of A.
(2) If O is nonsingular and A is singular, a number suffix (/-ti/ for dual and /-ru/ for pcl), or, if such a suffix does not exist, the pcl form of A (in 1st person)[16] or O (in 1st person exclusive or 3rd person), reflects the number of O.
(3) If O and A are nonsingular, a number suffix (/-ti/ for dual and /-ru/ for pcl), or, if such a suffix does not exist, the pcl form of A (in 1st person), reflects the number of O. In addition, the pcl form of either A or O, or a reduplication of an /ro/ string, reflects the nonsingularity of A.
(4) The optional reduplication of an /rV/ string emphasises the plurality of all the participants, which must include either a 1st person or 2nd person A.

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[14] However, due to the morphophonemic processes discussed below (Rules 13-14 and 13-15), the surface forms of vowels of some O and A suffixes may be different from those of S_O and S_A suffixes.

[15] However, the suffix /-tu(h)/ in Present Progressive and Future, and middle voice suffixes in Immediate Future, mark the inclusiveness/exclusiveness of a nonsingular A. cf. §13.3.3 and §13.3.8.

[16] Note that the paucal/plural form of a 1st person A can be analysed as the combination of a 1st A suffix and a paucal/plural suffix in certain environments. cf. Rule 13-12 and fn 10 in §13.2.2.

Table 13-15a O and A Cross-referencing Suffixes of Transitive Verbs

O\A	1st SG	1st DL	1st PCL
2nd SG	r-oC	r-opi-ti	r-opi(-ru)/oN
2nd DL	r-opi-ti	ro-r-opi-ti	ro-r-opi-ti
2nd PCL	r-opi(-ru)/ r-oN	ro-r-opi(-ru)/ ro-r-oN	ro-r-opi(-ru)/ ro-r-oN
3rd SG	uC	upi-ti	upi(-ru)/uN
3rd DL	upi-ti	ur-upi-ti	ur-upi-ti
3rd PCL	ur-uC	ur-upi(-ru)/ ur-uN	u[ru]r-upi(-ru)/ u[ru]r-uN

O\A	2nd SG	2nd DL	2nd PCL
1st SG	m-i	m-i-ti	m-i-ru
1st DL	m-i-ti	mor-i-ti	mor-i-ti
1st PCL(EXC)	mor-i	mor-i-ru	mo[ri]r-i-r-u
3rd SG	i	i-ti	i-ru
3rd DL	i-ti	ir-i-ti	ir-i-ti
3rd PCL	ir-i	ir-i-ru	i[ri]r-i-ru

O\A	3rd SG	3rd DL	3rd PCL
1st SG	m-u	m-u-ti	m-a
1st DL	m-u-ti	m-a-ti	m-a-ti
1st PCL.INC	m-u-ru	m-a-ru	m-a-ru
1st PCL.EXC	mor-u	mar-a	mar-a
2nd SG	r-u	r-u-ti	r-a
2nd DL	r-u-ti	r-a-ti	r-a-ti
2nd PCL	r-u-ru	r-a-ru	r-a-ru
3rd SG	u	u-ti	wa
3rd DL	u-ti	wa-ti	wa-ti
3rd PCL	u-ru	wa-ru	wa-ru

Table 13-15b Morphological Structure of Cross-referencing Suffixes of Transitive Verbs

O\A	1st SG	1st DL	1st PCL
2nd SG	2O-1A	2O-1A-dl	2O-1pcl.A/2O-1A-pcl
2nd DL	2O-1A-dl	REDUP-2O-1A-dl	REDUP-2O-1A-dl
2nd PCL	2O-1A(-pcl)/ 2O-1pcl.A	REDUP-2O-1A(-pcl)/ REDUP-2O-1pcl.A	REDUP-2O-1A(-pcl)/ REDUP-2O-1pcl.A
3rd SG	3O.1A	3O.1A-dl	3O.1pcl.A/3O.1A-pcl
3rd DL	3O.1A-dl	3pcl.O-1A-dl	3pcl.O-1A-dl
3rd PCL	3pcl.O-1A	3pcl.O-1A(-pcl)/ 3pcl.O-1pcl.A	[REDUP-]3pcl.O-1A(-pcl)/ [REDUP-]3pcl.O-1pcl.A
O\A	2nd SG	2nd DL	2nd PCL
1st SG	1O-2A	1O-2A-dl	1O-2A-pcl
1st DL	1O-2A-dl	1pcl.exc.O-2A-dl	1pcl.exc.O-2A-dl
1st PCL(EXC)	1pcl.exc.O-2A	1pcl.exc.O-2A-pcl	[REDUP-]1pcl.exc.O-2A-pcl
3rd SG	3O.2A	3O.2A-dl	3O.2A-pcl
3rd DL	3O.2A-dl	3pcl.O-2A-dl	3pcl.O-2A-dl
3rd PCL	3pcl.O-2A	3pcl.O-2A-pcl	[REDUP-]3pcl.O-2A-pcl
O\A	3rd SG	3rd DL	3rd PCL
1st SG	1O-3A	1O-3A-dl	1O-3pcl.A
1st DL	1O-3A-dl	1O-3pcl.A-dl	1O-3pcl.A-dl
1st PCL.INC	1O-3A-pcl	1O-3pcl.A-pcl	1O-3pcl.A-pcl
1st PCL.EXC	1pcl.exc.O-3A	1pcl.exc.O-3pcl.A	1pcl.exc.O-3pcl.A
2nd SG	2O-3A	2O-3A-dl	2O-3pcl.A
2nd DL	2O-3A-dl	2O-3pcl.A-dl	2O-3pcl.A-dl
2nd PCL	2O-3A-pcl	2O-3pcl.A-pcl	2O-3pcl.A-pcl
3rd SG	3O.3A	3O.3A-dl	3O.3pcl.A
3rd DL	3O.3A-dl	3O.3pcl.A-dl	3O.3pcl.A-dl
3rd PCL	3O.3A-pcl	3O.3pcl.A-pcl	3O.3pcl.A-pcl

Table 13-15c Underlying Forms of O and A Person Suffixes of Transitive Verbs

	O suffix			A suffix		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
SG	-m	-r	-ø	-oC	-i	-u
DL	-m	-r	-ø	-opi	-i	-u
PCL.INC	-m	-r	–	-opi/-oN	-i	–
PCL.EXC	-mor	–	(-ur)[17]	-opi/-oN	–	-wa

Table 13-15d Underlying Forms of Number Suffixes of Transitive Verbs

SG	-ø
DL	-ti
PCL.INC	-ø ~ -ru
PCL.EXC	-ø ~ -ru

Reduplication is not allowed when two /rV/ strings are already present. For example, /ri/ can not be reduplicated in the sequences /mor-i-r-i/ and /ir-i-r-i/, or /mor-i-r-u/ and /ir-i-r-u/.

Note the following morphophonemic changes of O and A suffixes in contact:

Rule 13-14 Combination of 3rd O Suffix and 1st A Suffix

The initial vowel /o/ of the 1st person A suffix is realised as *u* when preceded by a 3rd person O suffixes /-ø/ (sg) or /-ur/ (pcl).

$$\text{-o (1st A)} \rightarrow \text{-u} \,/\, \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{-ø (3sg.O)}\\ \text{-ur (3pcl.O)}\end{matrix}\right\}_$$

Rule 13-15 Assimilation of 3rd pcl O Suffix

The vowel /u/ of the 3rd person paucal/plural O suffix /-ur/ is assimilated to the following *-i*.

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[17] The 3rd person paucal/plural O is one morpheme /-ur/ before a 1st or 2nd person A suffix, but is split into two morphemes /-ø/ and /-ru/ when intervened by a 3rd person A suffix. See also fn 1.

-ur (3rd PCL O) –> -ir / _ -i

The vowel /o/ of the 1st person paucal/plural exclusive suffix /-mor/ is assimilated to the following *a*, as Rule 2-9a predicts.

Note that all the rules discussed in §13.2.1. and §13.2.2, i.e. Rules 13-1 - 13-12, apply to transitive verbs as well.

The paradigm of the transitive verb /noh-/ 'to say to/think about', with all the TAM suffixes listed in Table 13-2, the negative infix /-woo-/, and masculine/feminine/dual-paucal gender suffixes in Table 13-3, is discussed below. The stem-final /h-/ is deleted before a consonant due to Rule 13-16a. The combination of the stem-final /h-/ and the 3rd person A suffix /-u/ is optionally dearticulated to /H/ before a CV sequence (except before the sequences of /r/ and a high vowel in Near Past and Remote Past) due to Rule 13-20d. The vowel /o/ of the stem is assimilated to the following *a* due to Rule 2-9a.

In §13.3.15, I will give the paradigm of non-medial TAM forms with all the gender suffixes listed in Table 13-3.

13.3.1 General SS and General

(1a) General Same Subject

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-o-mo*	*no-r-opi-ti-mo*	*no-r-om-mo*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-mo*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-mo*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-mo*
PCL	*no-r-om-mo*	*no-ro-r-om-mo*	*no-ro-r-om-mo*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-u-mo*	*noh-upi-ti-mo*	*noh-um-mo*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-mo*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-mo*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-mo*
PCL	*noh-ur-u-mo*	*noh-ur-um-mo*	*noh-u[ru]r-um-mo*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-mo*	*no-m-i-ti-mo*	*no-m-i-m-mo*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-mo*	*no-mor-i-ti-mo*	*no-mor-i-ti-mo*
PCL	*no-mor-i-mo*	*no-mor-i-m-mo*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-m-mo*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-mo*	*noh-i-ti-mo*	*noh-i-m-mo*
DL	*noh-i-ti-mo*	*noh-ir-i-ti-mo*	*noh-ir-i-ti-mo*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-mo*	*noh-ir-i-m-mo*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-m-mo*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-u-mo*	*no-m-u-ti-mo*	*na-m-a-mo*
DL	*no-m-u-ti-mo*	*na-m-a-ti-mo*	*na-m-a-ti-mo*
PCL INC	*no-m-u-m-mo*	*na-m-a-m-mo*	*na-m-a-m-mo*
EXC	*no-mor-u-mo*	*na-mar-a-mo*	*na-mar-a-mo*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-mo*	*no-r-u-ti-mo*	*na-r-a-mo*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-mo*	*na-r-a-ti-mo*	*na-r-a-ti-mo*
PCL	*no-r-u-m-mo*	*na-r-a-m-mo*	*na-r-a-m-mo*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-mo*	*noh(-u)-ti-mo*	*nah-a-mo*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-mo*	*nah-a-ti-mo*	*nah-a-ti-mo*
PCL	*noh-u-m-mo*	*nah-a-m-mo*	*nah-a-m-mo*

(1b) General

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-o-mo-ng*	*no-r-opi-ti-mo-ng*	*no-r-om-mo-ng*
F	*no-r-o-ma-na*	*no-r-opi-ti-ma-na*	*no-r-om-ma-na*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-mee*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-mee*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-mee*
PC	*no-r-om-mee*	*no-ro-r-om-mee*	*no-ro-r-om-mee*
PL	*no-r-om-mo-ng*	*no-ro-r-om-mo-ng*	*no-ro-r-om-mo-ng*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-u-mo-ng*	*noh-upi-ti-mo-ng*	*noh-um-mo-ng*
F	*noh-u-ma-na*	*noh-upi-ti-ma-na*	*noh-um-ma-na*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-mee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-mee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-mee*
PC	*noh-ur-u-mee*	*noh-ur-um-mee*	*noh-u[ru]r-um-mee*
PL	*noh-ur-u-mo-ng*	*noh-ur-um-mo-ng*	*noh-u[ru]r-um-mo-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-i-mo-ng*	*no-m-i-ti-mo-ng*	*no-m-i-m-mo-ng*
F	*no-m-i-ma-na*	*no-m-i-ti-ma-na*	*no-m-i-m-ma-na*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-mee*	*no-mor-i-ti-mee*	*no-mor-i-ti-mee*
PC	*no-mor-i-mee*	*no-mor-i-m-mee*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-m-mee*
PL	*no-mor-i-mo-ng*	*no-mor-i-m-mo-ng*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-m-mo-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-i-mo-ng*	*noh-i-ti-mo-ng*	*noh-i-m-mo-ng*
F	*noh-i-ma-na*	*noh-i-ti-ma-na*	*noh-i-m-ma-na*
DL	*noh-i-ti-mee*	*noh-ir-i-ti-mee*	*noh-ir-i-ti-mee*
PC	*noh-ir-i-mee*	*noh-ir-i-m-mee*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-m-mee*
PL	*noh-ir-i-mo-ng*	*noh-ir-i-m-mo-ng*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-m-mo-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-u-mo-ng*	*no-m-u-ti-mo-ng*	*na-m-a-mo-ng*
F	*no-m-u-ma-na*	*no-m-u-ti-ma-na*	*na-m-a-ma-na*
DL	*no-m-u-ti-mee*	*na-m-a-ti-mee*	*na-m-a-ti-mee*
PC INC	*no-m-u-m-mee*	*na-m-a-m-mee*	*na-m-a-m-mee*
EXC	*no-mor-u-mee*	*na-mar-a-mee*	*na-mar-a-mee*
PL INC	*no-m-u-m-mo-ng*	*na-m-a-m-mo-ng*	*na-m-a-m-mo-ng*
EXC	*no-mor-u-mo-ng*	*na-mar-a-mo-ng*	*na-mar-a-mo-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-u-mo-ng*	*no-r-u-ti-mo-ng*	*na-r-a-mo-ng*
F	*no-r-u-ma-na*	*no-r-u-ti-ma-na*	*na-r-a-ma-na*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-mee*	*na-r-a-ti-mee*	*na-r-a-ti-mee*
PC	*no-r-u-m-mee*	*na-r-a-m-mee*	*na-r-a-m-mee*
PL	*no-r-u-m-mo-ng*	*na-r-a-m-mo-ng*	*na-r-a-m-mo-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG M	*noh(-u)-mo-ng*	*noh(-u)-ti-mo-ng*	*nah-a-mo-ng*
F	*noh(-u)-ma-na*	*noh(-u)-ti-ma-na*	*nah-a-ma-na*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-mee*	*nah-a-ti-mee*	*nah-a-ti-mee*
PC	*noh(-u)-ti-mee*	*nah-a-m-mee*	*nah-a-m-mee*
PL	*noh-u-m-mo-ng*	*nah-a-m-mo-ng*	*nah-a-m-mo-ng*

13.3.2 Present

(2) Present

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-ongo-ng*	*no-r-opi-ti-ko-ng*	*no-r-ong-ko-ng*
F	*no-r-onga-na*	*no-r-opi-ti-ka-na*	*no-r-ong-ka-na*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-kee*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-kee*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-kee*
PC	*no-r-ong-kee*	*no-ro-r-ong-kee*	*no-ro-r-ong-kee*
PL	*no-r-ong-ko-ng*	*no-ro-r-ong-ko-ng*	*no-ro-r-ong-ko-ng*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-ungo-ng*	*noh-upi-ti-ko-ng*	*noh-ung-ko-ng*
F	*noh-unga-na*	*noh-upi-ti-ka-na*	*noh-ung-ka-na*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-kee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-kee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-kee*
PC	*noh-ur-ungee*	*noh-ur-ung-kee*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-kee*
PL	*noh-ur-ungo-ng*	*noh-ur-ung-ko-ng*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-ko-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-i-ko-ng*	*no-m-i-ti-ko-ng*	*no-m-i-'-ko-ng*
F	*no-m-i-ka-na*	*no-m-i-ti-ka-na*	*no-m-i-'-ka-na*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-kee*	*no-mor-i-ti-kee*	*no-mor-i-ti-kee*
PC	*no-mor-i-kee*	*no-mor-i-'-kee*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-kee*
PL	*no-mor-i-ko-ng*	*no-mor-i-'-ko-ng*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-ko-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-i-ko-ng*	*noh-i-ti-ko-ng*	*noh-i-'-ko-ng*
F	*noh-i-ka-na*	*noh-i-ti-ka-na*	*noh-i-'-ka-na*
DL	*noh-i-ti-kee*	*noh-ir-i-ti-kee*	*noh-ir-i-ti-kee*
PC	*noh-ir-i-kee*	*noh-ir-i-'-kee*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-kee*
PL	*noh-ir-i-ko-ng*	*noh-ir-i-'-ko-ng*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-ko-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-u-ko-ng*	*no-m-u-ti-ko-ng*	*na-m-a-ko-ng*
F	*no-m-u-ka-na*	*no-m-u-ti-ka-na*	*na-m-a-ka-na*
DL	*no-m-u-ti-kee*	*na-m-a-ti-kee*	*na-m-a-ti-kee*
PC INC	*no-m-u-'-kee*	*na-m-a-'-kee*	*na-m-a-'-kee*
EXC	*no-mor-u-kee*	*na-mar-a-kee*	*na-mar-a-kee*
PL INC	*no-m-u-'-ko-ng*	*na-m-a-'-ko-ng*	*na-m-a-'-ko-ng*
EXC	*no-mor-u-ko-ng*	*na-mar-a-ko-ng*	*na-mar-a-ko-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-u-ko-ng*	*no-r-u-ti-ko-ng*	*na-r-a-ko-ng*
F	*no-r-u-ka-na*	*no-r-u-ti-ka-na*	*na-r-a-ka-na*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-kee*	*na-r-a-ti-kee*	*na-r-a-ti-kee*
PC	*no-r-u-'-kee*	*na-r-a-'-kee*	*na-r-a-'-kee*
PL	*no-r-u-'-ko-ng*	*na-r-a-'-ko-ng*	*na-r-a-'-ko-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG M	*noh(-u)-ko-ng*	*noh(-u)-ti-ko-ng*	*nah-a-ko-ng*
F	*noh(-u)-ka-na*	*noh(-u)-ti-ka-na*	*nah-a-ka-na*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-kee*	*nah-a-ti-kee*	*nah-a-ti-kee*
PC	*noh-u-'-kee*	*nah-a-'-kee*	*nah-a-'-kee*
PL	*noh-u-'-ko-ng*	*nah-a-'-ko-ng*	*nah-a-'-ko-ng*

13.3.3 Continuous SS and Present Progressive

(3a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Same Subject

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-opoo-i*	*no-r-opi-ti-woo-i*	*no-r-ompoo-i/no-r-om-woo-i*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-woo-i*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-woo-i*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-woo-i*
PCL	*no-r-ompoo-i/*	*no-ro-r-ompoo-i/*	*no-ro-r-ompoo-i/*
	no-r-om-woo-i	*no-ro-r-om-woo-i*	*no-ro-r-om-woo-i*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-upoo-i*	*noh-upi-ti-woo-i*	*noh-upoo-i*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-woo-i*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-woo-i*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-woo-i*
PCL	*noh-ur-upoo-i*	*noh-ur-umpoo-i/* *noh-ur-um-woo-i*	*noh-u[ru]r-umpoo-i/* *noh-u[ru]r-um-woo-i*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-woo-i*	*no-m-i-ti-woo-i*	*no-m-i-m-woo-i*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-woo-i*	*no-mor-i-ti-woo-i*	*no-mor-i-ti-woo-i*
PCL	*no-mor-i-woo-i*	*no-mor-i-m-woo-i*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-m-woo-i*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-woo-i*	*noh-i-ti-woo-i*	*noh-i-m-woo-i*
DL	*noh-i-ti-woo-i*	*noh-ir-i-ti-woo-i*	*noh-ir-i-ti-woo-i*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-woo-i*	*noh-ir-i-m-woo-i*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-m-woo-i*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-u-woo-i*	*no-m-u-ti-woo-i*	*na-m-a-woo-i*
DL	*no-m-u-ti-woo-i*	*na-m-a-ti-woo-i*	*na-m-a-ti-woo-i*
PCL INC	*no-m-u-m-woo-i*	*na-m-a-m-woo-i*	*na-m-a-m-woo-i*
EXC	*no-mor-u-woo-i*	*na-mar-a-woo-i*	*na-mar-a-woo-i*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-woo-i*	*no-r-u-ti-woo-i*	*na-r-a-woo-i*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-woo-i*	*na-r-a-ti-woo-i*	*na-r-a-ti-woo-i*
PCL	*no-r-u-m-woo-i*	*na-r-a-m-woo-i*	*na-r-a-m-woo-i*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-woo-i*	*noh(-u)-ti-woo-i*	*nah-a-woo-i*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-woo-i*	*nah-a-ti-woo-i*	*nah-a-ti-woo-i*
PCL	*noh-u-m-woo-i*	*nah-a-m-woo-i*	*nah-a-m-woo-i*

(3a) Continuous Same Subject

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-oh*	*no-r-opi-h*	*no-r-opi-'*
DL	*no-r-opi-h*	*no-ro-r-opi-h*	*no-ro-r-opi-h*
PCL	*no-r-opi-'*	*no-ro-r-opi-'*	*no-ro-r-opi-'*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-uh*	*noh-upi-h*	*noh-upi-'*
DL	*noh-upi-h*	*noh-ur-upi-h*	*noh-ur-upi-h*
PC	*noh-ur-uh*	*noh-ur-upi-'*	*noh-u[ru]r-upi-'*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-i*	*no-m-i-h*	*no-m-i-'*
DL	*no-m-i-h*	*no-mor-i-h*	*no-mor-i-h*
PCL	*no-mor-i-i*	*no-mor-i-'*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-i*	*noh-i-h*	*noh-i-'*
DL	*noh-i-h*	*noh-ir-i-h*	*noh-ir-i-h*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-i*	*noh-ir-i-'*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-u-i*	*no-m-u-h*	*na-m-a-i*
DL	*no-m-u-h*	*na-m-a-h*	*na-m-a-h*
PCL INC	*no-m-u-'*	*na-m-a-'*	*na-m-a-'*
EXC	*no-mor-u-i*	*na-mar-a-i*	*na-mar-a-i*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-i*	*no-r-u-h*	*na-r-a-i*
DL	*no-r-u-h*	*na-r-a-h*	*na-r-a-h*
PCL	*no-r-u-'*	*na-r-a-'*	*na-r-a-'*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh-u-i*	*noh-u-h*	*nah-a-i*
DL	*noh-u-h*	*nah-a-h*	*nah-a-h*
PCL	*noh-u-'*	*nah-a-'*	*nah-a-'*

As discussed in §13.2.1.3, the Present Progressive suffix consists of /-i/ and /-tu(h)/, followed by a gender suffix.

The suffix /-tu(h)/ inflects according to the person/number of S in the case of intransitive verbs, as is shown in Table 13-6. In the case of transitive verbs, /tu(h)-/ marks the person, number, and inclusive-exclusiveness of either O or A. It marks the person of A and the number of O in some cases. Table 13-16a in the next page shows how this suffix inflects according to the person/number/inclusive-exclusiveness of O and A.

If we compare Table 13-16a with Table 13-6, we can tell which person/number/inclusive-exclusiveness the suffix /-tu(h)/ cross-references in each A/O combination. They are shown in Table 13-16b in page 340 ("/" indicates that either interpretation is possible).

Table 13-16a Inflection of Suffix /-tu(h)/ on Transitive Verbs

O\A	1st SG	1st DL	1st PCL
2nd SG	*-no*	*-nuto*	*-no*
2nd DL	*-nuto*	*-nuto*	*-nuto*
2nd PCL	*-no*	*-no*	*-no*
3rd SG	*-no*	*-nuto*	*-no/-nuio*
3rd DL	*-nuto*	*-nuto*	*-nuto*
3rd PCL	*-no*	*-no/-nuio*	*-no/-nuio*

O\A	2nd SG	2nd DL	2nd PCL
1st SG	*-no*	*-nuto*	*-no*
1st DL (EXC)	*-nuto*	*-nuto*	*-nuto*
1st PCL (EXC)	*-no*	*-no*	*-no*
3rd SG	*-to*	*-tuto*	*-tuio*
3rd DL	*-tuto*	*-tuto*	*-tuto*
3rd PCL	*-to*	*-tuio*	*-tuio*

O\A	3rd SG	3rd DL	3rd PCL
1st SG	*-no*	*-nuto*	*-no*
1st DL	*-nuto*	*-nuto*	*-nuto*
1st PCL.INC	*-nuio*	*-nuio*	*-nuio*
1st PCL.EXC	*-no*	*-no*	*-no*
2nd SG	*-to*	*-tuto*	*-ro*
2nd DL	*-tuto*	*-tuto*	*-tuto*
2nd PCL	*-tuio*	*-tuio*	*-tuio*
3rd SG	*-to*	*-tuto*	*-ro*
3rd DL	*-tuto*	*-tuto*	*-tuto*
3rd PCL	*-to*	*-ro*	*-ro*

Table 13-16b Person/Number/Inclusive-Exclusiveness Marked by Suffix /-tu(h)/ on Transitive Verbs

O\A	1st SG	1st DL	1st PCL
2nd SG	1.sg	1.dl	1.sg/pcl.exc
2nd DL	1.dl	1.dl	1.dl
2nd PCL	1.sg/pcl.exc	1.pcl.exc	1.pcl.exc
3rd SG	1.sg	1.dl	1.pcl.inc or exc
3rd DL	1.dl	1.dl	1.dl
3rd PCL	1.sg	1.pcl.inc or exc	1.pcl.inc or exc

O\A	2nd SG	2nd DL	2nd PCL
1st SG	1.sg	1.dl	1.pcl.exc
1st DL (EXC)	1.dl	1.dl	1.dl
1st PCL (EXC)	1.sg	1.pcl.exc	1.pcl.exc
3rd SG	2/3.sg	2/3.dl	2.pcl
3rd DL	2/3.dl	2/3.dl	2/3.dl
3rd PCL	2/3.sg	2.pcl	2.pcl

O\A	3rd SG	3rd DL	3rd PCL
1st SG	1.sg	1.dl	1pcl.exc
1st DL	1.dl	1.dl	1.dl
1st PCL.INC	1.pcl.inc	1.pcl.inc	1.pcl.inc
1st PCL.EXC	1.sg	1.pcl.exc	1.pcl.exc
2nd SG	2/3.sg	2/3.dl	3.pcl
2nd DL	2/3.dl	2/3.dl	2/3.dl
2nd PCL	2.pcl	2.pcl	2.pcl
3rd SG	3.sg	3.dl	3.pcl
3rd DL	3.dl	3.dl	3.dl
3rd PCL	3.sg	3.pcl	3.pcl

The person marking of the suffix /-tu(h)/ is determined according to the hierarchy of core arguments given below:

Diagram 13-17 Person Hierarchy of Core Arguments of Transitive Verbs

> 1A/O in any number –> 2A in any number, 2pcl.O –> 3pcl.A –>
> –> 2sg/dl.O, 3sg/dl.A, 3O in any number

Diagram 13-17 predicts that the person of the argument which is left to the arrow on the diagram is marked by the suffix /-tu(h)/. For example, if one of the core arguments is 1st person, the suffix /-tu(h)/ would mark 1st person. If A is 2nd person and O not 1st person, the suffix /-tu(h)/ would mark 2nd person. If A is 3rd person paucal/plural and O is 2nd person singular or dual, the suffix /-tu(h)/ would mark 3rd person, etc. The marking of inclusive-exclusiveness, if such distinction is relevant, also follows this hierarchy.

On the other hand, the suffix /-tu(h)/ marks number usually according to the existence/non-existence of a dual (/-ti/) or paucal/plural (/-ru/) cross-referencing suffix, or of a 3rd person paucal/plural A suffix /-wa/. Compare Table 13-16b with Table 13-15b. If there is a dual or paucal/plural suffix after O and A cross-referencing suffixes, or a 3rd person paucal/plural A suffix after any O suffix, in Table 13-15b, that number (i.e. dual or paucal/plural) is usually marked by the suffix /-tu(h)/.[18] If none of these suffixes exist, the suffix /-tu(h)/ marks singular number.

(3b) Present Progressive

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-oh=no-ng*	*no-r-opi-h=nuto-ng*	*no-r-opi-'=no-ng*
F	*no-r-oh=na-na*	*no-r-opi-h=nuta-na*	*no-r-opi-'=na-na*
DL	*no-r-opi-h=nutee*	*no-ro-r-opi-h=nutee*	*no-ro-r-opi-h=nutee*
PC	*no-r-opi-'=nee*	*no-ro-r-opi-'=nee*	*no-ro-r-opi-'=nee*
PL	*no-r-opi-'=no-ng*	*no-ro-r-opi-'=no-ng*	*no-ro-r-opi-'=no-ng*

[18] The only exception is the combination of a 3rd person singular A and a 3rd person paucal/plural O. Although it is marked by the paucal/plural suffix /-ru/, it is cross-referenced by singular inflection of /tu(h)-/. It seems that only in this case the suffix /-uru/ is analysed as the combination of a 3rd person paucal/plural O suffix /-ur/ and a 3rd person A suffix /-u/. cf. fn 1.

O\A	1 SG	1 DL.INC	1 DL.EXC
3 SG M	*noh-uh=no-ng*	*noh-upi-h=nuto-ng*	*noh-upi-h=nuto-ng*
F	*noh-uh=na-na*	*noh-upi-h=nuta-na*	*noh-upi-h=nuta-na*
DL	*noh-upi-h=nutee*	*noh-ur-upi-h=nutee*	*noh-ur-upi-h=nutee*
PC	*noh-ur-uh=nee*	*noh-ur-upi-'=nee*	*noh-ur-upi-'=nuiee*
PL	*noh-ur-uh=no-ng*	*noh-ur-upi-'=no-ng*	*noh-ur-upi-'=nuio-ng*

O\A	1 PCL.INC	1PCL.EXC
3 SG M	*noh-upi-'=no-ng*	*noh-upi-'=nuio-ng*
F	*noh-upi-'=na-na*	*noh-upi-'=nuia-na*
DL	*noh-ur-upi-h=nutee*	*noh-ur-upi-h=nutee*
PC	*noh-u[ru]r-upi-'=nee*	*noh-u[ru]r-upi-'=nuiee*
PL	*noh-u[ru]r-upi-'=no-ng*	*noh-u[ru]r-upi-'=nuio-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-i-i=no-ng*	*no-m-i-h=nuto-ng*	*no-m-i-'=nuio-ng*
F	*no-m-i-i=na-na*	*no-m-i-h=nuta-na*	*no-m-i-'=nuia-na*
DL	*no-m-i-h=nutee*	*no-mor-i-h=nutee*	*no-mor-i-h=nutee*
PC	*no-mor-i-i=nee*	*no-mor-i-'=nee*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'=nee*
PL	*no-mor-i-i=no-ng*	*no-mor-i-'=no-ng*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'=no-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-i-i=to-ng*	*noh-i-h=tuto-ng*	*noh-i-'=tuio-ng*
F	*noh-i-i=ta-na*	*noh-i-h=tuta-na*	*noh-i-'=tuia-na*
DL	*noh-i-h=tutee*	*noh-ir-i-h=tutee*	*noh-ir-i-h=tutee*
PC	*noh-ir-i-i=tee*	*noh-ir-i-'=tuiee*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'=tuiee*
PL	*noh-ir-i-i=to-ng*	*noh-ir-i-'=tuio-ng*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'=tuio-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-u-i=no-ng*	*no-m-u-h=nuto-ng*	*na-m-a-i=no-ng*
F	*no-m-u-i=na-na*	*no-m-u-h=nuta-na*	*na-m-a-i=na-na*
DL	*no-m-u-h=nutee*	*na-m-a-h=nutee*	*na-m-a-h=nutee*
PC INC	*no-m-u-'=nuiee*	*na-m-a-'=nuiee*	*na-m-a-'=nuiee*
EXC	*no-mor-u-i=nee*	*na-mar-a-i=nee*	*na-mar-a-i=nee*
PL INC	*no-m-u-'=nuio-ng*	*na-m-a-'=nuio-ng*	*na-m-a-'=nuio-ng*
EXC	*no-mor-u-i=no-ng*	*na-mar-a-i=no-ng*	*na-mar-a-i=no-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-u-i=to-ng*	*no-r-u-h=tuto-ng*	*na-r-a-i=ro-ng*
F	*no-r-u-i=ta-na*	*no-r-u-h=tuta-na*	*na-r-a-i=ra-na*
DL	*no-r-u-h=tutee*	*na-r-a-h=tutee*	*na-r-a-h=tutee*
PC	*no-r-u-'=tuiee*	*na-r-a-'=tuiee*	*na-r-a-'=tuiee*
PL	*no-r-u-'=tuio-ng*	*na-r-a-'=tuio-ng*	*na-r-a-'=tuio-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-u-i=to-ng*	*noh-u-h=tuto-ng*	*nah-a-i=ro-ng*
F	*noh-u-i=ta-na*	*noh-u-h=tuta-na*	*nah-a-i=ra-na*
DL	*noh-u-h=tutee*	*nah-a-h=tutee*	*nah-a-h=tutee*
PC	*noh-u-'=tee*	*nah-a-'=ree*	*nah-a-'=ree*
PL	*noh-u-'=to-ng*	*nah-a-'=ro-ng*	*nah-a-'=ro-ng*

13.3.4 Perfect SS and Perfect

(4a) Perfect Same Subject

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-onno*	*no-r-opi-to*	*no-r-ongjo*
DL	*no-r-opi-to*	*no-ro-r-opi-to*	*no-ro-r-opi-to*
PCL	*no-r-ongjo*	*no-ro-r-ongjo*	*no-ro-r-ongjo*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-unno*	*noh-upi-to*	*noh-ungjo*
DL	*noh-upi-to*	*noh-ur-upi-to*	*noh-ur-upi-to*
PCL	*noh-ur-unno*	*noh-ur-ungjo*	*noh-u[ru]r-ungjo*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-ro*	*no-m-i-to*	*no-m-i-ijo*
DL	*no-m-i-to*	*no-mor-i-to*	*no-mor-i-to*
PCL	*no-mor-i-ro*	*no-mor-i-ijo*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-ijo*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-ro*	*noh-i-to*	*noh-i-ijo*
DL	*noh-i-to*	*noh-ir-i-to*	*noh-ir-i-to*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-ijo*	*noh-ir-i-ijo*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-ijo*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-u-ro*	*no-m-u-to*	*na-m-a-ro*
DL	*no-m-u-to*	*na-m-a-to*	*na-m-a-to*
PCL INC	*no-m-u-ijo*	*na-m-a-ijo*	*na-m-a-ijo*
EXC	*no-mor-u-ro*	*na-mar-a-ro*	*na-mar-a-ro*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-ro*	*no-r-u-to*	*na-r-a-ro*
DL	*no-r-u-to*	*na-r-a-to*	*na-r-a-to*
PCL	*no-r-u-ijo*	*na-r-a-ijo*	*na-r-a-ijo*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-ro*	*noh(-u)-to*	*nah-a-ro*
DL	*noh(-u)-to*	*nah-a-to*	*nah-a-to*
PCL	*noh-u-ijo*	*nah-a-ijo*	*nah-a-ijo*

(4b) Perfect

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-onno-ng*	*no-r-opi-to-ng*	*no-r-ongjo-ng*
F	*no-r-onna-na*	*no-r-opi-ta-na*	*no-r-ongja-na*
DL	*no-r-opi-tee*	*no-ro-r-opi-tee*	*no-ro-r-opi-tee*
PC	*no-r-ongjee*	*no-ro-r-ongjee*	*no-ro-r-ongjee*
PL	*no-r-ongjo-ng*	*no-ro-r-ongjo-ng*	*no-ro-r-ongjo-ng*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-unno-ng*	*noh-upi-to-ng*	*noh-ungjo-ng*
F	*noh-unna-na*	*noh-upi-ta-na*	*noh-ungja-na*
DL	*noh-upi-tee*	*noh-ur-upi-tee*	*noh-ur-upi-tee*
PC	*noh-ur-unnee*	*noh-ur-ungjee*	*noh-u[ru]r-ungjee*
PL	*noh-ur-unno-ng*	*noh-ur-ungjo-ng*	*noh-u[ru]r-ungjo-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-i-ro-ng*	*no-m-i-to-ng*	*no-m-i-io-ng*
F	*no-m-i-ra-na*	*no-m-i-ta-na*	*no-m-i-ia-na*
DL	*no-m-i-tee*	*no-mor-i-tee*	*no-mor-i-tee*
PC	*no-mor-i-ree*	*no-mor-i-iee*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-iee*
PL	*no-mor-i-ro-ng*	*no-mor-i-io-ng*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-io-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-i-ro-ng*	*noh-i-to-ng*	*noh-i-io-ng*
F	*noh-i-ra-na*	*noh-i-ta-na*	*noh-i-ia-na*
DL	*noh-i-tee*	*noh-ir-i-tee*	*noh-ir-i-tee*
PC	*noh-ir-i-iee*	*noh-ir-i-iee*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-iee*
PL	*noh-ir-i-io-ng*	*noh-ir-i-io-ng*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-io-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-u-ro-ng*	*no-m-u-to-ng*	*na-m-a-ro-ng*
F	*no-m-u-ra-na*	*no-m-u-ta-na*	*na-m-a-ra-na*
DL	*no-m-u-tee*	*na-m-a-tee*	*na-m-a-tee*
PC INC	*no-m-u-iee*	*na-m-a-iee*	*na-m-a-iee*
EXC	*no-mor-u-ree*	*na-mar-a-ree*	*na-mar-a-ree*
PL INC	*no-m-u-io-ng*	*na-m-a-io-ng*	*na-m-a-io-ng*
EXC	*no-mor-u-ro-ng*	*na-mar-a-ro-ng*	*na-mar-a-ro-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-u-ro-ng*	*no-r-u-to-ng*	*no-ra-ro-ng*
F	*no-r-u-ra-na*	*no-r-u-ta-na*	*na-r-a-ra-na*
DL	*no-r-u-tee*	*na-r-a-tee*	*na-r-a-tee*
PC	*no-r-u-iee*	*na-r-a-iee*	*na-r-a-iee*
PL	*no-r-u-io-ng*	*na-r-a-io-ng*	*na-r-a-io-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG M	*noh(-u)-ro-ng*	*noh(-u)-to-ng*	*nah-a-ro-ng*
F	*noh(-u)-ra-na*	*noh(-u)-ta-na*	*nah-a-ra-na*
DL	*noh(-u)-tee*	*nah-a-tee*	*nah-a-tee*
PC	*noh-u-iee*	*nah-a-iee*	*nah-a-iee*
PL	*noh-u-io-ng*	*nah-a-io-ng*	*nah-a-io-ng*

13.3.5 Near Past

(5) Near Past

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-os-i-ng*	*no-r-opi-s-i-ng*	*no-r-opi-r-i-ng*
F	*no-r-oh-na*	*no-r-opi-h-na*	*no-r-opi-n-na*
DL	*no-r-opi-h-ni*	*no-ro-r-opi-h-ni*	*no-ro-r-opi-h-ni*
PC	*no-r-opi-n-ni*	*no-ro-r-opi-n-ni*	*no-ro-r-opi-n-ni*
PL	*no-r-opi-r-i-ng*	*no-ro-r-opi-r-i-ng*	*no-ro-r-opi-r-i-ng*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-us-i-ng*	*noh-upi-s-i-ng*	*noh-upi-r-i-ng*
F	*noh-uh-na*	*noh-upi-h-na*	*noh-upi-n-na*
DL	*noh-upi-h-ni*	*noh-ur-upi-h-ni*	*noh-ur-upi-h-ni*
PC	*noh-ur-uh-ni*	*noh-ur-upi-n-ni*	*noh-u[ru]r-upi-n-ni*
PL	*noh-ur-us-i-ng*	*noh-ur-upi-r-i-ng*	*noh-u[ru]r-upi-r-i-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-i-i-ng*	*no-m-i-s-i-ng*	*no-m-i-r-i-ng*
F	*no-m-i-i-na*	*no-m-i-h-na*	*no-m-i-n-na*
DL	*no-m-i-h-ni*	*no-mor-i-h-ni*	*no-mor-i-h-ni*
PC	*no-mor-i-i*	*no-mor-i-n-ni*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-n-ni*
PL	*no-mor-i-i-ng*	*no-mor-i-r-i-ng*	*no-mor-i-r-i-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-i-i-ng*	*noh-i-s-i-ng*	*noh-i-r-i-ng*
F	*noh-i-i-na*	*noh-i-h-na*	*noh-i-n-na*
DL	*noh-i-h-ni*	*noh-ir-i-h-ni*	*noh-ir-i-h-ni*
PC	*noh-ir-i-i*	*noh-ir-in-ni*	*noh-i[ri]r-in-ni*
PL	*noh-ir-i-i-ng*	*noh-ir-i-r-i-ng*	*noh-ir-i-r-i-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-u-u-ng*	*no-m-u-s-i-ng*	*na-m-a-a-ng*
F	*no-m-u-i-na*	*no-m-u-h-na*	*na-m-a-i-na*
DL	*no-m-u-h-ni*	*na-m-a-h-ni*	*na-m-a-h-ni*
PC INC	*no-m-u-n-ni*	*na-m-a-n-ni*	*na-m-a-n-ni*
EXC	*no-mor-u-i*	*na-mar-a-i*	*na-mar-a-i*
PL INC	*no-m-u-r-i-ng*	*na-m-a-r-i-ng*	*na-m-a-r-i-ng*
EXC	*no-mor-u-u-ng*	*na-mar-a-a-ng*	*na-mar-a-a-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-u-u-ng*	*no-r-u-s-i-ng*	*na-r-a-a-ng*
F	*no-r-u-i-na*	*no-r-u-h-na*	*na-r-a-i-na*
DL	*no-r-u-h-ni*	*na-r-a-h-ni*	*na-r-a-h-ni*
PC	*no-r-u-n-ni*	*na-r-a-n-ni*	*na-r-a-n-ni*
PL	*no-r-u-r-i-ng*	*na-r-a-r-i-ng*	*na-r-a-r-i-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-u-u-ng*	*noh(-u)-s-i-ng*	*nah-a-a-ng*
F	*noh-u-i-na*	*noh-u-h-na*	*nah-a-i-na*
DL	*noh-u-h-ni*	*nah-a-h-ni*	*nah-a-h-ni*
PC	*noh-u-n-ni*	*nah-a-n-ni*	*nah-a-n-ni*
PL	*noh-u-r-i-ng*	*nah-a-r-i-ng*	*nah-a-r-i-ng*

13.3.6 Habitual Past

(6) Habitual Past

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-ongi-ng*	*no-r-opi-ti-ki-ng*	*no-r-ong-ki-ng*
F	*no-r-ongi-na*	*no-r-opi-ti-ki-na*	*no-r-ong-ka-na*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-ki-ni*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-ki-ni*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-ki-ni*
PC	*no-r-ong-ki-ni*	*no-ro-r-ong-ki-ni*	*no-ro-r-ong-ki-ni*
PL	*no-r-ong-ki-ng*	*no-ro-r-ong-ki-ng*	*no-ro-r-ong-ki-ng*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-ungi-ng*	*noh-upi-ti-ki-ng*	*noh-ung-ki-ng*
F	*noh-ungi-na*	*noh-upi-ti-ki-na*	*noh-ung-ki-na*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-ki-ni*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-ki-ni*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-ki-ni*
PC	*noh-ur-ungi-ni*	*noh-ur-ung-ki-ni*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-ki-ni*
PL	*noh-ur-ungi-ng*	*noh-ur-ung-ki-ng*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-ki-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-i-ki-ng*	*no-m-i-ti-ki-ng*	*no-m-i-'-ki-ng*
F	*no-m-i-ki-na*	*no-m-i-ti-ki-na*	*no-m-i-'-ki-na*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-ki-ni*	*no-mor-i-ti-ki-ni*	*no-mor-i-ti-ki-ni*
PC	*no-mor-i-ki-ni*	*no-mor-i-'-ki-ni*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-ki-ni*
PL	*no-mor-i-ki-ng*	*no-mor-i-'-ki-ng*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-ki-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-i-ki-ng*	*noh-i-ti-ki-ng*	*noh-i-'-ki-ng*
F	*noh-i-ki-na*	*noh-i-ti-ki-na*	*noh-i-'-ki-na*
DL	*noh-i-ti-ki-ni*	*noh-ir-i-ti-ki-ni*	*noh-ir-i-ti-ki-ni*
PC	*noh-ir-i-ki-ni*	*noh-ir-i-'-ki-ni*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-ki-ni*
PL	*noh-ir-i-ki-ng*	*noh-ir-i-'-ki-ng*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-ki-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-u-ki-ng*	*no-m-u-ti-ki-ng*	*na-m-a-ki-ng*
F	*no-m-u-ki-na*	*no-m-u-ti-ki-na*	*na-m-a-ki-na*
DL	*no-m-u-ti-ki-ni*	*na-m-a-ti-ki-ni*	*na-m-a-ti-ki-ni*
PC INC	*no-m-u-'-ki-ni*	*na-m-a-'-ki-ni*	*na-m-a-'-ki-ni*
EXC	*no-mor-u-ki-ni*	*na-mar-a-ki-ni*	*na-mar-a-ki-ni*
PL INC	*no-m-u-'-ki-ng*	*na-m-a-'-ki-ng*	*na-m-a-'-ki-ng*
EXC	*no-mor-u-ki-ng*	*na-mar-a-ki-ng*	*na-mar-a-ki-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-u-ki-ng*	*no-r-u-ti-ki-ng*	*na-r-a-ki-ng*
F	*no-r-u-ki-na*	*no-r-u-ti-ki-na*	*na-r-a-ki-na*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-ki-ni*	*na-r-a-ti-ki-ni*	*na-r-a-ti-ki-ni*
PC	*no-r-u-'-ki-ni*	*na-r-a-'-ki-ni*	*na-r-a-'-ki-ni*
PL	*no-r-u-'-ki-ng*	*na-r-a-'-ki-ng*	*na-r-a-'-ki-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG M	*noh(-u)-ki-ng*	*noh(-u)-ti-ki-ng*	*nah-a-ki-ng*
F	*noh(-u)-ki-na*	*noh(-u)-ti-ki-na*	*nah-a-ki-na*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-ki-ni*	*nah-a-ti-ki-ni*	*nah-a-ti-ki-ni*
PC	*noh-u-'-ki-ni*	*nah-a-'-ki-ni*	*nah-a-'-ki-ni*
PL	*noh-u-'-ki-ng*	*nah-a-'-ki-ng*	*nah-a-'-ki-ng*

13.3.7 Remote Past

The Remote Past form with a 2nd singular A and a 1st paucal exclusive O, *no-mor-i-i-ni*, is formed due to Rule 13-8b, while the form with a 1st plural exclusive O, *no-mor-i-ru-ng*, is formed due to Rule 13-8a. The same applies to the forms with a 3rd paucal and a 3rd plural Os, *noh-ir-i-i-ni* and *noh-ir-i-ru-ng*, respectively.

(7) Remote Past

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-ot-u-ng*	*no-r-opi-t-u-ng*	*no-r-opi-r-u-ng*
F	*no-r-o'-na*	*no-r-opi-'-na*	*no-r-opi-n-na*
DL	*no-r-opi-'-ni*	*no-ro-r-opi-'-ni*	*no-ro-r-opi-'-ni*
PC	*no-r-opi-n-ni*	*no-ro-r-opi-n-ni*	*no-ro-r-opi-n-ni*
PL	*no-r-opi-r-u-ng*	*no-ro-r-opi-r-u-ng*	*no-ro-r-opi-r-u-ng*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-ut-u-ng*	*noh-upi-t-u-ng*	*noh-upi-r-u-ng*
F	*noh-u'-na*	*noh-upi-'-na*	*noh-upi-n-na*
DL	*noh-upi-'-ni*	*noh-ur-upi-'-ni*	*noh-ur-upi-'-ni*
PC	*noh-ur-u'-ni*	*noh-ur-upi-n-ni*	*noh-u[ru]r-upi-n-ni*
PL	*noh-ur-ut-u-ng*	*noh-ur-upi-r-u-ng*	*noh-u[ru]r-upi-r-u-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-i-i-ng*	*no-m-i-t-u-ng*	*no-m-i-r-u-ng*
F	*no-m-i-i-na*	*no-m-i-'-na*	*no-m-i-n-na*
DL	*no-m-i-'-ni*	*no-mor-i-'-ni*	*no-mor-i-'-ni*
PC	*no-mor-i-i-ni*	*no-mor-i-n-ni*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-n-ni*
PL	*no-mor-i-ru-ng*	*no-mor-i-r-u-ng*	*no-mor-i-r-u-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-i-i-ng*	*noh-i-t-u-ng*	*noh-i-r-u-ng*
F	*noh-i-i-na*	*noh-i-'-na*	*noh-i-n-na*
DL	*noh-i-'-ni*	*noh-ir-i-'-ni*	*noh-ir-i-'-ni*
PC	*noh-ir-i-i-ni*	*noh-ir-in-ni*	*noh-i[ri]r-in-ni*
PL	*noh-ir-i-ru-ng*	*noh-ir-i-r-u-ng*	*noh-ir-i-r-u-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-u-u-ng*	*no-m-u-t-u-ng*	*na-m-a-a-ng*
F	*no-m-u-u-na*	*no-m-u-'-na*	*na-m-a-a-na*
DL	*no-m-u-'-ni*	*na-m-a-'-ni*	*na-m-a-'-ni*
PC INC	*no-m-u-n-ni*	*na-m-a-n-ni*	*na-m-a-n-ni*
EXC	*no-mor-u-u-ni*	*na-mar-a-a-ni*	*na-mar-a-a-ni*
PL INC	*no-m-u-r-u-ng*	*na-m-a-r-u-ng*	*na-m-a-r-u-ng*
EXC	*no-mor-u-u-ng*	*na-mar-a-a-ng*	*na-mar-a-a-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-u-u-ng*	*no-r-u-t-u-ng*	*na-r-a-a-ng*
F	*no-r-u-u-na*	*no-r-u-'-na*	*na-r-a-a-na*
DL	*no-r-u-'-ni*	*na-r-a-'-ni*	*na-r-a-'-ni*
PC	*no-r-u-n-ni*	*na-r-a-n-ni*	*na-r-a-n-ni*
PL	*no-r-u-r-u-ng*	*na-r-a-r-u-ng*	*na-r-a-r-u-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-u-u-ng*	*noh(-u)-t-u-ng*	*nah-a-a-ng*
F	*noh-u-u-na*	*noh-u-'-na*	*nah-a-a-na*
DL	*noh-u-'-ni*	*nah-a-'-ni*	*nah-a-'-ni*
PC	*noh-u-n-ni*	*nah-a-n-ni*	*nah-a-n-ni*
PL	*noh-u-r-u-ng*	*nah-a-r-u-ng*	*nah-a-r-u-ng*

13.3.8 Definite Future, Future and Immediate Future

(8a) Definite Future

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-opee*	*no-r-opi-ti-hee*	*no-r-ong-hee*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-hee*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-hee*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-hee*
PCL	*no-r-ong-hee*	*no-ro-r-ong-hee*	*no-ro-r-ong-hee*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-upee*	*noh-upi-ti-hee*	*noh-ung-hee*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-hee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-hee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-hee*
PCL	*noh-ur-upee*	*noh-ur-ung-hee*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-hee*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-hee*	*no-m-i-ti-hee*	*no-m-i-'-hee*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-hee*	*no-mor-i-ti-hee*	*no-mor-i-ti-hee*
PCL	*no-mor-i-hee*	*no-mor-i-'-hee*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-hee*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-hee*	*noh-i-ti-hee*	*noh-i-'-hee*
DL	*noh-i-ti-hee*	*noh-ir-i-ti-hee*	*noh-ir-i-ti-hee*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-hee*	*noh-ir-i-'-hee*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-hee*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-u-hee*	*no-m-u-ti-hee*	*na-m-a-hee*
DL	*no-m-u-ti-hee*	*na-m-a-ti-hee*	*na-m-a-ti-hee*
PCL INC	*no-m-u-'-hee*	*na-m-a-'-hee*	*na-m-a-'-hee*
EXC	*no-mor-u-hee*	*na-mar-a-hee*	*na-mar-a-hee*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-hee*	*no-r-u-ti-hee*	*na-r-a-hee*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-hee*	*na-r-a-ti-hee*	*na-r-a-ti-hee*
PCL	*no-r-u-'-hee*	*na-r-a-'-hee*	*na-r-a-'-hee*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-hee*	*noh(-u)-ti-hee*	*nah-a-hee*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-hee*	*nah-a-ti-hee*	*nah-a-ti-hee*
PCL	*noh-u-'-hee*	*nah-a-'-hee*	*nah-a-'-hee*

The Future suffix consists of /-hee/ and /-tu(h)/, followed by a gender suffix. See §13.3.3 for the discussion of the suffix /-tu(h)/.

(8b) Future

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-opeeno-ng*	*no-r-opi-ti-heenuto-ng*	*no-r-ong-heeno-ng*
F	*no-r-opeena-na*	*no-r-opi-ti-heenuta-na*	*no-r-ong-heena-na*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-heenutee*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-heenutee*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-heenutee*
PC	*no-r-ong-heenee*	*no-ro-r-ong-heenee*	*no-ro-r-ong-heenee*
PL	*no-r-ong-heeno-ng*	*no-ro-r-ong-heeno-ng*	*no-ro-r-ong-heeno-ng*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL.INC	1 DL.EXC
3 SG M	*noh-upeeno-ng*	*noh-upi-ti-heenuto-ng*	*noh-upi-ti-heenuto-ng*
F	*noh-upeena-na*	*noh-upi-ti-heenuta-na*	*noh-upi-ti-heenuta-na*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-heenutee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-heenutee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-heenutee*
PC	*noh-ur-upeenee*	*noh-ur-ung-heenee*	*noh-ur-ung-heenuiee*
PL	*noh-ur-upeeno-ng*	*noh-ur-ung-heeno-ng*	*noh-ur-ung-heenuio-ng*

O\A	1 PCL.INC	1PCL.EXC
3 SG M	*noh-ung-heeno-ng*	*noh-ung-heenuio-ng*
F	*noh-ung-heena-na*	*noh-ung-heenuia-na*
DL	*noh-ur-upi-ti-heenutee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-heenutee*
PC	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-heenee*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-heenuiee*
PL	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-heeno-ng*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-heenuio-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-i-heeno-ng*	*no-m-i-ti-heenuto-ng*	*no-m-i-'-heenuio-ng*
F	*no-m-i-heena-na*	*no-m-i-ti-heenuta-na*	*no-m-i-'-heenuia-na*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-heenutee*	*no-mor-i-ti-heenutee*	*no-mor-i-ti-heenutee*
PC	*no-mor-i-heenee*	*no-mor-i-'-heenee*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-heenee*
PL	*no-mor-i-heeno-ng*	*no-mor-i-'-heeno-ng*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-heeno-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-i-heeto-ng*	*noh-i-ti-heetuto-ng*	*noh-i-'-heetuio-ng*
F	*noh-i-heeta-na*	*noh-i-ti-heetuta-na*	*noh-i-'-heetuia-na*
DL	*noh-i-ti-heetutee*	*noh-ir-i-ti-heetutee*	*noh-ir-i-ti-heetutee*
PC	*noh-ir-i-heetee*	*noh-ir-i-'-heetuiee*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-heetuiee*
PL	*noh-ir-i-heeto-ng*	*noh-ir-i-'-heetuio-ng*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-heetuio-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-u-heeno-ng*	*no-m-u-ti-heenuto-ng*	*na-m-a-heeno-ng*
F	*no-m-u-heena-na*	*no-m-u-ti-heenuta-na*	*na-m-a-heena-na*
DL	*no-m-u-ti-heenutee*	*na-m-a-ti-heenutee*	*na-m-a-ti-heenutee*
PC INC	*no-m-u-'-heenuiee*	*na-m-a-'-heenuiee*	*na-m-a-'-heenuiee*
EXC	*no-mor-u-heenee*	*na-mar-a-heenee*	*na-mar-a-heenee*
PL INC	*no-m-u-'-heenuio-ng*	*na-m-a-'-heenuio-ng*	*na-m-a-'-heenuio-ng*
EXC	*no-mor-u-heeno-ng*	*na-mar-a-heeno-ng*	*na-mar-a-heeno-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-u-heeto-ng*	*no-r-u-ti-heetuto-ng*	*na-r-a-heero-ng*
F	*no-r-u-heeta-na*	*no-r-u-ti-heetuta-na*	*na-r-a-heera-na*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-heetutee*	*na-r-a-ti-heetutee*	*na-r-a-ti-heetutee*
PC	*no-r-u-'-heetuiee*	*na-r-a-'-heetuiee*	*na-r-a-'-heetuiee*
PL	*no-r-u-'-heetuio-ng*	*na-r-a-'-heetuio-ng*	*na-r-a-'-heetuio-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG M	*noh(-u)-heeto-ng*	*noh(-u)-ti-heetuto-ng*	*nah-a-heero-ng*
F	*noh(-u)-heeta-na*	*noh(-u)-ti-heetuta-na*	*nah-a-heera-na*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-heetutee*	*nah-a-ti-heetutee*	*nah-a-ti-heetutee*
PC	*noh-u-'-heetee*	*nah-a-'-heeree*	*nah-a-'-heeree*
PL	*noh-u-'-heeto-ng*	*nah-a-'-heero-ng*	*nah-a-'-heero-ng*

The Immediate Future suffix consists of /-hee/, middle voice suffixes and the Present suffix /-ko/, which are followed by a gender suffix.

Middle voice suffixes cross-reference the person and number of a core argument. In the case of intransitive verbs, they always mark the person and number of S. In the case of transitive verbs, they mark the person, number, and inclusive-exclusiveness of either O or A. They mark the person of A and the number of O in some cases. Table 13-18a in the next page shows the forms of middle suffixes in all A/O combinations, and Table 13-18b in page 353 shows the person and number each form cross-references.

Since there are only a few examples of verbs in this TAM in my corpus, and they are all with a 1st A and a 3rd O, I had to investigate this paradigm solely through routine elicitation. As is shown in Tables 13-18a and b below, no forms are available in certain A/O combinations (shown by *). However, wherever forms are available, they seem to follow the hierarchy indicated in Diagram 13-17. (Compare Table 13-18b with Table 13-16b.)

Table 13-18a Middle Voice Suffixes on Transitive Verbs in Immediate Future

O\A	1st SG	1st DL	1st PCL
2nd SG	*-moro*	*	*
2nd DL	*	*	*
2nd PCL	*	*	*
3rd SG	*-moro*	*-mee-ti*	*-mee-ru/-mara*
3rd DL	*-mee-ti*	*-mee-ti*	*-mee-ti*
3rd PCL	*-moro*	*-mee-ru/-mara*	*-mee-ru/-mara*

O\A	2nd SG	2nd DL	2nd PCL
1st SG	*	*	*
1st DL (EXC)	*	*	*
1st PCL (EXC)	*	*	*
3rd SG	*-roro*	*-ree-ti*	*-ree-ru*
3rd DL	*-ree-ti*	*-ree-ti*	*-ree-ti*
3rd PCL	*-roro*	*-ree-ru*	*-ree-ru*

O\A	3rd SG	3rd DL	3rd PCL
1st SG	*	*	*
1st DL	*	*	*
1st PCL.INC	*	*	*
1st PCL.EXC	*	*	*
2nd SG	*	*	*
2nd DL	*	*	*
2nd PCL	*	*	*
3rd SG	*-woro*	*-wee-ti*	*-wee-ru*
3rd DL	*-wee-ti*	*-wee-ti*	*-wee-ru*
3rd PCL	*-wee-ru*	*-wee-ru*	*-wee-ru*

Table 13-18b Person/Number/Inclusive-Exclusiveness Marked by Middle Voice Suffixes on Transitive Verbs in Immediate Future

O\A	1st SG	1st DL	1st PCL
2nd SG	1.sg	*	*
2nd DL	*	*	*
2nd PCL	*	*	*
3rd SG	1.sg	1.dl	1.pcl.inc or exc
3rd DL	1.dl	1.dl	1.dl
3rd PCL	1.sg	1.pcl.inc or exc	1.pcl.inc or exc

O\A	2nd SG	2nd DL	2nd PCL
1st SG	*	*	*
1st DL (EXC)	*	*	*
1st PCL (EXC)	*	*	*
3rd SG	2.sg	2.dl	2.pcl
3rd DL	2.dl	2.dl	2.dl
3rd PCL	2.sg	2.pcl	2.pcl

O\A	3rd SG	3rd DL	3rd PCL
1st SG	*	*	*
1st DL	*	*	*
1st PCL.INC	*	*	*
1st PCL.EXC	*	*	*
2nd SG	*	*	*
2nd DL	*	*	*
2nd PCL	*	*	*
3rd SG	3.sg	3.dl	3.pcl
3rd DL	3.dl	3.dl	3.dl
3rd PCL	3.pcl	3.pcl	3.pcl

There is an alternative way of expressing the same TAM concept, i.e. a combination of the Definite Future form of the verb, and the Present form of the aspectual verb /ngo-/ 'to make'. For example,

no-m-i-hee *ngo-m-i-ko-ng*
say.to-1O-2A-DEFFUT make-1O-2A-PRES-M
'you (M topic) are going to say to me/ you are going to say to me (M topic)'

This alternative is available in any A/O combination (cf. §15.5.5). It seems that when the persons of both A and O arguments have some importance to the speaker, he/she prefers to use this analytical construction, to mark the persons of both participants.

(8c) Immediate Future

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-opeemoroko-ng*	-----	-----
F	*no-r-opeemoroka-na*	-----	-----
DL	-----	-----	-----
PC	-----	-----	-----
PL	-----	-----	-----

O\A	1 SG	1 DL.INC	1 DL.EXC
3 SG M	*noh-upeemoroko-ng*	*noh-upi-ti-heemeetiko-ng*	*noh-upi-ti-heemeetiko-ng*
F	*noh-upeemoroka-na*	*noh-upi-ti-heemeetika-na*	*noh-upi-ti-heemeetika-na*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-heemeetikee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-heemeetikee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-heemeetikee*
PC	*noh-ur-upeemorokee*	*noh-ur-ung-heemee'kee*	*noh-ur-ung-heemarakee*
PL	*noh-ur-upeemoroko-ng*	*noh-ur-ung-heemee'ko-ng*	*noh-ur-ung-heemarako-ng*

O\A	1 PCL.INC	1PCL.EXC
3 SG M	*noh-ung-heemee'ko-ng*	*noh-ung-heemarako-ng*
F	*noh-ung-heemee'ka-na*	*noh-ung-heemaraka-na*
DL	*noh-ur-upi-ti-heemeetikee*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-heemeetikee*
PC	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-heemee'kee*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-heemarakee*
PL	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-heemee'ko-ng*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-heemarako-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG M	-----	-----	-----
F	-----	-----	-----
DL	-----	-----	-----
PC	-----	-----	-----
PL	-----	-----	-----

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-i-heeroroko-ng*	*noh-iti-heereetiko-ng*	*noh-i-'-heeree'ko-ng*
F	*noh-i-heeroroka-na*	*noh-iti-heereetika-na*	*noh-i-'-heeree'ka-na*
DL	*noh-i-ti-heereetikee*	*noh-ir-i-ti-heereetikee*	*noh-ir-i-ti-heereetikee*
PC	*noh-ir-i-heerorokee*	*noh-ir-i-'-heeree'kee*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-heeree'kee*
PL	*noh-ir-i-heeroroko-ng*	*noh-ir-i-'-heeree'ko-ng*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-heeree'ko-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG M	-----	-----	-----
F	-----	-----	-----
DL	-----	-----	-----
PC INC	-----	-----	-----
EXC	-----	-----	-----
PL INC	-----	-----	-----
EXC	-----	-----	-----

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG M	-----	-----	-----
F	-----	-----	-----
DL	-----	-----	-----
PC	-----	-----	-----
PL	-----	-----	-----

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG M	*noh(-u)-heeworoko-ng*	*noh(-u)-ti-heeweetiko-ng*	*nah-a-heewee'ko-ng*
F	*noh(-u)-heeworoka-na*	*noh(-u)-ti-heeweetika-na*	*nah-a-heewee'ka-na*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-heeweetiktee*	*nah-a-ti-heeweetikee*	*nah-a-ti-heeweetikee*
PC	*noh-u-'-heewee'kee*	*nah-a-'-heewee'kee*	*nah-a-'-heewee'kee*
PL	*noh-u-'-heewee'ko-ng*	*nah-a-'-heewee'ko-ng*	*nah-a-'-heewee'ko-ng*

13.3.9 Imaginative

(9a*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Imaginative (in dependent embedded clauses)

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-opoo-kui*	*no-r-opi-ti-woo-kui*	*no-r-ompoo-kui/* *no-r-om-woo-kui*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-woo-kui*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-woo-kui*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-woo-kui*
PCL	*no-r-ompoo-kui/* *no-r-om-woo-kui*	*no-ro-r-ompoo-kui/* *no-ro-r-om-woo-kui*	*no-ro-r-ompoo-kui/* *no-ro-r-om-woo-kui*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-upoo-kui*	*noh-upi-ti-woo-kui*	*noh-upoo-kui*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-woo-kui*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-woo-kui*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-woo-kui*
PCL	*noh-ur-upoo-kui*	*noh-ur-umpoo-kui/* *noh-ur-um-woo-kui*	*noh-u[ru]r-umpoo-kui/* *noh-u[ru]r-um-woo-kui*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-woo-kui*	*no-m-i-ti-woo-kui*	*no-m-i-m-woo-kui*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-woo-kui*	*no-mor-i-ti-woo-kui*	*no-mor-i-ti-woo-kui*
PCL	*no-mor-i-woo-kui*	*no-mor-i-m-woo-kui*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-m-woo-kui*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-woo-kui*	*noh-i-ti-woo-kui*	*noh-i-m-woo-kui*
DL	*noh-i-ti-woo-kui*	*noh-ir-i-ti-woo-kui*	*noh-ir-i-ti-woo-kui*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-woo-kui*	*noh-ir-i-m-woo-kui*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-m-woo-kui*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-u-woo-kui*	*no-m-u-ti-woo-kui*	*na-m-a-woo-kui*
DL	*no-m-u-ti-woo-kui*	*na-m-a-ti-woo-kui*	*na-m-a-ti-woo-kui*
PCL INC	*no-m-u-m-woo-kui*	*na-m-a-m-woo-kui*	*na-m-a-m-woo-kui*
EXC	*no-mor-u-woo-kui*	*na-mar-a-woo-kui*	*na-mar-a-woo-kui*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-woo-kui*	*no-r-u-ti-woo-kui*	*na-r-a-woo-kui*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-woo-kui*	*na-r-a-ti-woo-kui*	*na-r-a-ti-woo-kui*
PCL	*no-r-u-m-woo-kui*	*na-r-a-m-woo-kui*	*na-r-a-m-woo-kui*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-woo-kui*	*noh(-u)-ti-woo-kui*	*nah-a-woo-kui*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-woo-kui*	*nah-a-ti-woo-kui*	*nah-a-ti-woo-kui*
PCL	*noh-u-m-woo-kui*	*nah-a-m-woo-kui*	*nah-a-m-woo-kui*

(9a) Imaginative (in dependent embedded clauses)

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-ongui*	*no-r-opi-ti-kui*	*no-r-ong-kui*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-kui*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-kui*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-kui*
PCL	*no-r-ong-kui*	*no-ro-r-ong-kui*	*no-ro-r-ong-kui*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-ungui*	*noh-upi-ti-kui*	*noh-ung-kui*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-kui*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-kui*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-kui*
PCL	*noh-ur-ungui*	*noh-ur-ung-kui*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-kui*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-kui*	*no-m-i-ti-kui*	*no-m-i-'-kui*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-kui*	*no-mor-i-ti-kui*	*no-mor-i-ti-kui*
PCL	*no-mor-i-kui*	*no-mor-i-'-kui*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-kui*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-kui*	*noh-i-ti-kui*	*noh-i-'-kui*
DL	*noh-i-ti-kui*	*noh-ir-i-ti-kui*	*noh-ir-i-ti-kui*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-kui*	*noh-ir-i-'-kui*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-kui*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-u-kui*	*no-m-u-ti-kui*	*na-m-a-kui*
DL	*no-m-u-ti-kui*	*na-m-a-ti-kui*	*na-m-a-ti-kui*
PCL INC	*no-m-u-'-kui*	*na-m-a-'-kui*	*na-m-a-'-kui*
EXC	*no-mor-u-kui*	*na-mar-a-kui*	*na-mar-a-kui*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-kui*	*no-r-u-ti-kui*	*na-r-a-kui*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-kui*	*na-r-a-ti-kui*	*na-r-a-ti-kui*
PCL	*no-r-u-'-kui*	*na-r-a-'-kui*	*na-r-a-'-kui*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-kui*	*noh(-u)-ti-kui*	*nah-a-kui*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-kui*	*nah-a-ti-kui*	*nah-a-ti-kui*
PCL	*noh-u-'-kui*	*nah-a-'-kui*	*nah-a-'-kui*

(9b) Imaginative (in independent clauses)

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-onguu-ng*	*no-r-opi-ti-kuu-ng*	*no-r-ong-kuu-ng*
F	*no-r-ongui-na*	*no-r-opi-ti-kui-na*	*no-r-ong-kui-na*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-kui*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-kui*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-kui*
PC	*no-r-ong-kui*	*no-ro-r-ong-kui*	*no-ro-r-ong-kui*
PL	*no-r-ong-kuu-ng*	*no-ro-r-ong-kuu-ng*	*no-ro-r-ong-kuu-ng*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-unguu-ng*	*noh-upi-ti-kuu-ng*	*noh-ung-kuu-ng*
F	*noh-ungui-na*	*noh-upi-ti-kui-na*	*noh-ung-kui-na*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-kui*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-kui*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-kui*
PC	*noh-ur-ungui*	*noh-ur-ung-kui*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-kui*
PL	*noh-ur-unguu-ng*	*noh-ur-ung-kuu-ng*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-kuu-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-i-kuu-ng*	*no-m-i-ti-kuu-ng*	*no-m-i-'-kuu-ng*
F	*no-m-i-kui-na*	*no-m-i-ti-kui-na*	*no-m-i-'-kui-na*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-kui*	*no-mor-i-ti-kui*	*no-mor-i-ti-kui*
PC	*no-mor-i-kui*	*no-mor-i-'-kui*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-kui*
PL	*no-mor-i-kuu-ng*	*no-mor-i-'-kuu-ng*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-kuu-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG M	*noh-i-kuu-ng*	*noh-i-ti-kuu-ng*	*noh-i-'-kuu-ng*
F	*noh-i-kui-na*	*noh-i-ti-kui-na*	*noh-i-'-kui-na*
DL	*noh-i-ti-kui*	*noh-ir-i-ti-kui*	*noh-ir-i-ti-kui*
PC	*noh-ir-i-kui*	*noh-ir-i-'-kui*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-kui*
PL	*noh-ir-i-kuu-ng*	*noh-ir-i-'-kuu-ng*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-kuu-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG M	*no-m-u-kuu-ng*	*no-m-u-ti-kuu-ng*	*na-m-a-kuu-ng*
F	*no-m-u-kui-na*	*no-m-u-ti-kui-na*	*na-m-a-kui-na*
DL	*no-m-u-ti-kui*	*na-m-a-ti-kui*	*na-m-a-ti-kui*
PC INC	*no-m-u-'-kui*	*na-m-a-'-kui*	*na-m-a-'-kui*
EXC	*no-mor-u-kui*	*na-mar-a-kui*	*na-mar-a-kui*
PL INC	*no-m-u-'-kuu-ng*	*na-m-a-'-kuu-ng*	*na-m-a-'-kuu-ng*
EXC	*no-mor-u-kuu-ng*	*na-mar-a-kuu-ng*	*na-mar-a-kuu-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG M	*no-r-u-kuu-ng*	*no-r-u-ti-kuu-ng*	*na-r-a-kuu-ng*
F	*no-r-u-kui-na*	*no-r-u-ti-kui-na*	*na-r-a-kui-na*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-kui*	*na-r-a-ti-kui*	*na-r-a-ti-kui*
PC	*no-r-u-'-kui*	*na-r-a-'-kui*	*na-r-a-'-kui*
PL	*no-r-u-'-kuu-ng*	*na-r-a-'-kuu-ng*	*na-r-a-'-kuu-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG M	*noh(-u)-kuu-ng*	*noh(-u)-ti-kuu-ng*	*nah-a-kuu-ng*
F	*noh(-u)-kui-na*	*noh(-u)-ti-kui-na*	*nah-a-kui-na*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-kui*	*nah-a-ti-kui*	*nah-a-ti-kui*
PC	*noh-u-'-kui*	*nah-a-'-kui*	*nah-a-'-kui*
PL	*noh-u-'-kuu-ng*	*nah-a-'-kuu-ng*	*nah-a-'-kuu-ng*

13.3.10 Imperative

Imperative forms are irregular. cf. §13.2.1.10 and §13.2.2.10.

Both my informants suggest the form *noh-u-m-wo* with a 3rd singular A and a 3rd paucal/plural O. One of them suggests an alternative form *noh-u-ru-wo* as well.

(10) Imperative

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-om-o*	*no-r-opit-o*	*no-r-opi*
DL	*no-r-opi-t-o*	*no-ro-r-opi-t-o*	*no-ro-r-opi-t-o*
PCL	*no-r-opi*	*no-ro-r-opi*	*no-ro-r-opi*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-um-o*	*noh-upi-t-o*	*noh-upi*
DL	*noh-upit-o*	*noh-ur-upit-o*	*noh-ur-upit-o*
PCL	*noh-ur-um-o*	*noh-ur-upi*	*noh-u[ru]r-upi*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-ee*	*no-m-i-t-o*	*no-m-i-ng*
DL	*no-m-i-t-o*	*no-mor-i-t-o*	*no-mor-i-t-o*
PCL	*no-mor-ee*	*no-mor-i-ng*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-ng*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-ee*	*noh-i-t-o*	*noh-i-ng*
DL	*noh-i-t-o*	*noh-ir-i-t-o*	*noh-ir-i-t-o*
PCL	*noh-ir-ee*	*noh-ir-i-ng*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-ng*

O\A		3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG		*no-m-o-o*	*no-m-u-t-o*	*na-m-a-wo*
DL		*no-m-u-t-o*	*na-m-a-t-o*	*na-m-a-t-o*
PCL	INC	*no-m-u-ng*	*na-m-a-ng*	*na-m-a-ng*
	EXC	*no-mor-u-wo*	*na-mar-a-wo*	*na-mar-a-wo*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-o-o*	*no-r-u-t-o*	*na-r-a-wo*
DL	*no-r-u-t-o*	*na-r-a-t-o*	*na-r-a-t-o*
PCL	*no-r-u-ng*	*na-r-a-ng*	*na-r-a-ng*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh-o-o*	*noh(-u)-t-o*	*nah-a-wo*
DL	*noh(-u)-t-o*	*nah-a-t-o*	*nah-a-t-o*
PCL	*noh-u-m-wo/* *?noh-u-ru-wo*	*nah-a-ng*	*nah-a-ng*

13.3.11 Optative

(14) Optative

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-oporo*	*no-r-opi-ti-woro*	*no-r-omporo/ no-r-om-woro*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-woro*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-woro*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-woro*
PCL	*no-r-omporo/* *no-r-om-woro*	*no-ro-r-omporo/* *no-ro-r-om-woro*	*no-ro-r-omporo/* *no-ro-r-om-woro*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-uporo*	*noh-upi-ti-woro*	*noh-uporo*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-woro*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-woro*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-woro*
PCL	*noh-ur-uporo*	*noh-ur-umporo/* *noh-ur-um-woro*	*noh-u[ru]r-umporo/* *noh-u[ru]r-um-woro*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-woro*	*no-m-i-ti-woro*	*no-m-i-m-woro*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-woro*	*no-mor-i-ti-woro*	*no-mor-i-ti-woro*
PCL	*no-mor-i-woro*	*no-mor-i-m-woro*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-m-woro*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-woro*	*noh-i-ti-woro*	*noh-i-m-woro*
DL	*noh-i-ti-woro*	*noh-ir-i-ti-woro*	*noh-ir-i-ti-woro*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-woro*	*noh-ir-i-m-woro*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-m-woro*

O\A		3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG		*no-m-u-woro*	*no-m-u-ti-woro*	*na-m-a-woro*
DL		*no-m-u-ti-woro*	*na-m-a-ti-woro*	*na-m-a-ti-woro*
PCL	INC	*no-m-u-m-woro*	*na-m-a-m-woro*	*na-m-a-m-woro*
	EXC	*no-mor-u-woro*	*na-mar-a-woro*	*na-mar-a-woro*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-woro*	*no-r-u-ti-woro*	*na-r-a-woro*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-woro*	*na-r-a-ti-woro*	*na-r-a-ti-woro*
PCL	*no-r-u-m-woro*	*na-r-a-m-woro*	*na-r-a-m-woro*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-woro*	*noh(-u)-ti-woro*	*nah-a-woro*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-woro*	*nah-a-ti-woro*	*nah-a-ti-woro*
PCL	*noh-u-m-woro*	*nah-a-m-woro*	*nah-a-m-woro*

13.3.12 Negative Optative

(12) Negative Optative

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-onnaa*	*no-r-opi-taa*	*no-r-ongjaa*
DL	*no-r-opi-taa*	*no-ro-r-opi-taa*	*no-ro-r-opi-taa*
PCL	*no-r-ongjaa*	*no-ro-r-ongjaa*	*no-ro-r-ongjaa*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-unnaa*	*noh-upi-taa*	*noh-ungjaa*
DL	*noh-upi-taa*	*noh-ur-upi-taa*	*noh-ur-upi-taa*
PCL	*noh-ur-unnaa*	*noh-ur-ungjaa*	*noh-u[ru]r-ungjaa*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-raa*	*no-m-i-taa*	*no-m-i-iaa*
DL	*no-m-i-taa*	*no-mor-i-taa*	*no-mor-i-taa*
PCL	*no-mor-i-raa*	*no-mor-i-iaa*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-iaa*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-raa*	*noh-i-taa*	*noh-i-iaa*
DL	*noh-i-taa*	*noh-ir-i-taa*	*noh-ir-i-taa*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-iaa*	*noh-ir-i-iaa*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-iaa*

O\A		3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG		*no-m-u-raa*	*no-m-u-taa*	*na-m-a-raa*
DL		*no-m-u-taa*	*na-m-a-taa*	*na-m-a-taa*
PCL	INC	*no-m-u-iaa*	*na-m-a-iaa*	*na-m-a-iaa*
	EXC	*no-mor-u-raa*	*na-mar-a-raa*	*na-mar-a-raa*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-raa*	*no-r-u-taa*	*na-r-a-raa*
DL	*no-r-u-taa*	*na-r-a-taa*	*na-r-a-taa*
PCL	*no-r-u-iaa*	*na-r-a-iaa*	*na-r-a-iaa*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-raa*	*noh(-u)-taa*	*nah-a-raa*
DL	*noh(-u)-taa*	*nah-a-taa*	*nah-a-taa*
PCL	*noh-u-iaa*	*nah-a-iaa*	*nah-a-iaa*

13.3.13 General DS

(13*) negative infix /-woo-/ + General Different Subject

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-opoo-ku*	*no-r-opi-ti-woo-ku*	*no-r-ompoo-ku/* *no-r-om-woo-ku*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-woo-ku*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-woo-ku*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-woo-ku*
PCL	*no-r-ompoo-ku/* *no-r-om-woo-ku*	*no-ro-r-ompoo-ku/* *no-ro-r-om-woo-ku*	*no-ro-r-ompoo-ku/* *no-ro-r-om-woo-ku*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-upoo-ku*	*noh-upi-ti-woo-ku*	*noh-upoo-ku*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-woo-ku*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-woo-ku*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-woo-ku*
PCL	*noh-ur-upoo-ku*	*noh-ur-umpoo-ku/* *noh-ur-um-woo-ku*	*noh-u[ru]r-umpoo-ku/* *noh-u[ru]r-um-woo-ku*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-woo-ku*	*no-m-i-ti-woo-ku*	*no-m-i-m-woo-ku*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-woo-ku*	*no-mor-i-ti-woo-ku*	*no-mor-i-ti-woo-ku*
PCL	*no-mor-i-woo-ku*	*no-mor-i-m-woo-ku*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-m-woo-ku*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-woo-ku*	*noh-i-ti-woo-ku*	*noh-i-m-woo-ku*
DL	*noh-i-ti-woo-ku*	*noh-ir-i-ti-woo-ku*	*noh-ir-i-ti-woo-ku*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-woo-ku*	*noh-ir-i-m-woo-ku*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-m-woo-ku*

O\A		3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG		*no-m-u-woo-ku*	*no-m-u-ti-woo-ku*	*na-m-a-woo-ku*
DL		*no-m-u-ti-woo-ku*	*na-m-a-ti-woo-ku*	*na-m-a-ti-woo-ku*
PCL	INC	*no-m-u-m-woo-ku*	*na-m-a-m-woo-ku*	*na-m-a-m-woo-ku*
	EXC	*no-mor-u-woo-ku*	*na-mar-a-woo-ku*	*na-mar-a-woo-ku*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-woo-ku*	*no-r-u-ti-woo-ku*	*na-r-a-woo-ku*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-woo-ku*	*na-r-a-ti-woo-ku*	*na-r-a-ti-woo-ku*
PCL	*no-r-u-m-woo-ku*	*na-r-a-m-woo-ku*	*na-r-a-m-woo-ku*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-woo-ku*	*noh(-u)-ti-woo-ku*	*nah-a-woo-ku*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-woo-ku*	*nah-a-ti-woo-ku*	*nah-a-ti-woo-ku*
PCL	*noh-u-m-woo-ku*	*nah-a-m-woo-ku*	*nah-a-m-woo-ku*

(13) General Different Subject

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-ongu*	*no-r-opi-ti-ku*	*no-r-ong-ku*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-ku*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-ku*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-ku*
PCL	*no-r-ong-ku*	*no-ro-r-ong-ku*	*no-ro-r-ong-ku*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-ungu*	*noh-upi-ti-ku*	*noh-ung-ku*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-ku*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-ku*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-ku*
PCL	*noh-ur-ungu*	*noh-ur-ung-ku*	*noh-u[ru]r-ung-ku*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-ku*	*no-m-i-ti-ku*	*no-m-i-'-ku*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-ku*	*no-mor-i-ti-ku*	*no-mor-i-ti-ku*
PCL	*no-mor-i-ku*	*no-mor-i-'-ku*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-'-ku*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-ku*	*noh-i-ti-ku*	*noh-i-'-ku*
DL	*noh-i-ti-ku*	*noh-ir-i-ti-ku*	*noh-ir-i-ti-ku*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-ku*	*noh-ir-i-'-ku*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-'-ku*

O\A		3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG		*no-m-u-ku*	*no-m-u-ti-ku*	*na-m-a-ku*
DL		*no-m-u-ti-ku*	*na-m-a-ti-ku*	*na-m-a-ti-ku*
PCL	INC	*no-m-u-'-ku*	*na-m-a-'-ku*	*na-m-a-'-ku*
	EXC	*no-mor-u-ku*	*na-mar-a-ku*	*na-mar-a-ku*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-ku*	*no-r-u-ti-ku*	*na-r-a-ku*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-ku*	*na-r-a-ti-ku*	*na-r-a-ti-ku*
PCL	*no-r-u-'-ku*	*na-r-a-'-ku*	*na-r-a-'-ku*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-ku*	*noh(-u)-ti-ku*	*nah-a-ku*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-ku*	*nah-a-ti-ku*	*nah-a-ti-ku*
PCL	*noh-u-'-ku*	*nah-a-'-ku*	*nah-a-'-ku*

13.3.14 Continuous DS

(14*) negative infix /-woo-/ + Continuous Different Subject

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-opoo-juu*	*no-r-opi-ti-woo-juu*	*no-r-ompoo-juu/* *no-r-om-woo-juu*
DL	*no-r-opi-ti-woo-juu*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-woo-juu*	*no-ro-r-opi-ti-woo-juu*
PCL	*no-r-ompoo-juu/* *no-r-om-woo-juu*	*no-ro-r-ompoo-juu/* *no-ro-r-om-woo-juu*	*no-ro-r-ompoo-juu/* *no-ro-r-om-woo-juu*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-upoo-juu*	*noh-upi-ti-woo-juu*	*noh-upoo-juu*
DL	*noh-upi-ti-woo-juu*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-woo-juu*	*noh-ur-upi-ti-woo-juu*
PCL	*noh-ur-upoo-juu*	*noh-ur-umpoo-juu/* *noh-ur-um-woo-juu*	*noh-u[ru]r-umpoo-juu/* *noh-u[ru]r-um-woo-juu*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-i-woo-juu*	*no-m-i-ti-woo-juu*	*no-m-i-m-woo-juu*
DL	*no-m-i-ti-woo-juu*	*no-mor-i-ti-woo-juu*	*no-mor-i-ti-woo-juu*
PCL	*no-mor-i-woo-juu*	*no-mor-i-m-woo-juu*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-m-woo-juu*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-i-woo-juu*	*noh-i-ti-woo-juu*	*noh-i-m-woo-juu*
DL	*noh-i-ti-woo-juu*	*noh-ir-i-ti-woo-juu*	*noh-ir-i-ti-woo-juu*
PCL	*noh-ir-i-woo-juu*	*noh-ir-i-m-woo-juu*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-m-woo-juu*

O\A		3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG		*no-m-u-woo-juu*	*no-m-u-ti-woo-juu*	*na-m-a-woo-juu*
DL		*no-m-u-ti-woo-juu*	*na-m-a-ti-woo-juu*	*na-m-a-ti-woo-juu*
PCL	INC	*no-m-u-m-woo-juu*	*na-m-a-m-woo-juu*	*na-m-a-m-woo-juu*
	EXC	*no-mor-u-woo-juu*	*na-mar-a-woo-juu*	*na-mar-a-woo-juu*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-u-woo-juu*	*no-r-u-ti-woo-juu*	*na-r-a-woo-juu*
DL	*no-r-u-ti-woo-juu*	*na-r-a-ti-woo-juu*	*na-r-a-ti-woo-juu*
PCL	*no-r-u-m-woo-juu*	*na-r-a-m-woo-juu*	*na-r-a-m-woo-juu*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh(-u)-woo-juu*	*noh(-u)-ti-woo-juu*	*nah-a-woo-juu*
DL	*noh(-u)-ti-woo-juu*	*nah-a-ti-woo-juu*	*nah-a-ti-woo-juu*
PCL	*noh-u-m-woo-juu*	*nah-a-m-woo-juu*	*nah-a-m-woo-juu*

(14) Continuous Different Subject

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-osuu*	*no-r-opi-suu*	*no-r-opi-ng-juu*
DL	*no-r-opi-suu*	*no-ro-r-opi-suu*	*no-ro-r-opi-suu*
PCL	*no-r-opi-ng-juu*	*no-ro-r-opi-ng-juu*	*no-ro-r-opi-ng-juu*

O\A	1 SG	1 DL	1 PCL
3 SG	*noh-usuu*	*noh-upi-suu*	*noh-upi-ng-juu*
DL	*noh-upi-suu*	*noh-ur-upi-suu*	*noh-ur-upi-suu*
PC	*noh-ur-usuu*	*noh-ur-upi-ng-juu*	*noh-u[ru]r-upi-ng-juu*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
1 SG	*no-m-ii-juu*	*no-m-i-suu*	*no-m-i-ng-juu*
DL	*no-m-i-suu*	*no-mor-i-suu*	*no-mor-i-suu*
PCL	*no-mor-ii-juu*	*no-mor-i-ng-juu*	*no-mo[ri]r-i-ng-juu*

O\A	2 SG	2 DL	2 PCL
3 SG	*noh-ii-juu*	*noh-i-suu*	*noh-i-ng-juu*
DL	*noh-i-suu*	*noh-ir-i-suu*	*noh-ir-i-suu*
PCL	*noh-ir-ii-juu*	*noh-ir-i-ng-juu*	*noh-i[ri]r-i-ng-juu*

O\A		3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
1 SG		*no-m-uu-juu*	*no-m-u-suu*	*na-m-aa-juu*
DL		*no-m-u-suu*	*na-m-a-suu*	*na-m-a-suu*
PCL	INC	*no-m-u-ng-juu*	*na-m-a-ng-juu*	*na-m-a-ng-juu*
	EXC	*no-mor-uu-juu*	*na-mar-aa-juu*	*na-mar-aa-juu*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
2 SG	*no-r-uu-juu*	*no-r-u-suu*	*na-r-aa-juu*
DL	*no-r-u-suu*	*na-r-a-suu*	*na-r-a-suu*
PCL	*no-r-u-ng-juu*	*na-r-a-ng-juu*	*na-r-a-ng-juu*

O\A	3 SG	3 DL	3 PCL
3 SG	*noh-uu-juu*	*noh(-u)-suu*	*nah-aa-juu*
DL	*noh(-u)-suu*	*nah-a-suu*	*nah-a-suu*
PCL	*noh-u-ng-juu*	*nah-a-ng-juu*	*nah-a-ng-juu*

13.3.15 Paradigms of Non-medial TAM Suffixes with Gender Suffixes

The paradigms of non-medial TAM suffixes with different gender suffixes are given below. Fusions with preceding person/number suffixes are not indicated in these tables.

Table 13-19 Paradigms of Non-medial TAM Suffixes with Gender Suffixes

	(1b) General	(2) Present	(4b) Perfect	(5) Near Past
M	*-mo-ng*	*-ko-ng*	*-ro-ng*	*-i-ng*
F	*-ma-na*	*-ka-na*	*-ra-na*	*-i-na*
DIM	*-mo-ni*	*-ko-ni*	*-ro-ni*	*-i-ni*
L	*-mo-no*	*-ko-no*	*-ro-no*	*-i-no*
MAN	*-mo-nowo*	*-ko-nowo*	*-ro-nowo*	*-i-nowo*
DP	*-mee*	*-kee*	*-ree*	*-i(-ni)*

	(6) Habitual Past	(7) Remote Past	(9) Imaginative
M	*-ki-ng*	*-u-ng*	*-kuu-ng*
F	*-ki-na*	*-u-na*	*-kui-na*
DIM	*-ki-ni*	*-u-ni*	*-kui-ni*
L	*-ki-no*	*-u-no*	*-kui-no*
MAN	*-ki-nowo*	*-u-nowo*	*-kui-nowo*
DP	*-ki-ni*	*-u-ni*	*-kui*

(3b) Present Progressive

	1st SG	1st DL	1st PCL.INC	1st PCL.EXC
M	*-i=no-ng*	*-i=nuto-ng*	*-i=nuio-ng*	*-i=no-ng*
F	*-i=na-na*	*-i=nuta-na*	*-i=nuia-na*	*-i=na-na*
DIM	*-i=no-ni*	*-i=nuto-ni*	*-i=nuio-ni*	*-i=no-ni*
L	*-i=no-no*	*-i=nuto-no*	*-i=nuio-no*	*-i=no-no*
MAN	*-i=no-nowo*	*-i=nuto-nowo*	*-i=nuio-nowo*	*-i=no-nowo*
DP	*-i=nee*	*-i=nutee*	*-i=nuiee*	*-i=nee*
	2nd/3rd SG	2nd/3rd DL	2nd PCL	3rd PCL
M	*-i=to-ng*	*-i=tuto-ng*	*-i=tuio-ng*	*-i=ro-ng*
F	*-i=ta-na*	*-i=tuta-na*	*-i=tuia-na*	*-i=ra-na*
DIM	*-i=to-ni*	*-i=tuto-ni*	*-i=tuio-ni*	*-i=ro-ni*
L	*-i=to-no*	*-i=tuto-no*	*-i=tuio-no*	*-i=ro-no*
MAN	*-i=to-nowo*	*-i=tuto-nowo*	*-i=tuio-nowo*	*-i=ro-nowo*
DP	*-i=tee*	*-i=tutee*	*-i=tuiee*	*-i=ree*

(8b) Future

	1st SG	1st DL	1st PCL.INC	1st PCL.EXC
M	*-heeno-ng*	*-heenuto-ng*	*-heenuio-ng*	*-heeno-ng*
F	*-heena-na*	*-heenuta-na*	*-heenuia-na*	*-heena-na*
DIM	*-heeno-ni*	*-heenuto-ni*	*-heenuio-ni*	*-heeno-ni*
L	*-heeno-no*	*-heenuto-no*	*-heenuio-no*	*-heeno-no*
MAN	*-heeno-nowo*	*-heenuto-nowo*	*-heenuio-nowo*	*-heeno-nowo*
DP	*-heenee*	*-heenutee*	*-heenuiee*	*-heenee*
	2nd/3rd SG	2nd/3rd DL	2nd PCL	3rd PCL
M	*-heeto-ng*	*-heetuto-ng*	*-heetuio-ng*	*-heero-ng*
F	*-heeta-na*	*-heetuta-na*	*-heetuia-na*	*-heera-na*
DIM	*-heeto-ni*	*-heetuto-ni*	*-heetuio-ni*	*-heero-ni*
L	*-heeto-no*	*-heetuto-no*	*-heetuio-no*	*-heero-no*
MAN	*-heeto-nowo*	*-heetuto-nowo*	*-heetuio-nowo*	*-heero-nowo*
DP	*-heetee*	*-heetutee*	*-heetuiee*	*-heeree*

(8c) Immediate Future

	1st SG	1st DL	1st PCL.INC	1st PCL.EXC
M	*-heemoroko-ng*	*-heemeetiko-ng*	*-heemee'ko-ng*	*-heemarako-ng*
F	*-heemoroka-na*	*-heemeetika-na*	*-heemee'ka-na*	*-heemaraka-na*
DIM	*-heemoroko-ni*	*-heemeetiko-ni*	*-heemee'ko-ni*	*-heemarako-ni*
L	*-heemoroko-no*	*-heemeetiko-no*	*-heemee'ko-no*	*-heemarako-no*
MAN	*-heemoroko-nowo*	*-heemeetiko-nowo*	*-heemee'ko-nowo*	*-heemarako-nowo*
DP	*-heemorokee*	*-heemeetikee*	*-heemee'kee*	*-heemarakee*
	2nd SG	2nd DL	2nd PCL	
M	*-heeroroko-ng*	*-heereetiko-ng*	*-heeree'ko-ng*	
F	*-heeroroka-na*	*-heereetika-na*	*-heeree'ka-na*	
DIM	*-heeroroko-ni*	*-heereetiko-ni*	*-heeree'ko-ni*	
L	*-heeroroko-no*	*-heereetiko-no*	*-heeree'ko-no*	
MAN	*-heeroroko-nowo*	*-heereetiko-nowo*	*-heeree'ko-nowo*	
DP	*-heerorokee*	*-heereetikee*	*-heeree'kee*	
	3rd SG	3rd DL	3rd PCL	
M	*-heeworoko-ng*	*-heeweetiko-ng*	*-heewee'ko-ng*	
F	*-heeworoka-na*	*-heeweetika-na*	*-heewee'ka-na*	
DIM	*-heeworoko-ni*	*-heeweetiko-ni*	*-heewee'ko-ni*	
L	*-heeworoko-no*	*-heeweetiko-no*	*-heewee'ko-no*	
MAN	*-heeworoko-nowo*	*-heeweetiko-nowo*	*-heewee'ko-nowo*	
DP	*-heeworokee*	*-heeweetikee*	*-heewee'kee*	

13.4 CLASSIFICATION OF VERB STEMS ACCORDING TO THEIR PHONOLOGICAL SHAPES

In general, verb stems may undergo morphophonemic changes in contact with following cross-referencing markings. Such changes occur after the morphophonemic changes discussed in §13.2 – §13.3 (Rules 13-1 – 13-15).

The morphophonemic alternations of the stems of five irregular intransitive verbs have already been discussed in §13.2.3.

The morphophonemic changes of intransitive verb stems in contact with middle voice cross-referencing suffixes will be discussed in §13.4.1.

The stems of S_O, S_A and transtitive verbs undergo the same set of morphophonemic changes. Thus, they will be discussed together in §13.4.2.

In §13.4.1 and §13.4.2, I will first classify the verb stems according to their phonological shapes, and will discuss the morphophonemic changes of each type of verb stems with following cross-referencing suffixes.

13.4.1 Stems of Middle Verbs

The stems of intransitive verbs which take middle voice suffixes are of many types, since they include nearly all the stems which can take O/A suffixes in active voice.

They are classified according to whether they end with a vowel or a consonant.

(1) stems ending with a vowel:

/kaa-/ 'to be born', /itikai-/ 'to become/be strong', /turu-/ 'to return', /turio-/ 'to become/be alarmed', /ngo-/ 'to make oneself ~/ to be engaged in event/ to happen', /taapu-/ 'to participate', etc.

(2) stems ending with a consonant:

/haring-/ 'to become/be worried', /arap-/ 'to become/be bad', /neQw-/ 'to sit down/be sitting', /niQr-/ 'to become/be surprised', /hoHk-/ 'to throw over', /kiNng-/ 'to be engaged in thinking', etc.

Phonologically, stems ending with a vowel do not affect, nor are affected by, following suffixes, except for the stem-final /o/ which may be affected by the assimilation Rule 2-9 (cf. 13-3 below).

In the case of stems ending with a consonant, the stem-final consonant is dropped before the consonant /-m/ and /-r/ of the 1st and 2nd person (middle or O) suffixes. On the other hand, it is kept when followed by the glide /w/ of the 3rd person middle suffix

/-woro/ (singular) or /-wee/ (nonsingular), and the 3rd PCL A suffix /-wa/. In the latter case it is /w/ that must be dropped. This also applies to the /w/ of the derivational suffixes /-wah/ (participle), /-warei/ (verbal noun) and /-wooto/ (causative), and the glide /j/ of the applicative suffix /-jee/, all of which are dropped after the stem-final consonant.

Rule 13-16 Deletion of Stem-final Consonant

(a) C- (verb stem) –> ø- / _ {-m (1st S/O), -r (2nd S/O)}

(b) w, j –> ø / C- (verb stem) - _

Examples:

the consonant-final stem /haring-/ 'to become/be worried' (S_o verb):

13-1a	*hari-mara-ree*	'we (a few) were worried'
	be.worried-MID.1pcl.exc.S-PERF.DP	
b	*hari-ree-ti-ki-ni*	'you two used to be worried'
	be.worried-MID.2S-dl-HABPAST-DP	
c	*haring-oro-mo*	'while he/she was/is worried, he/she ...'
	be.worried-MID.3S-GEN.SS	

In 13-1a and 13-1b, the stem final /ng/ is dropped before the 1st and 2nd person middle S suffixes. In 13-1c, /ng/ is retained before the 3rd person middle S suffix /-woro/, the /w/ of which is dropped.

the consonant-final stem /neQw-/ 'to sit down/be sitting':

13-2a	*ne'-moo-ro*	'after I sat/sit down, I ...'
	sit.down-MID.1S-PERF.SS	
b	*ne'-ree-ti-hee*	'you two will definitely sit down'
	sit.down-MID.2S-dl-DEFFUT	
c	*ne'w-o-i*	'while he/she is sitting, he/she ...'
	be.sitting-MID.3S-CONT.SS	

In 13-2a and 13-2b, the stem final /w/ is dropped before the 1st and 2nd person middle S suffixes. In 13-2c, /w/ is retained before the 3rd person middle S suffix /-woro/, which is realised as *-o* before the Continuous SS suffix /-i/ (cf. Rule 13-13).

Note that any stem which has /o/ in the last syllable is affected by the assimilation

Rule 2-9 before *a* and *e* in the next syllable. For example, /o/ of the stem /ngo-/ 'to be engaged in sth' is assimilated to *a* and *e* in the following way:[19]

13-3a	*nga-mara-mo-ng*	'we are always engaged (in it)'
	be.engaged-MID.1pcl.exc-GEN-M	
b	*nge-ree-ijo*	'after you (more than two) are/were
	be.engaged-MID.2S-pcl.PERF.SS	engaged (in it), you ...'
c	*nge-wee-ti-mo*	'while they two are/were engaged (in it),
	be.engaged-MID.3S-dl-GEN.SS	they ...'

13.4.2 Stems of S_O, S_A and Transitive Verbs

The stems of S_O, S_A and transtitive verbs are classified as follows according to their phonological shapes:

(1) stems which end with a sequence of two vowels:
e.g. /haa-/ 'to agree/want' (S_O), /rii(h)-/[20] 'to become/be' (S_A), /huna=hunai-/ 'to visit' (transitive)

(2) stems which end with a single vowel:
e.g. /musi'ka-/ 'to feel pain' (S_O), /o-/ 'to give to' (transitive)

(3) stems which end with a single consonant:
e.g. /kaah-/ 'to disagree/not to want' (S_O), /mon-/ 'to look' (S_A), /nop-/ 'to get/take' (transitive)

(4) stems which end with a C_2C sequence in surface forms:
e.g. *kamann-* 'to feel cold' (S_O), *pu'j-* 'to shout' (S_A), *pihk-* 'to look for' (transitive)

Note that the stems which end with a sequence of two consonants ((4) above) may have different underlying forms, which surface only when they are followed by a 3rd person singular A suffix /-u/ in certain TAMs. See §13.4.2.4.

When the 1st and 2nd person O suffixes, /-m/ and /-r/ respectively, are followed by a 3rd person A suffix /-u/, the following optional morphophonemic changes occur:[21]

[19] Assimilation of /o/ of /ngo-/ to the following *e* seems to be obligatory in this case. It is optional in 13-20a below.

[20] The stem-final /h/ occurs only when followed by the derivational suffixes /-wah/ (participle) and /-warei/ (verbal noun).

Rule 13-17 Dearticulation of 1st/2nd O and 3rd A Suffixes (Optional)

(a) -m (1st O) + -u (3rd A) –> -N / V- _ { - C V [+voiced] [-high] ; - C V [-voiced] }

(b) -r (2nd O) + -u (3rd A) –> -N / V- _ - C V [+voiced] [-high]

-Q / V- _ - C V [-voiced]

(c) Nr –> nn

Rule 13-17c obligatorily applies after Rules 13-17a and b.

Examples:

/siiho-/ 'to become/be ill' (S_0):

13-4a	*siiho-mu-tee/ siiho-n-tee* become.ill-1S-dl.PERF.DP	'we two became ill' (Rule 13-7a optionally applied)
b	*siiho-mu-ro-ng/ siiho-nno-ng* become.ill-1S(-)PERF-M	'I became ill' (Rules 13-7a and c optionally applied)
c	*siiho-ru-woro/ siiho-m-woro* become.ill-2S-OPT	'I wish that you (sg) would become ill' (Rule 13-7b optionally applied)
d	*siiho-ru-hee/ siiho-'-hee* become.ill-2S-DEFFUT	'you (sg) will definitely become ill' (Rule 13-7b optionally applied)

/taapu-/ 'to help sb' (transitive):

13-5a	*taapu-m-u-ku/ taapu-ng-ku* help-1O(-)3A-GEN.DS	'after he/she helps/helped me, sb else ...' (Rule 13-7a optionally applied)
b	*taapu-r-u-hee/ taapu-'-hee* help-2O(-)3A-DEFFUT	'he/she will definitely help you (sg)' (Rule 13-7b optionally applied)

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[21] Rule 13-17 does not apply to the following two S_0 stems: /haa-/ 'to agree/want', /kaah-/ 'to disagree/not to want'. See the paradigm of /kaah-/ in §13.2.1.

It does not apply to the transitive stem /noh-/, either (cf. the paradigm in §13.3). It is probably because another commonly used transitive stem /nop-/ 'to take/get' is susceptible to this rule, and if this rule applied to /noh-/, many homonymous forms would result.

c *taapu-r-u-raa/ taapu-nnaa* 'I wish he/she would not help you (sg)'
help-2O(-)3A(-)NEGOPT (Rule 13-7b and c optionally applied)

13.4.2.1 Stems Ending with a Sequence of Two Vowels

Five underived verb stems (four verbal roots and one compound stem) of S_O/S_A/transitive verbs, ending with a long vowel, have been attested in my corpus:

/haa-/ 'to agree/want' (S_O)
/rii(h)-/ 'to become/be' (S_A)
/muu=rii(h)-/ 'to dawn' (S_A)
/nee-/ 'to drink/ to eat (non-protein food)' (transitive)
/tee-/ 'to eat (protein food)' (transitive)

In addition, all the derived stems with the applicative suffix /-jee/ (S_O or transitive verbs) belong to this group.

Only three S_O/transitive verb stems, ending with a sequence of two different vowels, have been attested. The final vowels of all the stems are /i/:

/nai-/ 'to show to' (transitive)
/huna=hunai-/ 'to visit sb' (transitive)
/pui-/ 'to become/be cool, to make cool' (S_O/transitive)

13.4.2.1.1 /haa-/ 'to agree/want'

The S_O verb stem /haa-/ is not affected by following suffixes, except that the glide *w* is inserted before a 3rd person singular S suffix /-u/ which is assimilated to the following Imperative suffix *-o*:

13-6 *haa-wo-o* 'let him agree'
agree-3S-IMP

13.4.2.1.2 /rii(h)-/ 'to become/be' and /muu=rii(h)-/ 'to dawn'

The vowels /ii/ of the S_A verb /rii(h)-/ 'to become/be' and the S_A compound verb /muu=rii(h)-/ 'to dawn' absorb any vowel(s) which follow them.[22]

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[22] cf. fn 20.

Rule 13-18a Stem-final Vowels (a)

V (V) –> ø / rii- (verb stem) _

13-7a *muumiih riipeeno-ng* 'I will become a chief'
chief become.1S.FUT-M

b *muumiih rii-heeto-ng* 'you/he will become a chief'
chief become.2/3S-FUT-M

c *muu=rii-ko-ng* 'it dawns/just dawned'
dawn.3S-PRES-M

13.4.2.1.3 Stems Ending with /ee-/

The stem-final /ee-/ may be shortened to *e-* before a vowel, or the glide *j* may be inserted after /ee-/, in the following environments:

Rule 13-18b Stem-final Vowels (b)

Cee- (verb stem) –> Ce- / _ -VCV{(V)# / CV}

Cee-j / _ - V_i {(C) (V) C_2 / V_i} [-back]

Cee- / Elsewhere

Examples:

/tee-/ 'to eat (protein food)' (transitive):

13-8a *te-i-hee* 'you (sg) will definitely eat it'
eat-3O.2A-DEFFUT

b *te-u-mo* 'while he/she is/was eating it, he/she ...'
eat-3O.3A-GEN.SS

c *tee-ji-ijo* 'after you many eat/ate it, you ...'
eat-3O.2A-pcl.PERF.SS

d *tee-jir-i-ng* 'you many eat them many'
eat-3pcl.O-2A-pcl.IMP

/nee-/ 'to drink/eat (non-protein food)' (transitive):

13-9a *ne-u-ti-ki-ni* 'they two used to drink it'
drink-3O.3A-dl-HABPAST-DP

b *nee-ji-m-mo* 'while he/she drinks/drank it, he/she ...'
drink-3O.2A-pcl-GEN.SS

Imperative forms are irregular. In the case of *tuh-ee-* 'to get/have' (S_O), the glide *w* is inserted before a 3rd person singular S suffix /-u/ assimilated to the following Imperative suffix *-o* (cf. §13.4.2.1.1):

13-10 *tuh-ee-woo* 'let him/her get (it)'
be-APPL-3S-IMP

In the case of transitive verbs, the glide *j* is inserted before *-ee* (Imperative form with 3rd singular O and 2nd singular A), but the stem is shortened before the Imperative form with 3rd singular O and A *u-o*, e.g.:

/tee-/ 'to eat (protein food)' (transitive):

13-11a *tee-jee* 'you (sg) eat it'
eat-3O.2A.IMP

b *te-u-o* 'let him/her eat it'
eat-3O.3A-IMP

13.4.2.1.4 Stems Ending with /Vi-/

The glide *j* is inserted after the stems of this type when followed by a vowel:

Rule 13-18c Stem-final Vowels (c)

$$\emptyset \rightarrow j \;/\; CV_i\text{-}\ (\text{verb stem})\ _\ \text{-V} \quad (V_i \neq i)$$

Examples:

verb /nai-/ 'to show to' (transitive):

13-12a *nai-ji-ku* 'after you (sg) show(ed) (it) to him/her, you ...'
show.to-3O.2A-GEN.DS

b *nai-ju-u-ng* 'he/she showed (it) to him/her'
show.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M

c *nai-jee* 'you (sg) show (it) to him/her'
show.to-3O.2A.IMP

The Imperative form with 3rd singular O and A is given below; the form with *?* is accepted by only one informant:

13-12d *najii-wo ~ ?nai-ju-o* 'let him/her show (it) to him/her'
show.to(-)3O.3A-IMP

13.4.2.2 Stems Ending with a Single Vowel

Examples of stems of S_O/transitive verbs, ending with a single vowel, are given below. I have attested only four S_O verb stems, and no S_A verb stems, of this type. There are no examples of stems which end with a single /e/.

(1) stems ending with /a/ (full list):
/musi'ka-/ 'to feel pain', /mongu'ha-/ 'to become/be/feel ashamed' (S_O)
/hana=hana-/ 'to try' (transitive)

(2) stems ending with /i/ (full list):
/aani-/ 'to claim', /kakapi-/ 'to crawl on', /kuri-/ 'to cook over fire', /roti-/ 'to marry', /tani-/ 'to wake', /tuumi-/ 'to hold firmly' (transitive)

(3) stems ending with /u/:
/ahku-/ 'to chase', /kanu-/ 'to prevent', /mirahu-/ 'to make good', /mukuru-/ 'to envy', /taapu-/ 'to help', /tuku-/ 'to send', etc. (transitive)

(4) stems ending with /o/:
/siiho-/ 'to become/be ill', /riino-/ 'to feel' (S_O)
/haano-/ 'to taste', /ino-/ 'to fetch', /kiino-/ 'to plant', /kuuto-/ 'to wait for', /mi'no-/ 'to instruct', /mono-/ 'to see/look at', /ngo-/ 'to do/make', /o-/ 'to give to', /siro-/ 'to sing', /to-/ 'to hit/kill', /uko-/ 'to carry/be carrying', etc. (transitive)

In addition, all the transitive stems with the causative suffix /-wooto/ belong to (4).

The following morphophonemic changes are observed in the above verb stems, when they are followed by vowels.

Rule 13-19 Stem-final Single Vowel

(a) ø -> j / CV- (verb stem) _ - V_i $\begin{cases}(C)\,(V)\,C_2\\ V_i\end{cases}$
[-back]

(b) CV_i- (verb stem) -u(-u) -> CV_i-V_i

Examples:

/musi'ka-/ 'to feel pain' (S_o):

13-13a *musi'ka-a-i=to-ng* 'he is feeling pain'
feel.pain-3S-PRESPROG-M (Rule 13-19b)

b *musi'ka-a-taa* 'I wish they two would not feel pain'
feel.pain-3S-dl.NEGOPT (Rule 13-19b)

/siiho-/ 'to become/be ill' (S_o):

13-14a *siiho-o-ko-ng* 'he always becomes ill'
become.ill-3S-PRES-M (Rule 13-19b)

b *siiho-o-ng* 'he became ill today/ long ago'
become.ill-3S.NR/RMPAST-M (Rule 13-19b)

13-14b is ambiguous; the underlying form may be:

(1) /siiho-/ + /-u/ ($3rdS_o$) + /-i/ (NRPAST) + /-N/ (M), where the Near Past suffix is assimilated to the preceding /-u/ (Rule 13-7), and then (Rule 13-19b) is applied, or
(2) /siiho-/ + /-u/ ($3rdS_o$) + /-u/ (RMPAST) + /-N/ (M), where (Rule 13-19b) is applied.

/taapu-/ 'to help' (transitive):

13-15a *taapu-ji-'-hee* 'you (more than two) will definitely help him/her'
wake-3O.2A-pcl-DEFFUT (Rule 13-19a)

b *taapu-u-ng* 'he/she helped him/her today/ long ago (M topic)'
wake-3O.3A-NR/RMPAST-M (Rule 13-19b)

13-15b is ambiguous in the same way as 13-14b.

/tani-/ 'to wake' (transitive):

13-16a	*tani-ji-ng* wake-3O.2A-pcl.IMP	'let you (more than two) wake him/her' (Rule 13-19a)
b	*tani-i-t-o* wake-3O.2A/3A-dl-IMP	'let two of you/them wake him/her, let you (sg)/him/her wake two of them'
c	*tani-i-to* wake-3O.2A/3A-dl.PERF.SS	'after two of you/them wake/woke him/her, you/they ...' 'after you (sg)/he/she wake(s)/woke two of them, you/he/she ...'

13-16b and c have the same surface form. Thus the form *taniito* is eight-way ambiguous. It is the realisation of one of the following four different underlying forms, and in each form the dual suffix /-ti/ may be interpreted as cross-referencing the number of either A or O:

(1) /tani-/ + /-ø/ (3O) + /-i/ (2A) + /-ti/ (dl) + /-o/ (IMP),
(2) /tani-/ + /-ø/ (3O) + /-u/ (3A) + /-ti/ (dl) + /-o/ (IMP), where /-u/ is assimilated to the preceding /i-/ due to (Rule 13-19b),
(3) /tani-/ + /-ø/ (3O) + /-i/ (2A) + /-ti/ (dl) + /-ro/ (PERF.SS), or
(4) /tani-/ + /-ø/ (3O) + /-u/ (3A) + /-ti/ (dl) + /-ro/ (PERF.SS), where /-u/ is assimilated to the preceding /i-/ due to (Rule 13-19b).

Imperative forms are again irregular. When S_O stems are followed by a 3rd person singular S_O suffix /-u/ and the Imperative suffix /-o/, /-u/ is either regressively or progressively assimilated; in the former case the glide *w* is inserted before *-o-o* (cf. §13.4.2.1.1):

13-17a	*musi'ka-a-wo ~ musi'ka-wo-o* feel.pain-3S-IMP	'let him feel pain'
b	*siiho-o-wo ~ siiho-wo-o* become.ill-3S-IMP	'let him become ill'

In the case of transitive verbs, the glide *j* is inserted before *-ee* (Imperative with 3rd singular O and 2nd singular A). The combination of 3rd singular O and A, /-u/, is assimilated to the preceding stem-final vowel when followed by the Imperative suffix /-o/, and then the Imperative suffix is realised as *-wo* except after *u*:

13-18a *tani-jee* 'you (sg) wake him/her'
wake-3O.2A.IMP

b *tani-i-wo* 'let him/her wake him/her'
wake-3O.3A-IMP

13-19a *taapu-jee* 'you (sg) help him/her'
help-3O.2A.IMP

b *taapu-u-o* 'let him/her help him/her'
help-3O.3A-IMP

Note that Rule 2-9 applies after the above rules, so that the vowel /o/ in the stem may be assimilated to *a* or *e* of the following suffix:

/ngo-/ 'to do/make' (transitive):

13-20a *ngo-jee/nge-jee* 'you (sg) do it'
do-3O.2A.IMP

b *nga-wa-ki-ng* 'they more than two used to do it'
do-3O.3pcl.A-HABPAST-M

/miNno-/ 'to follow' (transitive):

13-21a *minno-jee/ minne-jee* 'you (sg) follow him/her/it'
follow-3O.2A.IMP

b *minno-wa-mo/ minna-wa-mo* 'while they more than two are/were following him/her/it, they ...'
follow-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS

The transitive verb /to-/ 'to hit/kill' is the only exception for (Rule 13-19b). The stem is realised as *tu* instead of *to* when followed by /-u/, as in 13-22c and d:

13-22a *to-jee/ te-jee* 'you (sg) hit him/her'
hit-3O.2A.IMP

b *to-ji-ng* 'let you more than two hit him/her/it'
hit-3O.2A-pcl.IMP

c *tu-u-o* 'let him/her hit him/her/it'
hit-3O.3A.-IMP

d *tu-u-'-ko-ng* 'he/she hits them more than two'
hit-3O.3A-pcl-PRES-M

e *ta-wa-ro* 'after they more than two hit him/her/it, they ...'
hit-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS

13.4.2.3 Stems Ending with a Single Consonant

Examples of underlying forms of S_O/S_A/transitive stems, ending with a single consonant, are given below.

(1) stems ending with /k-/[23]:

/hunok-/ 'to become/be full in stomach', /kipiQtak-/ 'to hiccup', /topukuk-/ 'to become/be wet and cold' (S_O)

/haarok-/ 'to fall', /hoNnak-/ 'to grow up', /inginak-/ 'to rain', /kuuk-/ 'to (get to) know', /nok-/ 'to say', /patak-/ 'to arrive', /poNnaak-/ 'to become many', etc.(S_A)

/inak-/ 'to look after/be with', /komik-/ 'to finish', /nauk-/ 'to lay down', /pataak-/ 'to pull/lead', /piruk-/ 'to turn over', /ratik-/ 'to find', etc. (transitive)

(2) stems ending with /t-/:

/kinot-/ 'to become/be drowned' (S_O)

/aat-/ 'to sleep/stay overnight', /it-/ 'to stand up/be standing', /maarit-/ 'to rest', /riit-/ 'to take long time', etc. (S_A)

/haapot-/ 'to find difficult', /huhut-/ 'to deceive', /miit-/ 'to squeeze (sago)', /nopot-/ 'to burn', /ririt-/ 'to tear', /rokut-/ 'to bury', etc. (transitive)

(3) stems ending with /p-/:

/maap-/ 'to sit down/be sitting' (S_A)

/huup-/ 'to blow', /nop-/ 'to take', /raup-/ 'to pull out', /tunup-/ 'to clear (the way)' (transitive)

(4) stems ending with /n-/:

/asariin-/ 'to swim', /kiin-/ 'to climb', /mon-/ 'to look', /sukon-/ 'to walk limping' (S_A)

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[23] The stem-final /k/ of some S_A stems may surface as *ng*, especially after a nasal. e.g. *honnang-* 'to grow up', *ponnaang-* 'to become many', *inginang-* 'to rain'. They are distinguished from the stems which have underlying /ng/ endings with respect to their morphophonemic behaviour when followed by a 3rd person suffix /-u/. That is, those ending with /k/ are sensitive to Rule 13-21a, while those ending with /ng/ are sensitive to Rule 13-21b. See also §12.4.1.

(5) stems ending with /ng-/:

/iirong-/ 'to be angry', /eQseheng-/ 'to sneeze' (S_A)

/haarung-/ 'to feel pity on', /honung-/ 'to feel by touch', /kung-/ 'to bring/take to one's place', /noong-/ 'to gather', /rorong-/ 'to tell', /tong-/ 'to call/name', etc. (transitive)

/aaring-/ 'to go inside' (S_A), 'to go over' (transitive)

(6) stems ending with /h-/:

/kaah-/ 'to disagree/not to want', /mutih-/ 'to become/be/feel sweet/tasty', /ooruh-/ 'to become/be afraid', /piih-/ '(one's tears/blood) to drip', etc. (S_O)

/korih-/ 'to bear plenty of fruits', /kuuh-/ 'to bend down', /ruma=ruuh-/ 'to come back to life' (S_A)

/haah-/ 'to throw away', /noh-/ 'to say to', /onoh-/ 'to decide', /ronguh-/ 'to end', /sih-/ 'to leave', /uuh-/ 'to wash', etc. (transitive)

/toko=tokoh-/ 'to become/be/feel hot' (S_O), /tokoh-/ to heat' (transitive)

/urisih-/ 'to leave (a place)' (S_A/transitive)

(7) stems ending with /r-/:

/hukar-/ 'to arrive', /kor-/ 'to say', /kumar-/ 'to laugh', /okur-/ 'to get/be tired', /omor-/ 'to escape', /ur-/ 'to go first', etc. (S_A)

/arar-/ 'to serve', /hurir-/ 'to blow', /kehur-/ 'to draw/write', /pongir-/ 'to break', /sir-/ 'to put', /tokur-/ 'to pull out (taro)', etc. (transitive)

(8) stems ending with /s-/:

/kais-/ 'to cling to', /tokis-/ 'to cut' (transitive)

They all undergo the stem-final consonant rule (Rule 13-16). That is, when they are followed by a 1st person O suffix /-m/ or a 2nd person O suffix /-r/, the stem-final consonants are dropped. In addition, when the 1st or 2nd person O suffix is followed by a 3rd person A suffix /-u/, Rule 13-17 applies.

When a stem-final consonant is followed by a 3rd A suffix /-u/, they may be deart-iculated as follows:[24]

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[24] /kaah-/ 'to disagree/not to want' (S_O) (§13.2.1) and /mon-/ 'to look' (S_A) (§13.2.2) are not susceptible to Rule 13-20.

Rule 13-20 Dearticulation of Stem-final Consonant and 3rd A Suffix (Optional)

(a) $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{k- (verb stem)}\\ \text{t- (verb stem)}\end{matrix}\right\}$ + -u (3rd.A) –> -Q / V- _ $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{- C} & \text{V}\\ \text{[+voiced]} & \text{[-high]}\\ \text{- C} & \text{V}\\ \text{[-voiced]} & \end{matrix}\right\}$

(b) $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{p- (verb stem)}\\ \text{n- (verb stem)}\\ \text{ng- (verb stem)}\end{matrix}\right\}$ + -u (3rd.A) –> -N / V- _ $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{- C} & \text{V}\\ \text{[+voiced]} & \text{[-high]}\\ \text{- C} & \text{V}\\ \text{[-voiced]} & \end{matrix}\right\}$

(c) r- (verb stem) + -u (3rd.A) –> -N / V- _ $\begin{matrix}\text{- C} & \text{V}\\ \text{[+voiced]} & \text{[-high]}\end{matrix}$

-Q / V- _ $\begin{matrix}\text{- C} & \text{V}\\ \text{[-voiced]} & \end{matrix}$

(d) $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{h- (verb stem)}\\ \text{s- (verb stem)}\end{matrix}\right\}$ + -u (3rd.A) –> -H / V- _ $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{- C} & \text{V}\\ \text{[+voiced]} & \text{[-high]}\\ \text{- C} & \text{V}\\ \text{[-voiced]} & \end{matrix}\right\}$

(e) Nr –> nn

Note that (Rule 13-20e) obligatorily applies if an /Nr/ sequence is formed due to Rule 13-20b or c.

I will give some examples of verb stems which undergo the above rules in the following sections.

13.4.2.3.1 Stems Ending with /k-/ and /t-/

Stems ending with /k-/ and /t-/ are affected by Rule 13-20a. Examples:

/hunok-/ 'to become/be full in stomach' (S_O):

13-23	*hunok-u-hee*	'he/she will definitely become full in
	become.full.in.stomach-3S-DEFFUT	stomach' (Rule 13-20a not applied)
	huno'-hee	'idem' (Rule 13-20a applied)
	become.full.in.stomach.3S-DEFFUT	

/aat-/ 'to sleep/stay overnight' (S_A):

13-24	*aat-u-woo-kui*	'if he/she does not sleep, ...'
	sleep-3S-NEG-IMAG	(Rule 13-20a not applied)
	aa'-woo-kui	'idem' (Rule 13-20a applied)
	sleep.3S-NEG-IMAG	

/inak-/ 'to look after/be with' (transitive):

13-25a	*inak-u-ku*	'after he/she looks/looked after him/her,
	look.after-3O.3A-GEN.DS	sb else ...' (Rule 13-20a not applied)
	ina'-ku	'idem' (Rule 13-20a applied)
	look.after.3O.3A-GEN.DS	
b	*inak-u-ro*	'after he/she looks/looked after him/her,
	look.after-3O.3A-PERF.SS	he/she ...' (Rule 13-20a not applied)
	ina'-ro	'idem' (Rule 13-20a applied)
	look.after.3O.3A-PERF.SS	

13.4.2.3.2 Stems Ending with /p-/, /n-/ and /ng-/

Stems ending with /p-/, /n-/ and /ng-/ are affected by Rules 13-20b and e. Examples:

/maap-/ 'to sit down/be sitting' (S_A):

13-26	*maap-u-kuu-ng*	'he would sit down'
	sit.down-3S-IMAG-M	(Rule 13-20b not applied)
	maang-kuu-ng	'idem' (Rule 13-20b applied)
	sit.down.3S-IMAG-M	

/kiin-/ 'to climb' (S_A):

13-27	*kiin-u-woro*	'I wish he/she would climb'
	climb-3S-OPT	(Rule 13-20b not applied)
	kiim-woro	'idem' (Rule 13-20b applied)
	climb.3S-OPT	

/haarung-/ 'to feel pity on' (transitive):

13-28a	*haarung-u-hee*	'he/she will definitely feel pity on him/her'
	feel.pity.on-3O.3A-DEFFUT	(Rule 13-20b not applied)
	haarung-hee	'idem' (Rule 13-20b applied)
	feel.pity.on.3O.3A-DEFFUT	

b	*haarung-u-ra-na*	'she/he felt pity on her/him (F topic)'
	feel.pity.on-3O.3A-PERF-F	(Rule 13-20b not applied)
	haarunna-na	'idem' (Rule 13-20b and e applied)
	feel.pity.on.3O.3A-PERF-F	

13.4.2.3.3 Stems Ending with /r-/

Stems ending with /r-/ are affected by Rules 13-20c and e. Examples:

/okur-/ 'to get/be tired' (S_A):

13-29a	*okur-u-ti-kee*	'they two always get tired'
	get.tired-3S-dl-PRES.DP	(Rule 13-20c not applied)
	oku'-ti-kee	'idem' (Rule 13-20c applied)
	get.tired.3S-dl-PRES.DP	
b	*okur-u-woro*	'I wish he/she would get tired'
	get.tired-3S-OPT	(Rule 13-20c not applied)
	okum-woro	'idem' (Rule 13-20c applied)
	get.tired.3S-OPT	
c	*okur-u-ro*	'after he/she gets/got tired, he/she ...'
	get.tired-3S-PERF.SS	(Rule 13-20c not applied)
	okunno	'idem' (Rule 13-20c and e applied)
	get.tired.3S.PERF.SS	

/sir-/ 'to put' (transitive):

13-30a	*sir-u-heeto-ng*	'he/she will put it'
	leave-3O.3A-FUT-M	(Rule 13-20c not applied)
	si'-heeto-ng	'idem' (Rule 13-20c applied)
	leave.3O.3A-FUT-M	
b	*sir-u-raa*	'I wish he/she would not put it'
	leave-3O.3A-NEGOPT	(Rule 13-20c not applied)
	sinnaa	'idem' (Rule 13-20c and e applied)
	leave.3O.3A.NEGOPT	

13.4.2.3.4 Stems Ending with /h-/ and /s-/

Stems ending with /h-/ and /s-/ are affected by Rules 13-20d. Examples (see also the paradigm of the transitive verb /noh-/ in §13.3.3):

/mutih-/ 'to become/be/feel sweet/tasty' (S_O):

13-31	*mutih-u-ko-ng*	'it is tasty/ he felt tasty'
	be.tasty-3S-PRES-M	(Rule 13-20d not applied)
	mutih-ko-ng	'idem' (Rule 13-20d applied)
	be.tasty.3S-PRES-M	

/urisih-/ 'to leave (a place)' (S_A/transitive):[25]

13-32	*urisih-u-ro*	'after he/she leaves/left (it), he/she ...'
	leave-3S/3O.3A-PERF.SS	(Rule 13-20d not applied)
	urisih-ro	'idem' (Rule 13-20d applied)
	leave.3S/3O.3A-PERF.SS	

/tokis-/ 'to cut' (transitive):

13-33a	*tokis-u-hee*	'he/she will definitely cut it'
	cut-3O.3A-DEFFUT	(Rule 13-20d not applied)
	tokih-hee	'idem' (Rule 13-20d applied)
	cut.3O.3A-DEFFUT	
b	*tokis-u-woro*	'I wish he/she would cut it'
	cut-3O.3A-OPT	(Rule 13-20d not applied)
	tokih-woro	'idem' (Rule 13-20d applied)
	cut.3O.3A-OPT	

/kais-/ 'to cling to' (transitive):[26]

13-34a	*kais-u-ti-heetee*	'they two will cling to it'
	cling.to-3O.3A-dl-FUT.DP	(Rule 13-20d not applied)
	kaih-ti-heetee	'idem' (Rule 13-20d applied)
	cling.to.3O.3A-dl-FUT.DP	
b	*kais-u-ro-ng*	'he clung to it'
	cling.to-3O.3A-PERF-M	(Rule 13-20d not applied)
	kaih-ro-ng	'idem' (Rule 13-20d applied)
	cling.to.3O.3A-PERF-M	

13.4.2.4 Stems Ending with a C_2C Sequence in Surface Forms

Some stems ending with a C_2C sequence are not affected by any morphophonemic processes except for Rule 13-16 (i.e. the last consonant /C/ is simply dropped before /-m/ or /-r/). All the stems of this type I have attested are given below:

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[25] This verb is ambivalent. 3rd person S_A suffix and 3rd O and A suffixes have the same form.

[26] According to one of my informants, /kais-/ combined with a 3rd A suffix has another optional form, *kahih-*.

/hiNh-/ 'to decay', /naaQh-/ 'to be lazy' (S_O)
/kuQt-/ 'to be the same', /ruQh-/ '(sun/moon) to rise/ (plant) to grow' (S_A)
/haHk-/ 'to throw over', /hoHk-/ 'to throw over (towards)', /muQh-/ 'to be unable to cut through', /naNk-/ 'to bash', /niN=niNng-/ 'to shake', /nuNn-/ 'to swallow', /paatuNk-/ 'to carry on shoulder', /puQk-/ 'to prevent' (transitive)

Two transitive verb stems, /haQh-/ 'to throw away' and /siiQh-/ 'to put oil on', have alternative forms without a glottal stop, /haah-/ and /siih-/ respectively.

In the rest of the stems ending with a C_2C sequence, C_2 consonants alternate with Ci or Cu syllables. The form with Ci or Cu occurs only when the last consonant, in combination with the 3rd person A suffix /-u/, is dearticulated due to Rule 13-21 below.[27] For example,

13-35 *pa'r-u-hee* 'he/she will definitely shake it'
shake-3O.3A-DEFFUT
paki'-hee 'idem'
shake.3O.3A-DEFFUT

In 13-35, the transitive verb stem with a 3rd singular O and A *pa'r-u* alternates with the form *paki'*. The glottal stop of *paki'* is the realisation of /Q/ formed due to an optional dearticulation of the stem-final consonant /r-/ and the 3rd A suffix /-u/. However, the alternation of the glottal stop in the stem *pa'r-* and *ki* in the form *paki'* cannot be explained unless we posit the underlying form /pakir-/ for this verb stem. The /ki/ in the stem is dearticulated to /Q/ when followed by a CV syllable.[28]

For this reason, I posit underlying forms in the shape of /CiC-/ or /CuC-/ for all the verb stems which show similar alternations. They are listed below:

(1) stems which have /Q/ in C_2 position. The underlying form of this archi-stop may be /ki/, /ku/, or /tu/.

(i) stems ending with /kiC-/:

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/hahakij-/ ~ /hahakuj-/	*haha'j-*	'to work on' (transitive)

[27] Rule 13-21 consists of different sets of rules from Rule 13-20, although there are some similarities between them. Rules 13-21 and 13-22 apply only to the stems listed below in this section, while Rule 13-20 applies only to the stems listed in §13.4.2.3.

[28] We cannot posit /paQr-/ as the underlying form, because we cannot predict which of the CV syllables (*ki*, *ku* or *tu*) a glottal stop in the stem alternates with. The dearticulation of /ki/, /ku/ and /tu/ to Q is phonologically motivated, but not vice versa.

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/hakik-/	*ha'k-*	'to decorate' (transitive)
/hokir-/	*ho'r-*	'to cut/break' (transitive)
/kanakij-/	*kana'j-*	'to eat as protein food' (transitive)
/pakir-/	*pa'r-*	'to shake/swing' (transitive)
/raakir-/	*raa'r-*	'to bring upwards' (transitive)
/rakik-/ ~ /rakuk-/	*ra'k-*	'to bark (a tree)' (transitive)
/rikir-/	*ri'r-*	'to untie' (transitive)
/rokit-/	*ro't-*	'to take down' (transitive)
/sukik-/	*su'k-*	'to make sth/sb jump' (transitive)
/tuukik-/	*tuu'k-*	'to make sth/sb crawl' (transitive)
/uukij-/	*uu'j-*	'to ask sb (about sth)' (transitive)

(ii) stems ending with /kuC-/:

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/kukuk-/	*ku'k-*	'to dig' (transitive)
/pokuk-/	*po'k-*	'to hide' (transitive)
/pukuj-/	*pu'j-*	'to shout' (S_A)
/rukuk-/	*ru'k-*	'to cook by boiling' (transitive)
/ukuj-/	*u'j-*	'to pick from ground' (transitive)

(iii) stems ending with /tuC-/:

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/hotun-/	*ho'n-*	'to kindle (fire)' (transitive)
/rutun-/	*ru'n-*	'to ring/beat' (transitive)
/totuk-/	*to'k-*	'to hold/touch' (transitive)
/tutun-/	*tu'n-*	'to begin' (transitive)

(2) stems which have H in C_2 position. The underlying form of this archi-fricative is always /si/.

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/asik-/	*ahk-*	'to tell sb to go' (transitive)
/hisik-/	*hihk-*	'to break (solid food) into halves' (transitive)
/hisit-/	*hiht-*	'to turn the skin of sb's penis' (transitive)
/hosik-/	*hohk-*	'to pick (fruit)' (transitive)
/isir-/	*ihr-*	'to replace' (transitive)

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
?/kaasij-/[29]	*kaahj-*	'to cremate' (transitive)
/kokisik-/	*kokihk-*	'to season with salt' (transitive)
/kusik-/	*kuhk-*	'to put down' (transitive)
/nisik-/	*nihk-*	'to hit' (transitive)
/noposik-/	*nopohk-*	'to get puffed up/pregnant' (S_O/S_A)
/otosik-/	*otohk-*	'to play a trick on' (transitive)
/pisik-/	*pihk-*	'to look for' (transitive)
/peesik-/	*peehk-*	'to come upon' (transitive)
/resin-/	*rehn-*	'to sway/bend' (S_A)
/rusi=rusij-/	*ruh=ruhj-*	'to comb sb's hair' (transitive)
/rusik-/	*ruhk-*	'to submerge' (transitive)
/tusir-/	*tuhr-*	'to cut surface of' (transitive)
/waasiisik-/	*waasiihk-*	'to tell (story)' (transitive)

(3) stems which have /N/ in C_2 position. The underlying form of this archinasal may be /ni/, /nu/, /ngi/, /ngu/, /mu/, /pi/, or /ri/.

(i) stems ending with /niC-/:

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/honik-/	*hongk-*	'to hang' (transitive)
/hunik-/	*hungk-*	'to push in' (transitive)
/konin-/	*konn-*	'to build' (transitive)
/monit-/	*mont-*	'to stamp on' (transitive)
/nuunin-/	*nuunn-*	'to kiss' (transitive)
/nununit-/	*nununt-*	'to press' (transitive)
/onin-/	*onn-*	'to tie' (transitive)
/raanik-/	*raangk-*	'to rub/wipe' (transitive)
/renin-/	*renn-*	'to shake and carry' (transitive)
/ronin-/	*ronn-*	'to make sb tumble down' (transitive)
/runin-/	*runn-*	'to cook under charcoal' (transitive)
/ruunin-/	*ruunn-*	'to lower' (transitive)
/tonin-/	*tonn-*	'to spread' (transitive)
/tutunik-/	*tutungk-*	'to feel wet and cold' (S_O)

[29] According to one of my informants, /kaaHj-/ is the underlying form and it does not have the alternative form with *si*. cf. 13-57 below.

(ii) stems ending with /nuC-/:

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/hinung-/	*hingng-*	'to break (mountain)' (transitive)
/kinung-/	*kingng-*	'to think of' (transitive)
/miinut-/	*miint-*	'to massage' (transitive)
/minuk-/	*mingk-*	'to play' (transitive)
/ninut-/	*nint-*	'to make (waves)' (transitive)
/pokono=minung-/	*pokono=mingng-*	'to name after' (transitive)
/rinuk-/	*ringk-*	'to pass by' (S_A/transitive)

(iii) stem ending with /ngiC-/:

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/tongin-/	*tonn-*	'to cut (thread)' (transitive)

(iv) stem ending with /muC-/:

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/tomung-/	*tongng-*	'to pound' (transitive)

(v) stems ending with /piC-/:

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/haapin-/	*haann-*	'to dawn' (S_A)
/kopin-/	*konn-*	'to walk' (S_A)

(vi) stems ending with /riC-/:

underlying form	commonly realised as	gloss
/itarin-/	*itann-*	'to disallow' (transitive)
/kamarin-/	*kamann-*	'to feel cold' (S_O)
/kokirin-/	*kokinn-*	'to bite' (transitive)
/puurin-/	*puunn-*	'to buy/pay' (transitive)

The following optional dearticulation rules (Rule 13-21), and obligatory rules (Rule 13-22), apply to the above listed underlying stems. Note that Rule 13-22 applies after Rule 13-16 and Rule 13-21. Rule 13-17 comes after Rule 13-22, so there is no optional dearticulation of /-m-u/ or /-r-u/.

Rule 13-21 Dearticulation of Final Consonants of Underlying Verb Stems and 3rd A Suffix (Optional)

(a) $\begin{Bmatrix} k- \\ t- \end{Bmatrix}$ + -u (3rd.A) -> Q / _ $\begin{Bmatrix} -\ C & V \\ [+voiced] & [-high] \\ -\ C & V \\ [-voiced] & \end{Bmatrix}$

(e.g. 13-36a-b, 13-37b-c, 13-42b-c, 13-46, 13-47c, 13-48b)

(b) ng- + -u (3rd.A) -> N / _ $\begin{Bmatrix} -\ C & V \\ [+voiced] & [-high] \\ -\ C & V \\ [-voiced] & \end{Bmatrix}$

(e.g. 13-49a-b, 13-50)

(c) $\begin{Bmatrix} nin- \\ rin- \end{Bmatrix}$ + -u (3rd.A) -> $\begin{Bmatrix} nii \\ rii \end{Bmatrix}$ / _ - C V

(e.g. 13-52b-d, 13-53b-c)

(d) $\begin{Bmatrix} n-* \\ r- \end{Bmatrix}$ + -u (3rd.A) -> N / _ $\begin{matrix} -\ C & V \\ [+voiced] & [-high] \end{matrix}$

Q / _ $\begin{matrix} -\ C & V \\ [-voiced] & \end{matrix}$

(n-* is not preceded by /ni/ or /ri/)

(e.g. 13-35, 13-38a-c, 13-39b-d, 13-43b-c, 13-44b-c, 13-51b-d)

(e) V_i j- + -u (3rd.A) -> V_iV_i / _ - C V
[+high]

(e.g. 13-40b-c, 13-41b-c, 13-45b-c)

(f) Nr -> nn / _ V

(e.g. 13-38c, 13-39d, 13-43c, 13-44c, 13-49b, 13-51d)

Rule 13-21f obligatorily applies when an Nr sequence is formed due to Rule 13-21b and d.

Rule 13-22 Dearticulation of CV Syllables in Underlying Verb Stems (Obligatory)

(a) { ki (verb stem) / ku (verb stem) / tu (verb stem) } -> Q / V _ (-) C- V
(cf. 13-35 and 13-36 – 13-41 in §13.4.2.4.1)

(b) si (verb stem) -> H / V _ (-) C- V
(cf. 13-42 – 13-45 in §13.4.2.4.2)

(c) { ni (verb stem) / nu (verb stem) / ngi (verb stem) / mu (verb stem) / pi (verb stem) / ri (verb stem) } -> N / V _ (-) C- V
(cf. 13-46 – 13-53 in §13.4.2.4.3)

(d) j -> w / C_2 _ a
(cf. 13-41a and 13-45a)

(e) Nr* -> nn / _ V (r* is not a 2nd O suffix)
(cf. 13-53a - c)

Rule 13-22d obligatorily applies after Rule 13-22a and b, and Rule 13-22e after Rule 13-22c.

In the following sections I will give examples of verb stems which undergo the above rules. They are identified by the numbers in brackets under each rule.

13.4.2.4.1 Stems with Underlying Forms /VkiC-/, /VkuC-/ and /VtuC-/

The /ki/, /ku/ and /tu/ sequences of the stems of this class are dearticulated to /Q/ due to Rule 13-22a, when followed by a CV syllable. The stem-final C, when combined with a 3rd A suffix /-u/, may be dearticulated due to Rule 13-21; in such a case the underlying /ki/, /ku/ or /tu/ surfaces.

ro't- (/rokit-/) 'to take sth down from the top' (transitive):

13-36a *ro't-u-hee* 'he/she will definitely take it down from the top'
take.down-3O.3A-DEFFUT (Rule 13-21a not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
roki'-hee 'idem' (Rule 13-21a applied)
take.down.3O.3A-DEFFUT

b *ro't-u-woro* 'I wish he/she would take it down from the top'
take.down-3O.3A-OPT (Rule 13-21a not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
roki'-woro 'idem' (Rule 13-21a applied)
take.down.3O.3A-OPT

to'k- (/totuk-/) 'to hold/touch' (transitive):

13-37a *to'-m-u-i-na* 'he/she touched me (F topic)'
touch-1O-3A-NRPAST-F (Rule 13-16a –> Rule 13-22a)

b *to'k-u-mo* 'while he/she is/was holding him/her/it, he/she ...'
hold-3O.3A-GEN.SS (Rule 13-21a not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
totu'-mo 'idem' (Rule 13-21a applied)
hold.3O.3A-GEN.SS

c *to'k-u-ro* 'after he/she touches/-ed him/her/it, he/she ...'
touch-3O.3A-PERF.SS (Rule 13-21a not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
totu'-ro 'idem' (Rule 13-21a applied)
touch.3O.3A-PERF.SS

tu'n- (/tutun-/) 'to begin' (transitive):

13-38a *tu'n-u-heeworoko-ng* 'he/she is about to begin it (M topic)'
begin-3O.3A-IMFUT-M (Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
tutu'-heeworoko-ng 'idem' (Rule 13-21d applied)
begin.3O.3A-IMFUT-M

b *tu'n-u-woro* 'I wish he/she would begin it'
begin-3O.3A-OPT (Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
tutum-woro 'idem' (Rule 13-21d applied)
begin.3O.3A-OPT

c *tu'n-u-raa* 'I wish he/she would not begin it'
begin-3O.3A-NEGOPT (Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
tutunnaa 'idem' (Rule 13-21d and f applied)
begin.3O.3A-NEGOPT

ri'r- (/rikir-/) 'to untie' (transitive):

13-39a *ri'-r-a-hee* 'they more than two will definitely untie you (sg)'
untie-2O-3pcl.A-DEFFUT (Rule 13-16a –> Rule 13-22a)

b *ri'r-u-hee* 'he/she will definitely untie him/her/it'
untie-3O.3A-DEFFUT (Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
riki'-hee 'idem' (Rule 13-21d applied)
untie.3O.3A-DEFFUT

c *ri'r-u-woo-kui* 'if he/she does not untie him/her, ...'
untie-3O.3A-NEG-IMAG (Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
rikim-woo-kui 'idem' (Rule 13-21d applied)
untie.3O.3A-NEG-IMAG

d *ri'r-u-ro-ng* 'he/she untied him/her/it'
untie-3O.3A-PERF-M (Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
rikinno-ng 'idem' (Rule 13-21d and f applied)
untie.3O.3A-PERF-M

pu'j- (/pukuj-/) 'to shout' (S_A):

13-40a *pu'j-os-i-ng* 'I shouted' (Rule 13-22a)
shout-1S-NRPAST-M

b *pu'j-u-ti-hee* 'they two will definitely shout'
shout-3S-dl-DEFFUT (Rule 13-21e not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
pukuu-ti-hee 'idem' (Rule 13-21e applied)
shout.3S-dl-DEFFUT

c *pu'j-u-ro* 'after he/she shouts/shouted, he/she ...'
shout-3S-PERF.SS (Rule 13-21e not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
pukuu-ro 'idem' (Rule 13-21e applied)
shout.3S-PERF.SS

kana'j- (/kanakij-/) 'to eat as protein food' (transitive):

13-41a *kana'w-a-ro* 'after they more than two eat/ate it as protein,
eat.as.protein-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS they ...' (Rule 13-16a –> Rule 13-22a and d)

b *kana'j-u-hee* 'he/she will definitely eat it as protein'
eat.as.protein-3O.3A-DEFFUT (Rule 13-21e not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
kanakii-hee 'idem' (Rule 13-21e applied)
eat.as.protein.3O.3A-DEFFUT

c *kana'j-u-woro* 'I wish he/she would eat it as protein'
eat.as.protein-3O.3A-OPT (Rule 13-21e not applied. Rule 13-22a applied)
kanakii-woro 'idem' (Rule 13-21e applied)
eat.as.protein.3O.3A-OPT

13.4.2.4.2 Stems with Underlying Forms /VsiC-/

The /si/ sequences of the stems of this class are dearticulated to /H/ due to Rule 13-22b, when followed by a CV syllable. The stem-final C, when combined with a 3rd A suffix /-u/, may be dearticulated due to Rule 13-21; in such a case the underlying /si/ surfaces.

pihk- (/pisik-/) 'to look for sth/sb' (transitive):

13-42a	*pih-m-a-ko-ng*	'they more than two look for me'
	look.for-1O-3pcl.A-PRES-M	(Rule 13-16a –> Rule 13-22b)
b	*pihk-u-hee*	'he/she will definitely look for him/her/it'
	look.for-3O.3A-DEFFUT	(Rule 13-21a not applied. Rule 13-22b applied)
	pisi'-hee	'idem' (Rule 13-21a applied)
	look.for.3O.3A-DEFFUT	
c	*pihk-u-ra-na*	'she/he looked for her/him/it (F topic)'
	look.for-3O.3A-PERF-F	(Rule 13-21a not applied. Rule 13-22b applied)
	pisi'-ra-na	'idem' (Rule 13-21a applied)
	look.for.3O.3A-PERF-F	

rehn- (/resin-/) 'to sway/bend' (S_A):

13-43a	*rehn-i-i=ta-na*	'you (F) are swaying' (Rule 13-22b)
	sway-2S-PRESPROG-F	
b	*rehn-u-woro*	'I wish he/she would sway'
	sway-3S-OPT	(Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22b applied)
	resim-woro	'idem' (Rule 13-21d applied)
	sway.3S-OPT	
c	*rehn-u-ro*	'after he/she sways/swayed, he/she ...'
	sway-3S-PERF.SS	(Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22b applied)
	resinno	'idem' (Rule 13-21d and f applied)
	sway.3S-PERF.SS	

ihr- (/isir-/) 'to replace' (transitive) (note that 13-44a and the first form of 13-44b are the same):

13-44a	*ih-r-u-heeto-ng*	'he/she will replace you (sg) (M topic)'
	replace-2O-3A-FUT-M	(Rule 13-16a –> Rule 13-22b)

b *ihr-u-heeto-ng* 'he/she will replace him/her/it (M topic)'
replace-3O.3A-FUT-M (Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22b applied)
isi'-heeto-ng 'idem' (Rule 13-21d applied)
replace.3O.3A-FUT-M

c *ihr-u-raa* 'I wish he/she will not replace him/her/it'
replace-3O.3A-NEGOPT (Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22b applied)
isinnaa 'idem' (Rule 13-21d and f applied)
replace.3O.3A.NEGOPT

kaahj- (?/kaasij-/) 'to cremate' (transitive) (the forms marked by ? are not accepted by one of my informants):

13-45a *kaahw-a-a-ng* 'they cremated him/her'
cremate-3O.3pcl.A-NR/RMPAST-M (Rule 13-16b –> Rule 13-22b and d)

b *kaahj-u-hee* 'he/she will definitely cremate him/her'
cremate-3O.3A-DEFFUT (Rule 13-21e not applied. Rule 13-22b applied)
?*kaahuu-hee* 'idem' (Rule 13-21e applied)
cremate.3O.3A-DEFFUT

c *kaahj-u-woo-i* 'before he/she cremates/cremated him/her, he/she ...' (Rule 13-21e not applied. Rule 13-22b applied)
cremate-3O.3A-NEG-CONT.SS
?*kaahuu-woo-i* 'idem' (Rule 13-21e applied)
cremate.3O.3A-NEG-CONT.SS

13.4.2.4.3 Stems with Underlying Forms /VniC-/, /VnuC/, /VngiC-/, /VmuC-/, /VpiC-/ and /VriC-/

The /ni/, /nu/, /ngi/, /mu/, /pi/ and /ri/ sequences of the stems of this class are dearticulated to /N/ due to Rule 13-22c, when followed by a CV syllable. The stem-final C, when combined with a 3rd A suffix /-u/, may be dearticulated due to Rule 13-21; in such a case the underlying sequence surfaces.

mont- (/monit-/) 'to stamp on' (transitive):

13-46 *mont-u-ko-ng* 'he/she stamps on it'
stamp.on-3O.3A-PRES-M (Rule 13-21a not applied. Rule 13-22c applied)
moni'-ko-ng 'idem' (Rule 13-21a applied)
stamp.on.3O.3A-PRES-M

tutungk- (/tutunik-/) 'to feel wet and cold' (S_O):

13-47a	*tutum-mu-hee*	'I will definitely feel wet and cold.'
	feel.wet.and.cold-1S-DEFFUT	(Rule 13-16a –> Rule 13-22c)
b	*tutung-ru-hee*	'You will definitely feel wet and cold.'
	feel.wet.and.cold-2S-DEFFUT	(Rule 13-16a –> Rule 13-22c)
c	*tutungk-u-ro*	'after he/she feels/felt wet and cold, he/she ...'
	feel.wet.and.cold-3S-PERF.SS	(Rule 13-21a not applied. Rule 13-22c applied)
	tutuni'-ro	'idem' (Rule 13-21a applied)
	feel.wet.and.cold.3S-PERF.SS	

ringk- (/rinuk-/) 'to pass by' (S_A):[30]

13-48a	*ringk-oh=na-na*	'I (F) am passing by' (Rule 13-22c)
	pass.by-1S.PRESPROG-F	
b	*ringk-u-woro*	'I wish he/she would pass by'
	pass.by-3S-OPT	(Rule 13-21a not applied. Rule 13-22c applied.
	rinu'-woro	'idem' (Rule 13-21a applied)
	pass.by.3S-OPT	

kingng- (/kinung-/) 'to think of' (transitive):

13-49a	*kingng-u-heeto-ng*	'he will think of it'
	think.of-3O.3A-FUT-M	(Rule 13-21b not applied. Rule 13-22c applied)
	kinung-heeto-ng	'idem' (Rule 13-21b applied)
	think.of.3O.3A-FUT-M	
b	*kingng-u-ro*	'after he/she thinks/thought of it, he/she ...'
	think.of-3O.3A-PERF.SS	(Rule 13-21b not applied. Rule 13-22c applied)
	kinunno	'idem' (Rule 13-21b and f applied)
	think.of.3O.3A.PERF.SS	

tongng- (/tomung-/) 'to pound' (transitive):

13-50	*tongng-u-ti-ki-ni*	'they two used to pound it'
	pound-3O.3A-dl-HABPAST-DP	(Rule 13-21b not applied. Rule 13-22c applied)
	tomun-ti-ki-ni	'idem' (Rule 13-21b applied)
	pound.3O.3A-dl-HABPAST-DP	

konn- (/kopin-/) 'to walk/move' (S_A) (note that the surface form of the stem, and some inflected forms of this verb, are the same as those of the transitive verb *konn-* 'to build' exempilfied below):

[30] This verb is ambivalent. It can also be used as a transitive verb stem.

13-51a	*konn-ongo-ng* walk-1S.PRES-M	'I always walk' (Rule 13-22c)
b	*konn-u-ku* walk-3S-GEN.DS *kopi'-ku* walk.3S-GEN.DS	'after he/she walks/walked, sb else ...' (Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22c applied) 'idem' (Rule 13-21d applied)
c	*konn-u-woro* walk-3S-OPT *kopim-woro* walk.3S-OPT	'I wish he/she would walk' (Rule 13-21d not applied.Rule 13-22c applied) 'idem' (Rule 13-21d applied)
d	*konn-u-ra-na* walk-3S-PERF-F *kopinna-na* walk.3S.PERF-F	'she walked' (Rule 13-21d not applied. Rule 13-22c applied) 'idem' (Rule 13-21d and f applied)

konn- (/konin-/) 'to build' (transitive) (compare the folowing examples with 13-51a - d):

13-52a	*konn-ungo-ng* build-3O.1A.PRES-M	'I always build it' (Rule 13-22c)
b	*konn-u-ku* build-3O.3A-GEN.DS *konii-ku* build.3O.3A-GEN.DS	'after he/she builds/built it, sb else ...' (Rule 13-21c not applied. Rule 13-22c applied) 'idem' (Rule 13-21c applied)
c	*konn-u-woro* build-3O.3A-OPT *konii-woro* build.3O.3A-OPT	'I wish he/she would build it' (Rule 13-21c not applied. Rule 13-22c applied) 'idem' (Rule 13-21c applied)
d	*konn-u-ra-na* build-3O.3A-PERF-F *konii-ra-na* build.3O.3A-PERF-F	'she built it' (Rule 13-21c not applied. Rule 13-22c applied) 'idem' (Rule 13-21c applied)

kamann- (/kamarin-/) 'to feel cold' (S_o):

13-53a	*kamam-mu-i-na* feel.cold-1S-NRPAST-F	'I felt (and am still feeling) cold' (Rule 13-22c and e)

b *kamann-u-mo* 'while he/she is feeling cold, he/she ...'
feel.cold-3S-GEN.SS (Rule 13-21c not applied. Rule 13-22c and e applied)

kamarii-mo 'idem' (Rule 13-21c applied)
feel.cold.3S-DEFFUT

c *kamann-u-raa* 'I wish he/she would not feel cold'
feel.cold-3S-NEGOPT (Rule 13-21c not applied. Rule 13-22c and e applied)

kamarii-raa 'idem' (Rule 13-21c applied)
feel.cold.3S-NEGOPT

CHAPTER 14 VALENCY OF VERBS

14.1 INTRODUCTION

As discussed in Chs 12 and 13, verb stems in Motuna can take one or more of the five types of cross-referencing marking (O/A, S_O, S_A and irregular markings in active voice, and middle suffixes in middle voice). Verb forms, in turn, may take:

(1) core noun phrases, which are obligatorily cross-referenced,
(2) Complements, which are not cross-referenced but are nevertheless syntactically obligatory, and
(3) peripheral arguments, which are syntactically optional.

Transitive verb forms (hence transitive verbs) require two core arguments (O and A), while intransitive verb forms (hence intransitive verbs) require only one (S). Transitive verbs may further take one or two Complements (Cs), and intransitive verbs may take one. Thus, as far as the number of obligatory participants are concerned, a verb form can have one or more of the five types of valency below:[1]

Intransitive verbs:

one-place	S		V		
two-place	S	C	V		

Transitive verbs:

two-place	O		A		V
three-place	O		A	C	V
four-place	O	C	A	C	V

Note that A NPs can be in ergative or absolutive case, while O NPs are always in absolutive case.

This chapter is organised as follows:

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[1] The order of NP constituents and verbs given here is the unmarked one, although almost any constituents can be placed in different order or be left unexpressed, due to discourse factors. Specifically, the order of O, A and V is discussed in §3.3.1.1.

(1) In §14.2, I will reexamine the criteria of transitivity.
(2) In §14.3, I will discuss the valency of underived verb stems (and forms).
(3) In §14.4 – §14.6, I will discuss the valency of all the non-reciprocal verb stems (and forms), which are derived by three valency-changing suffixes, i.e., the stimulative (§14.4), the causative (§14.5), and the applicative (§14.6) suffixes.
(4) In §14.7, I will discuss reciprocal verb stems (and forms).

14.2 TRANSITIVITY

As already discussed in Chs 12 and 13:

(1) An S_O suffix consists of an O suffix and the invariant /-u/ which is formally identical with the 3rd person singular A suffix.
(2) An S_A suffix is formally identical with an A suffix. The 3rd person O suffix is realised as zero before the 2nd and 3rd person A suffixes, but when it is followed by the 1st person A suffix /-o/, the latter is realised as *-u* due to Rule 13-14.

Thus, if we simply rely on the criterion of cross-referencing markings to determine whether a particular verb form is transitive or intransitive, then we cannot distinguish:

(1) a transitive verb which takes only 3rd person singular (non-human) A, from an S_O verb which takes 3rd person singular C, or
(2) a transitive verb which takes only 3rd person singular (non-human) A and O, from an S_A verb stem which takes 3rd person singular S and C.

In the above cases we must depend on the second criterion, i.e., that of the number and types of argument NPs the verb requires, to decide whether it is transitive or intransitive.

In general, an A NP can be either in absolutive (if it is a sentential topic) or ergative case, while an S or C NP is never in ergative case. So if a verb has two obligatory NPs which can never be marked by the ergative suffix, they are S and C. For example, the two NPs *nii* 'I' and *tuu* 'water', which *haa-* 'to agree/want' takes in the following sentence, are never marked by the ergative suffix:

14-1 *nii / *ni-ngi* *tuu / *tuu-ngi* *haa-mu-u-ng.*
I /*I-ERG water /*water-ERG want-1S_O-NRPAST-M
[S] [C]
'I want water.'

The S_O verb 'to become/be/feel hot' *toko=tokoh-* has an obligatorily reduplicated stem (cf. §15.6.2). Reduplication of the stem is optional when it functions as a transitive verb 'to heat' as in 14-3, where *raa-ki* '(by) the sun' and *ong raa* 'this sun' are A arguments.

14-2 *nii* *toko=toko-mu-u-ng.*
I feel.hot-1S_O-NRPAST-M
'I am feeling hot.'

14-3a *ong* *kuuwaa* *raa-ki* *tokoh-u-u-ng.*
DEM.M small.puddle sun-ERG heat-3O.3A-NRPAST-M
'This small puddle (Topic) was heated by the sun.'

b *ong* *raa* *kuuwaa* *tokoh-u-u-ng.*
DEM.M sun small.puddle heat-3O.3A-NRPAST-M
'This sun (Topic) heated the small puddle.'

The verb stem *maapuk-* functions as a transitive verb with the causative sense 'to fill', in:[2]

14-4 *nii /ni-ngi* *hoo* *kaapu* *ho-i* *tuu* *maapuk-us-i-ng.*
I /I-ERG ART.M cup ART.M-ERG water fill-3O.1A-NRPAST-M
'I filled the cup with water.'

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[2] The following sentence allows two readings:

hoo *kaapu* *ho-i* *tuu* *maapuk-u-u-ng.*
ART.M cup ART.M-ERG water fill-3O.3A?/3S_A?-NRPAST-M
(i) 'Someone filled the cup with water.'
(ii) 'The cup was filled with water.'

In the reading (i), *maapuk-u-u-ng* is a transitive verb (A NP is not expressed, and *ho-i tuu* 'with water' is a peripheral argument). It is not clear, however, whether *maapuk-u-u-ng* in the reading (ii) is a transitive or an intransitive verb. The sentence with the absolutive NP *ong tuu* fronted as a topic is marginally accepted by one of my informants, but is not accepted by the other.

?ong *tuu* *hoo* *kaapu* *maapuk-u-u-ng.*
DEM.M water ART.M cup fill-3O.3A-NRPAST-M
'?This water filled the cup.'

It is also used with only one absolutive NP, usually with a 3rd person inanimate referent, not being accompanied by any other absolutive or ergative NP. It functions as an S_A verb[3] in such sentences:

14-5 *tiko hoo ruupang toku nompa maapuk-u-u-ng.*
and ART.M bamboo.container not quickly become.full-3S_A-RMPAST-M
'And the bamboo container didn't become full quickly.' (XI-9)

14-6 *ehkong ong Maawo hoo-jori aru=aru honna na-waki*
now DEM.M 'male.name' ART.M-LOC cane.basket big one-CL.carrier
... arut-oro-mo tu-ku arutoro-mo
pile.self-MID.3S-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS pile.self-MID.3S-GEN.SS
tu-ku arutoro-mo tu-ku manni
be.3S-GEN.DS pile.self-MID.3S-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS then
maapuk-u-u-ng hoo aru=aru.
become.full-3S_A-RMPAST-M ART.M cane.basket
'Now, this Maawo (the Snake) kept piling and piling and piling himself in a cane basket ..., and then the cane basket became full.' (I-11)

In 14-6, since the medial verb with an aspectual verb *arut-oro-mo tu-ku* is marked by the different subject suffix, and its subject is *Maawo*, the subject of the main verb *maapuk-u-u-ng* should most naturally be interpreted as *hoo aru=aru* 'the cane basket', and not *Maawo*.

Verbs in middle voice are regarded as intransitive, because they cross-reference only one argument NP even if they take two argument NPs. The noun phrase which is cross-referenced by such a verb functions as an S argument, and it is not usually marked by ergative case.

There is, however, at least one exception. The three-place transitive verb *hohk-* 'to throw sth (C) towards sb (O)':

14-7 *ong poko o-'ri hoh-r-ongu*
DEM.M had.better DEM-CL.round.object throw.towards-2O-1A.GEN.DS
te-i-hee.
eat-3O.2A-DEFFUT
'O.K. I had better throw this round one (Malayan apple) towards you, and you will definitely eat it.' (XI-19)

In middle voice it takes two argument NPs. The one which is cross-referenced as an S

[3] It seems that *maapuk-* in this context seems to be an S_A, and not an S_O verb. According to my informants, the form with a 1st person S_A such as *maapuk-os-i-ng* 'I became full (by eating or drinking sth)' can be used in unnatural circumstances such as in fairy tales.

can be either in ergative or absolutive case. Ergative case in combination with middle voice is unusual. Note the ergative marker *-ki* of *Paanaangah-ki* in the following example, where the verb *hohk-* takes the middle S suffix *-oo*:

14-8 *... Paanaangah-ki* *muh* *hohk-oo-ro* ...
'ancestor's.name'-ERG bush throw.over-MID.3S-PERF.SS
'... Paanaangah threw (it) over into the bush ...' (XIII-23)

14.3 VALENCY OF UNDERIVED VERB STEMS

14.3.1 Intransitive-Only Verb Stems

14.3.1.1 S_O Verbs

The following is a complete list of S_O verb stems I have found both in my corpus and from elicitation. Note that all the verbs with S_O suffixes denote either inner experiences (such as *haa-* 'to agree/want', *kamann-* 'to feel cold'), or uncontrolled events (such as *hingh-* 'to decay', *kipi'tak-* 'to hiccup'). In the former case S NPs are Experiencers, and in the latter case they are Patients.

the stems which take S_O suffixes only:[4]

14-9 *haa-* 'to agree/want'
hingh- 'to decay'
hunok- 'to become/be full in stomach'
kaah- 'to disagree/not to want'
kamann- 'to feel cold'
kipi'tak- 'to hiccup'
kurah- 'to become/be cooked/dry, to be bewitched'
maajoh- 'to feel shy'
mongu'ha- 'to become/be numb'
musi'ka- 'to feel painful'
mutih- 'to become/be/feel tasty/sweet'
naa'h- 'to become/be lazy'
ooruh- 'to become/be afraid'
piih- '(one's blood/tears) to drip'
siiho- 'to become/be ill'
urah- 'to become/be/feel heavy'
rakurakuh- 'to become/be/feel light in weight'

[4] According to one of my two main informants some of the verb stems, especially *hunok-*, *rotoorah-* and *riino-*, may take S_A suffixes as well in certain circumstances. The other one does not accept it.

rotoorah- 'to become/be spoilt/useless'
riino- 'to feel'

the stems which can take both S_O and S_A suffixes (without any observable semantic difference):

14-10 *nopohk-* 'to get/be puffed up'
topukuk- 'to become/be/feel wet and cold'
tutungk- 'to become/be/feel wet'

the stem which can take both S_O and middle suffixes (without any observable semantic difference):

14-11 *kinot-* 'to become/be submerged'

All the S_O verbs listed above, except for *haa-* 'to agree/want' and *kaah-* 'to disagree/not to want', are one-place.

The S_O verbs *haa-* 'to agree/want' and *kaah-* 'to disagree/not to want' require an absolutive NP (14-12), a verbal noun phrase (14-13), or a dependent verbal clause with a verb in Definite Future (14-14 and 14-15), as a Complement. If the dependent clause has a transitive verb in Definite Future, either the A (as in 14-14) or O (as in 14-15) argument of such a verb need to be coreferential to the S of *haa-* or *kaah-*.

14-12a *nii* *tuu* *haa-mu-u-ng.* 'I want water.'
[S] [C]
I water want-1S-NRPAST-M

b *nii* *tuu* *kaa-mu-u-ng.* 'I do not want water.'
[S] [C]
I water not.want-1S-NRPAST-M

14-13a ... *noni* *pih-arei-ko* *toku* *haa-moru-u-ng.*
we.exc go-VN-EMPH not want-1pcl.exc.S-NRPAST-M
[S] [C]
'... we do not want to go.' (XV-8)

b *noni* *pih-arei-ko* *kaa-moru-u-ng.*
we.exc go-VN-EMPH not.want-1pcl.exc.S-NRPAST-M
[S] [C]
'We do not want to go.'

14-14a *roo* *mono-'-hee* *haa-u-u-ng.*
you.sg see-2O.3A-DEFFUT want-3S-NRPAST-M
[C]
'He wants to see you.' (I-20)

b *roo* *mono-'-hee* *kaah-u-u-ng.*
you.sg see-2O.3A-DEFFUT not.want-3S-NRPAST-M
[C]
'He does not want to see you.'

14-15 *tiwo=tiih-ku* *manni* *haa-u-u-na* *ho-i*
say.that.way.to.3O.3A-GEN.DS then want-3S-RMPAST-F ART.M-ERG
[C ->
Maawo *roti-i-hee.*
'male.name' marry-3O.3A-DEFFUT
->]
'After (Maawo's mother) had told her this, she wanted Maawo to marry her. [She accepted Maawo's mother's proposal that Maawo marry her.]' (I-6)

14.3.1.2 S_A Verbs

As mentioned in §12.3.2, S_A verbs constitute the largest class of intransitive verbs. They include most activity verbs (such as *kumar-* 'to laugh', *konn-* 'to walk/move'), and a few verbs which denote uncontrollable events (such as *haarok-* 'to fall') or processes (such as *honnak-* 'to grow up'). Examples:

the stems which take S_A suffixes only:

14-16 *kumar-* 'to laugh' *konn-* 'to walk'
mon- 'to look' *nok-* 'to say'
pu'j- 'to shout' *patak-* 'to arrive'
kiin- 'to climb' *maap-* 'to sit down/be sitting'
it- 'to stand up/be standing' *okur-* 'to get/be tired'
haarok- 'to fall' *rumar-* 'to stink'
riit- 'to take long' *rii(h)-* 'to become/be'
honnak- 'to grow up' *ponnaak-* 'to become many'

the stems which can take both S_A and middle suffixes:[5]

14-17 *kuuk-* 'to (get to) know' (S_A), 'to manage (to do)' (middle)
mohkoruuk- 'to approach'
kaamuak- 'to become/be round'
kaakotok- 'to become/be white' (S_A)[6], *kaakoto-* 'to become/be white' (middle)
pehkitak- 'to become/be small' (S_A), *pehkita-* 'to become/be small' (middle)

[5] The difference between S_A and middle forms, except in the case of *kuuk-*, is not clear to me.

[6] Adjectival/verbal roots take the epenthetic /k/ before S_A suffixes. cf. §12.4.2.

Verb stems which can take both S_O and S_A suffixes are listed in 14-10.

The majority of S_A verbs are one-place. There are, however, quite a few verbs which take Complements of different types:

verbs	gloss	Complements
rii(h)-	'to become/be'	absolutive NP, AP, PartP
ku't-	'to become/be the same'	similative NP
mon-	'to look'	similative NP
kuuk-	'to (get to) know'	absolutive NP, verbal noun
nok-	'to say/think'	quotation
tiwo=tiik-	'to say that way'	quotation
tiik-	'to say'	DEFFUT verbal clause

The verb *rii(h)-* 'to become/be' takes an absolutive NP (14-18 and 14-19), an AP (14-20), or a participle phrase in passive construction (cf. §16.3.4), as C.

14-18 *hoo* *Siuai-no-po* *nommai* *tanaku'-ngung*
ART.M 'place.name'-LINK-CL.people people industrious-pl
[S] [C]
rii-wa-a-ng.
become-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'Siwai people became industrious people.' (III-62)

14-19 ... *ti-kitee* *tiisia* *tu'-monno*
ART.L-ABL teaching begin-MID.1S.PERF.SS
moi *peekang* *rii-mo*
year three become.1S-GEN.SS
[C]
hoo *ngo-ng* *poo'ki* *simiri* *muuko-o'-na.*
ART.M 1sg.POSS-M child first give.birth.to-3O.1A.RMPAST-F
'... as three years passed (lit. I became three years) from the time when I started teaching, I gave birth to my first child.' (XVI-8)

14-20 *ong-ko* *munu* *siri=sirim-woo-ro*
DEM.M-EMPH body REDUP=become.thin-MID.3S-PERF.SS
peh=pehkita'-ro *roki* *oi* *irihwa-noh-ni*
REDUP=become.small.3S-PERF.SS just [DEM.DIM finger]-as.big.as-DIM
[C]
rii-ra-na.
become.3S-PERF-F
'This body (of hers) became gradually thin and small, and became just as big as that finger.' (XV-78, cf. 7-19)

The verb *ku't-* 'to become/be the same' takes a similative NP as C.

14-21 *roki hoo-nowo kuuraha ku't-u-u-ng hoo monare.*
just ART.M-SIML bush.track be.same-3S-RMPAST-M ART.M road
[C]
'The road was just the same as a bush track.' (XV-46, cf. 3-60)

The verb *mon-* may function as a one-place verb in the sense of 'to look' (as in 14-22). As a two-place verb 'to look (like)', it takes a similative NP as C (as in 14-23).

14-22 *hurir-oo-ro ti-kitee koto rii'-kitee moni=moni-heeta-na.*
fly-MID.3S-PERF.SS ART.L-ABL up top-ABL REDUP=look.2S-FUT-F
'You will fly and look round from up on the top.' (XIV-13)

14-23 *ho-ko manare roki muh rii-juu*
ART.M-EMPH road just bush be.3S-CONT.DS
roki hoo-nowo maikupa mon-uu-juu
just ART.M-SIML forest look-3S-CONT.DS
[C]
ai umii-ni.
I.tell.you go.1pcl.exc.S-RMPAST-DP
'... the road was just like a bush, and looked just like a forest, I tell you, when I went.' (XV-44, cf. 17-35)

The stem *kuuk-* may take both S_A and middle suffixes. As an S_A verb (in the sense of 'to (get to) know'), it takes an absolutive NP (14-24) or a verbal noun phrase (14-25) as C.

14-24 *hii! nii tii jaki ong-ko kuna*
oh.dear I ART.F as.you.know DEM.M-EMPH traditional.medicine
[C --->
toku noi kuuk-o-ma-na!
not any know-1S-GEN-F
--->]
'Oh dear! As you know, I don't know any of that traditional medicine!' (V-9)

14-25 *impa tii hoo asariin-arei toku kuuk-u-u-na ...*
now she ART.M swim-VN not know-3S-RMPAST-F
[C]
'Now, she didn't know how to swim ...' (VI-57)

As a middle verb in the sense of 'to manage (to do)', it requires a local noun phrase

derived from a verbal noun phrase as C:

14-26 ... *tii* *uri* *huh-arei-no* *manni* *toku* *kuu-moo-ra-na.*
ART.L home come-VN-L certainly not manage-MID.1S-PREPERF-F
[C]
'... I certainly did not manage to come home.' (XV-83)

S_A verbs *nok-* 'to say, think' and *tiwo=tiik-* 'to say that way' take direct quotations as Complements. The verb *nok-* always precedes a quotation (as in 14-27), while *tiwo=tiik-* follows a quotation (cf. §12.4.4).[7]

14-27 *manni* *hoo* *muhni* *nin=ningng-oro-ku* *nak-a-a-ng:*
then ART.M bush REDUP=shake-MID.3S-GEN.DS say-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
"hoo=hoo *Rumanung* *ehkong* *hu-i=to-ng."*
so the.Giant now come.3S-PRESPROG-M
'Then, when the bush shook, they said: "So the Giant is coming now." ' (VIII-13)

The verb *tiik-* 'to say' takes a Definite Future verbal clause as C:

14-28 *impa* *pi-ro* *mono-i-hee* *tiik-u-u-ng.*
now go.2S-PERF.SS see-3O.2A-DEFFUT say-3S-NRPAST-M
'He said that you (should) go and see him now.' (XXXV-39)

14.3.1.3 Temporal Verbs

Motuna has a few temporal verbs which always take a 3rd person singular subject. e.g. *haapinn-* 'to dawn', *ri'nonok-* 'to become afternoon', *muu=rii(h)-* 'to get dark'. Except for *muu=rii(h)-*, which is the compound of *muu* 'night' and the S_A verb *rii(h)-* 'to become' (cf. §12.4.4), there is no way to tell whether they are S_O or S_A verbs, since S_O and S_A suffixes are identical in 3rd person singular. Usually they take no overt subject NP, but they may take a dummy subject *hoo* (or its emphatic form *ho-ko*), or a word which refers to the circumstances such as *kiakia* 'morning', *ong koto* 'up there'.

14-29a *hoo=hoo* *muu=rii-ku* *manni* *kuu'=kuu'* *kor-opeena-na.*
so get.dark.3S-GEN.DS then hooting say-1S.FUT-F
'So when it gets dark, then I will make a hooting.' (X-36)

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[7] The same applies to the corresponding transitive verbs *noh-* 'to say to' and *tiwo=tiih-* 'to say to like that'. cf. §14.3.2.1.

b *no-r-opee:* *"ho-ko* *ehkong* *muu=rii-ko-ng.*
say.to-2O-1A.DEFFUT it-EMPH now get.dark.3S-PRES-M
'I will definitely say to you: "It got dark just now." ' (X-36, cf. 6-24)

14-30a *tii* *haapi'-ku* *ong* *noni-mo* *ho-i* *haha'*
when dawn.3S-GEN.DS DEM.M our.exc-father ART.M-ERG work
pi-ro *heekoo-ki* *tuu-juu.*
go.3S-PERF.SS somewhere-ERG be.3S-CONT.DS
'When it dawned, our papa (= the narrator's husband[8]) had gone for work and was somewhere (= was not at home).' (XV-63)

b *impa* *tii* *kiakia'* *haapi'-ku* *ai* *uko-opito*
now when morning dawn.3S-GEN.DS I.tell.you carry-3O.1A.dl.PERF.SS
mi-ti-ku *impa* *nah-a-a-na: "..."*
go.1S-dl-GEN.DS now say.about-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
'Now when the morning dawned, well, we carried her (= our daughter) and went there, and they said about her: "..."' (XV-65)

14.3.1.4 Irregular Verbs

Among the five irregular verbs, three verbs denote activities (*pi(h)-* 'to go', *hu(h)-* 'to come' and *paa(h)-* 'to cry'), and one verb an uncontrollable event (*puu(h)-* 'to die'). These four verbs are one-place.

The last verb *tu(h)-* is polysemous. As a copula, it takes an absolutive or similative noun phrase, an adjective phrase, or a participle phrase (cf. §16.3.3), as a Complement. As an existential verb 'to be', it can be used without any arguments except for S, or with peripheral arguments such as ergative or absolutive local noun phrases which denote locations, comitative noun phrases which denote companions, or temporal, manner or locational adverbials.

For example, in the following sentence, the first *nu-i* is an inflected form of the copula verb *tu(h)-* with the adjective *peh=pehkita* 'very small' as a Complement, and the second *nuu-juu* is an inflected form of the existential verb *tu(h)-* 'to be' with the ergative local noun phrase *ti-ki miisini-ngori-ki* 'in the mission' as a peripheral argument.

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[8] The husband is called "X's papa/father", where X refers to his child(ren), and may further include his wife and other members of the family.

14-31 ... *ore* *peh=pehkita* *nu-i* *ti-ki* *miisini-ngori-ki*
well REDUP=small COP.1S-CONT.SS ART.L-ERG mission-L-ERG
[C (AP)] [Peripheral Argument]
nuu-juu *ngo-wor-u-ng.*
be.1S-CONT.DS happen-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'... well, (the big flood) happened while I was very small and I was in the mission.' (VI-29)

Another example of the copula verb *tu(h)-*:

14-32 *tii* *tii* *koringono* *tu-ti-ki-ni.*
they.DP ART.DP enemy COP.3S-dl-HABPAST-DP
[C (NP)]
'They two used to be enemies (to each other).'

Another example of the existential verb *tu(h)-*:

14-33 *hoo* *ree-mo* *noo* *tu-ro-ng?*
ART.M your.nonsg-father possibly be.3S.PERF-M
'Is there possibly your husband (lit. your father[9]) ?' (XV-2)

As in 14-33, the Perfect form of *tu(h)-* expresses present existence. In a negative sentence, when the Complement is followed by the negative particle *toku* and the numeral *noi* 'a/one/any' (cf. §8.2.2.1.1), the presence of the Perfect form of the verb *tu(h)-* is optional (cf. 14-106).

14-34 *kuu-ngi* *tuu* *toku* *noi* *(tu-ro-ng).*
village-ERG water not any (be.3S-PERF-M)
'There is not any water in the inside.'

Note that both the copula verb *tu(h)-* and the existential verb *tu(h)-* 'to be' have defective TAM paradigms. cf. Ch 15.

14.3.1.5 Middle Verbs

All the middle-only verbs are one-place verbs. They express one of the following meanings:

(1) physical actions which crucially involve one's body.
e.g. *kuroh-* 'to run/be running', *ne'w-* 'to sit down/be sitting'

[9] cf. fn 8.

(2) uncontrollable events which affect oneself.

e.g. *turio-* 'to become/be alarmed', *hiiro-* 'to become/be hungry'

(3) complex activities in which one is involved.

e.g. *sikuulu-* 'to be educated', *tupurai-* 'to burn off the bush'

The verbs of the first and the third types are action verbs. S NPs of these verbs are Agents. S NPs of the verbs of the second type, on the other hand, are Patients or Experiencers. See further discussion and examples in §12.3.3.2.

The verb stems which can take both middle suffixes and S_O or S_A suffixes are exemplified in 14-11 and 14-17 respectively.

14.3.2 Transitive-Intransitive Verb Stems

The majority of verb stems which can function as transitive verbs seem to be able to function as intransitive verbs as well.[10]

The following are active-only stems which can take both transitive (O/A) suffixes and S_O or S_A suffixes.

the stems which can take both S_O and O/A suffixes:

14-35 *ruutoh-* 'to become/be impressed' (S_O), 'to stare' (transitive)
(*toko=tokoh-* 'to become/be/feel hot' (S_O), *tokoh-* 'to heat' (transitive), cf. §14.2)

the stems which can take both S_A and O/A suffixes:

14-36 *aaring-* 'to go inside' (S_A), 'to cross over' (transitive)
ringk- 'to pass by' (S_A), 'to pass by' (transitive)
urisih- 'to leave' (S_A), 'to leave' (transitive)
irimak- 'to chew betel nuts' (S_A), 'to chew (betel nuts)' (transitive)
maapuk- 'to be full' (S_A), 'to fill' (transitive) (cf. §14.2)

The stems which can take both middle and O/A suffixes are discussed and exemplified in §12.3.3.1. To sum up, transitive verb forms with O/A suffixes always express transitive actions, while their middle counterparts express one or more of the following meanings according to their valencies:

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[10] I do not know whether verb stems such as *noh-* 'to say to', *mi'no-* 'to instruct', *kung-*'to bring/take to one's place', *pokono=mingng-* 'to name after', etc., can take middle suffixes or not. One of my informants suggests that they can under certain circumstances (with reflexive or autonomous meanings), while the other says they cannot.

(1) reflexive actions, where S corresponds to A and O.

e.g. *mono-* (middle) 'to see/look at oneself' vs *mono-* (O/A) 'to see/look at'
tokis- (middle) 'to cut oneself/one's bodypart' vs *tokis-* (O/A) 'to cut'

(2) autonomous processes or events, where S corresponds to O.

e.g. *mono-* (middle) 'to appear' vs *mono-* (O/A) 'to see/look at'
tani- (middle) 'to wake up' vs *tani-* (O/A) 'to awaken'

(3) activities in which one is invoved, where S corresponds to A.

e.g. *mono-* (middle) 'to be careful' vs *mono-* (O/A) 'to see/look at'
taapu- (middle) 'to participate' vs *taapu-* (O/A) 'to help'

Most primary transitive verbs function as two-place verbs, and middle verbs as one-place verbs. The verbs which take Complements are discussed in the following sections.

14.3.2.1 Transitive Verbs Which Take Complements

The majority of three- and four-place verbs are those derived by the applicative suffix /-jee/ (cf. §14.6.2). There are, however, four primary transitive verb stems which require an absolutive NP as a Complement: *o-* 'to give sth (C) to sb (O)', *nai-* 'to show sth (C) to sb (O)', *hohk-* 'to throw sth (C) towards sb (O)' (cf. §14.2), and *tong-* 'to call/name sb (O) sth (C)'. *Tong-* can also function as a four-place verb in the sense of 'to give sb (O) (his/her) name (C) sth (C)'.

14-37 *nii* *ong* *miika* *o-m-i-ng.*
me DEM.M leftover.of.betel.mixture give.to-1O-2A-pcl.IMP
[O] [C]
'Give that betel mixture (in your mouth) to me.' (IX-1)

14-38 *ih!* *tii* *heekoo* *ro-oku* *tu-ro-no*
oh.dear ART.L some.place $_{REL}$[your.sg-mother be-PERF-L]
[C]
nai-m-i-hee.
show.to-1O-2A-DEFFUT
'Oh dear! You will definitely show to me (some place) where your mother is.' (XIII-66)

14-39 *hoo impa Keehno tang-a-'-ko-ng.*
them now 'tribe.name' call-3O.3pcl.A-pcl-PRES-M
[O] [C]
'Now people call them Keehno tribe.' (XI-30)

14-40 *nii hoo ngo-m mii tii-ngi umoka-nno nuka-nno*
me ART.M 1sg.POSS-M name ART.DP-ERG my.father-and my.mother-and
[O] [C_1] [A]
ore Rokuma to-m-u-'-na.
well 'female.name' name-1O-3A-dl.RMPAST-F
[C_2]
'My father and mother, well, gave me my name "Rokuma".' (VI-2)

The verbs *noh-* 'to say to/think about sb' and *tiwo=tiih-* 'to say to sb that way' take direct quotations as Complements (cf. §12.4.4 and §14.3.1.2).

14-41 *roo tii haa no-r-ongu: "ong-ngi nuri*
you.sg ART.F as.you.know say.to-2O-1A.GEN.DS DEM.M-ERG my.son
roti-r-o-o," kaa-ru-ka-na.
marry-2O-3A-IMP refuse-2S-PRES-F
'Whenever I say to you, as you know: "Let my son marry you", you refuse.' (I-5)

The verb *mi'no-* 'to instruct sb' take a verbal noun phrase (14-42) or a Definite Future verbal clause (14-43) as C:

14-42 *manni mi'=mi'no-o-r-u-ng hoo kohni nga-warei.*
then REDUP=instruct-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M ART.M gardens make-VN
'Then he instructed them how to make gardens.' (III-61)

14-43 *owo sir-i-hee mi'no-r-os-i-ng.*
DEM.L put-3O.2A-DEFFUT instruct-2O-1A-NRPAST-M
'I instructed you to put it here.' (XXXV-38)

tiih- 'to tell sb' take Definite Future verbal clauses as Complements:

14-44 *roo tangah pi-hee tii-r-a-i=ro-ng.*
you.sg I.suppose go.2S-DEFFUT tell-2O-3pcl.A-PRESPROG-M
'I suppose it is you whom they are telling to go.' (XXXV-156)

14.3.2.2 Middle Verbs Which Take Complements

Representative middle verbs, which take Complements of different types, are discussed below.

14.3.2.2.1 The Middle Verb *ngo-*

The verb stem *ngo-* functions as a two-place transitive verb in the sense of 'to do/make' in active voice. In middle voice it may function as a one-place or a two-place verb. The A and/or O argument(s) in active voice correspond to the S argument in middle voice in the following way:

corresponding valency	gloss of the middle verb	types of C
(1) O/A <–> S	'to make oneself ~'	local noun, similative NP
(2) O <–> S	'to happen'	—
(3) A <–> S	'to be involved (in an event), make (it), produce, get'	manner adverbial, verbal noun, absolutive NP

When used in the sense of 'to make oneself ~' (1), the middle verb *ngo-* takes a local noun (as *koto* in 14-45) or a similative noun phrase (as *hoo-nowo* in 14-46) as C:

14-45 *haaro'-ro manni. tiko jeewo-ning koto ngo-woro-hee?*
fall.3S-PERF.SS then so how-towards up make.self-MID.3S-DEFFUT
'He fell (into the river) then. So how could he make himself upright (immediately)?' (V-5, cf. 15-86)

14-46 *hoo-nowo nge-ree-iaa-ko.*
him-SIML make.self-MID.2S-pcl.NEGOPT-EMPH
'I wish that you may not behave [lit. make yourselves] like him.' (IX-36)

In the sense of 'to happen' (2), it is one-place. It often takes a local or temporal NP/adverbial as a peripheral argument (as *tii muungo* 'at night' in 14-47).

14-47 ... *hoo ipi' tii muungo ngo-wor-u-ng.*
ART.M earthquake ART.L night happen-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'... the earthquake happened at night.' (XVI-11)

14-48 *hia noi ngo-woro-ku*
thing some happen-MID.3S-GEN.DS
ti-ki ima-mara-raa-ko.
there-ERG get.stuck-MID.1pcl.exc.S-NEGOPT-EMPH
'I wish that we would not get stuck there when something happens.' (XV-9)

Finally, in the sense of 'to be involved (in an event)/make it/produce/get' (3), it takes a Complement which may be:

(i) a manner adverbial:

14-49 *tiwo* *nge-wee-ti-mo* *manni* *tii* *motu*
that.way make.it-MID.3S-dl-GEN.SS then ART.L middle
[C]
hukar-u-'-ni.
arrive-3S-dl.RMPAST-DP
'While they two made it that way, they arrived in the middle.' (XII-32)

14-50 *oi* *jeewo-ning* *jaa* *nge-wee-to*
DEM.DP how-towards I.wonder be.involved-MID.3S-dl.PERF.SS
[C]
nawa'=roki *hu-h=tutee?*
immediately come.3S-dl.PRESPROG.DP
'I wonder in what kind of activities those two (sons of mine) were involved so that they came (back) immediately?' (XII-38)

(ii) a verbal noun phrase:

14-51 *tii* *T.* *siiho-o-ku* *manni* *hoo* *tii*
ART.F 'female.name' become.ill-3S-GEN.DS then ART.M there
[C --->
turu-warei *manni* *toku* *ngo-mon-na.*
return-VN certainly not make-MID.1S.PERF-F
--->]
'After T. had become ill, (then) I certainly did not manage to return there.' (XV-71)

(iii) an absolutive NP which refers to the byproduct of a natural phenomenon:

14-52 *ong* *raa* *kirokowo* *toko=toko* *honna* *ngo-wor-i-ng.*
DEM.M sun really heat big produce-MID.3S-NRPAST-M
[C]
'This sun produced really big heat.' (XXXIII-6)

14-53 *honna'-ro* *manni* *hea* *kaamuak-ah*
grow.big.3S-PERF.SS then thing be.round-PART
[C]
ngowo=ngo-wor-u-ng.
REDUP=produce-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'After it grew big, it produced round things.' (XII-49)

(iv) an absolutive NP which refers to an uncontrollable event itself:

14-54 *hii!* *ana* *ai* *kjangsa* *ngo-woo-ra-na.*
oh.dear DEM.F I.tell.you cancer get-MID.3S-PERF-F
[C]
'Oh dear! This girl, I tell you, has got cancer.' (XV-69, cf. 15-38)

14-55 *ih!* *nii* *kipi'ta* *ngo-moro-ko-ng.*
oh.dear I hiccup get-MID.1S-PRES-M
[C]
'Oh dear! I just started hiccuping.' (VII-27)

(v) a loanword which refers to an activity:

14-56 ... *ti-kitee* *Moosbii* *hoo-jori* *telepon* *ring*
ART.L-ABL 'place.name' ART.M-LOC telephone ring
[C]
ngo-woro-mo *nok-u-u-ng: "..."*
make-MID.3S-GEN.SS say-3S-RMPAST-M
'... (he) made a ring on the telephone from Moresby and said: "..." ' (XV-2)

14-57 *tiko* *aplai* *ngo-mor-u-ng.*
and apply make-MID.1S-RMPAST-M
[C]
'And I made an application.' (XXX-158)

14.3.2.2.2 The Middle Verb *piruk-*

In active voice *piruk-* functions as a transitive verb in the sense of 'to turn (over)'. In middle voice, it functions either as a one-place verb with the reflexive reading 'to turn oneself over' (as in 14-58), or as a two-place verb with the autonomous reading 'to be turned (into)' (as in 14-59). In the latter case, it takes an absolutive NP (14-59), an AP or a manner adverbial as a Complement.

14-58 *aat-opi-h* *piru=piruk-oro-mo* *toku-ko* *topo.*
sleep-1S-dl.CONT.SS REDUP=turn.over.self-MID.3S-GEN.SS not-EMPH well
'While we two (= I and my daughter) were sleeping, she (= my daughter) turned herself over all the time uncomfortably.' (XV-60, cf. 17-16)

14-59 ... *ong* *koho* *o'koo* *kuino-ngung* *kupuri-ngung*
DEM.M down those stick-PL stone-PL
[C]
piruk-eer-u-ng.
be.turned.into-MID.3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'Those (dwarfs) down there were turned into those sticks and stones.'
(IX-32, cf. 15-117)

14.3.2.2.3 Other Middle Verbs

Some middle verbs, which denote reflexive actions, may take absolutive NPs referring to bodyparts as Complements.

heur- (middle) 'to flap one's bodypart':
14-60 ... *hoo* *o'koo* *kuuo* *heu=heu-roro-heeto-ng.*
ART.M those wings flap.self-MID.1S-CONT.DS
'... you will flap those wings of yours repeatedly.' (V-31, cf. 15-175)

tokis- (middle) 'cut one's bodypart':
14-61 ... *hoo* *irihwa* *n-ajaa* *u'kisa*
ART.M finger one-CL.wrapped.object.lengthwise $_{REL}$[long.ago
haha'-woro-mo *tokis-or-u-ng* ...
work-MID.3S-GEN.SS cut.self-MID.3S-RMPAST-M]
'... one of her fingers which she cut long ago while she was working ...'
(VIII-46, cf. 12-25b, 17-63)

Middle verbs denoting events in which the subject referents are involved, may take absolutive NPs as Complements. Such NPs refer to habitual or non-specific events.

nihk- (middle) 'to plan':
14-62 *u'kisa* *hoo* *poringi-ngung* *manni* *hoo* *ori*
long.ago ART.M bird-PL certainly ART.M feast
[S] [C]
nihuk-ee-r-u-ng.
plan-MID.3S-pcl-RMPAST-M
'Long ago the birds certainly planned (to give) a feast.' (X-1)

komik- (middle) 'to finish':
14-63 *sikuulu* *komik-oro-ku* ...
schooling finish-MID.3S-GEN.DS
'After he finished schooling, (they) ...' (II-19, cf. 12-31b)

14.4 THE STIMULATIVE SUFFIX /-sii(h)/

The stimulative suffix /-sii(h)/ is attached to the stems of intransitive (S_O, S_A or middle) verb forms which denote subjective feelings or emotive actions. The stimulative suffix demotes the original S which refers to the Experiencer, and promotes the Stimulus of such experience to S status. The demoted S may be absent, or may be expressed by a locative NP. The derived verbs are intransitive with middle voice suffixes.

Participles may be derived from stimulative verb stems. Participles are used more frequently than the inflected forms of stimulative verbs themselves. See below.

Morphologically, the final consonant of the original verb stem is dropped before the stimulative suffix /-sii(h)/. Some of the stems are obligatorily reduplicated. The final /h/ of /-sii(h)/ optionally occurs only before the participle suffix. Examples:

14-64	original verb stems	derived verb stems
	kamann- 'to feel cold' (S_O)[11]	*kama'sii(h)-* 'to be cold'
	maajoh- 'to become/be ashamed' (S_O)	*maajo-sii(h)-* 'to be embarrassing'
	ruutoh- 'to be impressed' (S_O)	*ruuto-sii(h)-* 'to be impressive'
	toko=tokoh- 'to feel hot' (S_O)	*toko=toko-sii(h)-* 'to be hot'
	kumar- 'to laugh' (S_A)	*kuma=kuma-sii(h)-* 'to be funny'
	okur- 'to get/be tired' (S_A)	*oku-sii(h)-* 'to be tiring'
	haring- 'to become/be worried' (middle)	*hari=hari-sii(h)-* 'to be worrying'
	ni'r- 'to be surprised' (middle)	*ni'-sii(h)-* 'to be surprising'

14-65a *hoo* *leeta* *mono-ongjo* *kirokowo*
ART.M letter see-3O.1pcl.A.PERF.SS very
hari=hari-mara-ree.
REDUP=become.worried-MID.1pcl.exc.S-PERF.DP
'After we had read the letter, we became very much worried.' (XV-82)

b *hari=hari-siih-ah* *hoo* *neeko-ng* *koro=koro* *roki*
REDUP=be.worried-STML-PART ART.M 1nonsg.POSS-M language just
mono-ong-juu *ong* *komikar-ei-ko.*
see-3O.1pcl.A-CONT.DS DEM.M be.finished-VN-EMPH
'It is worrying to see our language just dying out (lit. being finished).' (XXIV-35)

---

[11] The underlying form of *kamann-* is /kamarin-/ (cf. §13.4.2.4), and the final /n/ of this stem is dropped before the stimulative suffix. The /ri/ sequence is further dearticulated to /Q/:

/kamarir-/ + /-sii(h)-/ –> kamari-sii(h)-
–> kama'-sii(h)-

14-66a *toku-ko* *kumar-opeena-na.*
not-EMPH laugh-1S.FUT-F
'I will never laugh.' (VIII-10)

b *kuma=kuma-sii-wor-i-ng.*
REDUP=laugh-STML-MID.3S-NRPAST-M
'He behaved in a funny way./ The situation became funny.'

c *nii-jori* *kuma=kuma-siih-ah.*
me-LOC REDUP=laugh-STML-PART
'It is funny to me.'

14.5 THE CAUSATIVE SUFFIX /-wooto/

The causative suffix /-wooto/ is attached to the stems of intransitive (S_O, S_A, irregular and middle) verb forms, to derive transitive verbs by introducing new A arguments. The initial /w/ of the suffix is dropped before a consonant-final stem due to Rule 13-16b.

It may be attached to intransitive-only stems (§14.5.1) or transtive-intransitive (especially active-middle) stems (§14.5.2). In the latter case, the original verb forms are always interpreted as intransitive (middle) verbs.

In addition, there are lexical causative verbs which have no corresponding stems without the causative suffix. They will be discussed in §14.5.3.

14.5.1 Causative Derivation of Intransitive-Only Verb Stems

Regardless of the type of the original intransitive verb, the causative suffix introduces a new A argument. The S argument of the original verb corresponds to the O argument of the derived causative verb.

S	(C)		V
|	|		!
O	(C)	**A**	**V-CAUS**

The S argument of the original intransitive verb may be Actor or Undergoer according to the semantics of the verb. The referent of the new A argument is the controller of the whole event described by the causative verb, and the referent of the O argument is completely manipulated by him/her.

Examples of one-place verbs:

14-67 *hunok-* (S_O) 'to become/be full in stomach'
–> *hunok-ooto-* 'to make sb feel full in stomach'
siiho- (S_O) 'to become/be ill' –> *siiho-wooto-* 'to cause sb to be ill'
patak- (S_A) 'to arrive' –> *patak-ooto-* 'to have sb/sth arrive, to take/carry sb/sth'
it- (S_A) 'to stand' –> *it-ooto-* 'to establish sth, to cause sb/sth to stand'
iirong- (S_A) 'to get/be angry, to be sharp' –> *iirong-ooto-* 'to make sb angry, to make sth sharp'
pi(h)- (irregular) 'to go' –> *pih-ooto-* 'to have sb/sth go, to take/lead sb/sth'
puu(h)- (irregular) 'to die' –> *puu-wooto-* 'to cause sb/sth to die'
ne'w- (middle) 'to sit down/be sitting' –> *ne'w-ooto-* 'to make sb sit'
arap- (middle) 'to become/be bad' –> *arap-ooto-* 'to make sb/sth bad'

14-68a

hoo	*nee*	*muumiaku*	*impa*	*patak-u-i=to-ng.*
ART.M	it.must.be	lord	now	arrive-3S-PRESPROG-M

'(My) lord must be arriving now.' (I-10)

b

uko-o-ro	*ehkong*	*tii*	*huhno*	*patak-ooto-o-ko-ng.*
carry-3O.3A-PERF.SS	now	ART.L	mouth.of.river	arrive-CAUS-3O.3A-PRES-M

'(The current of the river) carries him and now makes him arrive at the mouth of the river.' (V-23)

14-69a

hoo	*kitoria*	*hoo*	*pau*	*nee-wa-ro*	*topo*	*meeng*
ART.M	children	ART.M	food	eat-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS	well	very

hunok-uru-u-ng.
become.full.in.stomach-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'After the children had eaten the food, they became very much full in stomach.' (III-45)

b

roki=manni	*topo*	*meeng*	*hunok-ooto-o-r-u-ng.*
really	well	very	become.full.in.stomach-CAUS-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M

'He made them certainly very much full in stomach.' (III-14)

14-70a

tii	*tii*	*Perui*	*ti-ki*	*pu-u-na.*
ART.F	ART.F	'witch's.name'	there-ERG	die.3S-NRPAST-F

'Perui the witch died there.' (VII-53)

b

tiko	*roho-wa-ro*	*puu-woota-wa-a-na.*
and	bake-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS	die-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F

'Then they baked her and caused her to die.' (XIII-41)

14-71a *tiko* *manni* *ti-ki* *ne'w-o-i* *manni*
and then there-ERG be.sitting-MID.3S-CONT.SS then
hoo *uruwi* *noh-u-u-ng: "..."*
ART.M centipede say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'And then, while sitting there, he said to the centipede: "..." ' (VII-39)

b *tiko* *hoo* *tuu* *ino-o-hee* *pi-ku* *tii* *poringi*
and ART.M water fetch-3O.3A-DEFFUT go.3S-GEN.DS ART.F bird
tii *ne'w-oota-wa-ro* *nah-a-a-na: "..."*
there sit-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS say.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
'Then, after she went to fetch water, they made the female bird sit there and said to her: "..." ' (XI-7)

An example of one-place stimulative verb followed by the causative suffix:

ruutoh- 'to be impressed' –>*ruuto-sii(h)-* 'to be impressive' (cf. 14-64):

14-72 *woi,* *roki=manni* *topo* *katu-m-i-i-ng.*
boy really well trim-1O-2A-NRPAST-M
ruuto-sii-wooto-m-i-i-ng.
be.impressed-STML-CAUS-1O-2A-NRPAST-M
'Boy, you trimmed my hair really well. You made me look impressive. ' (IV-8)

Examples of two-place verbs:

14-73 *rii(h)-* (S_A) 'to become ~' –> *rii-wooto-* 'to make sb/sth ~'
kuuk- (S_A) 'to know sth' –> *kuuk-ooto-* 'to let sb know sth, to teach sb sth'
haa- (S_O) 'to want sth' –> *haa-wooto-* 'to make sb want sth'
kaah- (S_O) 'not to want sth' –> *kaah-ooto-* 'to make sb dislike sth'

Compare 14-74 with 14-18 – 14-20, and 14-75 with 14-24 and 14-25:

14-74 *manni* *Kihili* *inokee* *hoo* *mision* *honna*
then 'place.name' again ART.M mission big
rii-wootą-wa-a-no *tii* *Kooau* *sih-a-mo.*
become-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-L ART L 'place name' leave-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS
'Then they made Kihili a big mission as they left Kooau.' (II-10)

14-75 *piano* *mingkar-ei-ko* *kuuk-ooto-m-i-hee.*
piano play-VN-EMPH know-CAUS-1O-2A-DEFFUT
'You will definitely teach me how to play the piano.'

14.5.2 Causative Derivation of Transitive-Intransitive Verb Stems

As mentioned above, the causative suffix is attached only to the stems of intransitive verb forms. Thus when it is attached to transitive-intransitive stems, especially active-middle stems, it allows only the intransitive (middle) readings. The S argument of the original middle verb corresponds to the O argument of the causative verb, as is the case with the verbs discussed in §14.5.1.

As is discussed in §12.3.3 and §14.3.2, the middle verb forms of active-middle stems may refer to (1) "reflexive actions", (2) "autonomous events" or (3) "events in which one is involved". Accordingly, if a particular middle verb can have more than one reading, the derived causative verb can also be interpreted in more than one way.

For example, the active-middle verb stem *ngo-* can have three different readings in middle voice, as exemplified in §14.3.2.2.1. See the following examples of the causative verb *ngo-wooto-*, which express three meanings corresponding to those of the original middle form:

ngo- (middle) 'to make oneself ~' denoting (1) "reflexive actions" (cf. 14-45 and 14-46):

14-76 *ong aang sira ponnaa koot-e-u-ro*
DEM.M branch fruit many be.plenty-APPL-3O.3A-PERF.SS
urah-ro koto ngowo=ngo-wooto-o-i=to-ng.
become.heavy.3S-PERF.SS down REDUP=make.self-CAUS-3O.3A-PRESPROG-M
'This branch bore lots of fruits, and it became heavy, and fruits are making it lower and lower (lit. causing it to make itself down).' (XXXV-145)

ngo- (middle) 'to happen' denoting (2) "autonomous events" (cf. 14-47 and 14-48):

14-77 *ong kuunuu hii-ngi ngo-wooto-o-i=to-ng.*
DEM.M wave wind-ERG happen-CAUS-3O.3A-PRESPROG-M
'The wind is causing these waves (to happen).' (XXXV-143)

ngo- (middle) 'to be involved (in an event)' (3) (cf. 14-49 ~ 14-57):

14-78 *ho-ko pa-i paa ua ngo-wooto-o-i=tee?*
it-EMPH who-ERG who what be.involved-CAUS-3O.3A-PRESPROG-DP
[A] [O] [C]
'Who is causing whom to be involved in doing/making what?' (XXXV-144)

Other causative verbs found in my corpus:

14-79 *to-* (middle) 'to hit oneself' (2)[12] –> *to-wooto-* 'to cause sb/sth to hit him-/her-/itself'

uko- (middle) 'to be engaged in carrying' (3) –> *uko-wooto-* 'to let sb (O) carry (sth)'

kuuto- (middle)'to wait/be waiting' (3) –> *kuuto-wooto-* 'to make sb/sth wait'

to'k- (middle) 'to take hold' (3) –> *to'k-ooto-* 'to let sb take hold (on sth)'

taapu- (middle) 'to participate' (3) –> *taapu-wooto-* 'to add sth (O) (to sth)'

14-80a *kui-kitee* *to-wor-i-ng*.
tree-ABL hit.self-MID.3S-NRPAST-M
'He fell from a tree and hit himself. '

b *toku-ko* *to-wooto-i-heeto-ng*.
not-EMPH hit.self-CAUS-3O.2A-FUT-M
'You will not cause (the baby) to hit him-/herself.' (XX-11)

14-81a *ong* *ukuna-kori* *koto* *uko-roro-hee*.
DEM.M shoulder-LOC up carry-MID.2S-DEFFUT
'Carry this up on the shoulder.'

b *tii-ko* *peeko-no* *uri* *turu-wee-m-mo*
ART.L-EMPH 3nonsg.POSS-L village return-MID.3S-pcl-GEN.SS
uru-ku *hoo* *pau* *ponnaa* *uko-wooto-o-r-u-ng*.
CONT.3pcl.S-GEN.DS ART.M food plenty carry-CAUS-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M
[Periph. Arg]
'As they were returning to their village he let them carry plenty of food.' (III-15)

14-82a *Maawo* *po-oku* *ehkong* *kuuto-wo-i*
'male.name' his-mother now be.waiting-MID.3S-CONT.SS
okur-u-u-na.
get.tired-3S-RMPAST-F
'While waiting now, Maawo's mother got tired.' (I-28)

b ... *tii* *hinra'* *tii* *kuuto-woota-wa-ro*
ART.F thunder there wait-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS
[O]
sih-a-a-na.
leave-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
'... they made the thunder wait there and left her.' (XI-15)

---

[12] This is not a reflexive action. See 12-29 and fn 24 in §12.3.3.1.

14-83a *haarok-o-mo* *kui-kori* *to'-mor-i-ng.*
fall-1S-GEN.SS tree-LOC take.hold-MID.1S-NRPAST-M
'As I fell, I took hold on the tree.'

b *ong* *angu* *tii* *to'k-ooto-m-i-hee.*
DEM.M hand there take.hold-CAUS-1O-2A-DEFFUT
'Let me take hold there (on your body) with this hand.' (XV-61)

14-84a *Paanaangah* *ehkong* *taapu-woo-ro*
'ancestor's.name' now participate-MID.3S-PERF.SS
pihk-a-i=ro-ng.
look.for-3O.3pcl.A-PRESPROG-M
'Now, after Paanaangah participates, they start [lit. are] looking for it.' (XXIII-26, cf. 12-30b)

b *ong* *tuu* *hoo* *hiuo-ko* *kuu-ngi* *tu-ro-ng*
DEM.M water ART.M $_{REL}$[clay.pot-PURP inside-ERG be.3S-PERF-M]
[O] [Periph. Arg]
taapu-wooto-i-heeto-ng.
participate-CAUS-3O.2A-FUT-M
'You will add this water to what is in the clay pot.' (XXXV-137)

14.5.3 Lexical Causative Verbs

The following four transitive verbs are lexical causative verbs. They have no corresponding stems without the causative suffix.

meekusingngooto- 'to believe':
14-85 *tii* *uri* *patak-a-ro* *meekusingngoota-wa-a-ng*
ART.L village arrive-3pcl.S-PERF.SS believe-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
hoo *kitoria* *peeko-ng* *koro=koro ...*
ART.M children 3nonsg.POSS-M words
'After they arrived at the village, they believed the children's words ...' (III-57)

turo=turooto- 'to drop one after another' (reduplication is obligatory, cf. §15.6.2):
14-86 *manni* *roki* *turo=turooto-o-ng*
then just drop.one.after.another-3O.3pcl.A.RMPAST-M
roki *tii* *Perui-ko* *rii'.*
just ART.L 'witch's.name'-PURP top
'Then he just dropped (the coconuts) one after another just on top of Perui.' (VII-36)

kima=tuhooto- 'to practise polygamy with':[13]

14-87 *roki* *ree* *kiisakaro* *kima=tuhooto-r-opi-ti-heenuto-ng.*
just you.nonsg two.CL.human practise.polygamy.with-2O-1A-dl-FUT-M
'I will practise polygamy just with two of you.' (XVI-62)

tuutuhooto- 'to fight with':

14-88 *hoo* *honoponongu* *tuutuhooto-o-ru-mo* *nu-ko-ng.*
ART.M elder.people fight.with-3O.1A-pcl-GEN.SS be.1S-PRES-M
'I kept on fighting with the elder people.' (XXX-35)

14.6 THE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX /-jee/

The applicative suffix /-jee/ is attached to the verb stems of both intransitive and transitive verb forms. In the case of transitive-intransitive (especially active-middle) stems, it allows only the transitive (active) readings, in contrast with the causative suffix which allows only intransitive (middle) readings, of the stems.

In most cases, it increases the valency of the original verb form by introducing a new O, C, S, or Possessor. It derives transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, two-place intransitive verbs from one-place intransitive verbs, or three-place transitive verbs from two-place transitive verbs. When it is attached to three-place transitive verbs, it may derive four-place transitive verbs, or the valency may remain as it is.

14.6.1 Applicative Derivation of Intransitive-Only Verb Stems

The applicative suffix derives transitive verbs from the stems of all the one-place S_A verbs, three irregular verbs (*pi(h)-* 'to go', *hu(h)-* 'to come', and *paa(h)-* 'to cry'), and two S_O verbs (*ooruh-* 'to become/be afraid', *maajoh-* 'to feel shy'). It moves the S arguments of these verbs to A status, and introduces new O arguments. Semantically, the new O argument may be Patient (14-89b), Goal (14-90b) or Theme (14-92b, 14-93b).

	S	V
	|	|
O	A	V-APPL

[13] This seems to be a compound of *kima* 'polygamy' and *tuh-ooto-* 'to cause to exist' (the causative form of the existential verb *tu(h)-*).

Examples of one-place verbs:

14-89 *ooruh-* (S_O) 'to become/be afraid' –> *ooruh-ee-* 'to become/be afraid of'
maajoh- (S_O) 'to become/be ashamed' –> *maajoh-ee-* 'to become/be ashamed of'
iirong- (S_A) 'to get/be angry' –> *iirong-ee-* 'to get/be angry with'
patak- (S_A) 'to arrive' –> *patak-ee-* 'to arrive at'
kumar- (S_A) 'to laugh' –> *kumar-ee-* 'to laugh at'
paa(h)- (irregular) 'to cry' –> *paah-ee-* 'to cry for'
pi(h)- (irregular) 'to go' –> *pih-ee-* 'to go for'

14-90a *po'tee meeng iirang-a-a-ng hoo kuraisa po-mo-ro.*
very very get.angry-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M ART.M woman her-relative-nonsg
'The woman's relatives got very very angry.' (I-16)

b *poti ponnaa-kori tii-ngi nuka iirong-ee-m-mo-ng ...*
time many-LOC/L ART.F-ERG my.mother get.angry-APPL-1O.3A-GEN-M
'Many times my mother used to get angry with me ...' (II-28)

14-91a *hoo=hoo impa hoo ngo-m poti pata'-ko-ng.*
so now ART.M 1sg.POSS-M time arrive.3S-PRES-M
'So now my time has arrived.' (IV-9)

b *tii raareerah patak-e-u-ku nii tii*
ART.L noon arrive-APPL-3O.3A-GEN.DS I ART.L
noniko-no howo-no mi-mo pau-moro-mo
1nonsg.exc.POSS-L house-L go.1S-GEN.SS take.meal-MID.1S-GEN.SS
inokee turu-moro-mo nu-kuu-ng.
again return-MID.1S-GEN.SS be.1S-IMAG-M
'At noon (lit. when it would arrive at noon), I would keep going to our house, taking a meal, and again returning.' (II-18)

14-92a *tiko tiwo=tiih-a-ku manni paa-ng.*
and that.way=say.to-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.DS then cry.3S.RMPAST-M
paa-mo tu-ki-ng.
cry.3S-GEN.SS be.3S-HABPAST-M
'And when they said to him that way, he cried. He kept crying.'(IX-10 -11)

b ... *paah-e-u-mo* *manni* ... *roki hoo* *nong puri*
cry-APPL-3O.3A-GEN.SS then just ART.M only head
uko-o-to *manni* *tii* *howo-ko* *saa* *ai*
carry-3O.3A-dl.PERF.SS then ART.L house-PURP side I.tell.you
roku'-t-u-ng.
bury.3O.3A-dl-RMPAST-M
'... she cried for (the eldest son), and then they two (= the mother and her youngest son) just carried (only) his head and, I tell you, buried it beside their house.' (XII-40)

14-93a *mono-o-ro* *tii* *pehka* *po'tee meeng* *ooruh-u-u-na.*
see-3O.3A-PERF.SS ART.F girl very very become.afraid-3S-RMPAST-F
'When the girl saw it, she became very very afraid.' (I-12)

b *ong* *nommai* *ni-ngi* *ooruh-ee-u-h=no-ng.*
DEM.M person I-ERG be.afraid-APPL-3O.1A-PRESPROG-M
'I keep distance from (lit. am afraid of) that person.'

The applicative suffix also derives transitive verbs from the stems of two-place intransitive verbs *kuuk-* 'to (get to) know', *haa-* 'to agree/want' and *kaah-* 'to refuse/not to want'. The S argument of the original verb is moved to A status, and the Complement is promoted to O. In addition, a new Complement may be introduced.

S	C		V
|	|		|
A	O	(C)	**V-APPL**

The verb *kuuk-* 'to (get to) know' can take an absolutive NP which refers to a non-human referent, or a verbal noun, as a Complement (cf. 14-24 and 14-25). The applicative verb *kuuk-ee-* 'to (get to) know (about)', on the other hand, takes either an O argument with a human referent (14-94), or an O argument and a verbal noun phrase as a Complement (14-95).

14-94 *tiko* *kuuk-e-ut-u-ng.*
then know-APPL-3O.1A-RMPAST-M
'I knew him then.' (XVI-37)

14-95 *impa hoo hiru nommai tu'ki-ngi ino-wa-mo*
then ART.M salt.water people all-ERG fetch-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS
[O]
hoo pau kokihk-arei kuuk-ee-wa-a-ng.
ART.M food cook-VN know-APPL-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
[C]
'Then all the people knew about how to fetch the sea water and season the food (with it).' (I-43)

Similarly, the applicative verb *haa-jee-* 'to need/want' and *kaah-ee-* 'to dislike' take an O argument (as in 14-96), and may furthermore take either a verbal clause (as in 14-97) or a verbal noun phrase (as in 14-98) as C. cf. 14-12 – 14-15 in §14.3.1.1.

14-96 *ong tuu ni-ngi haa-jee-uh=no-ng.*
DEM.M water I-ERG want-APPL-3O.1A.PRESPROG-M
[O] [A]
'I need this water (for some purpose).'

14-97 *roo ho-i ro-ora jii ro-owoi-ka*
you.sg ART.M-ERG your.sg-wife's.father and your.sg-wife's.brother-nonsg
[O] [A]
mono-r-a-hee haa-jee-r-a-a-ng.
see-2O-3pcl.A-DEFFUT want-APPL-2O-3pcl.A-NRPAST-M
[C]
'Your father-in-law and brothers-in-law want to see you.' (I-21)

14-98 ... *oi-ngi moomoo-nno nuka-nno*
DEM.DP-ERG my.father-and my.mother-and
[A]
ongi tu-i tuh-arei-ko haa-jee-m-u-ti-ka-na.
DEM.L.ERG be.3S-CONT.SS be-VN-EMPH want-APPL-1O-3A-dl-PRES-F
[C]
'... these parents of mine want me to stay here. (VI-22)

In the case of the following one-place S_o verbs, S is maintained and a new C which refers to S's bodypart is introduced. The derived verbs are two-place S_o verbs.

S		V
|		|
S	C	V-APPL

14-99 *siiho-* (S_o) 'to become/be ill' –> *siiho-jee-* (S_o) 'to become/be ill at (bodypart)'

musi'ka- (S_0) 'to feel pain' –> *musi'ka-jee-* (S_0) 'to feel pain in (bodypart)'
urah- (S_0) 'to feel heavy' –> *urah-ee-* (S_0) 'to feel heavy at (bodypart)'
rakurakuh- (S_0) 'to feel light in weight' –> *rakurakuh-ee-* (S_0) 'to feel light in weight at (bodypart)'

14-100a

hoo	*ro-ora*	*po'tee*	*siiho-o-ro*
ART.M	your.sg-wife's.father	very	become.ill-3S-PERF.SS
toku	*topo*	*tu-ro-ng.*	
not	well	be.3S-PERF-M	

'Your father-in-law became very ill and is not well.' (I-20)

b

nii	*mu'king*	*siiho-jee-mu-i=no-ng.*
I	heart	be.ill-APPL-1S-PRESPROG-M

'I am ill at heart.'

In addition, in the case of *siiho-*'to become/be ill' and *musi'ka-* 'to feel painful', the original S may be demoted to C, and a new S may be introduced. A new S is cross-referenced by the S_0 suffix of the derived verb, but it occurs as an inalienable Possessor NP (kin) of the C argument.

	S	V
	|	|
S-Possessor	C	V-**APPL**

14-101 *siiho-* (S_0) 'to become/be ill' –> *siiho-jee-* 'S's kin (C) to become/be ill'
musi'ka- (S_0) 'to feel pain' –> *musi'ka-jee-* (S_0) 'S's kin (C) to feel pain'

14-102

nuro	*siiho-jee-mu-i=na-na.*
my.daughter	be.ill-APPL-1S-PRESPROG-F

'My daughter is ill.'

The irregular existential verb *tu(h)-* 'to be' (cf. §14.3.1.4) is changed to *tuh-ee-* 'to have', a two-place intransitive verb, with a new S referring to the Possessor, and a new C derived from the original S referring to the Possessee.

	S	V
	|	|
S	C	V-**APPL**
("Possessor")	("Possessee")	(have)

14-103 *tuu noo no-'ra tuh-ee-nna-na?*
water possibly one-CL.small.amount be-APPL-2S.PERF-F
[C]
'Do you possibly have a little water?' (VII-10)

14-104 *tiko nii tii poo'ki-ngaro tii tii peh=pehkita-karo*
and I ART.DP child-dl ART.DP ART.DP REDUP=small-dl
tuh-ee-muu-juu.
be-APPL-1S-CONT.DS
'And, (on the other hand,) I had those two children who were still very small.' (XVI-25)

14-105 *hoo mu'king toku topo tuhe=tuh-ee-m-mo*
ART.M heart not well REDUP=be-APPL-1S-GEN.SS
unu-i ...
be.1pcl.S-CONT.SS
'While I kept feeling unhappy [lit. I was not having a heart well continuously] and we were here, (we) ...' (XV-36, cf. 15-182)

The negation of present possession is expressed by the negative particle *toku*, and the numeral *noi* 'any' (cf. §8.2.2.1.1), optionally followed by the Perfect form of *tuh-ee-*, as is the case with the existential verb *tu(h)-*. cf. 14-34.

14-106 *nii mooni toku noi (tuh-ee-nno-ng).*
I money not any (be-APPL-1S.PERF-M)
' I haven't got any money.'

14.6.2 Applicative Derivation of Transitive-Intransitive Verb Stems

As mentioned above, when the applicative suffix is attached to transitive-intransitive stems, especially active-middle stems, it allows only the active readings.

When the stem of a two-place transitive verb takes the applicative suffix, the O of the original verb is demoted to C, and a new O argument is introduced. The new O is always cross-referenced by the O suffix on the verb, but it may occur either as an absolutive NP or as a Possessor NP of the C argument.

	O	A	V
	|	|	|
O (-Possessor)	C	A	**V-APPL**

14-107 *ngo-* 'to do/make sth (O)' –> *ngo-jee-* 'to make sth (C) for sb (O)'
nop- 'to take' –> *no(e)p-ee-* 'to take sth (C) from/for sb (O)'
to- 'to hit/kill' –> *to(e)-jee-* 'to hit/kill sb/sth (C) for/against the benefit of sb (O)', 'to hit/kill sb's (O) sb/sth (C)'
tokis- 'to cut' –> *tokis-ee-* 'to cut sth (C) for sb/sth (O), to cut sb's (O) sth (C)'
katuk- 'to trim' –> *katuk-ee-* 'to trim sb's (O) sth (C)'

14-108a *ehkong hoo pau nga-wa-mo manni ho-ko*
now ART.M feast make-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS then ART.M-EMPH
pa-aromong hoo roki=manni no'-ki-ng: "..."
his-younger.brother ART.M really think.3S-HABPAST-M
'Now as they give a feast, his younger brother certainly thought repeatedly: "..." ' (XII-52)

b *Tantanu-ki pau honna meeng ngo-jee-u-r-u-ng.*
'ancestor's.name' feast big very make-APPL-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M
[A] [C]
'Tantanu gave a very big feast to them.' (III-12)

14-109a *ong kongsi' honna woo-ko nop-i-'-ko-ng?*
DEM.M mangoes big where-PURP get-3O.2A-pcl-PRES-M
'Where do all of you get these big mangoes?' (VIII-5)

b *tiko tii meeng harak-a-ro tu'ki hoo hia*
and when exactly cut.open-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS all ART.M thing
[C]
nep-ee-wa-ro impa nah-a-a-na: "..."
take-APPL-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS then say.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
'And exactly when they cut her open and took all the things from her (body), then they said about her: "..." ' (XV-69)

14-110a *Kohkaa hu-ku ongo to-i-heeta-na.*
'female.name' come.3S-GEN.DS DEM.L.PURP kill-3O.2A-FUT-F
'When Kohkaa comes, you will kill her here.' (XI-16)

b *hoo=hoo no-wori te-jee-m-u-i-na.*
so one-CL.animate kill-APPL-1O-3A-NRPAST-F
[C (O-Possessor)]
'So he killed one of mine (= my sons).' (XII-39)

14-111a *oi angu tokis-i-ro hoh-roro-hee.*
DEM.DIM arm cut-3O.2A-PERF.SS throw.away-MID.2S-DEFFUT
'Cut this arm and throw it away.' (XII-24)

b *oi* *ngo-ni* *angu* *tokis-ee-m-i-ro*
DEM.DIM 1sg.POSS-DIM arm cut-APPL-1O-2A-PERF.SS
[C (O-Possessor)]
hoh-roro-hee.
throw.away-MID.2S-DEFFUT
'Cut this arm of mine and throw it away.' (XII-24)

In the case of the following three-place transitive verbs, the applicative suffix demotes the original O argument to $C_{(2)}$ status. It introduces a new O, which occurs as a Possessor NP of the original $C_{(1)}$ argument.

	C_1	O	A	V
	|	|	|	|
O-Possessor	C_1	C_2	A	**V-APPL**

14-112 *o-* 'to give sth (C_1) to sb (O)' –>
o-jee- 'to give sb's (O) sth (C_1) to sb (C_2)'
nai- 'to show sth (C_1) to sb (O)' –>
nai-jee- 'to show sb's (O) sth (C_1) to sb (C_2)'
hohk- 'to throw sth (C_1) over towards sb(O)' –>
hohk-ee- 'to throw sb's (O) sth (C_1) to sb (C_2)'

14-113a *impa* *hoo* *ong* *koho* *munu* *manni* *ehkong*
then ART.M DEM.M down body then now
no-'ra-no *toki=tokis-u-mo* *o-o-ko-ng.*
one-CL.small.amount-L REDUP=cut-3O.3A-GEN.SS give.to-3O.3A-PRES-M
'Then as he cut the lower part of the body into pieces, he gave them to Honging.' (XII-31)

b ... *ti-ko* *ong* *koto* *ku'-kori-ko* *tokis-u-ro*
ART.L-PURP DEM.M up neck-L-PURP cut-3O.3A-PERF.SS
hoo *ong* *koho* *o-muru*
ART.M DEM.M down DEM-CL.piece.of.long.object
o-jee-u-u-ng.
give.to-APPL-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'... he cut at the neck and gave that lower part of the body of his elder brother (to Honging).' (XII-36)

In the case of the three-place verb *tong-* (cf. 14-39 in §14.3.2.1), the applicative suffix focuses on the affectedness of the O argument of the original verb stem. There is no change in valency. According to one of my informants, the same kind of valency change (shown in brackets below) can apply to the above three verbs as well.

O	C	A	V
|	|	|	|
O	C	A	**V-APPL**

14-114 *tong-* 'to name sb (O) sth (C)' –>
to(e)ng-ee- 'to give a name (C) to sb/sth (O)'
(*o-* 'to give sth (C) to sb (O)' –>
o-jee- 'to give sth (C) to sb (O) for/against O's benefit'[14])
(*nai-* 'to show sth (C) to sb (O)' –>
nai-jee- 'to show sth (C) for (the benefit of) sb (O)')
(*hohk-* 'to throw sth (C) over towards sb (O)' –>
hohk-ee- 'to throw sth (C) to sb (O) so that O can get C')

14-115

tiwo-noning-ngori	*hoo*	*pau*	*muukisa*	*muukisa*	*hoo*	*mii-ngung*
that.way-towards-L	ART.M	food	different	different	ART.M	name-PL
	[		O	]	[	C]

tii-nohno *tonge=tong-ee-wa-r-u-ng*.
that.time-length REDUP=name-APPL-3O.3pcl.A-pcl-RMPAST-M
'In that kind of way, they gave those names to many different kinds of food during that time.' (III-44)

14.6.3 The Combination of the Causative and Applicative Suffixes

Some secondary transitive verb stems with the causative suffix /-wooto/ can further take the applicative suffix /-jee/. The following examples are found in elicitation sessions.

	S		V
	|		|
	O	A	V-CAUS
	|	|	|
O (-Possessor)	C	A	V-CAUS-APPL

[14] The following sentence is obtained from one of my informants in elicitation sessions.

no-'ri *o-je-i-hee*.
one-CL.round.object give.to-APPL-3O.2A-DEFFUT
'Give a blow to him (so that he may feel pain).'

According to her, *o-jee-u-u-ng* in 14-113b can be interpreted as "gave the lower part of the body to Honging for his benefit (i.e. so that he can eat it)".

14-116 *puu(h)-* (irregular) 'to die' –> *puu-wooto-* 'to cause sb/sth to die'
–> *puu-wooto(e)-jee-* 'to cause sb/sth (C) to die
for sb (O)', 'to cause sb's (O) sth(C) to die'14-118a
taapu- (middle) 'to participate' –> *taapu-wooto-* 'to add sth (O) (to sth)'
–> *taapu-wooto(e)-jee-* 'to add sth (C) to sb's (O) (sth)'
(*nok-* (S_A) 'to say/think' –>)[15] *nok-ooto-* 'to put sth (O) (in a position)'
–> *nok-ooto(e)-jee-* 'to put sth (C) (in a position)
for sb (O), 'to put sb's (O) sth (C) (in a position)'

14-117 *huuru* *no-wori* *puu-woote-je-ir-i-hee.*
pig one-CL.animate die-CAUS-APPL-3pclO-2A-DEFFUT
'You will definitely kill a pig for them/a pig of theirs.'

14-118 *ong* *o-ngu* *taapu-woote-jee-m-i-i-ng.*
DEM.M DEM-CL.lot join-CAUS-APPL-1O-2A-NRPAST-M
'You added this lot for me (to mine).'

14-119 *koho* *nok-oote-jee-m-i-hee.*
down put-CAUS-APPL-1O-2A-DEFFUT
'You will definitely put (it) down for me./ Put mine down.'

14.7 RECIPROCAL VERB STEMS[15a]

Reciprocal verb stems are formed by combining reduplicated forms of non-reciprocal verb stems with the verbal suffix /-tu(h)/. The suffix /-tu(h)/ inflects according to the person/number of the S argument in the same way as the copula or existential verb *tu(h)-* (cf. §13.2.3). The morpheme boundary between the stem and the suffix /-tu(h)/ is marked by a non-phonemic glottal stop, when a vowel-final stem is followed by the vowel of the inflected form of /-tu(h)-/. Thus this boundary is regarded as a boundary between phonological words, and is marked by "=" (cf. §2.6).

All reciprocal verbs are derived from the stems of transitive verbs. Such stems may be either underived, or derived by the applicative suffix.

The first two moras of the original verb stems are reduplicated (e.g. *katuk-* 'to trim sb('s sth)' —> *katu=katu=tuh-* 'to trim one another('s sth)'). However,

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[15] I am not sure whether *nok-ooto-* should be treated as a lexical causative verb, or a causative verb derived from *nok-* 'to say/think'.

15a For reflexives, see §12.3.3.1.

1) If the original stem consists of only one mora, the vowel of the stem is geminated (e.g. *o-* 'to give to sb' —> *oo=oo=tuh-* 'to give to one another').
2) If the original stem already contains a reduplication, then double reduplication of such a stem is optional (e.g. *huhut-* 'to deceive sb' —> *huhu(=huhu)=tuh-* 'to deceive one another').
3) In the case of *to'k-* (/tokuk-/) 'to hold', *ai* is attached to the reduplicated stem, i.e. *to'=to'kai=tuh-* 'to hold one another'.

Reduplication always signifies "plurality" in Motuna. See §4.6.2 and §15.6.

Examples:

14-120	underived stems	reciprocal verb stems
	noong- 'to gather sb'	*noo=noo=tuh-* 'to gather together'
	mono- 'to see/look at sb/sth'	*mono=mono=tuh-* 'to see/look at one another'
	katuk- 'to trim sb('s sth)'	*katu=katu=tuh-* 'to trim one another('s sth)'
	o- 'to give (sth) to sb'	*oo=oo=tuh-* 'to give (sth) to one another'
	huhut- 'to deceive sb'	*huhu(=huhu)=tuh-* 'to deceive one another'
	to'k- 'to hold sb/sth'	*to'=to'kai=tuh-* 'to hold one another'

14-121	applicative stems	reciprocal verb stems
	iiro/eng-ee- 'get angry with sb'	*ii=iiro/eng-ee=tuh-* 'to get angry with one another'
	rorong-ee- 'to talk about sb'	*roro(=roro)ng-ee=tuh-* 'to talk about one another'

Examples found in my corpus:

14-122 ... *hoo-jori* *ruu* *ti-ru* *manni* *noo=noo=uru-kuu-ng.*
ART.M-LOC day ART-CL.day then REDUP=gather=RECIP.3pcl.S-IMAG-M
'... on that day, then, they would gather together.' (XIX-16)

14-123 *tiko* *ti-kitee* *mono=mono=tu-'-no* *poti* *ihkita*
and ART.L-ABL $_{REL}$[REDUP=see=RECIP.3S-dl.RMPAST-L] time long
nop-u-u-ng *toku* *mono=mono=tu-suu.*
take-3O.3A-RMPAST-M not REDUP=see=RECIP.3S-dl.CONT.DS
'Then from the time when they saw each other, it took long time (= long time had passed) while they did not see each other.' (V-35)

14-124 *hoo* *uri-ngi* *Mamangota-ki* *hoo* *nommai* *tu'ki*
so village-ERG 'village.name'-ERG ART.M people all
topo *taa=taapu=uru-ko-ng*.
well REDUP=help=RECIP.3pcl.S-PRES-M
'So in Mamangota village, all the people help one another well.' (XXX-52)

14-125 *hoo=hoo* *to'=to'kai=tutee*.
then REDUP=hold=RECIP.3S.dl.PERF.DP
'Then they still hold each other('s hand).' (XIX-35)

An example of a verbal noun derived from a reciprocal verb stem:

14-126 ... *hoo* *peeko-ng* *hii* *katu=katu=tuh-arei*
ART.M 3nonsg.POSS-M hair REDUP=trim=RECIP-VN
ono=onoh-u-'-ni.
REDUP=decide-3O.3A-dl.RMPAST-DP
'... they decided to trim each other's hair.' (IV-4)

Reciprocal stems can take the causative suffix /-wooto/:

mono=mono=tu(h)- 'to see/look at one another' –> *mono=mono=tuh-ooto-* 'to make things be seen one another (= to make sth equal to one another)':

14-127 ... *hoo* *peeko-ng* *taa=taapu* *ai*
ART.M 3nonsg.POSS-M REDUP=help I.tell.you
mono=mono=tuh-ooto-o-'-ni.
REDUP-see=RECIP-CAUS-3O.3A-dl.RMPAST-DP
'... I tell you, they squared accounts with each other by helping each other [lit. made their help equal to each other]. (V-50)

to'=to'kai=tuh- 'to hold one another' –> *to'=to'kai-tuh-ooto-* 'to make sb hold one another':

14-128 *tiwononing* *to'=to'kai=tuh-oota-wa-ti-kuu-ng*.
that.kind.of.way REDUP=hold=RECIP-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-dl-IMAG-M
'They would make two of them hold each other('s hand) that way.' (XIX-29)

CHAPTER 15 TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD

15.1 INTRODUCTION

Motuna has (1) ten non-medial TAM suffixes which are followed by gender suffixes, (2) five non-medial TAM suffixes which are not followed by them, and (3) five medial[1] TAM suffixes. All the TAM suffixes are listed in Tables 12-3a - c in this order.

TAM suffixes may express different meanings when they are combined with different types of verbs. For example, the Perfect suffix, when combined with stative verbs such as *tu(h)-* 'to be' or *tuh-ee-* 'to have', indicates a present state ('is/are' or 'have'), while when combined with action verbs such as *pi(h)-* 'to go' or terminative verbs such as *patak-* 'to arrive', it expresses an event which took place or terminated yesterday or before and has some relevance to the present situation ('went, have/has gone' or '(have/has) arrived'). Thus the names of TAM suffixes should be regarded only as labels.

As mentioned in Ch 13, all the TAM suffixes/categories are indicated by capital letters. For example, "definite future TAM" will be written simply as "Definite Future".

This chapter is organised in the following way:

(1) In §15.2, verbs are classified with regards to their inherent aspectual meanings which manifest themselves in combination with different TAM suffixes. I will discuss the aspectual meanings of each class of verbs with relevant TAM suffixes.
(2) In §15.3 and §15.4, I will examine the functions of the above-listed TAM suffixes, in combination with different types of verbs. In §15.3 I will discuss non-medial TAM suffixes, and in §15.4 medial TAM suffixes.
(3) In §15.5, I will examine serial verb constructions with "aspectual verbs".
(4) In §15.6, I will discuss the functions of the reduplication of verbs.

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[1] I will call these five TAM suffixes "medial suffixes" according to the convention of the grammatical descriptions of other Papuan languages. Verbs marked by these suffixes do, however, not necessarily occupy the medial position of a sentence; they may even stand as the heads of independent sentences. cf. §17.1.

15.2 CLASSIFICATION OF VERB FORMS ACCORDING TO THEIR INHERENT ASPECTUAL MEANINGS

Largely following Sasse (1990: 36), I categorise verbs in Motuna into four (or six) classes according to their inherent aspectual meanings:

(1) "totally stative" verbs which express pure states, e.g. *tu(h)-* 'to be'
(2) "inchoative stative" verbs which express both states and their inception phases, e.g. *haa-* 'to agree/want'
(3) "action" verbs which express progressive events with their inception and termination phases, e.g. *konn-* 'to walk/move'
(4) "terminative" verbs which express terminative events, e.g. *hu(h)-* 'to come'

Note that Motuna has no "totally terminative" verbs (cf. Sasse 1991: 35-36). Action verbs in class (3) may express events which last for a relatively long period, or just for a moment. Events expressed by action verbs such as *tokis-* 'to cut' or *ratik-* 'to find' are usually interpreted as punctual, but they may also express progressive events over a certain duration of time in Present Progressive.

Some verbs in class (3) can express both "actions" and "states". For example, *hurir-* expresses the action 'to fly', but it also expresses the state 'to be in the air'. I will refer to those verbs which express only actions as "dynamic action" verbs (3a), and those which express both actions and states as "action-state" verbs (3b) hereafter.

Similarly, some verbs in class (4) can express both "terminative events" and "states".[2] For example, *it-* expresses the terminative event 'to stand up', but it also expresses the state 'to be standing'. I will refer to those verbs which express only terminative events as "dynamic terminative" verbs (4a), and those which express both terminative events and states as "terminative-stative" verbs (4b).

Representative verb forms in each class are given below:

(1) totally stative verbs (full list):
tu(h)- 'to be', *tu(h)-* 'Copula'[3]

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[2] The states expressed by these verbs have not necessarily resulted from terminative actions. For example, Present Perfect of *it-* 'to stand up/be standing' can be used in the sense of '(a tree, a house, etc.) is standing'.

[3] The existential verb *tu(h)-* 'to be' and the copula *tu(h)-* are distinguished primarily on the basis of valency. cf. §14.3.1.4.

(2) inchoative stative verbs:

kuuk- 'to (get to) know', *rii(h)-* 'to become/be',[4] *siiho-*, *siiho ngo-* (middle) 'to become/be ill', *haa-* 'to agree/want', *hiiro-* 'to become/be hungry', *ku't-* 'to become/be the same', *tuh-ee-* 'to obtain/have'[5]

(3a) dynamic action verbs

konn- 'to walk/move', *pi(h)-* 'to go', *paa(h)-* 'to cry', *nok-* 'to say/think', *iiro-* 'to be angry', *kumar-* 'to laugh', *pu'j-* 'to shout', *tee-* 'to eat', *siro-* 'to sing', *taapu-* 'to help', *ngo-* 'to make/do', *o-* 'to give to', *nop-* 'to take/get', *konn-* 'to build', *kiin-* 'to climb', *ratik-* 'to find', *haarok-* 'to fall', *ru'n-* 'to ring', *tokis-* 'to cut', *to-* 'to hit/kill', *tong-* 'to call/name', *nangk-* 'to shake/move'

(3b) action-state verbs

uko- 'to take/carry/be carrying', *mono-* 'to look at/see', *taaro-* 'to listen to/ hear', *inak-* 'to look after/be with', *kuuto-* (middle) 'to wait/be waiting', *hurir-* 'to fly/be in the air', *kuroh-* 'to run/be at a run', *aat-* 'to stay overnight/ sleep', *kingng-* (middle) 'to think/be thinking', *minno-* 'to follow/be following', *ahku-* 'to chase/be on the chase', *to'k-* 'to touch/hold'

(4a) dynamic terminative verbs

hu(h)- 'to come', *patak-* 'to arrive', *puu(h)-* 'to die', *komik-* (middle) 'to be finished', *rii(h)-* 'to become'[4], *muu=rii(h)-* 'to get dark', *honnak-* 'to grow up', *koot-* 'to bear fruit', *hingh-* 'to decay', *hunok-* 'to become full in stomach', *maapuk-* 'to fill'

(4b) terminative-stative verbs

it- 'to stand up/be standing', *po'k-* (middle) 'to become/be hidden', *pipiruh-* (middle) 'to open up/be open', *arut-* (middle) 'to become/be in abundance', *ne'w-/ maap-* 'to sit down/be sitting'

I will illustrate below the interaction of the inherent aspectual meaning of a verb in each class with the temporal/aspectual meanings of a few representative TAM suffixes. See §15.3 and §15.4 for examples of verbs in each class in combination with all the TAM suffixes. The temporal/aspectual meanings of each class of verbs in all the TAM

[4] The classification of the verb *rii(h)-* is based on the type of complement it takes. It is an inchoative verb when it takes a noun which denotes a sudden situation change (such as *koringono* 'enemy', *maneja* 'manager'), while it is a terminative verb when it takes a noun or an adjective which denotes a gradual situation change (such as *kiakia'* 'morning', *honna* 'big').

[5] This is derived from *tu(h)-* 'to be' by the applicative suffix *-ee*. cf. §14.6.1.

forms are summarised in Table 15-1 in pages 442 and 443.

Among the medial verbal forms, Perfect SS cannot be used with totally stative verbs (1). It is used with inchoative stative verbs (2) to focus on the inception of the states, and with verbs (3) and (4) to focus on the completion of the events. On the other hand, Continuous SS is used with verbs which belong to (1), (2), (3b) and (4b) to express the continuation of states, but it is rarely used (except in negation, or to describe the manner of an activity as is the case with *konn-*) with dynamic action verbs and terminative verbs (3a and 4a).

	Perfect SS	Continuous SS
(1) totally stative	–	continuation of state
tu(h)- 'to be'	–	'(while) being'
(2) inchoative stative	inception of state	continuation of state
haa- 'to agree/want'	'after agreeing'	'(while) wanting'
(3a) dynamic action	completion of event	
konn- 'to walk/move'	'after walking/moving'	'behaving'
(3b) action-state	completion of event	continuation of state
hurir- 'to fly/be in the air'	'after flying'	'(while) being in the air'
(4a) dynamic terminative	completion of event	?
hu(h)- 'to come'	'after coming'	–
(4b) terminative-stative	completion of event	continuation of state
it- 'to stand up/be standing'	'after standing up'	'(while) standing'

Among non-medial TAMs, Present expresses the following meanings:

	Present (with a 3rd person sg subject)
(1) totally stative	present habitual[6] states
tu(h)- 'to be'	'lives/stays'
(2) inchoative stative	present habitual states/ present habitual events[7]
haa- 'to agree/want'	'wants (for a long time)', 'agrees/wants habitually'

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[6]. I use the term "habitual" to cover:

(1) long-term states without any definite boundaries,

(2) events which occur either at a regular interval, or any time under the conditions specified in the same sentence, or understood from context.

The category "habitual" thus defined plays important roles in combination with medial verbs. cf. §15.4.

[7] The inception phases of inchoative states can be regarded as events.

	Present (with a 3rd person sg subject)
(3a) dynamic action	events which have just started or are about to take place/ present habitual events
konn- 'to walk/move'	'has just started walking/moving', 'is about to walk/move', 'walks/moves habitually'
(3b) action-state	events which have just started or are about to take place/ present habitual events/ present habitual states
hurir- 'to fly/be in the air'	'just started flying', 'is about to fly', 'flies habitually', 'is in the air (for a long time)'
(4a) dynamic terminative	events which have just finished/ present habitual events
hu(h)- 'to come'	'has just come', 'comes habitually'
(4b) terminative-stative	events which have just finished/ present habitual events/ present habitual states
it- 'to stand up/ be standing'	'just stood up', 'stands (up) habitually', 'is standing (for a long time)'

Present Progressive describes an ongoing event or state with a certain degree of dynamism. Totally stative verbs lack this form. This form expresses unstable states which lasts for a certain duration including the speech moment with inchoative stative verbs (2), and ongoing events with action verbs (3). With terminative verbs (4) it expresses ongoing pre-final stages of terminative events.

	Present Progressive (with a 3rd person sg subject)
(1) totally stative	–
tu(h)- 'to be'	–
(2) inchoative stative	unstable state which lasts for a certain duration including the speech moment
haa- 'to agree/want'	'is hoping now'
(3a) dynamic action	ongoing event
konn- 'to walk/ move'	'is walking/moving'
(3b) action-state	ongoing event
hurir- 'to fly/be in the air'	'is flying'
(4a) dynamic terminative	ongoing pre-final stage
hu(h)- 'to come'	'is coming'
(4b) terminative-stative	ongoing pre-final stage
it- 'to stand up/be standing'	'is standing up'

Perfect expresses the following meanings. When it describes an event in the past, it must have some relevance to the present situaltion. cf. §15.3.4. Remote Past, on the other hand, simply describes an event in the remote past as a fact. cf. §15.3.7.

	Perfect (with a 3rd person sg subject)
(1) totally stative	state which has lasted for an indefinite duration of time till the speech moment
tu(h)- 'to be'	'(still) is'
(2) inchoative stative	inception of state occurred some time in the past (not within the same day)[8]
haa- 'to agree/ want'	'agreed (before today)'
(3a) dynamic action	event completed some time in the past (not within the same day)
konn- 'to walk/move'	'walked/moved (before today)'
(3b) action-state	event completed some time in the past (not within the same day)/ state which has lasted for an indefinite duration of time till the speech moment
hurir- 'to fly/be in the air'	'flew (before today)/ is (still) in the air'
(4a) dynamic terminative	event completed some time in the past (not within the same day)
hu(h)- 'to come'	'came (before today)'
(4b) terminative-stative	event completed some time in the past (not within the same day)/ state which has lasted for an indefinite duration of time till the speech moment
it- 'to stand up/be standing'	'stood up (before yesterday)/ is (still) standing'

The Near Past form is not found with totally stative verbs (1). With other verbs it expresses the following meanings:

	Near Past (with a 3rd person sg subject)
(1) totally stative	–
tu(h)- 'to be'	–
(2) inchoative stative	present state, the inception of which occurred within the same day as the speech moment
haa- 'to agree/want'	'(agreed within the same day and still) wants'

[8] Whether the state described by the verb lasts till the speech moment or not is irrelevant.

	Near Past (with a 3rd person sg subject)
(3a) dynamic action	event completed within the same day as the speech moment
konn- 'to walk/move'	'walked/moved today'
(3b) action-state	event completed within the same day as the speech moment
hurir- 'to fly/be in the air'	'flew today'
(4a) dynamic terminative	event completed within the same day as the speech moment
hu(h)- 'to come'	'came today'
(4b) terminative-stative	event completed within the same day as the speech moment
it- 'to stand up/be standing'	'stood up today'

Table 15-1 Summary of Temporal/Aspectual Meanings of Verbs (1) - (4)

	(1) totally stative	(2) inchoative stative	(3a) dynamic action
GEN	habitual state	habitual state	
		habitual event	habitual event
PRES	present habit. state	present habit. state	
		present habit. event	present habit. event
			event just started
			event about to take place
PRESPROG	–	unstable state	ongoing event
PERF	state till now		
		relevant state started before today	relevant event completed before today
NRPAST	–	present state started today	event completed today
HABPAST	past habit. state	past habit. state	
		past habit. event	past habit. event
RMPAST	(state started long ago)	state completed long ago	event completed long ago
FUT	–	+	+
IMFUT	–	+	+
IMAG	–	+	+
DEFFUT	–	+	+
IMP	–	+	+
OPT	–	+	+
NEGOPT	–	+	+
PERF.SS	–	inception occurred	completed event
GEN.SS	–	simul. unstable state	simul. event
		habitual event	habitual event
		condition	condition
GEN.DS	–	inception just occurred	event just completed
		habitual event	habitual event
		condition	condition
CONT.SS	continuous state	continuous state	?
CONT.DS	continuous state	continuous state	resultative state

with different TAM Suffixes

	(3b) action-state	(4a) terminative	(4b) terminative-stative
GEN	habitual state		habitual state
	habitual event	habitual event	habitual event
PRES	pres. habit. state		pres. habit. state
	pres. habit. event	pres. habit. event	pres. habit. event
	event just started	event just completed	event just completed
	event about to take place		
PRESPROG	ongoing event	pre-final stage	pre-final stage
PERF	state till now		state till now
	relevant event compltd	relevant event compltd	relevant event compltd
	before today	before today	before today
NRPAST	event completed	event completed	event completed
	today	today	today
HABPAST	past habit. state		past habit. state
	past habit. event	past habit. event	past habit. event
RMPAST	event completed	event completed	event completed
	long ago	long ago	long ago
FUT	+	+	+
IMFUT	+	+	+
IMAG	+	+	+
POT	+	+	+
IMP	+	+	+
OPT	+	+	+
NEGOPT	+	+	+
PERF.SS	completed event	completed event	completed event
GEN.SS	simul. event	simul. event	simul. event
	habitual event	habitual event	habitual event
	condition	condition	condition
GEN.DS	event just completed	event just completed	event just completed
	habitual event	habitual event	habitual event
	condition	condition	condition
CONT.SS	continuous state	?	continuous state
CONT.DS	continuous state	resultative state	continuous state

15.3 NON-MEDIAL TAMS

15.3.1 General /-mo/

General /-mo/ indicates that the state of affairs described by the verb is not bound by any temporal/aspectual boundaries. It describes:

(i) a habitual[9] state over an indefinite duration of time, with verbs (1), (2), (3b) and (4b), or
(ii) an event which took/takes place habitually over an indefinite duration of time, with all verbs except for (1).

(i) a habitual state over an indefinite duration of time:

kuuk- 'to (get to) know' (2):

15-1 *nii tii jaki ong-ko kuna*
I ART.F as.you.know DEM.M-EMPH traditional.medicine
toku noi kuuk-o-ma-na.
not any know-1S-GEN-F
'As you know, I don't know any of that traditional medicine!' (V-9, cf. 14-24)

(ii) habitual events over an indefinite duration of time:

kjansa ngo- (middle) 'get/have cancer' (2) and *puu(h)-* 'to die' (4a):

15-2 *uri-ngi hoo nommai kjangsa nge-wee-m-mo-ng*
village-ERG ART.M people REL[cancer get-MID.3S-pcl-GEN-M]
puu-ra-mo-ng tiko hoo marasini
die.3S-pcl-GEN-M because ART.M medicine
ho-ko taapu-u-ko-ng toku noi.
REL[them-EMPH help-3O.3A-PRES-M] not any
'In the village people who get cancer die, because there is no medicine which can help them.' (XV-75)

tee- 'to eat (protein food)' (3a):

15-3 *ih! nii ongi koho tuh-ah, toku te-u-ma-na.*
oh.dear I REL[DEM.L.ERG down be-PART] not eat-3O.1A-GEN-F
nii tii popu-ki tuh-ah te-u-ma-na.
I ART.F REL[top.of.tree-ERG be-PART] eat-3O.1A-GEN-F
'Oh dear! I do not eat the ones (= Malayan apples) which are down there (on the tree). I (always) eat the ones on the top of the tree.' (XI-20, cf. 17-80)

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[9] See fn 6.

tong- 'to call/name' (3a):

15-4 ... *roki* *hoo* *ee=bii-sii* *tang-a-mo-ng* *ore*
just ART.M REL[A.B.C call-3O.3pcl.A-GEN-M] well
ngo-ong-hee *umi-ki-ng* ...
do-3O.1pcl.A-DEFFUT go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-M
'... we went to do (= study), well, just what people call ABC ...' (VI-11, cf. 17-84)

The description of such habitual states or events is often located in the past, which may be indicated by temporal adverbials (as in 15-5 and 15-6), or may be simply understood from context (as in 15-7 and 15-8).

tu(h)- 'to be' (1):

15-5 ... *hoo-jori* *tuware* *u'kisa* *tu-mo-ng* ...
ART.M-LOC tradition REL[long.ago be.3S-GEN-M]
'... in the custom which used to exist long ago ...' (XVIII-31)

kuuk- 'to (get to) know' (2):

15-6 *kupuna-no-ru* *hoo* *Siuai-no-po* *ong* *tui*
ancestor-LINK-CL.day ART.M 'place.name'-LINK-CL.people DEM.M slit.gong
toku *kuuk-a-mo-ng*.
not know-3O.3pcl.A-GEN-M
'In the days of ancestors Siwai people didn't know this slit gong.' (XIV-1, cf. 8-37)

inak- 'to look after/be with' (3b):

15-7 *mahkata* *no-wori* *inak-um-mee*.
dog one-CL.animate be.with-3O.1pcl.A-GEN.DP
'We used to look after (= keep) a dog.' (XVI-89)

pi(h)- 'to go' (3a):

15-8 *tii* *ngo-no* *u:ri* *Kaakotokori* *hoo-jori* *Kirismas=maaritah*
ART.L 1sg.POSS-L village 'village.name' ART.M-LOC Chrismas=holidays
tii *teeti* *mono-opee* *mi-ma-na*.
ART.F my.mother's.mother see-3O.1A.DEFFUT go.1S-GEN-F
'I used to go to my village Kaakotokori on Christmas holidays to see my grandmother.' (II-32, cf. 10-73)

Note that habitual past states or events as described in 15-5 – 15-8 may be expressed by Habitual Past as well. However, states or events described by Habitual Past can last or be repeated only over a limited length of time. cf. §15.3.6.

15.3.2 Present /-ko/

Present /-ko/ describes:

(i) a habitual state which lasts for a long period including the speech moment, with verbs (1), (2), (3b) and (4b),
(ii) an event which takes place habitually over a long period including the speech moment, with all verbs except for (1),
(iii) an event which has just started or is about to take place, with verbs (3), and
(iv) an event which has just finished, with verbs (4).

(i) habitual states which last for a long time including the speech moment:

tu(h)- 'to be' (1):

15-9 *ong* *hoo* *ree-mo* *woo-ki* *tu-ko-ng?*
DEM.M ART.M your.nonsg-father where-ERG be.3S-PRES-M
'Where does your husband (lit. your father[10]) live?' (XVI-78)

siiho ngo- (middle) 'to become/be ill' (2):

15-10 *hii!* *ana* *heekoo-ki* *siiho* *honna* *jaa*
oh.dear DEM.F some.way-ERG illness big it.must.be
ngo-woro-ka-na.
be-MID.3S-PRES-F
'Oh dear! She must be seriously ill (for these few months) for some reason.' (XV-62)

(ii) events which take place habitually over a long period including the speech moment:

haa- 'to agree/want' (2):

15-11 *hoo=hoo* *ti-kitee* *hoo* *mahkata* *hoo* *napa*
so then-ABL ART.M dog ART.M possum
mono-o-mo *manni* *tu-u-hee* *haa-u-ko-ng.*
see-3O.3A-GEN.SS then kill-3O.3A-DEFFUT want-3O.3A-PRES-M
'So, from then, whenever the dog sees the possum, then he wants to kill him.' (IV-15)

nee- 'to drink, eat (non-protein food)' (3a):

15-12 *hoo* *roki* *ong-ngori* *moo* *hoo* *tuu* *nop-u-mo*
so just DEM.M-LOC coconut ART.M water get-3O.1A-GEN.SS
ne-unga-na.
drink-3O.1A.PRES-F
'So I just get water from those coconuts and drink it.' (VII-11)

[10] cf. fn 8 in §14.3.1.3.

taaro- 'to listen to/hear' (3b):

15-13 ... *roki* *tii-ngi* *nuka* *roro-ng-ku* *taaro-ongo-ng.*
just ART.F-ERG my.mother tell-1O.3A-GEN.DS listen.to-3O.1A.PRES-M
'... just whenever my mother tells me (the story), I listen to her.' (II-2, cf. 15-130)

hu(h)- 'to come' (4a):

15-14 *roo* *woo-kitee* *hu-ko-ng?*
you.sg where-ABL come.3S-PRES-M
'Where do you (regularly) come from?' (XIII-64)

(iii) events which have just started (15-15 and 15-16) or are about to take place (15-17 and 15-18) (with verbs (3)):

ru'n- 'to beat' (3a):

15-15 *ong* *pa-i* *rutu'-ko-ng?*
DEM.M who-ERG beat.3O.3A-PRES-M
'Who started beating that just now?' (XIV-41)

taaro- 'to listen to/hear' (3b):

15-16 *akai!* *hoo* *hia* *taaro-i-ko-ng?*
friend ART.M thing hear-3O.2A-PRES-M
'Friend! Did you hear the thing (= sound) just now?' (XXIII-42)

pi(h)- 'to go' (3a) and *kuhk-* 'to descend' (3a):

15-17 *mi-ti-kee.* *nii* *kuh-moro-ko-ng* *ehkong.*
go.1S-dl-PRES.DP I descend-MID.1S-PRES-M now
'We go now (= Let us go now). I am about to descend now.' (XIII-18)

tokis-ee- 'to cut sth (C) for sb/sth (O)' (3a):

15-18 *oo* *ong* *kukumi* *tokis-e-ungo-ng.*
well DEM.M rope cut-APPL-3O.1A.PRES-M
'Well, I am about to cut this rope for getting it (= fish).' (XVII-7)

(iv) events which have just finished (with verbs (4)):

hu(h)- 'to come' (4a):

15-19 *tiko* *nii* *roo* *kun-opee* *mu-ka-na.*
and I you.sg take.to.one's.place-3O.1A.DEFFUT come.1S-PRES-F
'And I have come to take you to my home with me.' (I-21)

muu=rii(h)- 'to get dark' (4a):

15-20 *ho-ko* *ehkong* *muu=rii-ko-ng*.
it-EMPH now get.dark-PRES-M
'It got dark just now.' (X-36, cf. 14-29b)

In narrative discourse, Present is often used to describe past habitual (15-21) or punctual (15-22 and 15-23) events vividly. In the latter case, the adverb *ehkong* 'now/already' is often used.

15-21 *misi-ko* *toku* *no-'ra* *totu'-ko-ng*.
soil-EMPH not one-CL.small.amount touch.3O.3A-PRES-M
roki *nimautu-wah* *nong* *kopi'-ko-ng*.
just look.handsome.male-PART only walk.3S-PRES-M
'He does not even touch soil at all. He, looking just (only) handsome, walks.' (III-9, cf. 7-16)

15-22 *manni* *napa* *hoo* *ko'sa* *nonnno* *ehkong*
then possum ART.M shell take.3O.3A.PERF.SS now
tutu'-ko-ng.
start.3O.3A-PRES-M
'Then the possum took the shell, and he now starts it (= cutting the hair).' (IV-10)

15-23 *ore* *manni* *mono-o-ro* *ehkong* *no'-ko-ng*: "..."
well certainly see-3O.3A-PERF.SS now say.3S-PRES-M
'Well, he (= the heron) certainly saw her (= the turtle), and now he says: "..." ' (V-39)

15.3.3 Present Progressive /-i=tu(h)/

Present Progressive /-i=tu(h)/ describes an ongoing event or state at the speech moment. It always indicates dynamism, so when it describes a state, it implies that such a state is unstable or variable to a certain extent. Note that totally stative verbs (1) lack this form, because the states they describe can never be interpreted as dynamic.

Present Progressive describes:

(i) an unstable or variable state which lasts for a certain duration including the speech moment, with verbs (2), or
(ii) an ongoing event at the speech moment, with verbs (3),
(iii) an ongoing pre-final stage of a terminative event at the speech moment, with verbs (4).

(i) unstable or variable states which last for a certain duration including the speech moment:

haa- 'to agree/want' (2):

15-24 *toku nihu rii-ku impa owo Keans*
not far become.3S-GEN.DS now DEM.L Cairns
mi-hee haa-mu-i=no-ng.
go.1S-DEFFUT want-1S-PRESPROG-M
'As it is not far (from here), I am now hoping to go to (= to be transferred to) Cairns.' (XXX-178)

maneja rii(h)- 'to become/be a manager' (2):

15-25 *ti-ki impa maneja ri-ih=no-ng.*
there-ERG now manager be-1S.PRESPROG-M
'I am now (acting as) a manager there.' (XXX-173)

musi'ka- 'to feel (a) pain' (2):

15-26 *kipu musi'ka-mu-i=na-na.*
stomach have.pain-1S-PRESPROG-F
'I am feeling a pain (on and off) in the stomach.' (XV-58)

(ii) ongoing events:

pi(h)- 'to go' (3a):

15-27 *jeewo? ree woo pi-'=tuio-ng?*
how you.nonsg where go.2S-pcl.PRESPROG-M
'How (are you all)? Where are you going?' (XIV-37)

siimpai- 'to do sweeping' (3a) and *mono-* 'to look at/see' (3b):

15-28 *he'ee! nii tii roki siimpai-mo-i=na-na.*
no I ART.F just do.sweeping-MID.1S-PRESPROG-F
toku no-uru mono-oh=na-na.
not one-CL.person see-3O.1A.PRESPROG-F
'No! I am sweeping. I am not looking at anyone.' (X-29)

(iii) ongoing pre-final stages of terminative events:

hu(h)- 'to come' (4a):

15-29 *hoo=hoo Rumanung ehkong hu-i=to-ng.*
so the.Giant now come.3S-PRESPROG-M
'So the Giant is coming now.' (VIII-13)

pipiruh- 'to open up/be open' (4b):

15-30 *tiko* *impa* *tii* *owo* *hoo* *manare*
and now ART.L DEM.L ART.M way
pipi=pipiruh-o-i=to-ng ...
REDUP=open.up-MID.3S-PRESPROG-M
'And now the way is gradually opening up over there, ...' (XV-87)

Present Progressive of some action verbs, such as *pi(h)-* 'to go' (3a) and *peehk-* 'to come upon' (3a), may also describe an action which is going to take place in the near future. (Compare the following sentence with 15-27.)

15-31 *nii* *haa* *kakau* *kiino-opee* *mi-i=no-ng.*
I as.you.know cocoa plant-3O.1A.DEFFUT go.1S-PRESPROG-M
'As you know, I am going to plant cocoa.' (XVI-22)

15.3.4 Perfect /-ro/

Perfect /-ro/ describes:

(i) a state which has lasted for an indefinite duration of time till the speech moment, with verbs (1), (3b) and (4b),
(ii) the inception of a state which occurred some time in the past (not within the same day), and which has certain relevance to the present situation, with inchoative stative verbs (2), or
(iii) an event which was completed some time in the past (not within the same day as the speech moment), and which has certain relevance to the present situation, with all verbs except for (1).

Perfect in the sense (ii) or (iii) contrasts with Remote Past, which describes past events (completed long ago) as mere facts.

(i) states which have lasted for an indefinite duration of time till the speech moment:

tu(h)- 'to be' (1):

15-32 *hoo* *ree-mo* *noo* *tu-ro-ng?*
ART.M your.nonsg-father possibly be.3S-PERF-M
'Is your husband (lit. your father[11]) possibly at home?' (XV-2)

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[11] cf. fn 8 in §14.3.1.3.

tu(h)- 'Copula' (1):

15-33 *hoo hoo pa'pai tu-ro-ng.*
it ART.M taboo COP.3S-PERF-M
'It is still a taboo.' (XIX-10)

mono- 'to look at/see' (3b):

15-34 *roo kotonoko mono-r-onno-ng.*
you.sg still see-2O-1A.PERF-M
'I (can) still see you.' (III-21)

uko- 'to take/carry/be carrying' (3b):

15-35 *toku-ko na-mah kuuk-oh ong kai*
not-EMPH one-CL.thing know-1S.CONT.SS DEM.M claw
tiwo=nohi-ng uko-onno-ng.
that.way=as.big.as-M be.carrying-3O.1A.PERF-M
'Not even knowing a thing, I have been carrying a claw as big as this.
[Uttered by a crawfish who feels remorse for his own ignorance.]' (V-21)

maap- 'to sit down/be sitting' (4b):

15-36 ... *ong ongi maanno-ng* ...
DEM.M $_{REL}$[DEM.L.ERG be.sitting.3S.PERF-M]
'... this one who is sitting here ...' (XXI-2)

nauk- (middle) 'to lie down/be lying' (4b):

15-37 *inokee pi-'-hee tii kui nauk-oo-ro-no.*
again go.2S-pcl-DEFFUT $_{REL}$[ART.L log be.lying-MID.3S-PERF-L]
'You (many) could again go where the log is lying.' (III-51)

(ii) the inceptions of states which occurred some time in the past (not within the same day), and which have certain relevance to the present situations:

kjangsa ngo- (middle) 'to get/have cancer' (2):

15-38 *hii! ana ai kjangsa ngo-woo-ra-na.*
oh.dear DEM.F I.tell.you cancer get-MID.3S-PERF-F
'Oh dear! This girl, I tell you, has got cancer. [Uttered by doctors when they discovered her cancer which had been developing for at least over several months).]' (XV-69, cf. 14-54)

-noh-ni rii(h)- 'to become/be as big as ~' (2):

15-39 ... *roki oi irihwa-noh-ni rii-ra-na.*
just [DEM.DIM finger]-as.big.as-DIM become.3S-PERF-F
'... she became just as big as this (small) finger. [A description of her past state in contrast with her present state after recovery.]' (XV-78, cf. 14-20)

haring- (middle) 'to become/be worried' (2):

15-40 *hoo* *leeta* *mono-ongjo* *kirokowo*
ART.M letter see-3O.1pcl.A.PERF.SS very
hari=hari-mara-ree.
REDUP=become.worried-MID.1pcl.exc.S-PERF.DP
'After we had read the letter, we became very much worried. [A description of our past state in contrast with our present mental state free from anxiety.]' (XV-82, cf. 14-65a)

(iii) events which were completed some time in the past (not within the same day as the speech moment), and which have certain relevance to the present situations:

pi(h)- 'to go' (3a) (Perfect of *mirahu-* (middle) 'to become/be good' (4b) expresses a present state):

15-41 *T.* *kjangsa* *ngo-woi-juu* *tii* *uri* *toku*
'female.name' cancer become-MID.3S-CONT.DS ART.L home not
mi-ra-na. *impa* *mirahu-woo-ra-na.*
go.1S-PERF-F now become.good-MID.3S-PERF-F
'T. got cancer, and I did not go home. She is good now.' (XV-81)

taaro- 'to listen to/hear' (3b):

15-42 *jeewo?* *hoo* *koro=koro* *taaro-onno-ng* *noo*
how ART.M words $_{REL}$[hear-3O.1pcl.A.PERF-M] possibly
meekuhing?
true
'How? Are the words we have heard possibly true?' (XVI-54)

hingh- 'to decay' (4a):

15-43 *hii!* *ong-ko* *hingh-u-ro-ng.*
oh.dear DEM.M-EMPH decay-3S-PERF-M
'Oh dear! This one has decayed.' (VIII-3)

hohk- (middle) 'to throw over' (3a), *mono-* 'to look at/see' (3b):

15-44a *ih!* *nii* *jaki* *hoo* *kuhetuka*
oh.dear I you.should.know ART.M arrow.with.wooden.head
hoh-moo-ro-ng *mono-opee* *mu-i=no-ng.*
$_{REL}$[throw.over-MID.1S-PERF-M] see-3O.1A.DEFFUT come.1S-PRESPROG-M
'Oh dear! You should know that I am coming to see the arrow with a wooden head which I shot (lit. threw over).' (VII-5)

b *nah-ah* *noo* *mono-i-ro-ng?*
I.wonder possibly see-3O.2A-PERF-M
'I wonder if you possibly saw it.' (VII-5, cf. 16-50)

Compare 15-44b with 15-34. The active meaning of the verb *mono-* is picked up in the former, while the stative meaning is picked up in the latter.

The inchoative stative verb *tuh-ee-* 'to obtain/have' behaves like a totally stative verb in this TAM in that it expresses only a state which has lasted for an indefinite duration of time till the speech moment.

15-45	*tiitii.*	*tuu*	*noo*	*no-'ra*
	my.mother's.mother	water	possibly	one-CL.small.amount
	tuh-ee-nna-na?			
	be-APPL-2S.PERF-F			

'Grannie. Do you possibly have a little water?' (VII-10, cf. 14-103)

15.3.5 Near Past /-i/

Near Past /-i/ generally describes an event which took place within the same day as the speech moment. Note that totally stative verbs (1) lack this form. Near Past of an inchoative stative verb (2) expresses a present state, the inception of which occurred within the same day as the speech moment.[12]

(i) present states, the inception of which occurred within the same day as the speech moment:

haa- 'to agree/want' (2):

15-46	*roo*	*mono-'-hee*	*haa-u-u-ng.*
	you.sg	see-2O.3A-DEFFUT	want-3S-NRPAST-M

'He wants to see you.' (I-20, cf. 14-14a)

siiho ngo- (middle) 'to become/be ill' (2):

15-47	*T.*	*siiho*	*ngo-wo-i-na.*
	'female.name'	illness	be-MID.3S-NRPAST-F

'T. (became ill today and now) is ill.' (XV-64)

(ii) events which took place within the same day as the speech moment:

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[12] The states which ended within the same day as, but before, the speech moment may be expressed by the combination of General SS of the verb and Perfect of the aspectual verb *tu(h)-*. cf. fn 20.

pi(h)- 'to go' (3a):

15-48 *iih!* *ana* *nee* *ru'kahw-oo-ro*
oh.dear DEM.F it.must.be do.cooking-MID.3S-PERF.SS
heekoo *pi-i-na.*
some.place go.3S-NRPAST-F
'Oh dear! She must have gone somewhere, after having done the cooking.' (VIII-43)

mono- 'to look at/ see' (3b):

15-49 *noo* *no-uru* *mono-ji-i-na?*
possibly one-CL.human see-3O.2A-NRPAST-F
'Did you possibly see anyone?' (XIV-18)

nangk- 'to shake/move' (3a) and *puu(h)-* 'to die' (4a):

15-50 *hu'uung!* *tii* *manni* *toku* *nangk-o-i-na.*
no she certainly not move-MID.3S-NRPAST-F
tii-koo *haa* *puu-i-na.*
she-EMPH as.you.know die.3S-NRPAST-F
'No! She certainly did not move. She died, as you know.' (VII-47)

15.3.6 Habitual Past /-ki/

Habitual Past /-ki/ describes:

(i) a habitual state maintained for a certain period in the past, with verbs (1), (2), (3b) and (4b), or
(ii) an event which took place habitually over a certain period in the past, with all verbs except for (1).

Habitual events described by this TAM may have taken place over a relatively short period of time. Those described by General and Present, on the other hand, always take place or took place over a long period of time (cf. §15.3.1 and §15.3.2).

(i) habitual states maintained for a certain period in the past:

tu(h)- 'to be' (1):

15-51 *u'kisa* *tu-ti-ki-ni* *ti-ki* *Tonolei* *tii* *kupuna*
long.ago be.3S-dl-HABPAST-DP ART.L-ERG 'place.name' ART.DP ancestor
ki-uru-ko ...
two-CL.person-dl
'Long ago there used to be two ancestor spirits in Tonolei ...' (III-2)

hausmasta/chuuta rii(h)- 'to become/be a house-master/tutor' (2):

15-52 *tiko ti-ki hoo hausmasta jii impa chuuta riingi-ng.*
and there-ERG so house.master and then tutor be.1S.HABPAST-M
'And so there I used to be a house master, and then a tutor as well.' (XXX-170)

(ii) events which took place habitually over a certain period in the past:

haha'w- 'to work' (3a), *riiituh-* 'to repair' (3a):

15-53 *no-ngu hoo-jori kohni haha'-wee-'-ki-ng,*
one-CL.lot ART.M-LOC gardens work-MID.3S-pcl-HABPAST-M
no-ngu-ko hoo urini riituh-a-ki-ng.
one-CL.lot--EMPH ART.M area repair-3O.3pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'One lot (= some of them) used to work in the gardens, and another lot (= others) also used to repair the area.' (II-20, cf. 8-75)

aat- 'to stay overnight/sleep' (3b):

15-54 *tiko hoo-jori poti noi ti-ki aat-ongi-na.*
and ART.M-LOC time some there-ERG stay.overnight-1S.HABPAST-F
'And at some times I used to stay there overnight.' (VI-16)

mono- 'to look at/see' (3b):

15-55 *tiko roki=tiwo mono=mono-o-ki-ng.*
and always REDUP=see-3O.3A-HABPAST-M
'And she used to watch it all the time.' (XII-46)

puu(h)- 'to die' (4a):

15-56 *... ho-i piso hoo puri nihk-ee-u-'-ku*
ART.M-ERG walking.stick ART.M head hit-APPL-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.DS
puu-ra-ki-ng.
die.3S-pcl-HABPAST-M
'... as she (used to) hit them on the head with the walking stick, they used to die.' (VII-17)

15.3.7 Remote Past /-u/

Remote Past /-u/ describes an event which took place long ago (at least more than a year or so before the speech moment), and which has no relevance to the present situation. It is rarely used with totally stative verbs (1) (but see 15-61 below).

This is the TAM which is used most frequently in my corpus of traditional narratives, in which the narrator describes past events objectively. For example, see the following sequence of sentences, in which all the main verbs are in Remote Past.

15-57 *u'kisa* *tii* *mo-n-ongngo* *pi-'-ni*
long.ago ART.DP one-LINK-brothers.dl go.3S-dl.RMPAST-DP
tii *heekoo* *motukah-no.*
ART.L some.place island-L
'Long ago two brothers went to some island.' (XII-2)

15-58 *pisu'-ti-mo* *tii* *kiakia'* *tii* *urisihu-'-ni.*
paddle.3S-dl-GEN.SS ART.L morning they.DP leave.3S-dl.RMPAST-DP
'They left in the morning, paddling.' (XII-3)

15-59 *tiko* *manni* *pisu'-ti-mo* *pisu'-ti-mo* *pisu'-ti-mo*
and then paddle.3S-dl-GEN.SS paddle.3S-dl-GEN.SS paddle.3S-dl-GEN.SS
tii *heekoo* *motukah-no* *pataku-'-ni.*
ART.L some.place island-L arrive-3S-dl.RMPAST-DP
'And then, while paddling and paddling, they arrived at some island.' (XII-4)

15-60 *pata'-to* *ho-ko* *kuraako* *roki* *hoo-nowo* *haa*
arrive.3S-dl.PERF.SS ART.M-EMPH breadfruit just ART.M-SIML anything
korih-ro *tuu-juu* *mono-o-t-u-ng.*
bear.lot.of.fruit.3S-PERF.SS be.3S-CONT.DS see-3O.3A-dl-RMPAST-M
'After they had arrived, they saw a breadfruit tree which had borne lots of fruits beyond comparison.' (XII-5)

The narrator can, however, freely switch to Present to achieve the vivid description of a past event. cf. §15.3.2.

I have only one example of the copula *tu(h)-* in Remote Past in my corpus:

15-61 *ong* *waasiih* *hoo* *napa-nno* *mahkata-nno* *u'kisa*
DEM.M story ART.M $_{POSS}$[possum-and dog-and long.ago
ngewe=nge-wee-t-u-ng *impa* *ti-kitee*
REDUP=be.involved-MID.3S-dl-RMPAST-M and.then then-ABL
koringono *tu-'-ni* *rorong-upeemoroka-na.*
enemy COP.3S-dl.RMPAST-DP] tell-3O.1A.IMFUT-F
'I am going to tell this story, which is about how the dog and the possum had had their lives (lit. had been involved) together, and then, were enemies since then.'[13] (IV-1)

According to my informants, *tu(h)-* in this context means that they were enemies to each other after they had lived together, but it does not specify whether that relation has lasted till now or not.

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[13] *napa-nno ... tu'ni* is a Possessor attributive clause. cf. §17.1.

15.3.8 Future /-hee-tu(h)/

Future /-hee-tu(h)/ describes an event or state which will take place any time after the speech moment. Totally stative verbs lack this TAM.[14] It expresses:

(i) that the speaker intends to do something in the future,
(ii) that the addressee will or should do something in the future, and
(iii) that something will happen in the future.

(i) the speaker intends to do something in the future:

15-62 *toku-ko* *kumar-opeena-na.*
not-EMPH laugh-1S.FUT-F
'I will never laugh.' (VIII-10)

15-63 *ong* *heewa* *ua-kori* *uko-ong-heenuio-ng?*
DEM.M thing what-LOC carry-3O.1pcl.A-FUT-M
'On what shall we carry this thing?' (XXII-20)

(ii) the addressee will or should do something in the future:

15-64 *roo* *haha'* *honna* *toku* *noi* *ngo-i-heeto-ng.*
you.sg work big not any do-3O.2A-FUT-M
'You will not do any big work.' (XIX-32)

15-65 *pau* *noi* *uko-ji-ijo* *hu-'-heetuio-ng.*
food some carry-3O.2A-pcl.PERF.SS come.2S-pcl-FUT-M
'You all will carry some food and come.' (X-2)

(iii) something will happen in the future:

15-66 *roki* *inak-u-mo* *nu-ku* *honna'-heeta-na.*
just look.after-3O.1A-GEN.SS be.1S-GEN.DS grow.up.3S-FUT-F
'While I just keep looking after her, she will grow up.' (VI-8, cf. 15-153a)

15-67 *ong* *pa-i* *jaa* *meeng* *rati'-heeto-ng?*
DEM.M who-ERG on.earth exactly find.3O.3A-FUT-M
'Exactly who, on earth, will find that (person who beats the gong)?' (XIV-12)

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[14] The existence in the future or in imagination is expressed by the combination of General or Continuous SS of the existential verb *tu(h)-* and (Definite/Immediate) Future, Imaginative and Optative of the aspectual verb *tu(h)-*. cf. §15.5.1.

15.3.9 Immediate Future /-hee-MID-ko/

Immediate Future /-hee-MID-ko/ describes an event or state which is about to take place immediately after the speech moment. Totally stative verbs (1) again lack this form.[15] As mentioned in §13.3.8, this TAM is used either with intransitive verbs (as in 15-68 and 15-69), or with transitive verbs when the person of the A argument is clearly more salient than the person of O (typically, A is 1st person and O is 3rd person, as in 15-70 – 15-72).

15-68 *hoo=hoo* *Rumanung* *nuu-m-u-ijo* *hoo=hoo*
then the.Giant smell-1O-3A-pcl.PERF.SS then
hu-heeworoko-ng.
come.3S-IMFUT-M
'Then the Giant will smell us, and immediately come.' (VIII-11, cf. 9-63)

15-69 *po-owoi-nno!* *nee* *tii* *ongi* *raapito* *raano*
my-brother-in-law-and we.inc ART.DP DEM.L.ERG northward north
mi-ti-heemeetikee.
go.1S-dl-IMFUT.DP
'Brother-in-law! We will immediately go there northwards.' (X-11)

15-70 *mi-ro* *tu-upeemoroko-ng.*
go.1S-PERF.SS kill-3O.1A.IMFUT-M
'I will go and kill him immediately.' (XII-20)

15-71 *ih!* *ong* *riing* *koho* *kompaka* *ahku-ung-heemee'ko-ng.*
oh.dear DEM.M west down heron chase-3O.1pcl.A-IMFUT-M
'Oh dear! We will immediately chase that heron down in the west.' (V-41)

15-72 *impa* *impa* *toku* *paa* *jaa* *turong-ung-heemee'ko-ng?*
now now not whom on.earth send-3O.1pcl.A-IMFUT-M
'Just now, (we don't know) who, I wonder, are we going to send (im mediately)?' (XXIII-36, cf. 9-31)

15.3.10 Imaginative /-kui/

Imaginative /-kui/ describes an event or state which the speaker imagines. Totally stative verbs (1) lack this form.[16]

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[15] cf. fn 14.

[16] cf. fn 14.

15-73 *impa hoo manare ree turu-ree-'-kuu-ng toku noi.*
now ART.M way REL[you.nonsg return-MID.2S-pcl-IMAG-M] not a
'Now there is not a way where you could return.' (XV-15, cf. 8-59)

15-74 *... ho-i ingisii pi-mo ma'ni hoo kukumi*
ART.M-ERG fishing go.3S-GEN.SS then ART.M rope
pisi'-kui-na. pisi'-mo pisi'-mo
look.for.3O.3A-IMAG-F look.for.3O.3A-GEN.SS look.for.3O.3A-GEN.SS
rati'-ro tonginno impa miru-woro-kuu-ng.
find.3O.3A-PERF.SS cut.3O.3A.PERF.SS then measure-MID.3S-IMAG-M
'... when she goes for fishing, she would look for a rope. She would keep looking for it, she would find it and cut it, and then measure it.' (XVII-1 - 2)

Imaginative is also used to express hypothetical (15-75) or counterfactual meanings (15-76 and 15-77). The verbs of both the protasis and the apodosis are in Imaginative, but only the verbs of the apodosis have gender suffixes.

15-75 *ih! ana nee hana=hana-angui tuungui-na.*
oh.dear DEM.F it.must.be REDUP=try-3O.1A.IMAG kill.3O.1A.IMAG-F
'Oh dear! If I try it, I would certainly be able to kill her.' (XI-23)

15-76 *woi, nii kinaa' mi-kui ong roki mirahu-moro-kuu-ng*
dear.me I yesterday go.1S-IMAG DEM.M just be.good-MID.1S-IMAG-M
tee-ur-unno.
eat-3pcl.O-1A.PERF.SS
'Dear me! If I had gone (= come) yesterday, I would just have been enjoyed eating them [lit. I would just have been good after eating them].' (VIII-3)

15-77 *tii tii heekoo-ki toku nop-i-kui tii jaa*
her ART.F any.situation-ERG not take-3O.2A-IMAG she I.wonder
tiwo heekowo ngo-woro-kui-na ti-ki uri-ngi.
ART.MAN any.way be.involved-MID.3S-IMAG-F ART.L-ERG village-ERG
'If you had not taken her (out of the island) at all, she could have suffered in every thinkable way in the village.' (XV-82, cf. 4-66)

15.3.11 Definite Future /-hee/

Definite Future /-hee/ is not followed by a gender suffix. It can be the head of either an independent or a dependent embedded clause (cf. §17.1). In general, it expresses that the event or state will definitely take place immediately after the speech moment, or some other time given by the context. Totally stative verbs lack this TAM.[17]

When it functions as the head of an independent clause, it expresses that an event or

[17] cf. fn 14.

the inception of a state will take place immediately after the speech moment.

In a declarative sentence with a 2nd person subject, it expresses an urgent command, which must be fulfilled by the addressee definitely and immediately. Imperative with a 2nd person subject, on the other hand, expresses a general command which must be fullfilled by the addressee some time in the future. Compare the following sentences:

15-78a *nompa* *ngo-i-hee.*
quickly do-3O.2A-DEFFUT
'You will definitely do it quickly.'

b *pi-ro* *ngo-jee.*
go.2S-PERF.SS do-3O.2A.IMP
'You go and do it.'

15-78a may be said after 15-78b to emphasise the urgency of the command.

Further examples of Definite Future forms:

15-79 *pi-hee* *impa* *tii* *kannuku-kori.* *mono=mono-ro-o.*
go.2S-DEFFUT now ART.L puddle-L REDUP=look.at.self-MID.2S-IMP
'Now you will definitely go to the puddle. Look at yourself carefully.' (IV-7)

15-80 *iihaa* *ngo-ji-'-hee.*
fire make-3O.2A-pcl-DEFFUT
'You all will definitely make fire.' (XIII-30)

15-81 *impa* *koto* *pataak-i-hee.*
now up pull-3O.2A-DEFFUT
'Now you will definitely pull it up.' (XIII-17)

15-82 *ho-ko* *tiicha* *toku* *taaro-wa-hee.*
ART.M-EMPH teacher not listen.to-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT
'They will definitely not listen to that teacher.' (XXI-14)

In an interrogative sentence, with a question word, or with the intonation of a polar question (cf. §2.6), Definite Future is used as a rhetorical question:

15-83 *he'ee!* *tiko* *ua-ko* *kumar-opee?*
no so what-PURP laugh-1S.DEFFUT
'No! So why should I laugh?' (VIII-15)

15-84 *ro-ki* *meeng* *taapu-mor-i-hee?*
you.sg-ERG exactly help-1pcl.exc-2A-DEFFUT
'You really could help us (= How could you help us)?' (XIV-27)

The reference point of time may not be the speech moment, but may be supplied from the context. It could be some time in the future (as in 15-85), or in the past (as in 15-86 and 15-87).

(i) the speaker predicts that an event or a state will take place immediately after the point of reference:

15-85 *tiko* *raa'no* *konn-i-ku* *ho-i* *nommai* *ta-r-a-hee.*
and daytime move-2S-GEN.DS ART.M-ERG people kill-2O-3pcl.A-DEFFUT
'And when you move in the daytime, people will definitely kill you.' (X-36)

(ii) rhetorical questions:

15-86 *hcaro'-ro* *manni.* *tiko* *jeewo-ning* *koto* *ngo-woro-hee?*
fall.3S-PERF.SS then so how-towards up make.self-MID.3S-DEFFUT
'He fell (into the river) then. So how could he make himself upright (immediately)?' (V-5)[18]

15-87 *kuroh-ee'* *kuroh-ee'.* *tiko*
be.at.a.run-MID.3pcl.CONT.SS be.at.a.run-MID.3pcl.CONT.SS and
woo-ko *to'k-a-hee?*
where-PURP take.hold.of-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT
'They were continuously at a run. And where could they take hold of him?' (V-48)

Dependent embedded clauses with verbs in Definite Future function as the Complements or the peripheral arguments of the superordinate predicates, and may either precede or follow them.

Verbs which take Definite Future verbal clauses as Complements include *haa-* 'to agree/want' and *kaah-* 'to disagree/not to want' (§14.3.1.1), *haa-jee-* 'to need/want' (§14.6.1), *tiik-* 'to say' (§14.3.1.2), *mi'no-* 'to instruct sb' and *tiih-* 'to tell sb' (§14.3.2.1).

As peripheral arguments, they indicate the purpose of the action referred to by the superordinate verb.

Examples of Definite Future verbal clauses functioning as peripheral arguments:

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[18] cf. fn 6 in §9.4.3.3 and fn 28 in §2.8.

15-88 *tiko* *ong* *nee* *nuri* *puu-woota-wa-hee*
so DEM.M it.must.be my.son die-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT
paarang-a-ro-ng.
call-3O.3pcl.A-PERF-M
'So they must have called this son of mine in order to kill him." ' (I-31)

15-89 *tiko* *hoo=hoo* *hoo* *tongoruha* *nong-ki-na*
and so ART.M 'kind.of.vine' take.3O.3A-HABPAST-F
hoo-jo *ummah* *ngo-o-hee.*
ART.M-PURP knotted.rope make-3O.3A-DEFFUT
'And so she used to take a *tongoruha* vine to make it into a knotted rope for climbing' (VII-12)

15-90 *pau* *uamii* *nap-a-hee* *uwi-i-ng?*
food what.kind.of get-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT go.3pcl.S-NRPAST-M
'What kind of food did they go to get?' (III-32)

15.3.12 Imperative (/-o/)

Imperative is always used as the head of an independent clause. It is not followed by a gender suffix. It can take the subjects of any person/number. Totally stative verbs lack this category.[19] Examples:

15-91 *po-owoi,* *pee* *tii* *kannuku-kori.* *mono-ro-o.*
my.brother-in-law go.2S.IMP ART.L puddle-L look.at.self-MID.2S-IMP
'Brother-in-law, go to the puddle. Look at yourself.' (IV-12)

15-92 *hoo* *taumi* *koho* *huh-ooto-jee.*
ART.M rope down come-CAUS-3O.2A.IMP
'Let the rope come down.' (XIII-15)

15-93 *pi-ng.* *tii* *Perui* *kokinn-i-ng.*
go.2S-pcl.IMP ART.F 'witch's.name' bite-3O.2A-pcl.IMP
'(You all) go. Bite Perui.' (VII-43)

15-94 *kong.*
walk.1pcl.S.IMP
'Let us go.' (X-15)

15-95 *ih!* *nii-ko* *poko* *no-mung* *tee-unno* *mee.*
oh.dear I-EMPH had.better one-CL.fruit eat-3O.1A.PERF.SS go.1S.IMP
'Oh dear! I had better eat a fruit, too, and then let me go.' (XI-18)

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[19] Continuous DS of the existential verb *tu(h)*- is often used as substitute for Imperative. cf. §17.1.

15-96 *hoo* *kukutu* *o-ir-i-ku* *nee-wa-wo.*
ART.M green.coconut give.to-3pcl.O-2A-GEN.DS drink-3O.3pcl.A-IMP
'You give the green coconut to them and let them drink it.' (XXXV-112)

15.3.13 Optative /-woro/ and Negative Optative /-raa/

Optative /-woro/ and Negative Optative /-raa/ are used as the heads of independent verbal clauses. They express that the speaker wants something to happen. Totally stative verbs lack these categories.[20] Examples:

15-97 *nii* *mi-ko-ng.* *pete'* *root-upee.*
I go.1S-PRES-M sweet.potato dig-3O.1A.DEFFUT
ong *nee* *neeko-ng* *kaakaa-ngung* *turu-moo-ro*
DEM.M O.K.? 1nonsg.POSS-M protein.food-PL return-MID.1S-PERF.SS
tu-ur-ungjo *hoo-nno* *pete'* *ru'k-ur-upi-ti-woro.*
kill-3pcl.O-1A.PERF.SS ART.M-COMIT sweet.potato cook-3pcl.O-1A-dl-OPT
'I (am) go(ing). I will definitely dig sweet potatoes. I wish we would cook this protein food of ours with sweet potatoes when I return, O.K.?'(VIII-27)

15-98 *pu'j-i-heeta-na.* *no'-woro:* *"ong* *nee* *kitori*
shout-2S-FUT-F think.3S-OPT DEM.M it.must.be children
mingk-ee-'=ro-ng."
play-MID.3S-pcl.PRESPROG-M
'You will shout. I wish she (= an evil woman) would think: "Those children must be playing." [The speaker is addressing a bird.]' (XI-7)

15-99 *naramong,* *tu'ki-ngaro* *to-n-taa-ko.*
my.younger.brother all-dl kill-1O.3A-dl.NEGOPT-EMPH
'My younger brother, I wish he would not kill both of us.' (XII-24)

15-100 *tii* *nuka* *inokee* *hari=haring-oro-mo*
ART.F my.mother again REDUP=become.worried-MID.3S-GEN.SS
hia *noi* *haapat-ah* *kunato-o-raa-ko.*
thing some be.difficult-PART encounter-3O.3A-NEGOPT-EMPH
'I wish my mother would not become worried again and encounter something difficult.' (XV-74)

Note that Negative Optative forms are often followed by the emphatic suffix *-ko*.

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[20] cf. fn 14.

15.4 MEDIAL TAM SUFFIXES

15.4.1 Overview

Motuna has five "medial" TAM suffixes which mark switch-reference.

As will be discussed in Ch 17, the clause which has a verb marked by one of these suffixes as head is syntactically non-embedded in most cases.[21] It is, however, usually followed[22] by another clause which "controls" its TAM and SS/DS marking. I will call the clause which has a medial verb as head "marked clause", and the clause which controls its TAM and SS/DS marking "controlling clause".[23]

Among the five medial suffixes, the General SS, General DS and Perfect SS suffixes are primarily attached to the stems of dynamic verbs (mainly verbs (3) and (4), and sometimes verbs (2) when the focus is on unstable or habitual states, or on the inception phases of states). The Continuous SS and DS suffixes, on the other hand, are primarily attached to those of stative verbs ((1), (2), (3b) and (4b)). Schematically,

	SS suffix	DS suffix
dynamic verb stem +	Perfect /-ro/	General /-ku/
	General /-mo/	
stative verb stem +	Continuous /-i/	Continuous /-juu/

Roughly speaking, the temporal/aspectual concepts expressed by the General and Perfect SS suffixes are covered by the General DS suffix, and those expressed by the Continuous SS suffix are covered by the Continuous DS suffix. But, as will be seen below, they are not exactly symmetrical.

The Perfect SS suffix is the same as the Present Perfect suffix (cf. §15.3.4). It expresses that the event expressed by the marked clause has been completed before the event expressed by the controlling clause takes place. Most typically, it is used to describe successive events in narratives. There may be a temporal gap between two successive events, which is usually indicated by a conjunction or adverb such as *manni* 'then', *impa* 'and then, and now', *ehkong* 'now, already'.

15-101 *roho-o-ro* *manni* *uko-o-ro* *pi-i-ng.*
bake.in.stones-3O.3A-PERF.SS then take-3O.3A-PERF.SS go.3S-RMPAST-M
'He baked it in the hot stones, then took it and went.' (X-9)

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[21] See §17.1 for exceptions.

[22] See 15-113 and 15-114, and §17.2 for exceptions.

[23] The terms "marked clause" and "controlling clause" are according to Comrie (1983). See also Roberts (1988a and b).

Note, however, that successive habitual events are expressed by General SS (cf. (ii) below), and not by Perfect SS forms.

The General SS suffix is the same as the General suffix. As mentioned in §15.3.1, the event expressed by a verb in General is not bound by any temporal/aspectual boundaries; this applies to a verb with the General SS suffix as well. Temporal/aspectual boundaries are specified by the TAM suffix on the verb in the controlling clause.

More specifically, General SS may indicate that:

(i) the event described by the marked clause takes place simultaneously with the event described by the controlling clause:

15-102 ... *siro-wa-mo* *konn-a-mo* *tii* *uri*
sing-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS walk-3pcl.S-GEN.SS ART.L village
turu-wee-r-u-ng.
return-MID.3S-pcl-RMPAST-M
'... while singing a song and walking, they returned to the village.' (VII-52)

(ii) the two events are simultaneous (15-103) or successive (15-104, repetition of 15-12) habitual events:

15-103 *tiko* *ti-ki* *aat-o-mo* *sikuulu-moro-ki-na.*
then there-ERG stay.overnight-1S-GEN.SS be.educated-MID.1S-HABPAST-F
'Then I used to stay there (in the dormitory) overnight and be educated.' (VI-14)

15-104 *hoo* *roki* *ong-ngori* *moo* *hoo* *tuu* *nop-u-mo*
so just DEM.M-LOC coconut ART.M water get-3O.1A-GEN.SS
ne-unga-na.
drink-3O.1A.PRES-F
'So I just get water from those coconuts and drink it.' (VII-11)

(iii) the marked clause expresses the condition under which the habitual or imaginative event described by the controlling clause takes place.

15-105 *siiho-m-mo* *tii* *hausiiki* *mi-ka-na.*
become.ill-1S-GEN.SS ART.L hospital go.1S-PRES-F
'Whenever I become ill, I go to the hospital.'

The functions of General DS roughly correspond to those of General and Perfect SS. It simply sets up the time frame for the event described by the controlling clause. Specifically, it expresses that:

(i) the event expressed by the marked clause has been completed before the event expressed by the controlling clause takes place (this function corresponds to that of Perfect SS):

15-106 *tiwo=tii'-ku* *sih-a-a-ng.*
that.way=say.3S-GEN.DS leave-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
'After he had said that way, they left him.' (XII-24)

(ii) two events are simultaneous or successive habitual events. Alternatively, the event expressed by the marked clause may be interpreted as the condition under which the habitual event described by the controlling clause takes place. (These functions correspond to (ii) and (iii) of General SS):

15-107 *tii uri pata'-ku oi raang koho si'mata*
ART.L village arrive-3S-GEN.DS DEM.DIM north down cane
paki=paki'-ku *nok-onga-na: "..."*
REDUP=shake.3S-GEN.DS realise-1S.PRES-F
'When(ever) he arrives at the village and the cane down in the north shakes repeatedly, I realise: "..."' (I-9)

General DS cannot express a progressive event. However, the combination of the verb in General SS, and the general DS form of the aspectual verb *tu(h)-*, can describe such an event, which is simultaneous with the event described by the controlling clause (this function corresponds to (i) of General SS):

15-108 *paa-mo* *tu-ku* *noh-u'-na: "..."*
cry.3S-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS say.to-3O.1A.RMPAST-F
'While she was crying, I said to her: "..." ' (XV-57)

Continuous SS and DS express situations in which the events described by the controlling clauses takes place. These suffixes are most commonly attached to stative verbs:

15-109 ... *ore peh=pehkita nu-i ti-ki miisini-ngori-ki*
well REDUP=small COP.1S-CONT.SS ART.L-ERG mission-L-ERG
nuu-juu *ngo-wor-u-ng.*
be.1S-CONT.DS happen-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'... well, (the big flood) happened while I was very small and I was in the mission.' (VI-29, cf. 14-31)

They do not seem to be attached to the stems of dynamic action or terminative verbs very often. The Continuous SS suffix, in particular, rarely occur with those verbs,

except in negation or to describe the manner of activities rather than the activities themselves. See further discussion and examples in §15.4.5.

15.4.2 Perfect SS /-ro/

As mentioned above, the Perfect SS of an action or terminative verb expresses that the event expressed by the marked clause has been completed before the event expressed by the controlling clause takes place.

tiwo=tiik- 'to say that way' (3a) and *pi(h)-* 'to go' (3a):

15-110 *tiwo=tii'-ro* *pi-ro* *ru'=ru'n-u-u-ng.*
that.way=say.3S-PERF.SS go.3S-PERF.SS REDUP=beat-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'After he said that way, he went, and beat it repeatedly.' (XXIII-31)

uko- 'to take/carry/be carrying' (3b) and *mono-* 'to look at/see' (3b):

15-111 *ho-ko* *uko-ji-ijo* *inokee* *na-raku-kori*
it-EMPH take-3O.2A-pcl.PERF.SS again one-CL.river-L
mono-ongjo *ti-ki* *nee-ung-heenuio-ng.*
see-3O.1pcl.A.PERF.SS there-ERG eat-3O.1pcl.A-FUT-M
'After you take it, we will again see a river, and we will eat it there.' (X-14)

hu(h)- 'to come' (4a):

15-112 *mu-ro* *inokee* *noi* *uko-opeeno-ng.*
come.1S-PERF.SS again some take-3O.1A.FUT-M
'I will come and take some again.' (XIII-28)

honnang- 'to grow up' (4a)

15-113 *nee* *honnang-a-ro* *ih-m-a-'-heenuio-ng.*
us.inc grow.up-3pcl.S-PERF.SS replace-1O-3pcl.A-pcl-FUT-M
'They will grow up and replace us.' (XI-3)

ne'w- 'to sit down/be sitting' (4b):

15-114 *ih!* *pau* *noi* *ne-i-hee,* *owo* *patapata-kori*
oh.dear food some eat-3O.2A-DEFFUT DEM.L platform-L
ne'-roo-ro.
sit.down-MID.2S-PERF.SS
'Oh dear! You will definitely eat some food, after sitting down on the platform.' (XIII-35)

Note that in 15-113 the marked clause *honnang-a-ro* 'after they grow up' is inserted between the controlling verb *ih-m-a-'-heenuio-ng* 'they will replace us' and its O NP *nee* 'us'. In 15-114, the whole marked clause is placed after the controlling clause as

additional information. cf. §17.2.

The Perfect SS suffix is not attached to totally stative verbs (1). When it is attached to inchoative stative verbs (2), it expresses that the inception of the state described by the marked clause has already occurred before the event or state described by the controlling clause takes place:

siiho- 'to become/be ill' (2):

15-115 *hoo* *ro-ora* *po'tee* *siiho-o-ro*
ART.M your.sg-wife's.father very become.ill-3S-PERF.SS
toku *topo* *tu-ro-ng.*
not well be.3S-PERF-M
'Your father-in-law became very ill and is not well.' (I-20)

15.4.3 General SS /-mo/

As mentioned in §15.4.1, General SS indicates that:

(i) the event described by the marked clause takes place simultaneously with the event described by the controlling clause, with any action and terminative verbs (3) and (4).
(ii) that the two events are simultaneous or successive habitual events, with all verbs except for (1), or
(iii) that the marked clause expresses the condition under which the habitual or imaginative event described by the controlling clause takes place, with all verbs except for (1).

(i) two simultaneous events. The event described by the marked clause may completely overlap, or if it is punctual, it takes place at a certain point within the time span of the event described by the controlling clause:

ngo- (middle) 'to be involved (in an event)/to make it' (3a):

15-116 *tiwo* *nge-wee-ti-mo* *manni* *tii* *motu*
that.way make.it-MID.3S-dl-GEN.SS then ART.L middle
hukar-u-'-ni.
arrive-3S-dl.RMPAST-DP
'While they two made it that way, they arrived in the middle.' (XII-32, cf. 14-49)

mono- 'to look at/see' (3b) and *mon-* 'to look' (3a):

15-117 *tiko* *poongo* *mono-wa-mo* *man-a-mo*
and east see-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS look-3pcl.S-GEN.SS
tii *raa* *mono-wa-ro* *manni* *ong* *koho*
ART.F sun see-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS then DEM.M down
o'koo *kuino-ngung* *kupuri-ngung* *piruk-ee-r-u-ng.*
those stick-PL stone-PL be.turned.into-MID.3S-pcl-RMPAST-M
'While they (= the dwarfs) are watching the east and looking around, and when they saw the sun, those (dwarfs) down there were turned into those sticks and stones.' (IX-32, cf. 14-59)

honnak- 'to grow up' (4a):

15-118 *tiko* *tii* *hong=honnang-o-mo* *manni* *nok-o'-na: "..."*
and when REDUP=gro.up-1S-GEN.SS then realise-1S.RMPAST-F
'And while I was growing up, (then) I realised: "..." ' (T-29)

In 15-118, the medial clause is introduced by the subordinating conjunction *tii*. cf. §17.1.

Progressivity of action is emphasised by repeating the same General SS form of a dynamic action verb (see also 15-59):

pi(h)- 'to go' (3a):

15-119 *pi-mo* *pi-mo* *pi-mo* *pi-mo* *rono*
go.3S-GEN.SS go.3S-GEN.SS go.3S-GEN.SS go.3S-GEN.SS downstream
ehkong *hoo* *hojoo* *peesi'-ko-ng.*
now ART.M male.prawn come.upon.3O.3A-PRES-M
'While going, going, going, and going downstream, he came upon the male prawn now.' (V-19)

(ii) simultaneous or successive habitual events:

kokor- 'to pick' (3a), *arut-* 'to collect' (3a) and *uuh-* (middle) 'to wash oneself' (3a):

15-120 *noi-ko* *hoo* *kuwawa* *jii* *si'ri* *i'saru*
one.thing-EMPH ART.M guava and passion.fruit gingerplant
kokor-um-mo *arut-ur-um-mo*
pick-3O.1pcl.A-GEN.SS collect-3pcl.O-1pcl.A-GEN.SS
ti-ki *hiru-ngori* *jii* *tuu-kori* *uu-mara-mo*
ART.L sea-L and river-L wash-MID.1pcl.inc.S-GEN.SS
tee-ur-ung-ki-ng.
eat-3pcl.O-1pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'Another thing (to tell you) is that we used to pick guava, passion fruits and gingerplants, and collect them, and while washing ourselves in the sea and river, we used to eat them.' (II-25, cf. 9-46)

pihk- (middle) 'to make a search' (3a):

15-121 *nii-ko* *jaki* *pih-moro-mo* *konn-ongo-ng.*
I-EMPH you.should.know make.a.search-MID.1S-GEN.SS move-1S.PRES-M
'You should know that I also move around, making a search.' (XIV-39)

hu(h)- 'to come' (4a):[24]

15-122 *owo* *uri* *hu-mo* *toku* *noni-nno* *unu-ko-ng.*
DEM.L village come.3S-GEN.SS not us.exc-COMIT be.1pcl.exc.S-PRES-M
'He comes to that village (of ours) but does not live with us.' (XVI-52)

An inchoative stative verb in General SS focuses on the unstable state which is simultaneous with a habitual event described by the controlling clause:

siiho ngo- (middle) 'to become/be ill' (2):

15-123 *siiho* *honna* *ngo-woro-mo* *tiwo* *ngo-woro-ka-na.*
illness big be.involved-MID.3S-GEN.SS that.way be.involved-MID.3S-PRES-F
'As she is seriously ill [lit. While she is involved in big illness], she suffers that way (from small illnesses) all the time.' (XV-54)

(iii) the marked clause expresses the condition under which the habitual or imaginative event described by the controlling clause takes place:

pi(h)- 'to go' (3a):

15-124 *tii* *heekoo* *ho-i* *mani* *jii* *hoo* *jii*
ART.L any.place ART.M-ERG hunting.for.possum or ART.M or
mahkataih-ki *pi-ti-mo* *nommeeng* *pi-ti-ki-ni.*
hunting.for.pig-ERG go.3S-dl-GEN.SS together go.3S-dl-HABPAST-DP
'Whenever they went hunting wherever for possums, pigs, etc., they used to go together.' (IV-3)

sih- 'to leave' (3a) and *hu(h)-* 'to come' (4a):

15-125a *sih-u-mo-ko* *sih-ungui-na* *ti-ko* *ongo.*
leave-3O.1A-GEN.SS-EMPH leave-3O.1A.IMAG-F ART.L-PURP DEM.L.PURP
'If I leave her, I could leave her here.' (XV-86)

b *tii-ko* *uri* *mu-ti-mo* *tii* *uri* *mu-ti-kui.*
ART.L-EMPH home come.1S-dl-GEN.SS ART.L home come.1S-dl-IMAG.DP
'And also, if I go [lit. come] home, we could go (lit. come) home together.' (XV-86)

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[24] cf. 15-152a. The main verb *unu-ko-ng* expresses a habitual state. cf. fn 6.

15.4.4 General DS /-ku/

The functions of General DS roughly corresponds to those of General and Perfect SS. It sets up the time frame for the event expressed by the controlling clause. It is not used with totally stative verbs.

(i) the event expressed by the marked clause has been completed before the event expressed by the controlling clause takes place:

pi(h)- 'to go' (3a):

15-126 *hoo* *tuu* *ino-o-hee* *pi-ku* *manni*
ART.M water fetch-3O.3A-DEFFUT go.3S-GEN.DS then
ehkong *nak-a-ko-ng: "..."*
now say-3pcl.S-PRES-M
'After she has gone to fetch water, they now say: "..." ' (VIII-31)

mono- 'to look at/see' (3b) and *siro-* 'to sing' (3a):

15-127 *hoo* *mongiiru* *mono-o-ku* *siro-o-ku*
ART.M baramundi see-3O.3A-GEN.DS sing-3O.3A-GEN.DS
noh-u-u-ng: "..."
say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'After he had seen the baramundi and sung (a song), the baramundi said to him: "..." ' (V-27, cf. 17-34)

hu(h)- 'to come' (4a):

15-128 *Kohkaa* *hu-ku* *ongo* *to-i-heeta-na.*
'female.name' come.3S-GEN.DS DEM.L.PURP kill-3O.2A-FUT-F
'After Kohkaa has come, you will kill her here.' (XI-16)

The general DS form of inchoative stative verbs (2) expresses that the inception of the state described by the marked clause has already occurred before the event or state described by the controlling clause:

siiho- 'to become/ be ill' (2):

15-129 *tii* *T.* *siiho-o-ku* *manni* *hoo* *tii*
ART.F 'female.name' become.ill-3S-GEN.DS then ART.M there
turu-warei *manni* *toku* *ngo-mon-na.*
return-VN certainly not make-MID.1S.PERF-F
'After T. had become ill, (then) I certainly did not manage to return there.' (XV-71, cf. 14-51)

(ii) two events are simultaneous habitual events, or the marked clause expresses the condition under which the habitual event described by the controlling clause takes place:

rorong- 'to tell' (3a):

15-130 ... *roki* *tii-ngi* *nuka* *roro-ng-ku* *taaro-ongo-ng.*
just ART.F-ERG my.mother tell-1O.3A-GEN.DS listen.to-3O.1A.PRES-M
'... just whenever my mother tells me (the story), I listen to her.' (II-2, cf. 15-13)

hukar- 'to arrive' (4a) and *mono-* 'to look at/see' (3b):

15-131 *tii* *muh=puuto* *hukar-a-ku* *mono-o-'-ki-ng.*
ART.L bush=end arrive-3pcl.S-GEN.DS see-3O.3A-pcl-HABPAST-M
manni *mono-o-'-ku* *nak-a-ki-ng: "..."*
then see-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.DS say-3pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'When(ever) they arrived at the edge of the village, she used to see them. Then when(ever) she saw them, they used to say: "..." ' (VII-4 - 5)

The combination of an action or terminative verb in General SS, and the general DS form of the aspectual verb *tu(h)-*, refers to a progressive event, during which the event described by the controlling clause takes place. See §15.5.1 for a discussion of the aspectual verb *tu(h)-*.

ru'n- (middle) 'to jump' (3a):

15-132 ... *ehkong* *ti-ki* *hiisia-kori* *rono* *raano*
now ART.L-ERG sand-L south north
ru'n-oro-mo *tu-ku* *ru'n-oro-mo* *tu-ku*
jump-MID.3S-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS jump-MID.3S-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS
ti-ko *ho-i* *kitori* *mono-wa-ro*
there-PURP ART.M-ERG children see-3O.3A-PERF.SS
manni *nak-a-a-ng: "..."*
then say-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'... now, while he was jumping and jumping in the south and north on the beach, the children saw him there and said: "..." ' (V-41)

tee- 'to eat (protein food)' (3a) and *pi(h)-* 'to go' (3a):

15-133 *manni* *hoo* *te-u-mo* *tu-ku* *pisu'-mo*
then it eat-3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS paddle.3S-GEN.SS
pi-mo *pi-mo* *tu-ku* *pi-mo* *tu-ku*
go.3S-GEN.SS go.3S-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS go.3S-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS
pi-mo *tu-ku* *inokee* *hoo* *angu*
go.3S-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS again ART.M arm
ronguh-e-u-ro *manni* *inokee* *ahku-u-ti-kee.*
finish-APPL-3O.3A-PERF.SS then again chase-3O.3A-dl-PRES.DP
'Then, while he (= the Demon) is eating it, he (= the younger brother) is paddling and going, and while he is going, going and going, again the Demon finishes (eating) the (elder brother's) arm, and again chases the two brothers.' (XII-25)

hingh- 'to decay' (4a):

15-134 *ti-ki* *hingh-u-mo* *tu-ku* *hoo* *pau* *jii* *moniko*
there-ERG decay-3S-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS ART.M food and spinach
ruku'-mo *kokisi'-ki-ng.*
cook.3O.3A-GEN.SS season.3O.3A-HABPAST-M
'While it was decaying there, she used to season the food and spinach with it when she cooked them.' (I-33)

With an action verb, the same form may be repeated to focus on the progressivity of the event, as in 15-132 and 15-133.

15.4.5 Continuous SS /-i/ and Continuous DS /-juu/

Continuous SS /-i/ and DS /-juu/ express the situations in which the events described by the controlling clauses take place.

tu(h)- 'to be' (1):

15-135 *tiko* *manni* *ti-ki* *tu-h* *manni* *noh-u-u-ng: "..."*
and then there-ERG be.3S-dl.CONT.SS then say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'And then, while they two were staying there, she said to him:' (VII-25)

tu(h)- 'Copula' (1):

15-136 ... *impa* *hoo* *ra* *honna* *tuu-juu* *hoo* *haha'*
then ART.M sun big COP.3S-CONT.DS ART.M work
komik-oro-mo ...
finish-MID.3S-GEN.SS
'... then while the sun was still big, he used to finish the work, and (he) ...' (III-18)

kjangsa ngo- (middle) 'to get/have cancer' (2):

15-137 *T.* *kjangsa* *ngo-woi-juu*
'female.name' cancer have-MID.3S-CONT.DS
tii *uri* *toku* *mi-ra-na.*
ART.L home not go.1S-PERF-F
'While T. had cancer I did not go home.' (XV-81)

nimautu- (middle) '(male) to look handsome' (2):

15-138 ... *roki=manni* *nimautu-wo-i* *tii* *uri*
really look.handsome.male-MID.3S-CONT.SS ART.L home
mori'-ki-ng.
return.3S-HABPAST-M
'... he used to return home, really looking handsome.' (III-8)

kuuk- 'to (get to) know' (2):

15-139 *nah-ah* *noo* *kuuk-aa-juu* *hu-i=to-ng?*
I.wonder possibly know-3pcl.S-CONT.DS come.3S-PRESPROG-M
'I wonder if they possibly know that he is coming.' (XXXV-165)

Continuous SS rarely occurs with dynamic action and terminative verbs except in negation. In negation it refers to the state before the inception of the event:

pi(h)- 'to go' (3a):

15-140 *tiko* *tii* *koto* *pi-woo-i* *hirit-oro-ku* *tii*
and ART.L up go-NEG-CONT.SS flick-MID.3S-GEN.DS ART.F
Kohkaa *raka=rakar-oro-ku* *manni* *nok-u-u-na: "..."*
'female.name' REDUP=cover.self-MID.3S-GEN.DS then think-3S-RMPAST-F
'Then before she (= the Thunder) went up, she flicked, and after Kohka covered herself (by various means), she (= the Thunder) thought: "..."' (XI-23)

kiin- 'to climb' (3a):

15-141 *hoo* *kiim-woo-i* *hoo* *o'koo* *ummah*
so climb.3S-NEG-CONT.SS ART.M that knotted.rope
o-o-mo *tu-ku* *manni* *nok-u-u-ng: "..."*
give.to-3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS then say-3S-RMPAST-M
'So before climbing, while she was giving that knotted rope for climbing to him, he said:' (VII-31)

In some cases, the Continuous SS form of a dynamic action verb is used in affirmation to describe the manner of an activity, rather than the activity itself:

ngo- (middle) 'to be involved in an event' (3a):

15-142 *manni* *ngowo=ngo-wo-i* *no-wori*
then REDUP=be.involved-MID.3S-CONT.SS one-CL.animate
potok-u-u-ng.
catch-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'Then, while advancing quietly, he caught one of them.' (XIII-63)

The DS form of a dynamic action or terminative verb, on the other hand, is used to express the continuation of a state resulting from a completed event (15-143 - 15-145). In negation, it expresses the state before the inception of the event (15-146).

konn- 'to walk/move' (3a):

15-143 *ruu no-ru tii Maawo po-oku tii koh*
day one-CL.day ART.F 'male.name' his-mother ART.L garden
kong=konn-uu-juu tii pee-pi-ng
REDUP=walk-3S-CONT.DS ART.DP their-grandchild-pcl
nak-a-a-ni:"..."
say-3pcl.S-RMPAST-DP
'One day after Maawo's mother had walked away to the garden (and was not there), their grandchildren said: "..."' (I-34)

tung- (middle) 'to go in' (3a):

15-144 *hoo=hoo tii hiru-ngori patak-a-a-ng ana koto*
so ART.L sea-L arrive-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M DEM.F down
manni hoo-jori maiara ai tung-oi-juu.
certainly ART.M-LOC deep.in.sea I.tell.you go.in-MID.3S-CONT.DS
'So when they arrived at the sea, that female (turtle) down there, I tell you, had certainly already gone deep into the sea.' (V-49)

muu=rii(h)- 'to get dark' (4a):

15-145 *muu=rii-juu owo patak-u-u-na.*
get.dark.3S-CONT.DS DEM.L arrive-3S-NRPAST-F
'After it had got dark (= When it was already dark), he arrived here.' (XXXV-70)

hu(h)- 'to come' (4a)

15-146 *... tii toku umuu-juu na-mar-a-a-ni: "..."*
there not come.1pcl.exc.S-CONT.DS say.to-1pcl.exc.O-3pcl.A-RMPAST-DP
'... before we came there (= while we were still over there), they said to us: "..." ' (XV-15)

The Continuous SS and DS suffixes attached to action-state and terminative-stative verbs focus on the stative meanings of these verbs.

taaro- 'to listen to/hear' (3b) and *kuroh-* 'to run/be at a run' (3b):

15-147 *akai! nii jaki ho-ko taaro-oh*
friend I you.should.know it-EMPH hear-3O.1A.CONT.SS
kuro-mo-i konn-oh=no-ng.
be.at.a.run-MID.1S-CONT.SS move-1S.PRESPROG-M
'Friend! You should know that while hearing it I am moving around at a run.' (XXIII-25)

kuuto- 'to wait/be waiting' (3b):

15-148 ... *tii* *pa-na* *ti-ki* *poo'-ki* *kuuto-woi-juu*
ART.F his-wife ART.L-ERG under.tree-ERG be.waiting-MID.3S-CONT.DS
Emmai *koto* *kiin-u-u-ng.*
'male.name' up climb-3S-RMPAST-M
'... while his wife was waiting under the tree, Emmai climbed up.' (XIII-2)

ne'w- 'to sit down/be sitting' (4b):

15-149 *tiko* *manni* *ti-ki* *ne'w-o-i* *manni*
and then there-ERG be.sitting-MID.3S-CONT.SS then
hoo *uruwi* *noh-u-u-ng: "..."*
ART.M centipede say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'And then, while sitting there, he said to the centipede :' (VII-39)

po'k- (middle) 'to hide oneself/be hiding' (4b):

15-150 ... *ti-ki* *howo-no-ki* *po'=po'k-ee-ngjuu*
ART.L-ERG house-L-ERG REDUP=be.hiding-MID.3S-pcl.CONT.DS
tii *Rumanung* *pa-na* *hu-u-na.*
ART.F the.Giant his-wife come.3S-RMPAST-F
'... while they were hiding in the house, the Giant's wife came.' (VIII-36)

Note that the Continuous SS form of an action-state verb may be repeated to focus on the continuity of a state. cf. 15-87.

15.5 ASPECTUAL VERBS

Motuna has five aspectual verbs, which are preceded by an SS medial form or a Definite Future form. TAM inflections of these aspectual verbs are restricted in the following way:

(1) *tu(h)-* 'to be' expresses duration[25] or habituality:
GEN.SS/ CONT.SS + /tu(h)-/ (PRES, PRESPERF, HABPAST, FUT, IMFUT, IMAG, IMP,[26] OPT, NEGOPT, GEN.SS, GEN.DS)

(2) *nong-* 'to be' expresses duration or habituality:
GEN.SS + /nong-/ (FUT)

[25] I use the term "durative" to cover "continuous" (as regards states) and "progressive" (as regards events).

[26] Note that the existential verb *tu(h)-* does not have Future, Imaginative and Imperative forms. cf. fn 14.

(3) *konn-* 'to walk/move' expresses progressivity (only with action verbs and termina tive verbs):
GEN.SS + /kopin-/ (PRES, PRESPROG, HABPAST, FUT, IMFUT, IMAG, GEN.SS, GEN.DS, CONT.DS)

(4) *pi(h)-* 'to go' expresses perfectivity (only with action verbs and terminative verbs):
PERF.SS + /pi(h)-/ (PRES)

(5) *ngo-* 'to do' expresses immediate future (only with action and terminative transitive verbs):
DEFFUT + /ngo-/ (PRES, PRESPROG, GEN.SS, GEN.DS)

That these verbs function as operators at nuclear level (cf. Foley and Olson 1985: 33-34), and not as proper verbs which coordinate or subordinate the preceding verbs, is demonstrated by the facts that:

1) the aspectual verbs cannot take arguments of their own.
2) no morpheme can intervene between the aspectual verb and the preceding medial verb or verb in Definite Future. In particular, the negative particle *toku* cannot intervene between these two morphemes. In clause chaining, on the other hand, *toku* can intervene between the marked clause and the controlling clause, and negate only the controlling verb.

For example, observe the following sentences:

15-151a ... *raa'no* *toku* *konn-i-mo* *tu-heeta-na.*
daytime not move-2S-GEN.SS be.2S-FUT-F
'... you will not keep moving in the daytime.' (X-37)

b **raa'no* *konn-i-mo* *toku* *tu-heeta-na.*

c *raa'no* *konn-i-mo* *tu-heeta-na.*
daytime move-2S-GEN.SS be.2S-FUT-F
'You will keep moving in the daytime.'

d **tu-heeta-na* *(raa'no)* *konn-i-mo.*

However, observe the following examples:

15-152a *owo* *uri* *hu-mo* *toku* *noni-nno* *unu-ko-ng.*
DEM.L village come.3S-GEN.SS not us.exc-COMIT be.1pcl.exc.S-PRES-M
'He comes to that village (of ours) but does not live with us.' (XVI-52, cf. 15-122)

b *noni-nno* *unu-ko-ng* *owo* *uri* *hu-mo.*
us.exc-COMIT be.1pcl.exc.S-PRES-M DEM.L village come.3S-GEN.SS
'He stays with us, coming to that village (of ours).'

In 15-152a and b, the verb *unu-ko-ng* is used as a proper verb. It takes a peripheral argument *noni-nno*. Furthermore, in 15-152a, the negative particle *toku* can intervene between the controlling clause with this verb and the marked clause with the medial verb *hu-mo*. In 15-152b, the marked clause with the medial verb *hu-mo* is placed after the controllong verb *unu-ko-ng*.

The first four aspectual verbs listed above are intransitive. They cross-reference the person of the most salient core argument of the preceding verb, according to the hierarchy given in Diagram 13-17 in §13.3.4. For example,

15-153a *roki* *inak-u-mo* *nu-ku* *honna'-heeta-na.*
just look.after-3O.1A-GEN.SS be.1S-GEN.DS grow.up.3S-FUT-F
'While I just keep looking after her, she will grow up.' (VI-8)

b *tiko* *inam-mo* *nu-ku* *honnang-o'-na.*
and look.after-1O.3A-GEN.SS be.1S-GEN.DS grow.up-1S.RMPAST-F
'And while she kept looking after me, I grew up.' (VI-9)

In 15-153a, the aspectual verb *tu(h)-* cross-references the 1st person of the A argument, and in 15-153b, the 1st person of the O argument, of the verb *inak-* 'to look after'. 1st person A and O are more salient than 3rd O and A respectively, according to the hierarchy mentioned above.

15.5.1 GEN.SS/CONT.SS + *tu(h)-* 'to be'

The aspectual verb *tu(h)-* is by far the most commonly used among the five listed above.

When it is preceded by the General SS form of a dynamic verb (3) or (4), it expresses that:

(i) an event is going on, or
(ii) an event takes place habitually.

Note that Habitual Past of the aspectual verb *tu(h)-* expresses an ongoing or a habitual event in the remote past.[27]

(i) ongoing events (see also 15-108 and 15-132 – 15-134):

15-154 *tiko* *puku-u-mo* *tu-ki-na.*
and shout-3S-GEN.SS be.3S-HABPAST-F
'And she kept on shouting.' (XI-8)

15-155 ... *ti-ki* *mingk-ee-m-mo* *uru-ki-ng.*
there-ERG play-MID.3S-pcl-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'... they kept on playing there.' (V-37)

15-156 *roo* *heekoo* *pi-ro* *kor-i-mo* *too.*
you.sg some.place go.2S-PERF.SS say-2S-GEN.SS be.2S.IMP
'You get away or keep quiet. [lit. You go somewhere else and keep saying.]' (XXIII-30)

(ii) habitual events:

15-157 ... *hoo* *marasini* *nom-mo* *tu-ka-na.*
ART.M medicine take.3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3S-PRES-F
'... she used to take the medicine.' (XV-76)

15-158 ... *hoo* *kuu'=kuu'* *taaro-i-mo* *manni*
ART.M hooting hear-3O.2A-GEN.SS then
po'-roro-mo *tu-heeta-na.*
hide.self-MID.2S-GEN.SS be.3S-FUT-F
'... whenever you hear the hooting, (then) you will hide yourself.' (X-36)

15-159 *tii-ki* *po-oku* *pau* *oo-mo* *tu-kuu-ng.*
ART.F-ERG her-mother food give.to.3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3S-IMAG-M
'Her mother would keep giving food to him.' (XIX-7)

It may be preceded by the Continuous SS form of an action verb. In that case it expresses that a steady continuous action is repeated habitually:

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[27] The Perfect form of the same verb, preceded by General SS of another verb, expresses an ongoing event or a state which has lasted till a point of time in the same day as the speech moment. Examples from elicitation:

(1) *ti-ki* *tu-mo* *to-ng.* 'He was/stayed there (till some time
there-ERG be.3S-GEN.SS be.3S.PERF-M today).'

(2) *siiho-o-mo* *to-ng.* 'He was ill (till some time today).'
be.sick-3S-GEN.SS be.3S.PERF-M

(3) *tii* *pi-mo* *to-ng.* 'He was going there (till some time
there go.3S-GEN.SS be.3S.PERF-M today, but was interrupted on the way).'

15-160 *tiwongori* *hoo-jori* *peeko-ng* *koh-ngung* *hoo* *pau*
therefore ART.M-LOC 3nonsg.POSS-M garden-PL ART.M food
ponnaa *o-muuro* *ti-muuro*
plenty DEM-CL.kind.nonsg ART-CL.kind.nonsg
kiino-wa-i *uru-kuu-ng*.
plant-3O.3pcl.A-CONT.SS be.3pcl.S-IMAG-M
'Therefore in their gardens they would be planting plenty of food of various kinds.' (III-63)

15-161 ... *hoo=hoo* *pee-kaio* *hoo* *jii* *pee-mo* *hoo=hoo*
so their-mother's.father ART.M or their-father so
topo *meeng* *taaro-wa-i* *uru-kuu-ng*.
well very listen.to-3O.3pcl.A-CONT.SS be.3pcl.S-IMAG-M
'... they would be listening to their grandfather or father very well .'(XXI-5)

The aspectual verb *tu(h)-* may also be preceded by the General or Continuous SS form of the existential verb *tu(h)-* 'to be'. Observe the following sentences:

15-162a *ongi* *tu-mo* *tu-heeto-ng*.
DEM.L.ERG be.2/3.S-GEN.SS be.2/3.S-FUT-M
'You/He will be/stay/live here.'

b *ongi* *tu-i* *tu-heeto-ng*.
DEM.L.ERG be.2/3.S-CONT.SS be.2/3.S-FUT-M
'You/He will be here (only for a short time).'

In 15-162a, General SS of the totally stative verb *tu(h)-* 'to be', followed by the aspectual verb *tu(h)-*, expresses that the state lasts for an indefinite duration of time. In 15-162b, on the other hand, Continuous SS of the same existential verb followed by the aspectual verb *tu(h)-* expresses that the state lasts only for a short duration.

Other examples:

15-163 ... *tii-nno* *pehka* *no-wori* *tu-ti-mo* *tu-ti-ko-ng*.
ART.F-COMIT young.girl one-CL.animate be.3S-dl-GEN.SS be-3S-dl-PRES-M
'... he kept living with a young girl.' (XVI-50)

15-164 *roo* *ongi* *toku* *tui* *tu-heeto-ng*.
you.sg DEM.L.ERG not be.2S-CONT.SS be.2S-FUT-M
'You will not be here. (= Go away from here.)' (III-18)

15.5.2 GEN.SS + *nong-* 'to be'

The aspectual verb *nong-* has only the Future form, and is used interchangeably with *tu(h)-* in this TAM without any difference in meaning. According to one of my main informants, the verb *nong-* was invented quite recently, and is used only by a limited number of native speakers of the younger generation.

In the examples in my corpus, it is always preceded by the general SS form of a dynamic verb (as in 15-165 and 15-166) or the existential verb *tu(h)-* (as in 15-167). In the former case it expresses the habituality of an event, and in the latter case the continuity of a state (over a long period).

15-165 *toku* *pi-mo* *nong-i-heeta-na.*
not go.2S-GEN.SS be-2S-FUT-F
'You will not go (there regularly).' (XVI-73)

15-166 *... tii* *muungo* *ru-noro-mo* *hoo* *pau*
ART.L night come.out-MID.2S-GEN.SS ART.M food
ne-i-mo *nong-i-heeta-na.*
eat-3O.2A-GEN.SS be-2S-FUT-F
'... you will come out at night and eat food (every day).' (X-36)

15-167 *noni-nno* *nong* *num-mo* *nong-o-ng-heenuio-ng.*
us.exc-COMIT together be.1pcl.inc.S-GEN.SS be-1S-pcl-FUT-M
'You will keep staying together with us.' (XVI-92)

15.5.3 GEN.SS + *konn-* 'to walk/move'

The aspectual verb *konn-* 'to walk/move' is used only with the General SS form of a dynamic verb to focus on the progressivity of an event. Only the General SS and DS forms of this aspectual verb are attested in my corpus.

15-168 *he'ee!* *hoo=hoo* *roki* *ongi* *mih=mih-moro-mo*
no so just DEM.L.ERG REDUP=move.vigorously-MID.1S-GEN.SS
konn-o-mo *ore* *ratik-unguu-ng.*
move-1S-GEN.SS well find-3O.1A.IMAG-M
'No! So while I just keep moving around this place up and down, well, I might find him. [Uttered by a butterfly.]' (XIV-28)

15-169 *tii* *muu=rii-mo* *konn-u-ku* *tii* *nii* *kuu'=kuu'*
when get.dark.3S-GEN.SS move-3S-GEN.DS when I hooting
kor-ongu *manni* *po'-roro-mo* *nong-i-heeta-na.*
say-1S.GEN.DS then hide.self-MID.2S-GEN.SS be-2S-FUT-F
'Whenever it is getting dark, and whenever I hoot, you (will) keep hiding yourself.' (X-35)

Note that the medial clause *muu=rii-mo konn-u-ku* in 15-169 is introduced by the conjunction *tii* 'when'.

15.5.4 PERF.SS + *pi(h)-* 'to go'

The aspectual verb *pi(h)-* 'to go' is combined only with the Perfect SS form of a dynamic verb to focus on the perfectivity of an event. It is used only in Present.

15-170 *tii* *ro-oro* *woo* *po'k-i-ro* *pi-ka-na?*
ART.F your-daughter where hide-3O.2A-PERF.SS go.2S-PRES-F
'Where have you hid your daughter?' (X-23)

15-171 *noni* *okur-ongjo* *umi-ko-ng.*
we.exc get.tired-1pcl.S.PERF.SS go.1pcl.exc.S-PRES-M
'We have (completely) got tired.' (XXIII-30)

15.5.5 DEFFUT + *ngo-* 'to do/make'

The transitive verb *ngo-* 'to do/make' is used with the Definite Future form of a dynamic transitive verb to express a volitional activity in the immediate future. Only two examples have been attested in my corpus:

15-172 *ni-ngi* *hoo* *hii* *katuk-ee-r-opee* *ngo-r-ongo-ng.*
I-ERG ART.M hair trim-APPL-2O-1A.DEFFUT make-2O-1A.PRES-M
'I will immediately trim your hair.' (IV-9)

15-173 *impa* *mono-woo-ro* *ai* *kuroh-o-i* *manni*
now see.self-MID.3S-PERF.SS I.tell.you be.at.a.run-MID.3S-CONT.SS then
tu-u-hee *ngo-o-ku* *manni* *ho-i-ko* *kuino*
kill-3O.3A-DEFFUT make-3O.3A-GEN.DS then ART.M-ERG-EMPH tree
koto *kiin-u-u-ng.*
up climb-3S-RMPAST-M
'Now, after the dog saw himself, well, he was going to kill the possum while at a run, and then the possum climbed straight up on the tree.' (IV-14)

Note that this aspectual verb in Present is used almost interchangeably with Immediate Future forms (cf. §13.3.8 and §15.3.9). According to my informants, *ngo-* in middle voice 'to be involved in doing' is also used as an aspectual verb to express the immediate future. I am not sure about the exact range of the use of these two forms of *ngo-*.

15.6 REDUPLICATION OF VERBS

15.6.1 Reduplication of Verb Forms

Reduplication of verb forms expresses plurality of events or continuity of states.

The function of reduplication is particularly clear in the case of action verbs. The reduplication of an action verb expresses a plural event which involves either single participants (as in 15-174a), or plural participants (15-174b):

15-174a ... *tii* *Kohkaa* *raka=rakar-oro-ku* *manni*
ART.F 'female.name' REDUP=cover.self-MID.3S-GEN.DS then
nok-u-u-na: "..."
think-3S-RMPAST-F
'... after Kohkaa covered herself (by various means), she (= the Thunder) thought: "..." (XI-23, cf. 15-140)

b ... *ho-i* *o'koo* *kourai* *hingh-ah*
ART.M-ERG those skin.of.wild.banana.tree decay-PART
raka=rakar-ee-'-ki-ng.
REDUP=cover.self-MID.3S-pcl-HABPAST-M
'... they covered themselves with those decayed skins of wild banana trees.' (VIII-2)

Other examples of plural events which involve single participants (see also 15-79):

15-175 ... *hoo* *o'koo* *kuuo* *heu=heu-roro-heeto-ng.*
ART.M those wings flap.self-MID.1S-CONT.DS
'... you will flap those wings of yours repeatedly.' (V-31, cf. 14-60)

15-176 *roki* *tii* *nuka* *taa=taapu-ungi-ng.*
jus ART.F my.mother REDUP=help-3O.1A.HABPAST-M
'I just used to help my mother in various things.' (II-22)

Examples of plural events which involve plural participants:

15-177 ... *hoo* *koho* *nommai-ngung* *tu'ki* *naka=nak-a-a-ng: "..."*
ART.M down people-PL all REDUP=say-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'... all the people (in lower ranks) said one after another: "..." ' (XV-8)

15-178 ... *ehkong* *hoo* *pau* *awa=a-wa-'-ko-ng.*
now ART.M food REDUP=give.to-3O.3pcl.A-pcl-PRES-M
'... now they give the food to them (= all the birds in the feast) one after another.' (X-10)

15-179 *manni hoo king hung=hungk-ee-u-'-ku manni*
then ART.M nose REDUP=put.in-APPL-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.DS then
e'seheng-a-ro ruma=ruu=ruuh-a-a-ng.
sneeze-3pcl.S-PERF.SS life-REDUP=find.3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'Then after he put (something) in every one of their noses, they sneezed and came to life one after another.' (VII-51, cf. 12-64)

The reduplication of a terminative verb focuses on the step-by-step development of a terminative event (see also 15-30 and 15-118):

15-180 *ong-ko munu siri=sirim-woo-ro*
DEM.M-EMPH body REDUP=become.thin-MID.3S-PERF.SS
peh=pehkita'-ro roki oi irihwa-noh-ni
REDUP=become.small.3S-PERF.SS just [DEM.DIM finger]-as.big.as-DIM
rii-ra-na.
become.3S-PERF-F
'This body (of hers) became gradually thin and small, and it became just as big as this finger.' (XV-78, cf. 7-19, 14-20 and 15-39)

The reduplication of inchoative stative verbs express continuous states:

15-181 *tiko po'taa hari=hari-moro-ki-na nok-o-mo: "..."*
and very REDUP=be.worried-MID.1S-HABPAST-F think-1S-GEN.SS
'Then I was being worried very much, thinking: "..." ' (VI-20)

15-182 *hoo mu'king toku topo tuhe=tuh-ee-m-mo*
ART.M heart not well REDUP=be-APPL-1S-GEN.SS
unu-i ...
be.1pcl.S-CONT.SS
'While I kept feeling unhappy [lit. I was not having a heart well continuously] and we were here, (we) ...' (XV-36, cf. 14-105)

15-183 *hoo lootu poko-no-ita jii hia roki=manni*
ART.M prayer 3sg.POSS-LINK-CL.side and thing really
topo kuuk-arei-ko haa=haa-jee-m-a-i ...
well know-VN-EMPH REDUP=want-APPL-1O-3pcl.A-CONT.SS
'They always wanted me to know things related to Christianity [lit. the side of Christian prayers and other things] really well, (he) ...' (VI-19, cf. 11-22)

Finally, the reduplication of the existential verb *tu(h)-* 'to be' can be used with a plural S:

15-184 *ti-ki* *uru=uru-i* *no-ru* *nakaro-woro-mo*
there-ERG REDUP=be.3pcl.S-CONT.SS one-CL.day enquire-MID.3S-GEN.SS
nok-u-u-na *tii* *pehka* *tii-jori* *Maawo* *po-oku: "..."*
say-3S-RMPAST-F ART.F young.girl ART.F-LOC 'male.name' his-mother
'While they were all staying there, one day, the young girl said to Maawo's mother enquiring: "..." ' (I-8)

15.6.2 Lexically Reduplicated Verbs

Motuna has a small number of verbs which only occur with reduplication. Most of them express meanings which inherently involve plural activities or continuous states. A full list of such lexically reduplicated verbs found in my corpus is given below:

15-185 *ari=aring-* 'to commit adultery, cheating sb' (plural activity)
hana=hana- 'to try' (plural activity)
huna=hunai- 'to make a visit (middle)', 'to visit sb (active)'
ruh=ruhw- (middle) 'to comb self's hair' (plural activity)
turo=turooto- 'to drop successively' (cf. §14.5.3) (plural activity)
toko=tokoh- 'to become/be/feel hot' (cf. §14.2) (continuous state)

15-186 *meekuhing* *tii* *noni* *ari=ari-mor-u-ko-ng.*
really ART.DP us.exc commit.adultery.cheating-1pcl.exc.O-3A-PRES-M
'He really commits adultery, cheating us.' (XVI-58, cf. 9-21)

15-187 *manni* *tii* *Tantanu* *poko-no* *huna=hunai-wee-'-hee*
then ART.L 'ancestor's.name' 3sg.POSS-L make.visit-MID.3S-pcl-DEFFUT
uwi-i-ng.
go.3pcl.S-RMPAST-M
'Then they went to make a visit at Tantanu's place.' (III-11)

15-188 ... *ong* *Tantanu* *ruh=ruhw-oo-ro*
DEM.M 'ancestor's.name' comb.self's.hair-MID.3S-PERF.SS
ura=uram-mo *hu-u-ng ...*
REDUP=whistle.3S-GEN.SS come.3S-RMPAST-M
'... this Tantanu combed his hair and came, whistling repeatedly ...' (III-39)

CHAPTER 16 VERBAL NOUNS AND PARTICIPLES

16.1 INTRODUCTION

As mentioned in Ch 3, I regard verbal nouns as a subclass of nouns, and participles as a separate word class. They are discussed together in this chapter, mainly because both of them are derived from verbs, and they retain the distinct verbal characteristic of taking argument NPs. Furthermore, at clause level, both of them can function as predicates by themselves.

16.2 VERBAL NOUNS

16.2.1 General Characteristics

Verbal nouns consist of verb stems and the derivational suffix /-warei/. The initial /w/ of this suffix is dropped after a consonant-final stem (Rule 13-16b).

Verbal nouns share the following morpho-syntactic characteristics with other nouns:

1) they do not take cross-referencing suffixes nor TAM affixes.

2) they have masculine gender, which is indicated by the inflection of the article (16-1) or demonstrative (16-2), or by the suffix on the modifying Possessor NP (16-3):

16-1 *impa tii hoo asariin-arei toku kuuk-u-u-na ...*
now she ART.M swim-VN not know-3S-RMPAST-F
'Now, she didn't know how to swim ...' (VI-57, cf. 14-25)

16-2 *tiko hoo roki tana-kitee jaki nungah-a-kuu-ng ---*
and so just industry-ABL you.should.know finish-3O.3pcl.A-IMAG-M
ong-ngori uko-warei.
DEM.M-LOC carry-VN
'And so, you should know, they could just hardly finish --- carrying (all the game they hunted).' (XVIII-33)

16-3 *ai roki hoo roko-ng haa-warei.*
I.tell.you just it 2sg.POSS-M want-VN
'I tell you, it is just up to you (lit. it is just your wanting).' (XVI-60)

3) they can be marked by number suffixes. e.g.:

16-4 *hoo* *kitoria-ngung* *nap-arei-ngung* *ti-ko* *uri.*
ART.M child-pl take-VN-pl ART.L-PURP home
'We should take all the children from home (lit. at home).' (XV-31)

4) they can take the locative case suffix *-kori* (see also 16-2).

16-5 ... *ong* *kupuri* *itikai-wah* *ku'k-arei-kori* *okur-om-mo*
DEM.M stone be.hard-PART dig-VN-LOC be.tired-1pcl.S-GEN.SS
nu'-ku.
be.1pcl.inc.S-GEN.DS
'... while we were tired of digging these hard stones.' (XIV-25)

5) local nouns can be derived from them by the derivational suffix *-no* or *-kori* .

16-6 ... *tii* *uri* *huh-arei-no* *manni* *toku* *kuu-moo-ra-na.*
ART.L home come-VN-L certainly not manage-MID.1S-PREPERF-F
'... I certainly did not manage to come home.' (XV-83, cf. 14-26)

16-7 *ai* *hoo* *tiwo-ning* *koro-warei-kori-ng*
I.tell.you so that.way-towards speak-VN-L-M
o-m-u-io-ng.
give.to-1O.3A.pcl.PERF-M
'So, I tell you, he gave to us the one (= language) which should be spoken in that kind of way.' (XXIV-48, cf. 11-54)

On the other hand, they differ from other nouns in that they take O arguments, Complements, or any kind of peripheral arguments, which the original verbs require. If the original verb stem is transitive-intransitive, the verbal noun allows both transitive and intransitive readings, and in a transitive reading, it can take an O NP. For example, the verbal noun *nga-warei*, derived from the transitive verb *ngo-* 'to make' in active voice, takes an O argument in the following sentence:

16-8 *manni* *mi'=mi'no-o-r-u-ng* *hoo* *kohni* *nga-warei.*
then REDUP=instruct-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M ART.M gardens make-VN
'Then he instructed them how to make gardens.' (III-61, cf. 14-42)

On the other hand, the verbal noun *nga-warei*, derived from the intransitive verb *ngo-* 'to be involved in an event' (in middle voice), does not take O:

16-9 *ong waasiih hoo ngo-ng ngawa-nga-warei ti-kitee*
DEM.M story ART.M POSS[1sg.POSS-M REDUP-be.involved-VN ART.L-ABL
u'kisa kaa-mon-no rorong-upeemoroka-na.
REL[long.ago be.born-MID.3S.RMPAST-L]] tell-3O.1A.IMFUT-F
'I am going to tell this story(, which is) about all in which I have been involved since I was born long ago.' (VI-1)

In 16-9, the headless NP *ti-kitee u'kisa kaa-mon-no* in ablative case is a peripheral argument, and the original S is expressed as a Possessor *ngo-ng*. cf. 16-3 above. The whole verbal noun phrase functions as a Possessor attribute to the preceding topical NP.[1]

Other examples of verbal nouns with NP arguments:

the verbal noun *kuuk-arei*, derived from the intransitive verb stem *kuuk-* 'to (get to) know', takes a Complement:

16-10 *hoo lootu poko-no-ita jii hia roki=manni*
ART.M prayer 3sg.POSS-LINK-CL.side and thing really
topo kuuk-arei-ko haa=haa-jee-m-a-i ...
well know-VN-EMPH REDUP=want-APPL-1O-3pcl.A-CONT.SS
'They always wanted me to know things related to Christianity [lit. the side of Christian prayers and other things] really well, (he) ...' (VI-19, cf. 11-22)

the verbal noun *pih-arei*, derived from the intransitive verb *pi(h)-* 'to go', takes a peripheral argument:

16-11 ... *tii uri pih-arei-ko haa-mu-ki-na.*
ART.L home go-VN-EMPH want-1S-HABITPAST-F
'... I wanted to go home.' (VI-17)

See also 16-5 for the example of an O argument, and 16-4, 16-6 and 16-7 for the examples of peripheral arguments.

Syntactically, verbal nouns form heads of noun phrases, which function as:

1) the arguments (16-12) or predicates (16-13, see also 16-3 and 16-4) of nominal clauses:

---

[1] In this respect verbal noun phrases can function like embedded verbal clauses. cf. §17.1.

16-12 *no-'ra* *nangk-arei-ko* *maa.*
one-CL.small.amount move-VN-EMPH faeces
'(She) didn't move at all. [lit. Moving a little was faeces.]' (VII-45)

16-13 *hu'ung* *nii* *toku* *nong* *pih-arei.*
no I not together go-VN
'No, I am not to go together.' (XVI-59)

2) the Ss of verbal predicates:

16-14 ... *hoo* *roko-ng* *haa-warei* *haha'w-oro-kuu-ng.*
ART.M you.sg.POSS-M want-VN work-MID.3S-IMAG-M
'... your wishes [lit. wanting] could have worked.' (XVI-64)

3) Complements of verbal predicates. cf. 16-1, 16-8, 16-10 and 16-11.

4) peripheral NPs in locative case. cf. 16-2 and 16-5.

5) Possessor attributive NPs. cf. 16-9.

16.2.2 Nominal Clauses with Verbal Nouns as Predicates

In a nominal clause with a verbal noun as predicate head, the argument NP, if expressed, corresponds to the S (as in 16-13) or C (as in 16-3) of the original intransitive verb, or the O (as in 16-4) or A (as in 16-15 below) of the original transitive verb. The number of the argument NP can optionally be marked by a suffix on the predicate verbal noun, as in 16-4.

Nominal clauses of this type describe events, which should happen some time in the future, regardless the intentions of the participants in the events.

An example where the A of the original verb stands as an argument NP:

16-15 *nee* *nee* *impa* *ong* *poo'ki* *toku* *noi* *nga-warei.*
we.inc it.must.be now DEM.M baby not one make-VN
'We must not make any baby now.' (XVI-47)

When the argument NP corresponds to the O of the original transitive verb, it is understood that the speaker and the addressee are the Agents. (See also 16-4.)

16-16 *kui* *ponnaa* *tokis-arei.* *tiko* *impa* *hoo-jori* *monare*
stick many cut-VN and then ART.M-LOC road
no-roo'-no *nau-nauk-arei* ...
one-CL.long.object-L REDUP-lay.down-VN
'We should cut many sticks. And then we should lay them down one by one on the road ... ' (I-19, cf. 4-150)

16-17 *hoo-nno* *nommai-ngung* *haana-warei.*
ART.M-COMIT people-pl taste-VN
'We should taste it (= the mango fruit) with (other) people.' (XII-55)

16-18 *ong* *iro* *ongo* *ua-kori* *uko-warei?*
DEM.M today DEM.L.PURP what-LOC carry-VN
'On what should we carry this here today?' (XXII-17)

16.3 PARTICIPLES

16.3.1 General Characteristics

Participles consist of verb stems and the derivational suffix /-wah/. The initial /w/ of this suffix is dropped after a consonant-final stem, as is the case with verbal nouns (Rule 13-16b).

As mentioned in §3.3.4, participles are classified into adjectival participles and verbal participles. Both of them express states of being.

Morphologically, they may be marked by number suffixes, or the local suffix *-no*. See §3.3.4.

Syntactically, they primarily function as predicates, as attributes within NPs, or as the Complements of verbal predicates *tu(h)-* 'Copula' and *rii(h)-* 'to become'.

Verbal participles take NP arguments which are often the same as those required by the original verbs (cf. 3-78). However, the valency of a participle is not always the same as that of the original verb (cf. 3-79). Verbal participles can function as the predicates of post-head or pre-head relative clauses. cf. 16-20 and 16-22 below. Some verbal participles, in combination with nouns, NPs or adverbs, function adverbially (cf. §16.3.2.5). Two participles --- *nah-ah* 'I wonder/possibly' and *tang-ah* 'I/you suppose' --- function as discourse markers (cf. §16.3.2.6).

Adjectival participle clauses, on the other hand, do not usually take NP arguments.[2] They can function as post-head attributes like adjectives.

[2] Except for ablative NPs in comparison. cf. §7.1.1.

The following sections, I will first discuss the major functions of participles derived from different types of verbs (§16.3.2). Participles which function as the Complements of the verb *tu(h)-* are discussed in §16.3.3. The agentless passive construction, which consists of participles and the auxiliary *rii(h)-*, is discussed in §16.3.4.

16.3.2 Major Functions of Participles

16.3.2.1 *tuh-ah* 'to be, to have' and *tuh-ee-wah* 'to have'

The verbal participle *tuh-ah*, derived from the existential verb /tu(h)-/ (§14.3.1.4), means 'to be (somewhere)' or 'to have (sth/sb)'. It requires a Complement --- an ergative local NP in the former sense (3-80, 16-19 and 16-20), and an absolutive non-local NP in the latter sense (16-21 – 16-23). Note that the original existential verb *tu(h)-* does not require a Complement.

tuh-ah 'to be (somewhere)' as a main predicate:

16-19

nah-ah	*kuu-ngi*	*ua*	*jaa*	*tuh-ah.*
I.wonder	inside-ERG	what	on.earth	be-PART
	[C]	[S]		

'I wonder what on earth is in the inside. [The speaker is asking about the material inside the coconut.]' (XII-55)

tuh-ah 'to be (somewhere)' as the predicate of a post-head relative clause:

16-20

tii-ngi	*mara*	*ti-ki*	*tuh-ah*	*hingng-u-u-ng.*
ART.F-ERG	evil.spirit	REL[there-ERG	be-PART]	break-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
	[S]	[C	]	

'The evil spirit who lived there broke it (= the mountain).' (XIII-13, cf. 17-66)

tuh-ah 'to have' as a main predicate:[3]

16-21

nii	*haha'*	*tuh-ah.*
me	job	be-PART
[S]	[C]	

'I have a job.' (XVI-63)

---

[3] In the following sentence, the first NP *nii* cannot be placed after the second NP *haha'*. Furthermore, if the first NP is nonsingular, *tuh-ah* may be marked by a number suffix, e.g.:

nee	*haha'*	*tuh-ah-ngung.*	'We have jobs.'
we.inc	job	be-PART-pl	

This seems to show that the first NP is S and the second NP C, and not vice versa.

tuh-ah 'to have' as the predicate of a pre-head relative clause:

16-22 *ronn-oro-ku* *ho-ko* *tuu* *tuh-ah* *tengki*
come.down-MID.3S-GEN.DS ART.M-EMPH $_{REL}$[water be-PART] tank
[C] [S]
ronn-u-u-ng.
cause.to.come.down-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'When (the house) came down, the earthquake caused that particular tank which had water to come down.' (XVI-13, cf. 17-73)

tuh-ah 'to have' as a main predicate:

16-23 *tiko* *nii* *ong* *poo'ki* *ponnaa* *tuh-ah*
because I DEM.M children many be-PART
[S] [C]
onu-nno *nungamong* *o-wori.*
DEM.M-COMIT man DEM-CL.animate
[Conjunct to S]
'Because I and this man have these many children.' (XVI-66)

The participle *tuh-ee-wah*, derived from the applicative verb /tuh-ee-/ 'to have' (cf. §14.6.1), describes "possession", including ownership relationship, kinship relationship, one's mental state, etc.:

16-24 *nii* *kaara* *toku* *noi* *tuh-ee-wah.*
I car not any be-APPL-PART
'I do not have any car.'

16-25 *roo* *roko-ng* *kitoria* *jeesii* *tuh-ee-wah?*
you.sg you.sg.POSS-M children how.many be-APPL-PART
'How many children do you have?'

16.3.2.2 Participles Derived from Inchoative Stative Verbs

Participles derived from one-place intransitive verbs are adjectival participles, while those derived from transitive verbs and two-place intransitive verbs are verbal.

(1) adjectival participles (see also 3-80):

hiiro-wah '(being/feeling) hungry' derived from *hiiro-* 'to become/be/feel hungry', as a post-head attribute:

16-26 *Tantanu* *hoo* *kitoria* *hiiro-wah-ngung*
'ancestor's.name' ART.M children be.hungry-PART-pl
mono-o-ijo *noh-u-r-u-ng: "..."*
see-3O.3A-pcl.PERF.SS say.to-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M
'Tantanu saw the hungry children and said to them: "..." ' (III-34)

roti-wah '(being) married' derived from *roti-* (middle) 'to get/be married', as a main predicate:

16-27 *roo* *roti-wah.*
you.sg be.married-PART
'You are married.' (XVI-103)

urah-ah '(being) heavy' derived from *urah-* 'to become/be heavy' as a predicate (see also 7-48):

16-28 *ngong* *mu'king* *urah-ah.*
1sg.POSS heart be.heavy-PART
'My heart is heavy. '

haapat-ah '(being) difficult' derived from *haapot-* 'to become/be difficult', as a post-head attribute:

16-29 *roki* *ho-i* *poti* *haapat-ah* *tii* *owo*
just ART.M-ERG time be.difficult-PART ART.L DEM.L
haah-mor-u-kee.
throw-1pcl.exc.O-3A-PRES.DP
'Just the difficult time has thrown us here.' (XV-91)

(2) verbal participles:

haa-wah 'want' derived from the two-place intransitive verb *haa-* 'to agree/want', as a main predicate:

16-30 *ho-ko* *koto* *rii-hee* *haa-wah.*
he-EMPH up become.3S-DEFFUT want-PART
'He wants to make himself high.' (XXXV-123)

kuuk-ah 'know' derived from the two-place intransitive verb *kuuk-* 'to (get to) know', as a main predicate:

16-31 *ree* *hoo* *o'koo* *waasiih* *ho-ko* *pehkoro*
you.nonsg ART.M that story POSS[ART.M-EMPH boy
rumanung-ngung-ngi *uko-wa-a-ng* *noo* *kuuk-ah-ngung?*
dwarf-pl-ERG carry-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M] possibly know-PART-pl
'Do (all of) you possibly know that story that the dwarfs carried the boy away?' (IX-36)[4]

kuuk-ee-wah 'know about sb' derived from the applicative (transitive) verb *kuuk-ee-* 'to (get to) know about sb', as a main predicate:

16-32 *ong* *Paupiahe* *hoo* *poko-ng* *dure*
DEM.M 'ancestor's.name' ART.M 3sg.POSS-M reputation
urini *tu'ki-ngi* *kuuk-ee-wah* ...
people.in.the.region all-ERG know-PART
'All the people in the region knew about this Paupiahe's reputation ...'(III-3)

16.3.2.3 Participles Derived from Action-State and Terminative-Stative Verbs

The majority of participles derived from action-state verbs or terminative stative verbs are verbal. Those derived from one-place intransitive verbs usually require ergative local NPs or locative NPs as Complements (as in 16-33 and 16-35a. However, see 16-35b).

ito-wah 'standing' derived from the intransitive verb *it-* 'to stand/be standing' (4b), as a main predicate:[5]

16-33 ... *hoo-jo* *mohkoo-ki* *itowah* *heteeku* *no-mung.*
it-PURP vicinity-ERG be.standing.PT 'name.of.tree' one-CL.plant
'... a *heteeku* tree was standing near it.' (IX-22)

arut-ah '(being) in abundance' derived from the intransitive verb *arut-* 'to be collected/be in abundance (middle)' (4b) (see also 3-79):

16-34a *balusu* *tangka* *masingngang* *heekoo* *tu'ki-ngori* *arut-ah.*
aeroplane tank machine.gun some.place all-LOC be.in.abundance-PART
'Aeroplanes, tanks and machine guns are plenty everywhere.' (II-12)

---

[4] *Ho-ko ... uko-wa-a-ng* is a Possessor attributive clause. cf. §17.1.

[5] This verb has two participles: *it-ah* and *ito-wah*. The former is used both for human and non-human subjects, while the latter is used only for non-human subjects.

b ... *Tantanu* *toorohu* *jii* *pau* *arut-ah* ...
'ancestor's.name' generous and [food be.in.abundance-PART]
'... Tantanu is generous and has food in abundance ...' (III-16)

In 16-34a, *arut-ah* is a verbal participle (with a locative C) functioning as a main predicate. In 16-34b, *arut-ah* is an adjectival participle, constituting a *bahuvrihi* compound (cf. §7.1.3).

uko-wah '(being) carrying' derived from the transitive verb *uko-* 'to take/carry/be carrying' (3b), as a main predicate:

16-35 ... *nii* *haa* *ngo-ng* *ummah* *uko-wah.*
I as.you.know 1sg.POSS-M knotted.rope be.carrying-PART
'... I, as you know, am carrying my own knotted rope (for climbing).' (VII-31)

minna-wah 'following' derived from the transitive verb *minno-* 'to follow/be following' (3b), as the predicate of a post-head relative clause:

16-36 ... *hoo-jori* *moi* *hoo* *ti-mori* *minna-wah* ...
ART.M-LOC year $_{REL}$[ART.M ART-CL.season be.following-PART]
'... in the year following that year ...' (XVI-7, cf. 17-68)

16.3.2.4 Participles Derived from Dynamic Verbs

Participles derived from dynamic action verbs or terminative verbs are most heterogeneous. Participles derived from transitive verbs are verbal, while those derived from intransitive verbs are either verbal or adjectival. In addition, some participles form adverbial phrases (§16.3.2.5), and others function as discourse markers (§16.3.2.6).

(1) verbal participles:

konn-ah 'built' derived from the intransitive verb *konn-* 'to be built (middle)' (3a), functioning as a main predicate (with an ergative local NP as C):

16-37 *noniko-ng* *howo* *ti-ki* *sikuulu* *mohkoo-ki* *konn-ah.*
1nonsg.exc.POSS-M house ART.L-ERG [school vicinity]-ERG be.built-PART
'Our house was (built) near the school.' (II-16)

nga-wah derived from the intransitive verb *ngo-* 'to make oneself ~ (middle)' (3a), functioning as the predicate of a relative clause (with a similative NP as C):

16-38 *ai* *nii* *nommai* *ree-nowo* *nga-wah.*
I.tell.you I human.being REL[you.nonsg-SIML make.self-PART]
'I tell you, I am a human being who is [lit. has made oneself] like you (all).' (XV-23)

komik-ah 'finished' derived from the intransitive verb *komik-* 'to be finished (middle)' (4a), functioning as a main predicate (with an ergative local NP as C):

16-39 *tiko* *hoo* *ti-muru* *ti-ki* *komik-ah.*
then ART.M ART-CL.part.of.long.object there-ERG be.finished-PART
'Then that part (of the story) is finished there.' (XI-34)

maapuk-ah 'filled' derived from the verb *maapuk-* 'to fill' (4a), functioning as the predicate of a relative clause (with an ergative NP):[6]

16-40 ... *ho-ko* *hiuo* *ho-i* *pau*
ART.M-EMPH clay.pot REL[ART.M-ERG food
o-muu-ro *ti-muu-ro*
DEM-CL.object.of.same.kind-nonsg ART-CL.object.of.same.kind-nonsg
maapuk-ah *mono-wa-a-ng.*
fill-PART] see-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
'... they saw the pot which was filled with all kinds of food.' (III-42, cf. 10-65 and 17-67)

tang-ah 'called/named' derived from the transitive stem *tong-* 'to call/name' (3a), functioning as the predicate of a relative clause (with an absolutive NP as C):

16-41 *pi-mo* *tii* *uri* *Siuai* *tang-ah-no*
go.3S-GEN.SS ART.L village REL['place.name' call-PART-L]
patak-u-u-ng.
arrive-3S-RMPAST-M
'He went and arrived in the village which (people) called Siwai. [The original A "people" not expressed.]' (III-28)

Note that the homonymous participle *tang-ah* 'I/you suppose' derived from the intransitive verb *tong-* 'to say/think' functions as a discourse marker (cf. §16.3.2.6). The following sentence has these two *tang-ah*:

16-42 *ong* *hoo* *tang-ah* *ua* *tang-ah?*
DEM.M ART.M you.suppose what call-PART
'What do you suppose is this called?' (XXXV-161)

[6] It is not clear whether *maapuk-* in this context is transitive or intransitive. cf. fn 2 in §14.2.

(2) adjectival participles:

ririt-ah 'torn' derived from the intransitive verb *ririt-* 'to be torn' (middle) (3a), as a main predicate:

16-43 *ong-ko* *hu'niso* *ana-ngi* *aak-oo-ro-ng*
DEM.M-EMPH basket REL[DEM.F-ERG carry.on.back-MID.3S-PERF]
toku *ririt-ah*.
not be.torn-PART
'That basket that woman was carrying on the back was not torn.' (XIII-24)

Adjectival participles have often metaphorical meanings:

paah-ah 'noisy' derived from the intransitive stem *paa(h)-* 'to cry' (3a):

16-44 *kirokowo* *paah-ah*.
very cry-PART
'(It is) very noisy.'

puuh-ah 'physically weak' derived from the intransitive stem *puu(h)-* 'to die' (4a):

16-45 *mara* *puuh-ah*.
devil die-PART
'(He/She is) dreadfully weak.'

16.3.2.5 Participles Functioning Adverbially

The following participles function adverbially in combination with NPs, nouns or adverbials:

tu'n-ah 'starting (from) ~' derived from the intransitive verb *tu'n-* 'to begin (middle)' (3a), and *patak-ah* 'till/up to ~' derived from the intransitive verb *patak-* 'to arrive' (4a). *Tu'n-ah* is used with an ablative NP, and *patak-ah* with an absolutive local NP or a locative NP:

16-46 *tiko* *impa* *hoo-jori* *monare* *no-roo'-no* *nau-nauk-arei*
and then ART.M-LOC road one-CL.long.object-L REDUP-lay.down-VN
ti-kitee *peeko-no* *uri* *tu'n-ah* *tii* *Maawo*
ART.L-ABL 3nonsg.POSS-L village begin-PART ART.L 'male.name'
o-no-ku *peeko-no* *howo-no* *patak-ah*.
DEM-LINK-mother.and.child 3nonsg.POSS-L house-L arrive-PART
'And then (we should) lay down each one on the road, starting from their village up to Maawo and his mother's house.' (I-19, cf. 16-16)

nga-wah 'like ~' derived from the transitive verb *ngo-* 'to do/make', with manner adverbials:

16-47 ... *hoo* *tui* *tiwo-noning* *nga-wah* *ru'n-a-ko-ng.*
ART.M slit.gong that.way-towards do-PART beat-3O.3pcl.A-PRES-M
'... people beat the slit gong in that kind of way.' (XIV-48)

riih-ah 'towards ~' derived from the intransitive verb *rii(h)-* 'to become/be' with temporal nouns:

16-48 *kiakia'* *riih-ah* *patak-a-i.*
morning become-PART arrive-3pcl.S-NRPAST.DP
'They arrived towards morning.' (XXXV-75)

16.3.2.6 *nah-ah* 'I wonder, possibly' and *tang-ah* 'I/you suppose'

The participle *nah-ah* 'thinking, saying' derived from *noh-* 'to say/think to/about' takes a quotation in the Complement slot, as the original verb does, but not O:

16-49a *ti-ki* *kuu-ngi* *hoo* *kirokowo* *hutot-ee-h=tutee.*
ART.L-ERG inside-ERG so very be.messy-MID.3S-dl.PRESPROG.DP
'So, in the inside, they two are quarreling very much with each other [lit. they are being messy].' (XIX-49)

b *nah-ah:* *"roo* *naa'ru.* *nii* *toku* *naa'ru."*
say.to-PART you.sg lazy I not lazy
'They were saying: "You are lazy. I am not lazy." ' (XIV-50)

It often functions as a discourse marker in the sense of 'I wonder/possibly'.

16-50 *ih!* *nii* *jaki* *hoo* *kuhetuka*
oh.dear I you.should.know ART.M arrow.with.wooden.head
hoh-moo-ro-ng *mono-opee* *mu-i=no-ng.*
REL[throw.over-MID.1S-PERF-M] see-3O.1A.DEFFUT come.1S-PRESPROG-M
nah-ah *noo* *mono-i-ro-ng?*
I.wonder possibly see-3O.2A-PERF-M
'Oh dear! You should know that I am coming to see the arrow with a wooden head which I shot (lit. threw over). I wonder if you possibly saw it.' (VII-5, cf. 15-44)

16-51 *toku no-uru mono-oh=na-na.*
not one-CL.human look.at-3O.1A.PRESPROG-F
nah-ah rinu'-ku toku mono-oh-na.
possibly pass.by.3S-GEN.DS not see-3O.1A.NRPAST-F
'I am not looking at anyone. Possibly when he passed by I did not notice him.' (X-29)

The participle *tang-ah*, derived from the intransitive verb stem *tong-* 'to say/think', also functions as a discourse marker. It occupies the second or third position in a sentence, usually after the sentential topic (see also 16-42).

16-52 *ana tangah iiro-nno ong heewa tu'ki*
DEM.F I.suppose get.angry-3S.PERF.SS DEM.M thing all
ha'=ha'h-u-u-na.
REDUP=throw.away-3O.3A-RMPAST-F
'I suppose that (woman) got angry and threw all these things away.' (XXXV-163)

16-53 *pa-i tangah tu-u-ku paa-i=to-ng?*
who-ERG you.suppose hit-3O.3A-GEN.DS cry.3S-PRESPROG-M
'Who do you suppose hit him, so that he is crying?' (XXXV-162)

16.3.3 Participle + *tu(h)-*

The temporal/aspectual scope of states denoted by participles may be indicated by the TAM forms of the Copula *tu(h)-* .

Participles with *tu(h)-* in Present express states which are going on for a certain (relatively long) duration of time including the speech moment:

16-54 *poti ihkita rungi nga-wah tu-ko-ng.*
time long drought happen-PART COP.3S-PRES-M
'The drought has been going on [lit. happening] for a long time.' (XXXIII-12)

16-55 ... *hoo mu'king toku po'taa hari=haring-ah nu-ka-na.*
ART.M heart not very REDUP=be.worried-PART COP.1S-PRES-F
'... I am not much worried any more [lit. in my heart].' (XV-87)

Participles with *tu(h)-* in Perfect express states which have lasted for a certain duration of time till the speech moment:

16-56 *ong* *noo* *toko=tokoh-ah* *tu-ro-ng?*
DEM.M possibly be.hot-PART COP.3S-PERF-M
'Is that possibly still hot?' (cf. 3-71)

The Continuous form of *tu(h)-* simply expresses the continuation of a state referred to by the participle:

16-57 ... *roki=manni* *kirokowo* *toko=tokoh-ah* *tuu-juu.*
really very be.hot-PART be.3S-CONT.DS
'... while it was still really very hot.' (XIII-34)

16.3.4 Agentless Passive Construction

Passives are formed by participles and the intransitive verb *rii(h)-* 'to become/be'. Participles may be either transitive or intransitive.

The whole construction describes a spontaneous action/event. One uses this construction to avoid mentioning the central participant (the referent of S or A) of an event, especially when such a participant is a parent/child-in-law, or a brother/sister-in-law, in relation to the addressee, or to the speaker (if the referent of the unexpressed S/A is the addressee). The unexpressed S or A is usually the Agent (as in 16-58 and 16-60), but it could be the Experiencer as well (as in 16-59).

Compare the following pairs of sentences (sentence (a) in each pair is used in special situations mentioned above, while sentence (b) in ordinary contexts):

16-58a *woo-ki* *pih-ah* *ri-i=to-ng?*
where-ERG go-PART become.3S-PRESPROG-M
'(Lit.) Going to which direction is becoming?'

b *woo-ki* *pi-i=ta-na?*
where-ERG go.1S-PRESPROG-F
'Which direction are you going?'

16-59a *no-'ra* *siiho-wah* *ri-i=to-ng.*
one-CL.small.amount be.ill-PART become.3S-PRESPROG-M
'(Lit.) Being a little ill is becoming.'

b *no-'ra* *siiho-o-i=to-ng.*
one-CL.small.amount be.ill-3S-PRESPROG-M
'He is a little ill.'

16-60a *ong* *moo* *tee-wah* *rii-hee.*
DEM.M coconut eat-PART become.2S-DEFFUT
'(Lit.) The eating of this coconut will definitely become.'

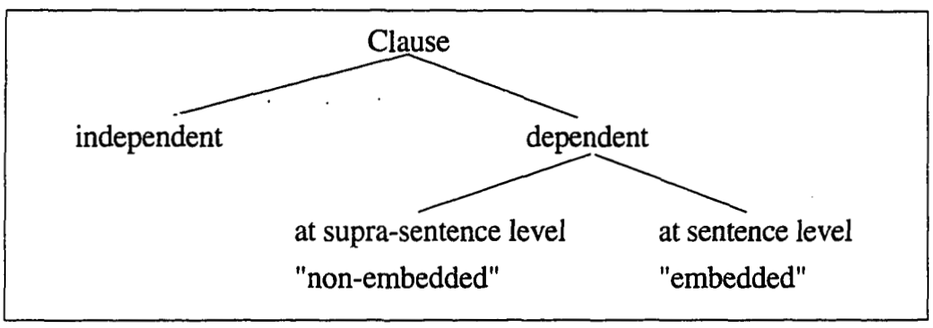
b *ong* *moo* *te-i-hee.*
DEM.M coconut eat-3O.2A-DEFFUT
'You definitely eat this coconut.'

CHAPTER 17 INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS

17.1 INTRODUCTION

According to the syntactic and pragmatic functions in interclausal relations, clauses in Motuna are classified into independent and dependent clauses. There are two types of dependent clauses --- those dependent at sentence level, and those dependent at supra-sentence or discourse level. According to Foley and Van Valin's (1984: 238ff.) terminology, I call the former "dependent embedded" and the latter "dependent non-embedded" clauses respectively. Schematically,

Diagram 17-1 Classification of Clauses



Independent clauses may stand alone as syntactically self-contained units. The predicates of independent clauses may be verbs, nouns, or adjectives (cf. Ch 3). They may optionally be combined with dependent clauses of either type.

All the dependent non-embedded clauses are verbal clauses with medial verbs as their heads. They can often stand as separate sentences,[1] but their dependency on the discourse structure is overtly marked by switch-reference suffixes.

Dependent embedded clauses are verbal clauses, whose heads are non-medial verbs

[1] The boundary between sentences is determined primarily by the existence of illocutionary force (cf. Foley and VanValin 1984: 220-221), which is reflected in intonation patterns. In general, the end of a declarative sentence is marked by a natural falling in pitch after the final stressed mora, with a significant pause before another sentence starts. cf. §2.8. Sentences with verbs in Imperative, Definite Future, and Continuous SS/DS (such as 17-1b -c and 17-17) which express the speaker's commands or assertions seem to be characterised by a steeper falling in pitch at the end than declarative sentences, but this needs further investigation.

There are cases where two or more independent clauses, with fully inflected non-medial verbs as predicates, are uttered in one string. Unless such indepedent clauses are connected together by *rii-ku* (cf. §7.2.3), I regard each clause as a separate sentence.

in most cases. They are subclassified into: (1) clauses filling the Complement slots of verbal predicates, (2) adverbial clauses functioning as the peripheral arguments of verbal predicates, (3) Possessor attributive/predicative clauses, and (4) relative clauses. Medial verbal clauses may function as dependent embedded clauses only when they are introduced by the conjunctions *tii* 'when' and *tiinohno* 'while, as soon as'. See 17-8 and 17-9 below.

Verbal predicates in independent verbal clauses are always non-medial verbs. Non-medial verbs may take one of the TAM suffixes discussed in §15.3.1 – §15.3.13. They may or may not be marked by gender suffixes, depending on the types of TAM suffixes they take. Compare the following examples:

17-1a	*tii*	*uri*	*pi-heeta-na.*	'You (F) will go to the village.'
	ART.L	village	go.2S-FUT-F	
b	*tii*	*uri*	*pi-hee.*	'You will definitely go to the village.'
	ART.L	village	go.2S-DEFFUT	
c	*tii*	*uri*	*pee.*	'Go to the village.'
	ART.L	village	go.2S-IMP	

In 17-1a, the Future form of the verb *pi(h)-* 'to go' is marked by the feminine suffix *-na*. In 17-1b and c, on the other hand, the verbal predicates are in Definite Future and Imperative respectively, and they are not marked by gender suffixes.

Note that verbs in Definite Future can be used either in independent or in dependent embedded clauses, as discussed in §15.3.11. Compare the following sentence with 17-1b:

17-2a	*roo*	*hoo*	*ro-ong*	*mono-i-hee*	*haa-ru-i-na.*
	you.sg	ART.M	your.sg-son	see-3O.2A-DEFFUT	want-2S-NRPAST-F
	'You want to see your son.'				
b	*roo*	*hoo*	*ro-ong*	*mono-i-hee*	*pi-heeta-na.*
	you.sg	ART.M	your.sg-son	see-3O.2A-DEFFUT	go.2S-FUT-F
	'You will go to see your son.'				

Hoo ro-ong mono-i-hee is a dependent embedded clause, functioning as a Complement of the main verb *haa-ru-i-na* in 17-2a, and as a peripheral argument of the main verb *pi-hee-ta-na* in 17-2b.

Verbs in Imaginative can also be used both in independent and in dependent embedded clauses. Those used in independent clauses (apodoses) are marked by gender suffixes, while those in dependent embedded clauses (protases) are not (cf. §15.3.10).

17-3 *ong nii mi'no-m-i-'-kui manni ni-ngi ratik-unguu-ng*
DEM.M me tell-1O-2A-pcl-IMAG then I-ERG find-3O.1A.IMAG-M
ho-ko nommai ti-wori-ko.
ART.M-EMPH person ART-CL.animate-EMPH
'If you all tell me about this, then I could find that particular person.' (XXIII-37)

Non-medial verbal clauses with gender suffixes can also function as dependent embedded clauses:

(1) Possessor attributive/predicative clauses:

17-4 *ree hoo o'koo waasiih ho-ko pehkoro*
you.nonsg ART.M that story $_{POSS}$[ART.M-EMPH boy
rumanung-ngung-ngi uko-wa-a-ng noo kuuk-ah-ngung?
dwarf-pl-ERG carry-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M] possibly know-PART-pl
'Do (all of) you possibly know that story that the dwarfs carried the boy away?' (IX-36, repetition of 16-31)

17-5 *ong waasiih o-ruma hoo Paanaangah*
DEM.M story DEM-CL.story ART.M $_{POSS}$['ancetstor's.name'
tii Perui-no hoo kuhetuka
ART.L 'witch's.name'-L ART.M arrow.with.wooden.head
hohk-oro-ki-ng.
throw.over-MID.3S-HABPAST-M]
'This story is about how Paanaangah used to shoot arrows with wooden heads towards Perui's place.' (VII-1)

In 17-4, the underlined Possessor verbal clause functions as an attribute to the preceding NP *hoo waasiih*. In 17-5, the underlined Possessor clause stands as the predicate of a nominal clause. Note that Possessor clauses may be followed by a 3rd person singular possessive pronoun *poko-ng* (cf. §11.3).

(2) Relative clauses. They typically follow the heads (17-6), but they may place the heads before or within themselves (cf. §17.3.2 and §17.3.3):

17-6 *hoo nommai turong-upir-i-ng woo-ki jaa*
ART.M person $_{REL}$[send-3O.1pcl.A-NRPAST-M] where-ERG on.earth
tu-ro-ng?
be.3S-PERF-M
'Where on earth is the person whom we sent?' (XXIII-44)

(3) quotations filling the Complement slots of verbs:

17-7 *impa* *noh-u-u-na* *tii-ngi* *Maawo* *po-oku:*
and.then say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-F ART.F-ERG 'male.name' his-mother
"nuri *hoo* *sanaka-wo-i=to-ng."*
my.son ART.M do.hunting/fishing-MID.3S-PRESPROG-M
'And then Maawo's mother said to her: "My son is hunting/fishing." ' (I-9)

In 17-7, the verbal clause in quotation fills a Complement slot of the transitive verb *noh-u-u-ng*. See further examples in §14.3.1.2 and §14.3.2.1.

Medial verbal clauses typically function as dependent non-embedded clauses. Medial clauses with verbs in General DS or SS, however, may function as dependent embedded clauses, when they are preceded by the suboordinating conjunction *tii* 'when' or *tiinohno* 'while'.[2] In such cases, they serve as the peripheral arguments of the superordinate verbs, expressing time (see also 17-15):

17-8 *tiko* *tii* *kuu'=kuu'* *kor-ongu* *impa* *ru-noro-mo*
and when hooting say-1S.GEN.DS and.then come.out-MID.2S-GEN.SS
hoo *pau* *pihk-i-mo* *nong-i-heeta-na.*
ART.M food look.for-3O.2A-GEN.SS be-2S-FUT-F
'And (only) when I hoot, you will come out and look for food.' (X-37)

17-9 *tiinohno* *ti-uru-ki* *no-uru-ki* *hoo* *pau*
while ART-CL.human-ERG one-CL.human-ERG ART.M food
mono-o-mo *aani-i-mo* *noh-u-i:*
look.at-3O.3A-GEN.SS claim-3O.3A-GEN.SS say.about-3O.3A-CONT.SS
"nee *ngo-ng* *hame.* *nee* *ngo-ng* *poro.*
it.must.be 1sg.POSS-M taro it.must.be 1sg.POSS-M yam
nee *ngo-ng* *peero."*
it.must.be 1sg.POSS-M banana
'While everyone of them was looking at the food, they claimed it as his or hers, saying about it: "It must be my taro. It must be my yam. It must be my banana." ' (III-43, cf. 10-68)[3]

[2] The conjunction *tii* and the local article *tii* are homonyms. The conjuction *tiinohno* is also homonymous with the local noun *tii-nohno* 'that.time-length' (cf. §4.4.2.6).

I regard them as subordinating conjunctions because the syntactic behaviour of medial clauses introduced by them differs from that of other medial clauses. The former always occupy the initial positions of sentences, and cannot stand as separate sentences on their own. (In this respect their behaviour is similar to that of protases in Imaginative. cf. 17-3.) The latter, on the other hand, can be placed after or within the controlling clauses, and can stand as separate sentences on their own. See the discussion below and in §17.2.

[3] This sentence has no controlling clause. The continuous SS form *noh-u-i* expresses a durative event going on at the reference point of time understood from the context. See the discussion of examples 17-15 – 17-17 below.

Dependent embedded clauses introduced by *tii* may also function as post-head attributes:

17-10 *ngo-ng* *rumaru* *tii* *nii* *pehkita* *honnang-o-mo* *nu-ku* ---
1sg.POSS-M life when I small grow.Mp-1S-GEN.SS be.1S-GEN.DS
'My life when I was small and was growing up ---' (II-0)

In most cases, however, medial verbal clauses function as dependent non-embedded clauses. Switch-reference markings track the "theme" of the discourse (cf. Roberts 1988b).

In Motuna, "theme" and "topic" are two distinct categories. As exemplified in Ch 3, "topic" is a focal NP argument (usually in absolutive case) in a clause. In a verbal clause it could be A, O, S, or a local argument, and is cross-referenced by the gender suffix on the non-medial verb. It does not control switch-reference operation.

17-11 *tiko* *tii* *kongsi'-ko* *poo'* *patak-a-ro* *manni*
and ART.L mango-PURP underneath arrive-3pcl.S-PERF.SS then
nah-a-a-na: "..."
say.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
'And after they had arrived at the underneath of the mango tree, they said to her: "..."' (VIII-11)

In 17-11, the topic of the clause with the non-medial verb *nah-a-a-na* is the O argument 'her', which is cross-referenced by the feminine ending *-na* on the same verb. The topic of the preceding medial verb *patak-a-ro* may be the S argument 'they' or the local argument *tii kongsi'-ko poo'* 'at the underneath of the mango tree', neither of which is coreferential with the topic of this controlling clause. If the topic were to control the switch-reference operation, we would expect that this medial verb would be marked by the DS suffix *-ku*. But in fact it is marked by the SS suffix *-ro*.

As is shown in the above example, switch-reference is usually sensitive to the coreference of S/A arguments, as in other Papuan languages, and not to the coreference of clausal topics as defined above. However, there are also many instances where medial verbs are in the same subject forms even though S/A are not coreferential. e.g.:

17-12 *tiko* *hoo* *oi* *P.* *o-no-ori'* *pee-mo*
and ART.M DEM.DP 'female.name' DEM-LINK-sister.pcl their-father
turu-woo-ro *impa* *nii-ko* *manni*
return-MID.3S-PERF.SS and.then I-EMPH certainly
tini-mon-na.
be.transferred-MID.1S.RMPAST-F
'And P. and her sisters' father returned, and then, I was certainly trans ferred.' (XVI-40, cf.11-14)

Here the referent of the S of *turu-woo-ro* (the narrator's husband) and that of the controlling verb *tini-mon-na* (the narrator herself) are different. They are regarded, however, as parts of the same referential framework which includes all the members of the narrator's family living and moving together.

It is clear from the above example that switch-reference does not operate within the boundaries of a sentence, but is a thematic operation which essentially identifies the frame of that particular discourse with that of the adjacent discourse. It is true that S/A are the major components of such framework in that if they are the same or their referents overlap, medial verbs are always in the same subject forms. But the speaker can also regard different participants referred to by S/A arguments as belonging to the same group for discourse reasons, as in 17-12.

Medial verbal clauses often stand as separate sentences.[4] In some cases, the controlling clause of such a medial clause exists in, or is easily recovered from, the preceding or following sentence. For example,

17-13 *ongi* *mono-ji-rii-juu.* *nii* *mi-ko-ng.*
DEM.L.ERG see-3O.2A-pcl-CONT.DS I go.1S-PRES-M
'Watch them here. I am going.' (VIII-27)

17-14 *impa* *ai* *toku* *umi-i-ni.* *tiko* *jeewo-ning*
and.then I.tell.you not go.1pcl.exc-RMPAST-DP and how-towards
tii *poo'ki-ngaro* *uko-opito* *(umi-hee)?*
ART.DP baby-dl take-3O.1A.dl.PERF.SS (go.1pcl.exc.S-DEFFUT)
'And then, I tell you, we did not go. And how (could we) take my two babies with me (and go)?' (XVI-26 - 27)

In 17-13, the marked clause is immediately followed by the controlling clause *nii mi-ko-ng*, which constitutes a separate sentence.[5] In 17-14, the unexpressed controlling clause of *uko-opito*, shown in the brackets, is easily recovered from the previous sentence.

However, there are cases where no obvious controlling clause exists or can be recovered, and the theme of the discourse must be understood from the speech situation. Observe the following sentence:

---

[4] See fn 1 for the criteria of determining sentence boundaries.

[5] The end of the first clause is marked by a natural falling pitch followed by a significant pause.

17-15 *tii* *haapi'-ku* *ong* *noni-mo* *ho-i* *haha'*
when dawn.3S-GEN.DS DEM.M our.exc-father ART.M-ERG work
pi-ro *heekoo-ki* *tuu-juu.*
go.3S-PERF.SS somewhere-ERG be.3S-CONT.DS
'When it dawned, our papa (= the narrator's husband) had gone for work and was somewhere (= was not at home).' (XV-63, cf. 14-30a)

In 17-15, the dependent embedded clause *tii haapi'-ku* sets up the temporal framework for the whole sentence. The perfect SS form *pi-ro* is controlled by *tuujuu*. The DS marking of *tuu-juu* indicates that the state of the S referent of this verb 'our papa' is contrasted with the main theme of the discourse, i.e. "our (the narrator and her children) waiting at home", which is understood from the context.

17-16 *aat-opi-h* *piru=piruk-oro-mo* *toku-ko* *topo.*
sleep-1S-dl.CONT.SS REDUP=turn.over.self-MID.3S-GEN.SS not-EMPH well
'While we two (= I and my daughter) were sleeping, she (= my daughter) turned herself over all the time uncomfortably.' (XV-60, cf. 14-58)

In 17-16, the overlapping referents of the two S arguments, i.e. "we two (the narrator and her daughter)" of *aat-opih* and "she (the narrator's daughter)" of *piruk-oro-mo*, are parts of the thematic framework of the whole discourse. Thus both of them are marked by the SS suffixes.

The Continuous SS and DS forms, without explicit controlling clauses, are often used to express the speaker's assertion that such states/durative events should continue (see also 17-13):

17-17 ... *roo* *toku* *tiwo* *konn-i-i.*
you.sg not that.way move-2S-CONT.SS
roo *toku* *jii* *tiwo* *ngo-ro-i.*
you.sg not also that,way be.involved-MID.2S-CONT.SS
'... you do not keep behaving that way. You do not keep being involved (in those bad activities) that way either.' (XXI-6)[6]

In the following sections, I will overview the chaining of medial clauses (§17.2), and relative clauses (§17.3), with examples from my corpus. Detailed study of complex sentences, especially that of the discourse structure of clause chaining, is left for further research.

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[6] In these two sentences dynamic verbs in CONT.SS are used to describe the manner of activities. cf. §15.4.5.

17.2 CHAINING OF MEDIAL CLAUSES

In the chaining of medial clauses, the marked clause usually precedes the controlling clause. But, if the controlling verb is in a non-medial form, the marked clause may be placed after it (as in 17-18), or inside the controlling clause (as in 17-19):

17-18 *ong* *haa* *ana-ngi* *Perui* *tu-u-'-ko-ng*
DEM.M as.you.know DEM.F-ERG 'witch's.name' kill-3O.3A-pcl-PRES-M
ong *kuhetuka* *tii* *poko-no* *uri*
DEM.M arrow.with.wooden.head ART.L 3sg.POSS-L home
hohk-ee-'-ku.
throw.over-MID.3S-pcl-GEN.DS
'As you know, this Perui kills these (children), whenever they shoot this arrow with a wooden head to her home.' (VII-56)

17-19 *Tantanu* *ti-ki* *uru-i* *hoo* *pau*
'ancestor's.name' there-ERG be.3pcl.S-CONT.SS ART.M food
kor-u-ku *arut-oro-ki-ng*.
speak-3S-GEN.DS be.in.abundance-MID.3S-HABPAST-M
'While Tantanu was there (with other people), when(ever) Tantanu speaks, the food used to be in abundance.' (III-59)

In the following sections, I will illustrate how SS (§17.2.1) and DS (§17.2.2) verbal forms are used in clause chaining. In §17.2.3, I will discuss the special function of the medial verb *rii-ku* which expresses cause.

17.2.1 SS Forms

In Motuna, like in Alambak, SS forms are used in all the cases where the referents of the S/A of the marked and controlling clauses overlap (cf. Bruce 1984 and Roberts 1988b: 88).

Examples of referential overlap marked by SS suffixes (see also 17-16):

ri'=ri'r-u-ro and *piru'-ro* (marked) with 3sg.A –> *hiri=hiri'-to* (controlling) with 3dl.A; *hiri=hiri'-to* (marked) with 3dl.A –> *pih-ooto-o-ro* (controlling) with 3sg.A:

17-20 *ri'=ri'r-u-ro* *ore* *piru'-ro* *manni* *tii* *hiisia-kori*
untie-3O.3A-PERF.SS well turn.over.3O.3A-PERF.SS then ART.L sand-L
hoo *o'koo* *ong* *horo* *hiri=hiri'-to* *manni*
ART.M that DEM.M fence REDUP=break.3O.3A-dl.PERF.SS then
tii *hiisia-kori* *pih-ooto-o-ro* *noh-u-u-na: "..."*
ART.L sand-L go-CAUS-3O.3A-PERF.SS say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-F
'He untied her and, well, turned her over, and then both of them broke that fence on the beach, and then he made her go on the beach and said to her:' (V-46)

unu-i (marked) with 1pcl.exc.S –> *peeh-r-onno* (controlling) with 1sg.A; *peeh-r-onno* (marked) with 1sg.A –> *ngo-opi-ti-kee* (controlling) with 1dl.A:

17-21 *impa* *ongi* *unu-i* *roo* *peeh-r-onno*
and.then DEM.L.ERG be.1pcl.exc.S-CONT.SS you.sg come.upon-2O-1A.PERF.SS
impa *ai* *ong* *haha'* *tiwo-noning* *nga-wah*
and.then I.tell.you DEM.M work [that.way-towards make-PART]
ngo-opi-ti-kee *inokee* *roo-nno.*
do-3O.1A-dl-PRES.DP again you.sg-COMIT
'And then, while we were here, I came upon you, and then, I tell you, I [lit. we two] do the work in that kind of way, again with you.' (XVI-124)

uko-ji-ijo (marked) with 2sg.A –> *mono-ongjo* (controlling) with 1pcl.inc.A:

17-22 *ho-ko* *uko-ji-ijo* *inokee* *na-raku-kori*
it-EMPH take-3O.2A-pcl.PERF.SS again one-CL.river-L
mono-ongjo *ti-ki* *nee-ung-heenuio-ng.*
see-3O.1pcl.A.PERF.SS there-ERG eat-3O.1pcl.A-FUT-M
'After you take it, we will again see a river, and we will eat it there.' (X-14, cf. 15-111)

unu-i (marked) with 1pcl.exc.S –> *turu-woo-ro* (controling) with 3sg.S; *turu-woo-ro* (marked) with 3sg.S –> *muuko-orur-upi'-ni* control with 1dl.A:

17-23 *tiko* *ti-ki* *unu-i* *ti-kitee* *turu-woo-ro*
then there-ERG be.1pcl.exc.S-CONT.SS there-ABL return-MID.3S-PERF.SS
poo'ki *oi* *pee-mongu* *muuko-orur-upi-'-ni.*
children DEM.DP three-CL.human.pcl give.birth.to-3pcl.O-1A-dl.RMPAST-DP
'Then while we were living there, he (= my husband) returned from there, and we (= I and my husband) gave birth to these three children.' (XVI-43)

Note that in 17-23, the referent of the S of the marked verb *unu-i* and that of the controlling verb *turu-woo-ro* do not actually overlap. In this case, "we (the narrator and other members of the family except for her husband)" and "he (her husband)" are parts of the larger referential framework which includes all the members of the narrator's family.

Examples like 17-23 are not rare in my corpus. I will give four more examples of SS medial clauses below, where the referents of the S/A of the marked and controlling clauses do not overlap. See also 17-12 in §7.1. (Note that in all these cases the medial verbs could be marked by DS suffixes as well, if the narrator wanted to describe the two events contrastively.)

17-24 *impa* *umi-mo* *ho-i* *sikuuna* *uko-mor-u-mo*
and.then go.1pcl.exc.S-GEN.SS ART.M-ERG schooner carry-1pcl.exc.O-3A-GEN.SS
kairu-mara-mo *inokee-ko* *hoo* *no-ngu* *ti-ko*
go.round-MID.1pcl.exc.S-GEN.SS again-EMPH then one-CL.lot ART.L-PURP
heekoo *nop-ur-um-mo* ... *ore* *konn-om-mo*
some.place take-3pcl.O-1pcl.A-GEN.SS well proceed-1pcl.S-GEN.SS
tii *sikuulu-kori* *patak-ong-ki-ng.*
ART.L school-L arrive-1pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'And then when we went, the schooner carried us, and we went around, and again took some people somewhere, ... and, well, we proceeded and (thus) we arrived at school.' (VI-49, cf. 9-76)

In 17-24, the referent of the S of *umi-ro*, "we", and that of the A of *uko-mor-u-mo*, "the schooner", are seen as parts of the referential framework which includes all the passengers and the schooner itself moving together.

In the following three sentences the Ss of the medial verbs are 1st person and the As of the controlling verbs are 3rd person.[7] Further investigation is needed to determine the exact nature of SS markings in these examples.

17-25 *roti-moo-ro* *impa* *hoo-jori* *moi*
get.married-MID.1S-PERF.SS and.then ART.M-LOC year
hoo *ti-mori* *minna-wah*
$_{REL}$[ART.M ART-CL.year follow-PART]
tii *noniko-no-ita-kori* *si-m-a-a-na.*
ART.L 1nonsg.exc.POSS-LINK-CL.side-L put-1O-3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
'I got married, and then, during the year following that year, they transferred me to our side.' (XVI-7)

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[7] One of my main informants, who is not the narrator of the following two sentences, says that the SS forms of medial verbs in 17-25 and 17-26 are O.K., but *omor-om-mo* in 17-27 sounds awkward. In the latter case she would use the General DS form *omor-ong-ku* instead.

17-26 *tiko manni ehkong pi-ti-mo pi-ti-mo*
and then now go.3S-dl-GEN.SS go.3S-dl-GEN.SS
hoo moi haaro'-ki-ng.
ART.M almond fall.3S-HABPAST-M
'And then, while they two are going and going now, almonds fell repeatedly.' (XIII-23)

17-27 *tiko noni tii hoo pa'kipa' ngo-woro-ku*
and we.exc ART.DP ART.M earthquake happen-MID.3S-GEN.DS
it-o-m-mo tii poo' omor-o-m-mo
stand.Mp-1S-pcl-GEN.SS ART.L outside escape-1S-pcl-GEN.SS
hoo howo tii misi-kori ha'h-u-u-ng.
ART.M house ART.L soil-L throw.away-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'And when the earthquake happened and while we were standing up and escaping outside, it (= the earthquake) threw the house away on the ground.' (XVI-14)

17.2.2 DS Forms

As mentioned above, the primary function of DS forms is to indicate that the theme of the marked clause contrasts with that of the controlling clause. There is no referential overlap between the subjects of two clauses, except for the special constructions discussed below (cf. 17-43).

When a DS medial clause is placed after an SS medial clause and before an SS medial clause or a non-medial clause, it signals that:

(1) the theme of the preceding clause is maintained in the DS clause, and the following clause presents a new theme, or
(2) the theme of the preceding clause is maintained in the clause after the DS clause, and the theme of the DS clause is a temporary diversion from it,[8] or
(3) the themes in the DS clause and the following clause contrast, but they are included in the larger theme presented by the first SS clause.

In the following diagrams, " ⟶ " indicates that the two clauses at both ends have the same theme, and " ⟷ " indicates that they have different themes.

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[8] This device is called "subtopicalisation" by Roberts (1988b: 103). But, at least in Motuna, the SS marking of the first medial clause simply skips the next DS clause in this case. It can skip two clauses, as exemplified in 17-32. A DS marking can also skip the following clause. cf. (4) below.

(1) theme 1 (SS) → theme 1 (DS)
theme 2 (SS/non-medial) →

17-28 *<u>honnang-onno</u>* *ore* *manni* *tii* *pehkita* *<u>nuu-juu</u>*
grow.up-1S.PERF.SS well then when young be.1S-CONT.DS
tii-ngi *nuka-nno* *umoka-nno* *<u>no-m-u-'-na</u>: "..."*
ART.DP-ERG my.mother-and my.father-and say.to-1O-3A-dl.RMPAST-F
'<u>After</u> I <u>had grown up</u>, well, then <u>when</u> I <u>was</u> a young girl, my mother and father <u>said to</u> me: "..." ' (VI-10)

17-29 *tiko* *tiwo* *<u>ngo-o-m-mo</u>* *<u>urisih-ku</u>*
and that.way do.to-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.SS leave.3S-GEN.DS
hoo *kourai* *hingh-ah* *<u>ha'=ha'h-a-mo</u>* ...
ART.M skin.of.wild.banana.tree decay-PART REDUP=throw.away-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS
'And <u>after</u> he <u>had treated</u> them like that and <u>left</u>, they <u>used to throw away</u> the decayed skin of wild banana trees, (and they) ...' (VIII-4)

(2) theme 1 (SS) → theme 1 (SS/non-medial)
theme 2 (DS) ↕

Note that in this case the SS clause preceding the DS clause is controlled by the clause following the DS clause, and not by the immediately following DS clause.

17-30 *<u>omom-mo</u>* *tii* *napa* *o-no-ku*
escape.3S-GEN.SS ART.DP possum DEM-LINK-mother.and child
<u>siimpai-wee-ti-mo</u> *<u>tu-ti-ku</u>* *<u>mono-o-'-ni</u>.*
sweep-MID.3S-dl-GEN.SS be.3S-dl-GEN.DS see-3O.3A-dl.RMPAST-DP
'<u>While</u> he <u>was escaping</u>, the possum and her child <u>kept sweeping</u>, and he <u>saw</u> them.' (X-20)

17-31 *ana* *koho* *harusu* *tii* *tii* *heekoo* *kuino-kori*
DEM.F down turtle ART.F ART.L some.place tree-L
<u>onn-a-ro</u> *ti-ki* *<u>onn-oi-juu</u>*
tie-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS there-ERG be.tied-MID.3S-CONT.DS
ti-ki *<u>mingk-ee-m-mo</u>* *<u>uru-ki-ng</u>.*
there-ERG play-MID.3S-pcl-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'<u>After</u> they (= the children) <u>had tied</u> that female turtle onto some tree, and <u>while</u> she <u>was being tied</u> there, they <u>kept playing</u> there.' (V-37)

In the following sentence, the DS medial clause *hu-ku*, which expresses a divertion from the main theme, further controls the preceding SS verb *nuuh-u-m-mo*.

17-32 *... u'w-a-hee* *uwi-mo* *hoo*
pick.from.ground-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT go.3pcl.S-GEN.SS ART.M
Rumanung *nuuh-u-m-mo* *hu-ku*
the.Giant smell-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.SS come.3S-GEN.DS
ho-i *o'koo* *kourai* *hingh-ah*
ART.M-ERG that skin.of.wild.banana.tree decay-PART
raka=rakar-ee-'-ki-ng.
REDUP=cover.self-MID.3S-pcl-HABPAST-M
'... when they went to pick (the mangoes) from the ground, the Giant came smelling them, and they used to cover themselves with those decayed skins of wild banana trees.' (VIII-2)

(3) theme 1 (SS) ⟶ theme 1' (DS)
theme 1" (SS/ non-medial)

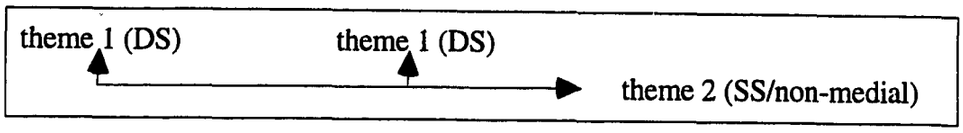
In 17-33, the S of *unu-i* has a referential overlap with the As of *pihk-e-ungu* and *konn-ooto-o-mo tu-ko-ng*.

17-33 *impa* *ti-ki* *unu-i* *. hoo* *haha'*
now there-ERG be.1pcl.exc.S-CONT.SS ART.M job
pihk-e-ungu *impa* *hoo-jori* *kawamong*
look.for-APPL-3O.1A.PERF.DS and.then ART.M-LOC government
hoo *kaara* *konn-ooto-o-mo* *tu-ko-ng.*
ART.M car move-CAUS-3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3S-PRES-M
'Now, while we were there, I looked for a job for him, and then he used to drive for the (local) government.' (XVI-35)

When two successive DS clauses are placed between SS medial clause(s) and/or non-medial clause(s), they signal that:

(4) the same theme is maintained in the two DS clauses, and the following clause presents a new theme, or
(5) the theme of the first DS clause and the clause after the two DS clause are the same; the theme of the second DS clause is a temporary divertion from it, or
(6) the themes of two DS clauses, and that of the following clause, are all different.

(4)

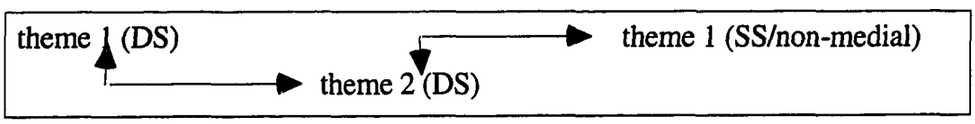


Note that in this case the first DS clause is controlled by the SS or non-medial clause after the two DS clauses, and not by the immediately following DS clause. The two DS clauses must be in the same TAM; the events/states described by them together contrast with the event described by the following clause.

17-34 *hoo* *mongiiru* *mono-o-ku* *siro-o-ku*
ART.M baramundi see-3O.3A-GEN.DS sing-3O.3A-GEN.DS
noh-u-u-ng: "..."
say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'After he had seen the baramundi and sung (a song), the baramundi said to him: "..."' (V-27, cf. 15-127)

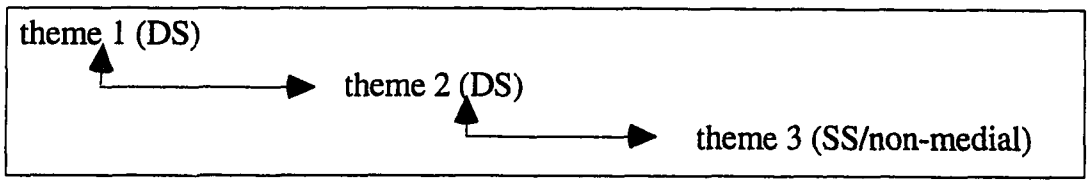
17-35 *ho-ko* *manare* *roki* *muh* *rii-juu* *roki* *hoo-nowo*
ART.M-EMPH road just bush be.3S-CONT.DS just ART.M-SIML
maikupa *mon-uu-juu* *ai* *umi-i-ni.*
forest look-3S-CONT.DS I.tell.you go.1pcl.exc.S-RMPAST-DP
'That road was just a bush, and looked just like a forest, I tell you, when we went.' (XV-44, cf. 14-23)

(5)



17-36 *tiko* *ti-ki* *kuuto-woi-juu* *peesi'-ku*
and there-ERG wait-MID.3S-CONT.DS come.upon.3O.3A-GEN.DS
nok-u-u-na: "..."
say-3S-RMPAST-F
'And while she (= the Thunder) was waiting there, she (= Kohkaa) came upon her, and she (= the Thunder) said: "..."' (XI-17)

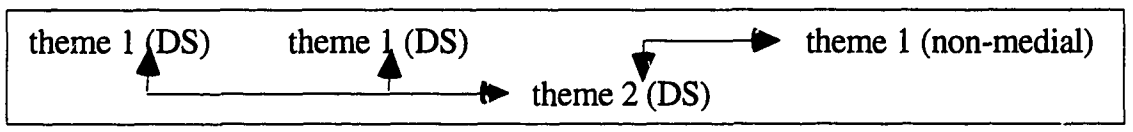
17-37 *tiko* *tii* *turu-moro-ku* *na-m-a-ku:*
and there return-MID.1S-GEN.DS say.to-1O-3pcl.A-GEN.DS
"tii *pi-heeta-na,"* *noh-ut-u-ng: "..."*
there go.2S-FUT-F say.to-3O.1A-RMPAST-M
'And I returned there (= in that situation), and they said to me, "You will go there," and I said to them: "..."' (XVI-99)

(6) 

17-38 *roo hoo paa-ku ti-ko poo' si-n-ong-ku*
you.sg ART.M cry.2S-GEN.DS ART.L-PURP outside leave-2O-1pcl.A-GEN.DS
ho-i rumanung uko-r-a-heero-ng.
ART.M-ERG dwarfs carry-2O-3pcl.A-FUT-M
'Whenever you cry, we (exc) will leave you outside, and the dwarfs will (come and) carry you away.' (IX-35)

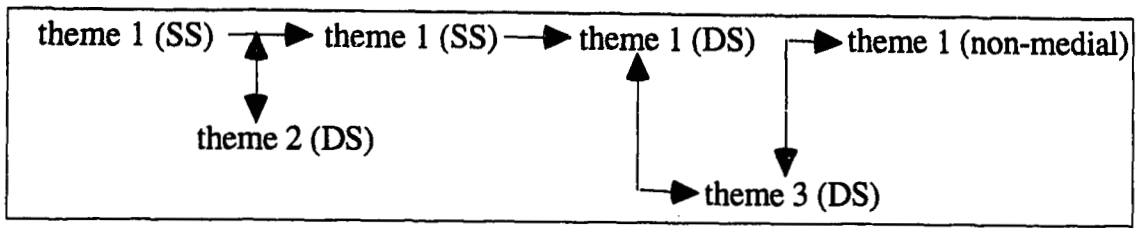
17-39 *tiko hoo mahkata puku-u-ku hoo laampa*
and ART.M dog call-3S-GEN.DS ART.M lamp
orok-oi-juu aat-o-m-mo unu-kee.
be.lit.up-MID.3S-CONT.DS sleep-1S-pcl-GEN.SS be.1pcl.exc.S-PRES.DP
'And whenever the dog barked, the lamp was being lit up, and we used to sleep.' (XVI-90)

Examples of combinations of (1) ~ (6):



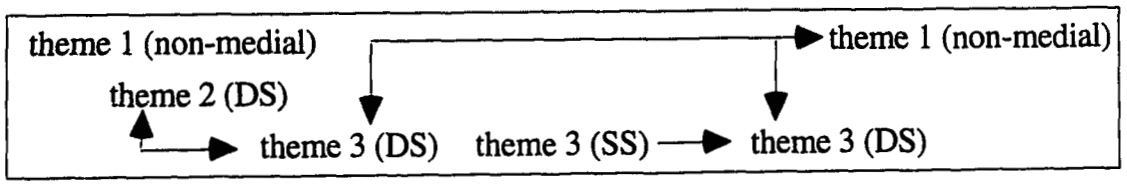
In 17-40, the first two DS clauses *kuhk-ee-'-ku* and *hukar-a-ku* are subordinated to the third DS clause *nihk-ee-u-'-ku* by the conjunction *tii*. The main theme is maintained in the subordinate clauses and the final clause. The theme of the third DS clause is contrastive with the main theme.

17-40 *tiko tii puri poo' kuhk-ee-'-ku tii owo*
and when head first descend-MID.3S-pcl-GEN.DS ART.L DEM.L
ngoho moo-ko u'wah-no hukar-a-ku
somewhere.down coconut-PURP base-L arrive-3pcl.S-GEN.DS
ho-i piso hoo puri nihk-ee-u-'-ku
ART.M-ERG walking.stick ART.M head hit-APPL-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.DS
puu-ra-ki-ng.
die-3pcl.S-HABPAST-M
'And when they descended with their heads first and arrived somewhere down at the bottom of the coconut tree, she hit their heads with a walking stick, and they used to die.' (XII-17)



In 17-41, the two SS clauses *uwi-ro* and *ratik-a-ijo*, the DS clause *ru'n-a-ku* and the final non-medial verb *nah-a-a-na* present the main theme. The DS clause *mih=mihw-oro-ku* presents a transitional theme. The third theme presented by the DS form *run-oro-ku* contrasts with the main theme presented by the preceding and following clauses.

17-41 *tiko* *uwi-ro* *tii* *muhmuh* *ti-ki*
and go.3pcl.S-PERF.SS ART.F 'kind.of.butterfly' ART.L-ERG
hoo *kaa* *ku'k-ah-ngung* *tuh-ah-no-ki*
[ART.M young.tree dig-PART-pl be-PART]-L-ERG
mih=mihw-oro-ku *impa* *hoo* *kaa'-ngung*
REDUP=jump.vigorously-MID.3S-GEN.DS and.then ART.M young.tree-pl
ti-ko *ratik-a-ijo* *ai* *manni*
there-PURP find-3O.3pcl.A-pcl.PERF.SS I.tell.you then
ru'n-a-ku *ru'n-oro-ku* *manni*
beat-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.DS ring-MID.3S-GEN.DS then
nah-a-a-na: "..."
say.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F
'And when they$_i$ went, the *muhmuh* butterfly jumped vigorously around where there were young trees which had been dug, and then they$_i$ found the young trees there, and, I tell you, they$_i$ beat them$_j$, they$_j$ made a noise, and then they$_i$ said to the butterfly: "..."' (XIV-41)



In 17-42b, the first DS clause *a-wa-ku* presents a theme different from that of the previous sentence 17-42a. The following two sets of medial clauses --- *huno'-ku* and *huno'-ro urah-ku* --- present another theme. The theme presented by the final non-medial clause *pongir-or-u-ng* is the same as that of 17-42a.

17-42a *hoo* *patapata* *tii* *poon-no-ita* *tuh=tuhr-ah*.
ART.M platform . ART.L underneath-LINK-CL.side REDUP=tear-PART
'The platform was torn here and there underneath.' (XIII-37)

b *tiko* *hoo* *pau* *a-wa-ku* *huno'-ku*
and ART.M food give.to-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.DS become.full.3S-GEN.DS
huno'-ro *urah-ku* *hoo* *patapata*
become.full.3S-PERF.SS become.heavy.3S-GEN.DS ART.M platform
pongir-or-u-ng.
be.broken-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'And after they had given food to her, she became full, and after she had become full she became heavy, and the platform was broken.' (XIII-38)

Two or more successive general DS medial clauses (usually consisting of verbs in General SS and the aspectual verb *tu(h)-* in General DS), often constitute a close unit. Such a unit focuses on the contrastive activities between different paricipants. Those participants could constitute parts of the theme of the preceding and/or following clause(s). Even if there is referential overlap between the participants of those medial verbs, all the verbs are consistently marked by DS suffixes.

For example, in 17-43, the ongoing activities of "the boy" and "the dwarfs" are contrasted by the repetition of a pair of DS medial clauses (consisting of *tooh-* 'to shoot' and *haarak-* 'to fall', respectively, in General SS, and the aspectual verb *tu(h)-* in General DS).. The contrastive activities described by them are summarised by the following DS medial clause *tiwo nge-wee-ti-mo uru-ku.*

17-43 *ho-i* *heteeku* *pit-ee-'-ku*
ART.M-ERG 'kind.of.tree' move-MID.3S-pcl-GEN.DS
ti-kitee *koto* *ho-i-ko* *heteeku* *poko-ng* *sira*
ART.L-ABL up he-ERG-EMPH 'kind.of.tree' 3sg.POSS-M fruit
tooh-u-m-mo *tu-ku* *haarak-a-mo* *uru-ku*
shoot-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.DS be.3S-GEN.DS fall-3pcl.S-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-GEN.DS
tooh-u-m-mo *tu-ku* *haarak-a-mo* *uru-ku*
shoot-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.DS be.3S-GEN.DS fall-3pcl.S-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-GEN.DS
manni *tiwo* *nge-wee-ti-mo* *uru-ku*
then that.way be.invoved-MID.3S-dl-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-GEN.DS
nok-u-u-ng: "..."
say-3S-RMPAST-M
'When they (= the dwarfs) moved to (climb on) the *heteeku* tree, he (= the boy), from up in the tree, kept shooting the fruit of the *heteeku* tree and the dwarfs kept on slipping from the tree [lit. falling], and while both the parties were involved in the event that way, the boy said: "..." ' (IX-31)

A unit of such DS clauses often stands as an independent sentence:

17-44 *tiko tii umoka-ra hoo-jori sikstii ti-ki*
and ART.DP my.father-nonsg ART.M-LOC 60 ART.L-ERG
Kiata-no-ita-kori haha'w-ee-m-mo uru-ku
'place.name-LINK-CL.side-L work-MID.3S-pcl-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-GEN.DS
nii ti-ki Kihili kuraisa peeko-ng sikuulu-kori
I ART.L-ERG 'place.name' girls 3nonsg.POSS-M school-L
sikuulu-moro-mo nu-ku.
be.educated-MID.1S-GEN.SS be.1S-GEN.DS
'And while my father and other members of the family were working in the Kiata side in '60, I was being educated in the Kihili Girls' school.' (II-31)

Or it may split into two sentences:[9]

17-45a *no-ngu aaring-a-mo uru-ku impa*
one-CL.lot go.over-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-GEN.DS and
no-ngu-ko siro-ji-m-mo tu-'-ku.
one-CL.lot-EMPH sing-3O.2S-pcl-GEN.SS be.3S-pcl-GEN.DS
'Some will keep going over it (= the log), and others will keep singing.' (III-51)

b *hoo-ko ehkong aaring-a-ro ti-ki no-ita-kori*
ART.M-EMPH [$_{REL}$[already go.over-3pcl.S-PERF.SS ART.L-ERG one-CL.side-L
uru-i uru-heerong-ko manni siro-wa-mo
be.3pcl.S-CONT.SS be.3pcl.S-FUT]-EMPH then sing-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS
uru-ku.
be.3S-GEN.DS
'Those who will have already gone over it and will be on the other side, too, will certainly keep singing.' (III-51)

17.2.3 The Special Function of *rii-ku*

Apart from its normal function as a medial verb, the General DS form of *rii(h)-* 'to become/be' has a special function of conjoining two independent clauses. In the latter case, it is usually placed between two clauses (however, see 17-51). It expresses that the event/fact described by the first clause is the cause of the event described by the second clause. This medial form, in this special function, does not mark the temporal/aspectual relationship between the events described by the two clauses, nor the switch of the themes of the two clauses.

The following two sentences illustrate the normal and special functions of this medial verb:

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[9] The pause after 17-45a is much longer than the pause after the first medial clause *no-ngu aaring-a-mo uru-ku.*

17-46 *hoo=hoo* *roki=manni* *raah-oro-mo* *impa*
so really be.delighted-MID.3S-GEN.SS and.then
hingjoo *pee-winna-i* *rii-ku* *manni* *hoo* *mii*
month three-CL.month-pcl become.3S-GEN.DS then ART.M name
o-o-ng.
give.to-3O.3A.RMPAST-M
'So he was really delighted, and then after three months had passed [lit. become], he gave (his) name to him (= my baby).' (XVI-122)

17-47 *nii* *pehkita* *riingu* *toku* *haha'-moro-ki-na.*
I small become.1S.PERF.DS not work-MID.1S-HABPAST-F
'As I was small, I did not work.' (II-21)

In 17-46, *rii-ku* (*rii(h)-* with a 2nd/3rd person singular S in General DS) is used as a normal medial verb. It indicates that the event "three month had passed" had been completed before the event described by the controlling clause "he gave name to him" took place, and that the themes of the two clauses, "three months" and "he", are different.

In 17-47, on the other hand, the argument of the nominal clause preceding *riingu* (*rii(h)-* with a 1st person singular S in General DS) is the same as the S of the following non-medial verb *haha'-moro-ki-na.* The medial verb *riingu* does not indicate any temporal relationship, either. It only indicates that the fact described by the preceding nominal clause is the reason why the event, "my working", did not take place.

The medial verb *rii-ku* in this special function cross-references the person/number of the argument NP in the preceding nominal/adjectival clause, as is seen in 17-47.[10] Another example:

17-48 *toorohu-naa* *rii-wa-ku* *toku*
generous-pc become-3pcl.S-GEN.DS not
itann-ee-ur-uh-ni.
disallow-APPL-3pcl.O-1A.NRPAST-DP
'Since they are generous, I allowed them (to have it) [lit. I did not disallow it for them].' (XXXV-157)

If the preceding clause is a verbal clause, it usually takes the form with a 2nd/3rd person singular S *rii-ku.* However, if one of the core arguments is 1st person, it may optionally take the form with a 1st person S (as in 17-50).

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[10] The General DS forms of *rii(h)-* in 2nd and 3rd person are identical in singular (*rii-ku*) and dual (*rii-ti-ku*). 1st person singular and dual forms are *riingu* and *riipi-ti-ku*, respectively. cf. §13.4.2.1.2.

17-49 *ai* *ina-mor-i-kee* *rii-ku*
I.tell.you look.after-1pcl.exc.O-2A-PRES-DP become.2/3S-GEN.DS
nakaro-r-oh=no-ng *noh-u-mo:* *"ong* *poo'ki*
ask-2O-1A.PRESPROG-M think.about-3O.1A-GEN.SS DEM.M baby
noo *roo* *pokono=mingng-unguu-ng?"*
possibly you.sg name.after-3O.1A.IMAG-M
'I tell you, since you look after us, I am asking you, thinking about him (= my baby): "Can I possibly name this baby after you?"' (XVI-118, cf. 5-16)

17-50 *tiko* *roki* *hoo* *ong-ngi* *lootu*
and just so DEM.M-ERG prayer
to'-m-a-io-ng *riing-ku* --- *hoo=hoo*
hold-1O-3pcl.A-pcl.PERF-M become.1pcl.S-PERF.DS so
impa *tiwo-noning* *piruk-oo-ro-ng.*
now that.way-towards be.turned-MID.3S-PERF-M
'And so just these (people) have held (= influenced) us with these (Christian) prayers, --- so as a result it has now been turned in that kind of way (= our tradition has completely been changed like that).' (XVIII-37 - 38)

I have found only one example in my corpus where two clauses clearly stand as separate sentences, and *rii-ku* is inserted in the second sentence:

17-51a *roo* *ongo* *mohkoo-ko* *manni* *potuana* *toku* *noi*
you.sg DEM.PURP vicinity-PURP then place not any
ratik-i-kui-na.
find-3O.2A-IMAG-F
'You would not find any post [lit. place] in this vicinity.' (XVI-104)

b *roki* *tii* *rii-ku* *menu-ngori* *manni* *pi-heeta-na.*
just ART.L become.3S-PERF.DS mountain-L then go.2S-FUT-F
'So you will just go to the mountain, then.' (XVI-104)

17.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES

In Motuna, all the relative clauses are restrictive.

As mentioned in §10.3.4.6, relative clauses can be those which require a 3rd person possessive pronoun as a relative pronoun, and those which do not. The majority of verbal and participle relative clauses belong to the second type.

Relative clauses of the first type always follow the heads. They may be nominal clauses (17-52 and 17-53), or verbal or participle clauses (17-54). All the examples of this type in my corpus express "nam ing". The head noun may be repeated if the

possessive pronoun in this function cannot immediately follow it for syntactic reasons (17-53).[11]

17-52 *ho-i* *nommai* *po-kong* *mii* *Tantanu*
ART.M-ERG person $_{REL}$[3sg-POSS name 'ancestor's.name']
'by the person whose name is Tantanu' (III-55, repetition of 10-78)

17-53 *tiko* *tii* *muuko-m-u-u-no* *tii-ngi* *nuka*
and ART.L give.birth.to-1O-3A-RMPAST-L ART.F-ERG my.mother
heekoo *tuu-ngo* *saa,* *tuu* *poko-ng* *mii* *Maato,*
some.place river-PURP side river $_{REL}$[3sg.POSS-M name 'river.name']
tii *uri* *Kapaaro* *mohkoo.*
ART.L village 'village.name' vicinity
'And the place where my mother gave birth to me was somewhere on the river side, the name of which was Maato, in the vicinity of the village Kapaaro.' (VI-3)

17-54 ... *tii* *po-oro* *no-wori* *poko-ng* *mii*
ART.F her-daughter one-CL.animate $_{REL}$[3sg.POSS-M name
Koongaa *tang-ah* ...
'female.name' call-PART]
'... one of her daughters, whose name was (called) Koongaa ...' (XI-31)

Relative clauses of the second type usually follow the heads, but they may also precede the heads, or may place the heads within themselves (internal relative clauses). In the latter two cases no relative pronouns are employed, but in the case of post-head relative clauses, the article may optionally occupy the first position of the relative clauses:[12]

17-55 ... *hoo-jori-koo* *paaro* *hoo* *kitori* *peeko-ng* *puri*
ART.M-LOC-EMPH smoke.rack ART.M children 3nonsg.POSS-M head
hoo *tii* *paarok-u-'-ki-ng* *nop-u-io-ng* ...
$_{REL}$[ART.M there smoke-3O.3A-pcl-HABPAST-M] take-3O.3A-pcl.PERF-M
'... he has taken the children's heads which she used to smoke there (= on the smoke rack) from the smoke rack ...' (VII-50)

17-56 ... *hoo=hoo* *ruupang* *hoo* *potor-ah*
thus bamboo.container $_{REL}$[ART.M be.open.at.bottom-PART]
o-o-mo.
give.to-3O.3A-GEN.SS
'... thus giving (to her) the bamboo container which had holes.' (XI-6)

[11] In the following examples, relative clauses are underlined, and the heads double-underlined.

[12] The article *hoo* belongs to the relative clause, and not to the relativised NP. The restrictive adverb *nong* can be placed after, and not before, *hoo*. See the discussion of examples 6-34 and 6-35 in §6.2.6.

Note that in the case of verbal relative clauses, the verbal endings indicate the genders of the head nouns. In the case of participle relative clauses, on the other hand, the suffix *-no* is attached to the participles only in case the head nouns are in local gender.

When the A argument of a verbal or participle clause is relativised, the relative clause must be placed after the head. The head in such a relative clause does not seem to be omissible, either.

In the following sections, I will exemplify post-head (§17.3.1), pre-head (§17.3.2) and internal (§17.3.3) verbal/participle relative clauses. In §17.3.4, headless relative clauses will be discussed.

17.3.1 Post-head Relative Clauses

(1) Examples of verbal relative clauses which occupy post-head positions: the heads correspond to the Ss of the relative clauses:

17-57 *aru'-ro* *hoo* *nommai-ngung* *tii*
collect.in.abundance.3O.3A-PERF.SS ART.M people-pl REL[there
uwi-i-ng *noh-u-r-u-ng: "..."*
go.3pcl.S-RMPAST-M] say.to-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M
'He collected it in abundance, and said to the people who had been [lit. gone] there: "..." ' (XII-57)

17-58 *ong* *koona-ngung* *ong-ngori* *raaring*
DEM.M bone-pl REL[DEM.M-LOC space.around.house
pirir-oo-ro-ng *ua* *poko-ng?*
be.scattered-MID.3S-PERF-M] what 3sg.POSS-M
'Where has these bones come from [lit. Of what are these bones], which were scattered outside the house?' (I-3, repetition of 10-79)

the heads correspond to the Os of the relative clauses (see also 17-55):

17-59 *tii* *uri* *pau* *mirahu-ngung* *Tantanu-ki*
ART.L village food good-pl REL['ancestor's.name'-ERG
o-m-u-r-i-ng *arut-oo-ro-no.*
give.to-1O-3A-pcl-NRPAST-M] be.in.abundance-MID.3S-PERF-L
'In the village good food Tantanu gave to us is in abundance.' (III-46)

17-60 *hoo* *koro=koro* *taaro-onno-ng* *noo* *meekuhing?*
ART.M words REL[hear-3O.1A.PERF-M] possibly true
'Are the words I have heard possibly true?' (XVI-54, cf. 4-155, 9-20, 15-42)

the heads correspond to the As of the relative clauses. Note that in this case O NPs must be present in the relative clauses; otherwise the head nouns would be taken for Os.

17-61 *nommai* *hia* *rutu'-ko-ng* *mono-ong-hee*
person $_{REL}$[thing beat.3O.3A-PRES-M] see-3O.1pcl.A-DEFFUT
umi-i=no-ng.
go.1pcl.exc.S-PRESPROG-M
'We are going to see the person who just beat the thing (= gong).' (XIV-38)

17-62 ... *hoo* *marasini* *ho-ko* *taapu-u-ko-ng* *toku* *noi.*
ART.M medicine $_{REL}$[them-EMPH help-3O.3A-PRES-M] not any
'... there is no medicine which helps them.' (XV-75, cf. 15-2)

the head corresponds to the C of the relative clause:

17-63 ... *hoo* *irihwa* *n-ajaa* *u'kisa*
ART.M finger one-CL.wrapped.object.lengthwise $_{REL}$[long.ago
haha'-moro-mo *tokis-or-u-ng* ...
work-MID.1S-GEN.SS cut.self-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'... a finger (of her own) which she cut long ago while she was working ...'
(VIII-46, cf. 12-25b, 14-61)

the head corresponds to the peripheral (local or temporal) argument of the relative clause:[13]

17-64 *impa* *hoo* *howo* *noni* *aat-ong-ki-ng*
and.then ART.M house $_{REL}$[we.exc sleep-1pcl.S-HABPAST-M]
ronn-or-u-ng.
come.down-MID.3S-RMPAST-M
'And then the house where we used to sleep came down.' (XVI-12)

17-65 *impa* *hoo-jori-koo* *poti* *ti-ki* *tu-ki-ng*
and.then ART.M-LOC-EMPH time $_{REL}$[there-ERG be.3S-HABPAST-M]
umi-mo *mono-ong-ki-ng.*
go.1pcl.exc.S-GEN.SS see-3O.1pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'And then at the very time when he used to stay there we used to go and see him.' (XVI-30)

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[13] Note that in independent clauses these peripheral arguments should be in locative case, e.g.:

noni *hoo-jori* *howo* *aat-o-ng-ki-ng.* 'We used to sleep in the house.'
we.exc ART.M-LOC house sleep-1S-pcl-HABPAST-M

Nevertheless the copy of the head in locative case is not required in the relative clause.

(2) Examples of participle relative clauses which occupy post-head positions:

the head corresponds to the S of the relative clause (see also 17-56):

17-66 *tii-ngi* *mara* *ti-ki* *tuh-ah* *hing-u-u-ng.*
ART.F-ERG evil.woman $_{REL}$[there-ERG be-PART] break-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'The evil woman who lived there broke it (= the mountain).' (XIII-13, cf. 16-20)

the head corresponds to the O or S[14] of the relative clause:

17-67 *ehkonno* *ho-ko* *hiuo* *ho-i* *pau*
now ART.M-EMPH clay.pot $_{REL}$[ART.M-ERG food
o-muu-ro *ti-muu-ro*
DEM-CL.object.of.same.kind-nonsg ART-CL.object.of.same.kind-nonsg
maapuk-ah *mono-wa-a-ng.*
fill-PART] see-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M
'Now they saw the clay pot which was filled with all kinds of food.' (III-42, cf. 10-65, 16-40)

the head corresponds to the A of the relative clause (there must be an O NP in the relative clause, cf. 17-61 and 17-62):

17-68 ... *hoo-jori* *moi* *hoo* *ti-mori* *minna-wah* ...
ART.M-LOC year $_{REL}$[ART.M ART-CL.year follow-PART]
'... in the year following that year ...' (XVI-7, cf. 16-36 and 17-25)

17.3.2 Pre-head Relative Clauses

A pre-head relative clause provides information which is crucial to identify the entity referred to by the head noun (cf. §10.3.4.6). The information presented by the relative clause is often contrasted with the one given in the previous discourse.

For example, observe the positions of the relative clauses with regards to their head *nungamong* 'man', in the following sentences:

17-69 *tiko* *ong* *hoo* *impa* *nii-nno* *nu-to-ng*
and DEM.M ART.M $_{REL}$[now me-COMIT be.1S-dl.PERF-M]
nungamong *nii* *ho-i* *inam-mo* *nu-ka-na.*
man me he-ERG look.after.1O.3A-GEN.SS be.1S-PRES-F
'And, this man who is now living with me, he used to look after me.' (XVI-76)

[14] As mentioned in 16-40, it is not clear whether *maapuk-ah* is transitive or intransitive.

17-70 *tiko* *hoo=hoo* *poti* *ti-wa'* *manni* *ai*
and so time ART-CL.time then I.tell.you
onu-nno *nungamong* *impa* *nu-to-ng*
DEM.M-COMIT man REL[now be.1S-dl.PERF-M]
konn-opi-ti-mo *nu-ti-ka-na.*
walk-1S-dl-GEN.SS be.1S-dl-PRES-F
'And so, at that time, I tell you, I used to walk around with this man who I am now living with.' (XVI-98)

In 17-69, the pre-head relative clause *impa nii-nno nu-to-ng* is used to identify the husband in her second marriage, in contrast with the one in her first marriage, who was the topic in the previous few sentences. (Note that the noun phrase *ong hoo impa nii-nno nu-to-ng nungamong* is left-dislocated for contrastive focus.) In 17-70, on the other hand, the post-head relative clause *impa nu-to-ng* simply characterises the entity referred to by the head noun *nungamong*.

Another pair of examples:

17-71a ... *Paanaangah* *nok-u-u-ng:* *" hia* *kui* *roki* *ni-ngi*
'ancestor's.name' say-3S-RMPAST-M thing tree REL[just I-ERG
onoh-u-h=no-ng *kuhir-i-ng."*
think.of-3O.1A-PRESPROG-M cut.down-3O.2A-pcl.IMP
'... Paanaangah said: "(You all) cut down the tree [lit. thing, tree,] I am just thinking of." (XXII-21)

b *manni* *nah-a-a-ng:* *"roo* *heekoo* *pi-ro*
then say.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M you.sg some.place go.2S-PERF.SS
kor-ee. *muumaari-ngung-ngi* *onoh-a-a-ng* *kui*
say-2S.IMP REL[chief-pl-ERG think.of-3O.3pcl.A-NRPAST-M] tree
ronguh-or-i-ng."
finish-MID.3S-NRPAST-M
'Then they said to him: "You shut up or get away [lit. go somewhere and say]. (Even) the trees chiefs thought of have finished. [So it goes without saying that the tree you are thinking of is useless.]" (XXII-22)

In 17-71a, the post-head relative clause *roki ni-ngi onoh-u-hno-ng* simply characterises the head *hia (kui)*. In 17-71b, on the other hand, the pre-head relative clause focuses on the A argument *muumari-ngung* "chiefs" in contrast with the A of the previous relative clause *Paanaangah* who has only a low social status.

Two examples of pre-head participle relative clauses:

17-72 ... *hoo* *huuru* *poruk-ah* *kurano* *ti-ki* *poruk-oi-juu.*
ART.M $_{REL}$[pig put-PART] basket there-ERG be.put-MID.3S-CONT.DS
'... while the basket with the (meat of a) pig in it was (placed) there.' (XIX-22)

17-73 *ronn-oro-ku* *hoo-ko* *tuu* *tuh-ah* *tengki*
come.down-MID.3S-GEN.DS ART.M-EMPH $_{REL}$[water be-PART] tank
ronn-u-u-ng.
cause.to.come.down-3O.3A-RMPAST-M
'When (the house) came down, the earthquake caused the tank which had water to come down.' (XVI-13, cf. 16-22)

In 17-72, the relative clause *huuru poruk-ah* is used to single out the basket with the pork in it, among other baskets with various things in them. In 17-73, the relative clause *tuu tuh-ah* is used to refer to a particular tank the speaker has in mind.

In pre-head relative clauses, relativised arguments can be Ss (as in 17-69, 17-70 and 17-73), Os (as in 17-71), Cs or peripheral arguments (as in 17-72), but never As.

17.3.3 Internal Relative Clauses

I have found the following four internal relative clauses in my corpus. They are all verbal clauses.

17-74 *tiko* *hoo* *Emmai* *hoo* *peero* *kiino-o-ki-ng*
and $_{REL}$[ART.M 'male.name' ART.M banana plant-3O.3A-HABPAST-M]
neetu'-ku *nommai-ki* *nee-wa-ki-ng.*
ripen.3S-GEN.DS person-ERG eat-3O.3pcl.A-HABPAST-M
'And whenever the bananas which Emmai used to plant ripened, some people used to eat them.' (XIII-47)

17-75 *heekoo-ki* *nommai-ki* *hia* *ru'n-a-i=ro-ng*
$_{REL}$[some.place-ERG person-ERG thing beat-3O.3pcl.A-PRESPROG-M]
taaro-opi-'=no-ng.
hear-3O.1A-pcl.PRESPROG-M
'We are listening to the thing (= the gong) which someone is beating somewhere.' (XIV-8)

17-76 ... *hoo* *Rumanung* *poko-ng* *kongsi'* *no-mung*
REL[ART.M the.Giant 3sg.POSS-M mango one-CL.plant
roki=manni *hoo* *mara* *honna* *ngo-woro-ki-ng*
really ART.M devil big bear-MID.3S-HABPAST-M]
u'w-a-hee *uwi-mo* ...
pick-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT go.3pcl.S-GEN.SS
'... when they went to pick the terribly big ones [lit. the big devils] which the Giant's mango tree had borne, (they) ...' (VIII-2)

17-77 *tiko* *roki* *roruki* *hoo* *kuraako* *tii* *heekoo*
and just however REL[ART.M breadfruit ART.L some.place
poko-ng *hono* *haaro'-mo-no* *nuinui-kori.*
3sg.POSS-M leaf fall.3S-GEN-L] cave-L
'And, the [lit. some] place where the leaf of the breadfruit tree falls, however, is the inside of the cave.' (XII-6)

In 17-74 and 17-75 the internal heads correspond to the O arguments of the verbs in the relative clauses. In 17-76 the internal head *hoo mara honna* is a C argument of the verb *ngo-woro-ki-ng*, and in 17-77 the head *tii heekoo* is a local (peripheral) argument of the verb *haaro'-mo-no*. Internal heads never correspond to the S or A arguments of relative clauses, because Ss and As occupy the first positions of the sentences when they are topics.

NPs modified by internal relative clauses are always in absolutive case, functioning as Ss (as in 17-74), Os (as in 17-75 and 17-76), or the argument NPs of nominal clauses (as in 17-77).

17.3.4 Headless Relative Clauses

Motuna uses headless relative clauses extensively.

Headless relative clauses, usually determined by an article or a demonstrative, function as headless NPs. The genders of the unexpressed heads are indicated by the determiner if they have one. In the case of verbal relative clause, the genders of the unexpressed heads are also marked by the verbal endings. In the case of participle relative clauses, only the local gender is indicated by the suffix *-no*.

17-78 *oso.* *hoo* *onoh-i-i=to-ng* *rorong-i-hee* *impa.*
O.K. ART.M REL[think.of-3O.2A-PRESPROG-M] tell-3O.1A-DEFFUT now
'O.K. Now you will definitely tell what you are thinking of.' (XXII-25)

In 17-78, the unexpressed head is in masculine gender, which is indicated by the inflection of the article *hoo* and the masculine ending of the verb *onoh-i-i=to-ng*.

17-79 *tii* *kui* *topuku* *honna* *nauk-ah-no* *patak-a-ro ...*
ART.L REL[log wet.and.rotten big be.lying-PART-L] arrive-3pcl.-PERF.SS
'After they had arrived at where a big wet rotten log was lying, (they) ...'
(III-48)

In 17-79, the local gender of the unexpressed head is indicated by the inflection of the article *tii* and the suffix *-no* on the participle *nauk-ah*.

Examples of headless relative clauses without determiner:

17-80 *ih!* *nii* *ongi* *koho* *tuh-ah* *toku* *te-u-ma-na.*
oh.dear I REL[DEM.L.ERG down be-PART] not eat-3O.1A-GEN-F
nii *tii* *popu-ki* *tuh-ah* *te-u-ma-na.*
I ART.F REL[top.of.tree-ERG be-PART] eat-3O.1A-GEN-F
'Oh dear! I do not eat the ones (= Malayan apples) which are down there (on the tree). I eat the ones which are on the top of the tree.' (XI-20, cf. 15-3)

The entities referred to by the headless relative clauses are understood from the context.

I will give some examples of (1) headless verbal relative clauses, and of (2) headless participle relative clauses, below.

(1) Examples of headless verbal relative clauses:

the unexpressed heads correspond to the Ss of the relative clauses:

17-81 *hoo* *opis-kori* *haha'w-oro-mo-ng* *nok-u-u-ng: "..."*
ART.M REL[office-LOC work-MID.3S-GEN-M] say-3S-RMPAST-M
'Those who used to work in the office said: "..."' (XV-24)

17-82 *tii* *impa* *Kangngu* *tu-ro-no* *pata'-ku ...*
ART.L REL[now 'place.name' COP.3S-PERF-L] arrive.3S-GEN.DS
'After she had arrived at the place which is now Kangngu, (he)...' (III-21)

the unexpressed heads correspond to the Os of the relative clauses (see also 17-78):

17-83 *taaro-o-ro* *tii-ngi* *Maawo* *po-oku* *hoo*
hear-3O.3A-PERF.SS ART F-ERG 'male.name' his-mother ART.M
pehka-ki *rorong-u-u-ng* ...
REL[young.girl-ERG tell-3O.3A-RMPAST-M]
'After Maawo's mother had heard what the young girl had told, (she) ...'
(I-22)

17-84 ... *roki* *hoo* *ee=bii-sii* *tang-a-mo-ng* *ore*
just ART.M REL[A.B.C call-3O.3pcl.A-GEN-M] well
ngo-ong-hee *umi-ki-ng* ...
do-3O.1pcl.A-DEFFUT go.1pcl.exc.S-HABPAST-M
'... we went to do (= study), well, just what people call ABC ...' (VI-11, cf. 15-4)

I have found no examples where the unexpressed heads correspond to the As of the relative clauses in my corpus.

the unexpressed head corresponds to the C of the relative clause:

17-85 *tiko* *hoo* *tii* *umoka-ra* *omor-a-mo*
and ART.M REL[ART.DP my.father-pcl escape-3pcl.S-GEN.SS
ngo-wee-r-u-ng *roki* *tii-ngi* *nuka*
be.involved-MID.3S-pcl-RMPAST-M] just ART.F-ERG my.mother
roro-ng-ku *taaro-ongo-ng.*
tell-1O.2A-GEN.DS listen.to-3O.1A.PRES-M
'And just whenever my mother tells me about what my father and other family members were involved in while they were escaping, I listen to her.' (II-2, cf. 15-13, 15-130)

the unexpressed heads correspond to the peripheral (local/temporal/manner) arguments of the relative clauses:

17-86 *impa* *ti-kitee* *tii* *muuko-on-no*
and.then ART.L-ABL REL[her give.birth.to-3O.1A.RMPAST-L]
ong-ngori *Nagowisi-no-ita* *mi-i-na.*
DEM.M-LOC 'place.name'-LINK-CL.side go.1S-RMPAST-F
'And then after [lit. from when] I had given birth to her, I went to the Nagovisi side.' (XVI-10)

17-87 ... *tiwo* *ho-i* *Tantanu* *mi'no-o-n-nowo*
ART.MAN REL[ART.M-ERG 'ancestor's.name' instruct-3O.3A-pcl.RMPAST-MAN]
ngo-wee-r-u-ng.
be.engaged-MID.3S-pcl-RMPAST-M
'... they were engaged (in gardening) in the way Tantanu instructed them. ' (III-53)

(2) headless participle relative clauses:

the unexpressed head corresponds to the S of the relative clause (see also 17-80):

17-88 ... *ho-i* *uri-ngi* *tuh-ah-ngung* *nah-a-'-ki-ng: "..."*
just REL[village-ERG be-PART]-pl say.to-3O.3pcl.A-pcl-HABPAST-M
'...those who lived in the village said to them: "..." ' (VIII-5)

the unexpressed head corresponds to the O of the relative clause:

17-89 *manni* *hoo-nowo* *ahk-ah-nowo* *na-mar-a-a-ni: "..."*
then ART.M-SIML REL[chase-PART]-SIML say.to-1pcl.exc.O-3pcl.A-RMPAST-DP
'Then they said to us like those who were being chased: "..." ' (XV-22, cf. 3-61)

Again, I have found no examples where the unexpressed head corresponds to the A of the relative clause in my corpus.

the unexpressed heads correspond to the peripheral (local/temporal) arguments of the relative clauses (see also 17-79):

17-90 ... *hoo* *hing* *Maawo* *poko-ng* *ti-ko*
ART.M rotting.juices 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M ART.L-PURP
po'k-ah-no-ko *ratik-a-ro ...*
REL[be.hidden-PART-L]-PURP find-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS
'... they found Maawo's rotting juices where they had been hidden (by Maawo's mother), and (they) ...' (I-35, 10-77a)

17-91 *impa* *o'koo* *hoo* *moi* *peekang* *ronguh-ah-no-ki*
and.then that REL[ART.M year three finish-PART-L]-ERG
tii *nga-na* *simiri* *muuko-o'-na.*
ART.F 1sg.POSS-F first.child give.birth.to-3O.1A.RMPAST-F
'And then (at the time) when those three years had finished, I gave birth to my first daughter.' (XVI-9)

Appendix: Narrative Texts

Text 1 Maawo

A traditional story narrated by Dora Leslie from Kaakotokori village in February, 1991. The main character of the story, Maawo (or Maawoo), is a serpent. This story also tells about the origin of Bougainville island.

1	*soo-jori*	*poti*	*u'kisa*	*tu-ki-na*		*tii*	*kuraisa*	*na-ra*
	ART.M-LOC	time	old	be.3S-HABPAST-F		ART.F	woman	one-F
	soo-nno	*po-ong*	*ranguriwah*	*poko-ng*	*mii*	*Maawo.*		
	ART.M-COMIT	her-son	man	REL[3sgPOSS-M	name	'male.name']		

'In olden times a woman used to live with her (male) son whose name was Maawo.'

2	*ruu*	*no-ru*	*tii*	*Maawo*	*po-oku*	*pa-an-na*
	day	one-CL.day	ART.F	'male.name'	his-mother	her-opp.sex.sib's.child-F
	na-wa'	*tii*	*pa-kapu*	*mono-o-hee*		
	one-CL.time	ART.F	her-father's.sister	see-3O.3A-DEFFUT		
	kopi=kopim-mo	*pi-i-na.*				
	REDUP=walk.3S-GEN.SS	go.3S-NRPAST-F				

'One day Maawo's mother's brother's daughter (once) went walking to see her aunt.'

3	*manni*	*pata'-ro*	*monu=mon-u-mo*	*hoo*	*koona-ngung*	
	then	arrive.3S-PERF.SS	REDUP=look-3S-GEN.SS	ART.M	bone-pl	
	hoo-jori	*raaring*	*jii*	*hiitutu*	*arut-oi-juu*	
	ART.M-LOC	outside.of.house	and	gutter	be.piled.up-MID.3S-CONT.DS	
	mono-o-ro	*nok-u-u-na:*	*"ong*	*koona-ngung*	*ong-ngori*	
	see-3O.3A-PERF.SS	say-3S-RMPAST-F	DEM.M	bone-pl	REL[DEM-LOC	
	raaring	*pirir-oo-ro-ng*	*ua*	*poko-ng?"*		
	outside.of.house	be.scattered-MID.3S-PERF-M]	what	3sg.POSS-M		

'Then after she had arrived, and while she was looking around, she saw lots of bones which had been piled up outside the house and in the gutter, and she said: "Where have these bones come from [lit. Of what are these bones], which were scattered outside the house?" '

4 *pa-i* *hoo* *noh-ku:* *"ong* *koona-ngung* *hoo*
who-ERG it say.to.3O.3A-GEN.DS DEM.M bone-pl ART.M

mareua *poko-ng* *tu'na* *tii-ngi* *Maawo*
'plant.name' 3sg.POSS-M leaf $_{REL}$[ART.DP-ERG 'male.name'

o-no-ku *te-u-ti-mo* *roki* *hoo-jori* *raaring*
DEM-LINK-mother.and.child eat-3O.3A-dl-GEN.SS just ART.M-LOC outside.of.house

piri'-ti-ki-ng."
scatter.3O.3A-dl-HABPAST-M]

'Who on earth could tell her: "These bones were the leaves of the *mareua* plant which Maawo and his mother used to eat and just scatter outside their house." '

5 *manni* *tii-ngi* *Maawo* *po-oku* *noh-u-u-na:*
then ART.F-ERG 'male.name' his-mother say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-F

"roo *tii* *haa* *no-r-ongu:* *"ong-ngi* *nuri*
you.sg ART.F as.you.know say.to-2O-1A.GEN.DS DEM.M-ERG my.son

roti-r-o-o," *kaa-ru-ka-na.* *manni-ko* *hoo* *moroking*
marry-2O-3A-IMP refuse-2S-PRES-F then-EMPH ART.M flying fox

ong-ngi *nuri* *tu-u-mo* *aru'-ko-ng*
$_{REL}$[DEM.M-ERG my son kill-3O.3A-GEN.SS pile.up.3O.3A-PRES-M]

te-i-mo *kana'-roro-mo* *tu-kui-na."*
eat-3O.2A-GEN.SS eat.protein-MID.2S-GEN.SS be.2S-IMAG-F

'Then Maawo's mother said to her: "As you know, whenever I say to you: "Let my son marry you", you refuse. Otherwise (= If only you agree, then) you could always eat the proteinful meat of the flying foxes which this son of mine kills and piles up." '

6 *tiwo=tiih-ku* *manni* *hãa-u-u-na* *so-i* *Maawo*
that.way=say.to.3O.3A-GEN.DS then want-3S-RMPAST-F ART.M-ERG 'male.name'

roti-i-hee.
marry-3O.3A-DEFFUT

'After Maawo's mother had told her that way, she wanted Maawo to marry herself (= she accepted Maawo's mother's proposal that Maawo marry her).'

7	*tii*	*pehka*	*manni*	*tii*	*Maawo*	*o-no-ku*
	ART.F	young.girl	then	ART.L	'male.name'	DEM-LINK-mother.and.child

	peeko-no	*kung-a-a-na.*
	3nonsg.POSS-L	bring.to.one's.place-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F

'They then brought the young girl (as a bride) to Maawo and his mothers' place.'

8	*ti-ki*	*uru=uru-i*	*no-ru*	*nakaro-woro-mo*
	there-ERG	REDUP=be.3pcl.S-CONT.SS	one-CL.day	enquire-MID.3S-GEN.SS

	nok-u-u-na	*tii*	*pehka*	*tii-jori*	*Maawo*	*po-oku:*
	say-3S-RMPAST-F	ART.F	young.girl	ART.F-LOC	'male.name'	his-mother

	"ong	*hoo*	*ro-ong*	*ua-ko*	*toku*	*mono-ongo-ng?"*
	DEM.M	ART.M	your-son	what-PURP	not	see-3O.1A.PRES-M

'While they were all staying there, one day, the young girl said to Maawo's mother enquiring: "Why don't I see that son of yours?" '

9	*impa*	*noh-u-u-na*	*tii-ngi*	*Maawo*	*po-oku:*
	and.then	say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-F	ART.F-ERG	'male.name'	his-mother

	"nuri	*hoo*	*sanaka-wo-i=to-ng.*	*tii*	*uri*
	my.son	ART.M	do.hunting/fishing-MID.3S-PRESPROG-M	ART.L	village

	pata'-ku	*oi*	*raang*	*koho*	*si'mata*	*paki=paki'-ku*
	arrive.3S-GEN.DS	DEM.DP	north	down	cane	REDUP=shake.3S-GEN.DS

	nok-onga-na:	*"so-ko*	*nee*	*nuri*	*muumiaku*	*impa*
	realise-1S.PRES-F	ART.M-EMPH	it.must.be	my.son	lord	now

hukar-u-i=to-ng.""
arrive-3S-PRESPROG-M

'And then Maawo's mother said to her: "My son is hunting/fishing. When he arrives in the village and those canes down in the north shake repeatedly, I realise

that my son the lord is arriving now." '

10 *tii* *meeng* *ri'nono* *murimurih* *ma'ni* *hoo* *si'mata*
ART.L right afternoon dusk certainly ART.M cane

nan=nangk-oro-ku *nok-u-u-na:* *"hoo* *nee*
REDUP=shake-MID.3S-GEN.DS say-3S-RMPAST-F ART.M it.must.be

muumiaku *impa* *patak-u-i=to-ng."*
lord now arrive-3S-PRESPROG-M

'And certainly, in the afternoon, just when it was almost dark, the canes shook, and she said: "The lord (= My son) is arriving now." '

11 *ehkong* *ong* *Maawo* *hoo-jori* *aru=aru* *honna* *na-waki*
now DEM.M 'male.name' ART.M-LOC cane.basket big one-CL.carrier

ti-ki *nunuku'-no-ki* *ponor-ah* *arut-oro-mo*
$_{REL}$[ART.L-ERG cool.corner.of.house-L-ERG put-PART] pile.self-MID.3S-GEN.SS

tu-ku *arutoro-mo* *tu-ku* *arutoro-mo*
be.3S-GEN.DS pile.self-MID.3S-GEN.SS be.3S-GEN.DS pile.self-MID.3S-GEN.SS

tu-ku *manni* *maapuk-u-u-ng* *soo* *aru=aru.*
be.3S-GEN.DS then become.full-3S-NRPAST-M ART.M cane basket

'Now, this Maawo kept piling and piling and piling himself in a big cane basket which had been put at a cool corner of the house, and then the cane basket became full.'

12 *mono-o-ro* *tii* *pehka* *po'tee* *meeng* *ooruh-u-u-na.*
see-3O.3A-PERF.SS ART.F young.girl very very become.afraid-3S-RMPAST-F

'After having seen it, the young girl became very very afraid.'

13 *no'-ro:* *"nii* *nee* *ong* *po'jaapo* *poko-no*
think.3S-PERF.SS me it.must.be DEM.M snake 3sg.POSS-L

ku-m-a-ra-na.
bring.to.one's.place-1O-3pcl.A-PERF-F

'She thought: "They must have brought me to this snake's place." '

14	*tiko*	*manni*	*omor-u-u-na*	*tii*	*poko-no*	*uri.*
	and	then	escape-3S-RMPAST-F	ART.L	3sg.POSS-L	village

'And then she escaped to her village.'

15	*hoo*	*po-moro*	*mi'no-o-m-mo*		*noh-u-r-u-ng:*	
	ART.M	her-relative.nonsg	inform-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.SS		say.to-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M	
	"nii	*jaki*	*ong*	*Maawo*	*po'jaapo*	*poko-no*
	me	you.should.know	DEM.M	'male.name'	snake	3sg.POSS-L

ku-m-a-ra-na."
take.as.family.member-1O-3pcl.A-PERF-F

'She said to her relatives, informing them: "They took me as a bride to Maawo the Snake's place." '

16	*po'tee*	*meeng*	*iirang-a-a-ng*	*hoo*	*kuraisa*	*po-moro.*
	very	very	get.angry-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M	ART.M	woman	her-relative.nonsg

'The woman's relatives got very very angry.'

17	*nak-a-ro:*	*"ua-ko*	*tii*	*noni-mo'*	*so-i*	*po'jaapo*
	think-3pcl.S-PERF.SS	what-PURP	ART.F	our.exc-relative	ART.M-ERG	snake

roti-i-ree?"
marry-3O.3A-PERF.DP

'They thought: "Why did the snake marry our relative?" '

18	*ehkong*	*ono=ono*	*noi*	*onoh-a-a-ng*	*hoo*	*Maawo*
	now	conspiracy	one	decide-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M	ART.M	'male.name'

puu-woota-wa-hee.
die-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT

'Now, they formed a plot to kill Maawo.'

19	*nak-a-a-ng:*	*"kui*	*ponnaa*	*tokis-arei.*	*tiko*	*impa*
	say-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M	stick	many	cut-VN	and	then

hoo-jori	*monare*	*no-roo'-no*	*nau=nauk-arei*
ART.M-LOC	road	one-CL.long.object-L	REDUP=lay.down-VN

ti-kitee	*peeko-no*	*uri*	*tu'n-ah*	*tii*	*Maawo*
ART.L-ABL	3nonsg.POSS-L	village	start-PART	ART.L	'male.name'

o-no-ku	*peeko-no*	*howo-no*	*patak-ah.*
DEM-LINK-mother.and.child	3nonsg.POSS-L	house-L	arrive-PART

'They said: "We should cut many sticks. And then we should lay them down one by one on the road, starting from their village and ending at Maawo and his mothers' house." ' [The narrator makes a mistake; starting "our" village, not "their".]

20

komik-a-ro	*tii*	*pehka*	*nah-a-a-na:*
finish-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS	ART.F	young.girl	say.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F

"roo	*pee.*	*tii*	*Maawo*	*poko-no*	*pi-ro*
you.sg	go.2S.IMP	ART.L	'male.name'	3sg.POSS-L	go.2S-PERF.SS

noh-i-heeto-ng:	*"roo*	*ho-i*	*ro-ora*	*jii*
say.to-3O.2A-FUT-M	you.sg	ART.M-ERG	your.sg-wife's.father	and

ro-owoi-ka	*pu'j-ee-r-a-a-ng.*
your.sg-wife's.brother-nonsg	call-APPL-2O-3pcl.A-NRPAST-M

soo	*ro-ora*	*po'tee*	*siiho-o-ro*	*toku*	*topo*
ART.M	your.sg-wife's.father	very	become.ill-3S-PERF.SS	not	well

tu-ro-ng.	*roo*	*mono-'-hee*	*haa-u-u-ng.*
be.3S-PERF-M	you.sg	see-2O.3A-DEFFUT	want-3S.NRPAST-M

soo-ko	*pau*	*honna*	*noi*	*nga-wa-i=ro-no.*
ART.M-EMPH	feast	big	a	make-3O.3pcl.A-PRESPROG-L

huuru-ngung-ko	*hoo-jori*	*huuhuu*	*koot-a-r-i-ng."*
pig-pl-EMPH	ART.M-LOC	pigpen	put.into-3O.3pcl.A-pcl-NRPAST-M

'When they finished it, they said to the young girl: "You go. After you have gone to Maawo's place you will say to him: "Your father-in-law and brothers-in-law called you. Your father-in-law has become very ill and is not well. He wants to see you. There they are (not only) giving a big feast. They have also put many pigs into the pigpen." " '

21 *ehkong* *tii* *pehka* *tii* *Maawo-no* *pata'-ro*
now ART.F young.girl ART.L 'male.name'-L arrive.3S-PERF.SS

noh-u-u-ng: *"roo* *ho-i* *ro-ora* *jii*
say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-M you.sg ART.M-ERG your.sg-wife's.father and

ro-owoi-ka *mono-r-a-hee* *haa-jee-r-a-a-ng.*
your.sg-wife's.brother-nonsg see-2O-3pcl.A-DEFFUT want-APPL-2O-3pcl.A-NRPAST-M

hoo *ro-ora* *siiho-o-ro* *pehko-'ra*
ART.M your.sg-wife's.father become.ill-3S-PERF.SS small-CL.small.amount

tu-ro-ng. *roo* *mono-'-hee* *haa-u-u-ng.*
be.3S-PERF-M you.sg see-2O.3A-DEFFUT want-3S.NRPAST-M

soo-ko *pau* *honna* *noi* *nga-wa-i=ro-no.*
ART.M-EMPH feast big a make-3O.3pcl.A-PRESPROG-L

huuru-ngung-ko *hoo-jori* *huuhuu* *koot-a-r-i-ng.*
pig-pl-EMPH ART.M-LOC pigpen put.into-3O.3pcl.A-pcl-NRPAST-M

tiko *nii* *roo* *ku-n-opee* *mu-ka-na."*
so I you.sg take.to.one's.place-2O-1A.DEFFUT come.1S-PRES-F

'Now, after the young girl had arrived at Maawo's place, she said to him: "Your father-in-law and brothers-in-law want to see you. Your father-in-law has become ill and only a little amount (of life) is left. He wants to see you. There they are (not only) giving a big feast. They have also put many pigs into the pigpen. So I just came to take you to our home with me." '

22 *taaro-o-ro* *tii-ngi* *Maawo* *po-oku* *soo*
hear-3O.3A-PERF.SS ART.F-ERG 'male.name' his.mother ART.M

pehka-ki *rorong-u-u-ng* *manni* *turio-woro-mo*
REL[young.girl-ERG tell-3O.3A-RMPAST-M] then become.alarmed-MID.3S-GEN.SS

nok-u-u-na: *"ong* *hoo* *nuri* *toku* *meeng* *roruki*
think-3S-RMPAST-F DEM.M ART.M my.son not really however

tiwo-noning *onoh-ah-kori* *pu'j-ee-wa-i=ro-ng."*
that.way-towards plan-PART-L shout-APPL-3O.3pcl.A-PRESPROG-M

'After Maawo's mother had heard what the young girl had told, she became alarmed and thought: "They are calling this son of mine in that kind of way not without a plan [but there must be some conspiracy behind it]." '

23 *tiwo=tii'-ro* *manni* *tii* *miro* *no-wi*
that.way=think.3S-PERF.SS then ART.DIM string one-CL.string

hoo-jori *Maawo* *poko-ng* *pokoring* *onn-u-ro*
ART.M-LOC 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M tail tie-3O.3A-PERF.SS

impa *tii-jori* *poko-ni* *maahni* *karuk-on-na.*
and.then ART.DIM-LOC 3sg.POSS-DIM little.finger fix.self-MID.3S.RMPAST-F

'After she had thought this, she tied a piece of string on Maawo's tail and then she fixed it on her own little finger.'

24 *manni* *ana* *pehka* *hoo* *Maawo* *ti-ki* *kui*
then DEM.F young girl ART.M 'male.name' $_{REL}$[ART.L-ERG stick

nau=nauk-a-a-no-ki *ur-ee-u-i*
REDUP=lay.down-3O.3pl.A-RMPAST-L-ERG] go.first-APPL-3O.3A-CONT.SS

urisih-u-'-ni.
leave-3S-dl.RMPAST-DP

'And then the young girl and Maawo left, as she led him to the place where her relatives had laid down the sticks.'

25 *ong* *Maawo* *soo* *po-ora* *minuno-o-mo*
DEM.M 'male.name' ART.M his-wife's.father lament.for-3O.3A-GEN.SS

tuu'k-oro-mo *kopim-mo* *tii* *kuraisa* *poko-no* *uri*
crawl-MID.3S-GEN.SS walk.3S-GEN.SS ART.L woman 3sg.POSS-L village

patak-u-'-ni.
arrive-3S-dl.RMPAST-DP

'While Maawo was lamenting for his wife's father, crawling and walking, both of them arrived at the woman's village.'

26 *tii-nohno* *hoo* *kuraisa* *po-moro* *po'k-ee-'*
that.time-length ART.M woman her-relatives.nonsg hide.self-MID.3S-pcl.CONT.SS

kuuto-wee-r-u-ng *soo-nno* *mariki,* *ti-ki* *kui*
wait-MID.3S-pcl-RMPAST-M ART.M-COMIT axe ART.L-ERG $_{REL}$[stick

nau=nauk-a-a-no-ki.
REDUP=lay.down-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-L]-ERG

'During that time, the woman's relatives waited hiding themselves with axes where they had laid down the sticks.'

27 *manni* *tiinohno* *hoo* *Maawo* *poko-ng* *puri* *hoo-jori*
then as.soon.as ART.M 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M head ART.M-LOC

kui *romoko-noo'* *nauk-oro-ku* *nommeeng* *maimaiee'-ki*
stick last-CL.stick lie.down-MID.3S-GEN.DS together count.down-ERG

ti-kitee *po'k-ee'* *kuuto-wee-'-ki-no-kitee*
ART.L-ABL $_{REL}$[hide.self-MID.3S-pcl.CONT.SS wait-MID.3S-pcl-HABPAST-L]-ABL

toki=tokis-a-a-ng *hoo* *Maawo* *poko-ng* *munu.*
REDU=cut-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M ART.M 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M body

'And then, as soon as Maawo laid his head down on the last stick, (they came out from) where they were hiding themselves and waiting, (and) they, together, with count-down, cut Maawo's body into pieces.'

28 *Maawo* *po-oku* *ehkong* *kuuto-wo-i* *okur-u-u-na.*
'male.name' his-mother now wait-MID.3S-CONT.SS get.tired-3S-RMPAST-F

'Now Maawo's mother got tired of waiting.'

29 *no'-ro:* *"jeewo-ning* *jaa* *hoo* *po-ong* *tii* *uri*
think.3S-PERF.SS how-towards on.earth ART.M her-son ART.L home

toku *turu-wo-i=to-ng?"*
not return-MID.3S-PRESPROG-M

'She thought: "Why on earth is her son not returning home?" ' [The narrator makes a mistake; "my" son, not "her". The verb *nok-* always takes a direct quotation.]

30 *ehkonno* *tii* *miro* *tii-jori* *poko-ni* *maahni*
just.then ART.DIM string $_{REL}$[ART.DIM-LOC 3sg.POSS-DIM little.finger

karuk-u-u-ni *pataak-u-u-na.*
fix-3O.3A-RMPAST-DIM] pull-3O.3A-RMPAST-F

'Just then she pulled the (small) string which she had fixed on her little finger.'

31	*tiko*	*toku*	*puntanaruh-oro-ku*	*nok-u-u-na:*	*"toku*
	and	not	resist-MID.3S-GEN.DS	say-3S-RMPAST-F	not

huhu-mo-i-na.	*tiko*	*ong*	*nee*	*nuri*
be.wrong-MID.1S-NRPAST-F	so	DEM.M	it.must.be	my.son

puu-woota-wa-hee	*paarang-a-ro-ng."*
die-CAUS-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT	call-3O.3pcl.A-PERF-M

'And when it didn't resist, she said: "I was not wrong. So they must have called this son of mine in order to kill him." '

32	*manni*	*tii*	*Maawo-ni*	*pokoring*	*ti-muru*
	then	ART.DIM	'male.name'-DIM	tail	ART-CL.part.of.long.object

tii-ngi	*po-oku*	*u'j-u-ro*	*hoo-jori*	*kuuhai*
ART.F-ERG	his-mother	pick.up-3O.3A-PERF.SS	ART.M-LOC	coconut.shell

no-roosu	*onit-u-u-ng.*
one-CL.concave.object	keep-3O.3A-RMPAST-M

'Then Maawo's mother picked up that part of his tail and kept it in a half (concave) coconut-shell.'

33	*ti-ki*	*hingh-u-mo*	*tu-ku*	*hoo*	*pau*	*jii*	*moniko*
	there-ERG	decay-3S-GEN.SS	be.3S-GEN.DS	ART.M	food	and	spinach

ruku'-mo	*kokisi'-ki-ng.*
cook.3O.3A-GEN.SS	season.3O.3A-HABPAST-M

'While it was decaying there, she used to season the food and spinach (with it) when she cooked them.'

34	*ruu*	*no-ru*	*tii*	*Maawo*	*po-oku*	*tii*	*koh*
	day	one-CL.day	ART.F	'male.name'	his mother	ART.L	garden

kong=konnuu-juu	*tii*	*po-opi-ng*	*nak-a-a-ni:*
REDUP=walk.3S-CONT.DS	ART.DP	her-grandchild-pcl	say-3pcl.S-RMPAST-DP

"ong	*pau*	*ana-ngi*	*noni-titi*	*ua*	*jaa*
DEM.M	food	DEM.F-ERG	our.exc-mother's.mother	what	on.earth

sir-e-u-ku	*topo*	*meeng*	*mutih-ko-ng?*
put-APPL-3O.3A-GEN.DS	well	very	be.tasty.3S-PRES-M

hoo	*pau*	*noni-ki*	*ru'k-um-mo*	*miijoo-ki*
ART.M	food	$_{REL}$[we.exc-ERG	cook-3O.1pcl.A-GEN.SS	salt-ERG

kokihk-ung-ko-ng	*toku*	*tiwo*	*mutih-ko-ng."*
season-3O.1pcl.A-PRES-M]	not	that.way	be.tasty.3S-PRES-M

'One day after Maawo's mother had walked away to the garden, her grandchildren said: "What on earth does our grandmother put (in this food), so that this food is so tasty? The food we cook and season with salt is not so tasty." '

35

impa	*ru'kahw-ee-ijo*	*hoo*	*hing*	*Maawo*	*poko-ng*
and.then	do.cooking-MID.3S-pcl.PERF.SS	ART.M	rotting.juices	'male.name'	3sg.POSS-M

ti-ko	*po'k-ah-no-ko*	*ratik-a-ro*	*soo*	*pau*
ART.L-PURP	$_{REL}$[be.hidden-PART-L]-PURP	find-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS	ART.M	food

kokihk-a-a-ng.
season-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M

'And then, after they had done the cooking, they found Maawo's rotting juices where they had been hidden, and they seasoned the food (with them).'

36

tiko	*tii-ko*	*Maawo*	*po-oku*	*hoo*	*pau*	*noi*
and	ART.F-EMPH	'male.name'	his-mother	ART.M	food	some

a-wa-a-na.
give.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F

'And they gave some of the food to Maawo's mother too.'

37

haano-o-ro	*manni*	*iirong-u-u-na.*
taste-3O.3A-PERF.SS	then	get.angry-3S-RMPAST-F

'After she had tasted it, she got angry.'

38 *no'-ro:* *"ong* *nee* *nuri* *Maawo* *poko-ng* *hing*
realise.3S-PERF.SS DEM.M it.must.be my son 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M rotting.juices

ti-ko *po'k-ah-no* *ratik-a-ro* *ong* *pau*
ART.L-PURP $_{REL}$[be.hidden-PART-L] find-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS DEM.M food

kokihk-a-a-ng.
season-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M

'She realised: "They must have found my son Maawo's rotting juices where they had been hidden, and have seasoned this food (with them)." '

39 *manni* *heuuna-ki* *hoo* *Maawo* *poko-ng* *hing*
then breadfruit.leaf-ERG ART.M 'male.name' 3sg.POSS-M rotting.juices

heum-mo *tu-ku* *heum-mo* *tu-ku*
fan.3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3sg-DS fan.3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3sg-DS

heum-mo *tu-ku* *hoo* *urini* *tu'ki* *maapuk-u-u-ng.*
fan.3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3sg-DS ART.M areas all become.full-3S-RMPAST-M

'Then, while she was fanning and fanning and fanning Maawo's rotting juices with a breadfruit leaf, the whole area became full (with them).'

40 *poongo* *riino* *raano* *rono* *nint-oro-mo* *hoo* *hiru*
east west north south surge-MID.3S-GEN.SS they sea

honna *meeng* *ri-i-ng.*
big very become.3S-RMPAST-M

'While (his juices were) surging to the east, west, north and south, they became a very big sea.'

41 *manni* *tii* *Maawo* *po-oku* *nok-u-u-na:* *"nuri* *Maawo.*
then ART.F 'male.name' his-mother say-3S-RMPAST-F my.son 'male.name'

hoo *motukah* *pehko-'ra* *oi* *nupi-ng*
ART.M island small-CL.small.amount DEM.DP my.grandchild-pcl

peeko-ng *no-'ra* *motuk-e-ir-ee."*
3nonsg.POSS-M one-CL.small.amount spare-APPL-3O.2pcl.A-pcl.IMP

'Then Maawo's mother said: "My son Maawo. Spare a small patch of island for

these grandchildren of mine. [lit. Spare a little bit of a small patch of island of these grandchildren of mine.]" '

42	*tiwongori*	*ong*	*motukah*	*a-matu*	*motuk-e-u-r-u-ng*
	therefore	DEM.M	island	DEM-CL.patch	spare-APPL-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M

so-i	*Maawo.*
ART.M-ERG	'male.name'

'Therefore Maawo spared this patch of island for them.'

43	*impa*	*soo*	*hiru*	*nommai*	*tu'ki-ngi*	*ino-wa-mo*
	and.then	ART.M	sea.water	people	all-ERG	fetch-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS

soo	*pau*	*kokihk-arei*	*kuuk-ee-wa-a-ng.*
ART.M	food	season-VN	know-APPL-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M

'And then all the people knew about how to fetch the sea water and season the food (with it).'

44	*tii*	*patak-ah*	*soo*	*waasiih,*	*ong.*
	there	arrive-PART	ART.M	story	DEM.M

'This is the end of the story. [lit. Up to there is the story, this.]'

Text VIII Koimeke

A traditional story narrated by Therese Minitong Kemelfield from Panakee village in March, 1991. The main character of the story is a girl named Koimeke, who is a giggler. This story tells about the Giant (*Rumanung*) who lives in the mountain and eats children. (In another story, *rumanung* are dwarfs.)

1	*u'kisa*	*hoo*	*kitori*	*hoo*	*kongsi'*	*haaro'-ki-no-mori*	
	long.ago	ART.M	children	$_{REL}$[ART.M	mango	fall.3S-HABPAST]-LINK-CL.season	
	hoo	*kongsi'*	*u'w-a-hee*			*uwi-ki-ng.*	
	ART.M	mango	pick.from.ground-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT			go.3pcl.S-HABPAST-M	

'Long ago, in the season when mangoes fall, the children went to pick mangoes from the ground.'

2	*tiko*	*u'w-a-hee*		*uwi-mo*	*hoo*	*Rumanung*	
	and	pick.from.ground-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT		go.3pcl.S-GEN.SS	$_{REL}$[ART.M	the.Giant	
	poko-ng	*kongsi'*	*no-mung*	*roki=manni*	*hoo*	*mara*	*honna*
	3sg.POSS-M	mango	one-CL.plant	really	ART.M	devil	big
	ngo-woro-ki-ng		*u'w-a-hee*			*uwi-mo*	
	bear-MID.3S-HABPAST-M		pick.from.ground-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT			go.3pcl.S-GEN.SS	
	hoo	*Rumanung*	*nuuh-u-m-mo*	*hu-ku*	*ho-i*	*o'koo*	
	ART.M	the.Giant	smell-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.SS	come.3S-GEN.DS	ART.M-ERG	that	
	kourai		*hingh-ah*	*raka=rakar-ee-'-ki-ng.*			
	skin.of.wild.banana.tree		decay-PART	REDUP=cover.self-MID.3S-pcl-HABPAST-M			

'And when they went to pick them from the ground, that is, when they went to pick the terribly big ones [lit. the big devils] which the Giant's mango tree had borne, the Giant came smelling them, and they used to cover themselves with those decayed skins of the wild banana trees.'

3 *raka=rakar-ee-ng-juu* *nunu=nununt-u-m-mo*
REDUP=cover.self-MID.3S-pcl-CONT.DS REDUP=nip-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.SS

noh-u-'-ki-ng: *"hii!* *ong-ko* *hingh-u-ro-ng.*
say.to-3O.3A-pcl-HABPAST-M oh.dear DEM.M-EMPH decay-3S-PERF-M

hii! *ong-ko* *hingh-u-ro-ng.* *ong-ko* *hingh-u-ro-ng.*
oh.dear DEM.M-EMPH decay-3S-PERF-M DEM.M-EMPH decay-3S-PERF-M

woi, *nii* *kinaa'* *mi-kui* *ong* *roki* *mirahu-moro-kuu-ng*
dear.me I yesterday go.1S-IMAG DEM.M just be.good-MID.1S-1MAG-M

tee-ur-unno."
eat-3pcl.O-1A.PERF.SS

'While they were out of sight (= all of them being covered with the skins of the banana trees), the Giant nipped them one by one and said to them: "Oh dear! This one has decayed. Oh dear! This one has also decayed. This one has also decayed. Dear me, if I had gone [lit. come] yesterday, I would just have enjoyed eating them [lit. I would just have been good after eating them]." '

4 *tiko* *tiwo* *ngo-o-m-mo* *urisih-ku*
and that.way do.to-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.SS leave.3S-GEN.DS

hoo *kourai* *hingh-ah* *ha'=ha'h-a-mo*
ART.M skin.of.wild.banana.tree decay-PART REDUP=throw.away-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS

hoo *kongsi'* *u'w-a-mo* *tii* *uri*
ART.M mango pick.from.ground-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS ART.L village

uwi-ki-ng.
go.3pcl.S-HABPAST-M

'And after he treated them like that and left, they used to throw away the decayed skin of wild banana trees, pick the mangoes from the ground and go to the village.'

5 *tiko* *tii* *uri* *uwi-ku* *impa* *ho-i* *uri-ngi*
and ART.L village go.3pcl.S-GEN.DS then ART.M-ERG REL[village-ERG

tuh-ah-ngung *nah-a-'-ki-ng:* *"ong* *kongsi'* *honna*
be-PART-pl] say.to-3O.3pcl.A-pcl-HABPAST-M DEM.M mango big

woo-ko *nop-i-'-ko-ng?*
where-PURP get.3O.2A-pcl-PRES-M

'And when they went to the village, those who lived in the village said to them: "Where do you get those big mangoes?"

6 *tiko* *nak-a-ki-ng:* *"hoo* *ti-ko* *heekoo*
and say-3pcl.S-HABPAST-M them ART.L-PURP some.place

u'j-ung-ko-ng.
pick.from.ground-3O.1pcl.A-PRES-M

'And they used to say: "We pick them somewhere from the ground." '

7 *tiko* *tii* *Koimeke* *oo* *kuma=kuma=nong=nga-wah* *rii-ku*
and ART.F 'female.name' well giggler(laugh=only=make-PART) become.3S-GEN.DS

manni *hoo* *kongsi'* *u'w-a-hee* *uwi-mo*
then ART.M mango pick.from.ground-3O.3pcl.A-DEFFUT go.3pcl.S-GEN.SS

nah-a-ki-na: *"roɔ* *tuu-juu."*
say.to-3O.3pcl.A-HABPAST-F you.sg be.2S-CONT.DS

'And, Koimeke, well, because she was a giggler, whenever they went to pick mangoes from the ground, they used to say to her: "You stay (here)." '

8 *tiko* *no-ru* *nok-u-u-na:* *"ih!* *nii* *iro* *meeng* *iro*
and one-CL.day say-3S-RMPAST-F oh.dear I today right today

ong *minno-or-upeena-na."*
DEM.M follow-3pcl.O-1A.FUT-F

'And one day she said: "Oh dear! Today, on this very day, I will follow them." '

9 *tiko* *manni* *minno-o-ng-juu* *nah-a-a-na:* *"roo*
and then be.following-3O.3A-pcl-CONT.DS say.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F you.sg

turu-roo. *roo* *tii* *haa* *kuma=kuma=nong=nga-wah.*
return-MID.2S.IMP you.sg ART.F as.you.know giggler(laugh=only=make-PART)

'And then, when she was following them, they said to her: "You go back. You are a giggler, as you know." '

10 *tiko* *nok-u-u-na:* *"he'ee!* *nii* *manni* *meeng* *toku* *kumar-opeena-na.*
and say-3S-RMPAST-F no I certainly very not laugh-1S.FUT-F

toku-ko *kumar-opeena-na."*
not-EMPH laugh-1S.FUT-F

'And she said: "No! I will certainly not laugh. I will not laugh at all." '

11 *tiko* *tii* *kongsi'-ko* *poo'* *patak-a-ro* *manni*
and ART.L mango-PURP underneath arrive-3pcl.S-PERF.SS then

nah-a-a-na: *"roo* *tii* *manni* *toku* *kumar-i-heeta-na.*
say.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F you.sg ART.F certainly not laugh-2S-FUT-F

hoo=hoo *Rumanung* *nuu-m-u-ijo* *hoo=hoo* *hu-heeworoko-ng.*
then the.Giant smell-1O-3A-pcl.PERF.SS then come.3S-IMFUT-M

'And after they had arri[illegible] under the mango tree, they said to her: "You will certainly not laugh. Then (= if you laugh) the Giant will smell us and immediately come." '

12 *ehkong* *nuuh-u-ijo.*
now smell-3O.3A-pcl.PERF.SS

'Now, he smelled them.'

13 *manni* *hoo* *muhni* *nin=ningng-oro-ku* *nak-a-a-ng:*
then ART.M bush REDUP=shake-MID.3S-GEN.DS say-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M

"hoo=hoo *Rumanung* *ehkong* *hu-i=to=ng."*
so the.Giant now come.3S-PRESPROG-M

'Then, when the bush shook, they said: "So the Giant is coming now." '

14 *nah-a-a-na:* *"roo* *tii* *mara* *toku* *kumar-i-heeta-na."*
say.to-3O-3pcl.A-RMPAST-F you.sg ART.F devil not laugh-2S-FUT-F

'They said to her: "You devil, you will not laugh." '

15 *tiko* *nok-u-u-na:* *"he'ee!* *tiko* *ua-ko* *kumar-opee.*
and say-3S-RMPAST-F no so what-PURP laugh-1S-DEFFUT

'And she said: "No! So why should I laugh?" '

16 *ehkong* *ho-i* *kourai* *hingh-ah*
now ART.M-ERG skin.of.wild.banana.tree decay-PART

nuko=nukoh-ee-'-ko-ng.
REDUP=wrap.self-MID-3S-pcl-PRES-M

'Now they wrap themselwes up with the decayed skins of wild banana trees.'

17 *nuko=nukoh-a-mo* *uru-ku* *manni* *nok-u-u-na:*
REDUP=wrap-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.SS be.3pcl.S-GEN.DS then say-3S-RMPAST-F

"manni *toku* *kumar-opeena-na."*
certainly not laugh-1S.FUT-F

'While they were wrapping her up, she said: "Certainly I will not laugh." '

18 *tiko* *tii* *tii* *motu* *sir-a-a-na.*
and her ART.L middle put-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F

'And they put her in the middle.'

19 *motu* *sir-a-ku* *manni* *ti-kitee* *puuto*
middle put-3O.3pcl.A-GEN.DS then ART.L-ABL end

tu'n-or-u-ng.
start-MID.3S-RMPAST-M

'After they had put her in the middle, he (= the Giant) started from the end.'

20 *hoo* *roki* *nau=nauk-ee-r-u-ng.*
they just REDUP=lie.down-MID.3S-pcl-RMPAST-M

'They just lay down.'

21 *manni* *nau=nauk-ee-ngjuu* *hu-ro*
then REDUP=be.lying-MID.3S-pcl.CONT.DS come.3S-PERF.SS

nunu=nununt-u-m-mo: *"woi!* *ong-ko* *o-wori*
REDUP=nip-3O.3A-pcl-GEN.SS dear.me DEM.M-EMPH DEM-CL.animate

hingh-u-ro-ng. *ong-ko* *o-wori* *hingh-u-ro-ng.*
decay-3S-PERF-M DEM.M-EMPH DEM-CL.animate decay-3S-PERF-M

ong-ko *o-wori* *hingh-u-ro-ng.*
DEM.M-EMPH DEM-CL.animate decay-3S-PERF-M

'Then while they were lying, he came, and while nipping them, --- : "Dear me! This one has also decayed. This one has also decayed. This one has also decayed."

22	*tii*	*Koimeke-kori*	*patak-ooto-o-ku*	*manni*	*tii*	*Koimeke*
	ART.L	'female.name'-L	arrive-CAUS-3O.3A-GEN.DS	then	ART.F	'female.name'

nununt-u-ku	*manni*	*nok-u-u-na:*	*"ehe'ehee!*	*nii*	*pa-i*
nip-3O.3A-GEN.DS	then	say-3S-RMPAST-F	hi.hi.hi	I	who-ERG

no-ng-ka-na:	*"him-mu-ra-na" ?"*
say.about-1O.3A-PRES-F	decay-1S-PERF-F

'After he had made it (= his action) arrive at Koimeke's body, he nipped Koimeke, and then she said: "Hi hi hi! Who just said about me: I have decayed?" '

23	*manni*	*nok-u-u-ng:*	*"ih!*	*ong*	*toku*	*nee*	*nii*
	then	say-3S-RMPAST-M	oh.dear	DEM.M	not	it.must.be	me

mim-m-a-ko-ng.
play.trick.on-1O-3pcl.A-PRES-M

'Then he said: "Oh dear! (I didn't realise,) those ones must play a trick on me!" '

24	*manni*	*hoo*	*kourai*	*hingh-ah*
	then	ART.M	skin.of.wild.banana.tree	decay-PART

ha'h-ee-u-ijo	*ehkong*	*hoo-jori-koo*	*pokoto*
throw.away-APPL-3O.3A-pcl.PERF.SS	now	ART.M-LOC-EMPH	string.bag

sir-u-'-ko-ng.
put-3O.3A-pcl-PRES-M

'Then he threw the decayed skins of wild banana trees away from them, and he put them now into the string bag.'

25 *hoo-jori* *pokoto* *arut-u-ijo* *manni*
ART.M-LOC string.bag pile-3O.3A-pcl.PERF.SS then

pactungk-oo-ro *tii* *uri* *pi-i-ng.*
carry.over.shoulder-MID.3S-PERF.SS ART.L home go.3S-RMPAST-M

'He stuffed them in the string bag, and he carried (it) on his shoulder with a stick and went home.'

26 *tii* *uri* *pi-ro* *manni* *tii* *howo-no*
ART.L home go.3S-PERF.SS then ART.L house-L

hongk-u-r-u-ng.
hang-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M

'After he had got home, he hung them in the house.'

27 *ti-ki* *hongk-ee-ngjuu* *manni* *tii* *pa-na*
there-ERG be.hung-MID.3S-pcl.CONT.DS then ART.F his-wife

noh-u-u-na: *"ongi* *mono-ji-rii-juu.*
say.to-3O.3A-RMPAST-F DEM.L.ERG see-3O.2A-pcl-CONT.DS

nii *mi-ko-ng.* *pete'* *root-upee.* *ong* *nee*
I go.1S-PRES-M sweet.potato dig-3O.1A.DEFFUT DEM.M O.K.?

neeko-ng *kaakaa-ngung* *turu-moo-ro*
1nonsg.inc.POSS-M protein.food-pl return-MID.1S-PERF.SS

tu-ur-ungjo *hoo-nno* *pete'* *ru'k-ur-upi-ti-woro.*
kill-3pcl.O-1pcl.A.PERF.SS ART.M-COMIT sweet.potato cook-3pcl.O-1A-dl-OPT

'While they were hanging there, he said to his wife: "You keep eyes on them here. I am going. I will dig sweet potatoes. I wish that, after I return, we would kill this protein food of ours and cook it with sweet potates, O.K.?" '

28 *tiko* *manni* *pi-i-ng.*
and then go.3S-RMPAST-M

'And then he went.'

29 *pi-ku* *tii* *pa-na* *hoo* *kui* *hinik-u-u-na.*
go.3S-GEN.DS ART.F his-wife ART.M wood chop-3O.3A-RMPAST-F

'After he had gone, his wife chopped the (fire)wood.'

30 *hoo* *kui* *hini'-ro* *aru'-ro* *manni*
ART.M wood chop.3O.3A-PERF.SS pile.in.abundance.3O.3A-PERF.SS then

hoo *tuu* *ino-o-hee* *pi-i-na.*
ART.M water fetch-3O.3A-DEFFUT go.3S-RMPAST.F

'After she had chopped and piled plenty of wood, she went to fetch water.'

31 *hoo* *tuu* *ino-o-hee* *pi-ku* *manni* *ehkong*
ART.M water fetch-3O.3A-DEFFUT go.3S-GEN.DS then now

nak-a-ko-ng: *"ih!* *ngo-ni-naa.* *noo* *no-uru*
say-3pcl.S-PRES-M oh 1sg.POSS-DP-pc possibly one-CL.human

ko'sa *n-emeng* *uko-wah?"*
shell one-CL.cutting.tool carry-PART

'After she had gone to fetch water, then, now they said (to one another): "Oh, my dear ones. Has anyone got a shell?" '

32 *manni* *nak-a-a-ng:* *"nii* *toku* *noi."*
then say-3pcl.S-RMPAST-M I not any

'Then they said: "I haven't got any." '

33	*manni*	*Koimeke*	*nok-u-u-na:*	*"oo.*	*nii*	*hoo*	*n-emeng*
	then	'female name'	say-3S-RMPAST-F	yes	I	ART.M	one-CL.cutting.tool

paaro-kori	*arat-uh-na."*
sarong-L	push.into-3O.1A.NRPAST-F

'Then Koimeke said: "Yes. I had pushed one into my sarong." '

34	*tiko*	*hoo*	*manni*	*hoo*	*ko'sa*	*tii*	*Koimeke*
	and	so	then	ART.M	shell	ART.F	'female.name'

nep-ee-wa-ro	*manni*	*hoo*	*ririt-a-ko-ng*	*ehkong.*
take-APPL-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS	then	so	cut-3O.3pcl.A-PRES-M	now

'And so, then, they took the shell from Koimeke, and they cut the bag now.'

35	*ririt-a-ro*	*manni*	*ruh-ee-r-u-ng.*
	cut-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS	then	come.out-MID.3S-pcl-RMPAST-M

'After they had cut it, they came out.'

36	*ruh-ee-ijo*	*ti-ki*	*howo-no-ki*
	come.out-MID.3S-pcl.PERF.SS	ART.L-ERG	house-L-ERG

po'=po'k-ee-ngjuu	*tii*	*Rumanung*	*pa-na*
REDUP=hide.self-MID.3S-pcl.CONT.DS	ART.L	the.Giant	his-wife

hu-u-na.
come.3S-RMPAST-F

'After they had come out, they were hiding themselves in various places in the house, when the Giant's wife came.'

37 *tii* *Rumanung* *pa-na* *hu-ku* *manni* *ti-ko-koo*
ART.F the.Giant his-wife come.3S-GEN.DS then there-PURP-EMPH

ta-wa-ro *manni* *hoo-jori-koo* *hiuo* *ehkong*
kill-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS then ART.M-LOC-EMPH clay.pot now

ponor-a-ka-na.
put-3O.3pcl.A-PRES-F

'When the Giant's wife came, they killed her right there (in the house), and now they put her in that clay pot.'

38 *hoo-jori* *hiuo* *ponor-a-ro* *kakaat-a-a-na.*
ART.M-LOC clay.pot put-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS build.fire.around-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F

'After they had put her in the clay pot, they built a fire around her.'

39 *kakaat-a-ro* *manni* *urisih-a-ko-ng.*
build.fire.around-3O.3pcl.A-PERF.SS then leave-3pcl.S-PRES-M

'After they had built a fire around her, they left.'

40 *ana* *tii* *koho* *ru'k-oi-juu.*
DEM.F ART.F down be.cooked-MID.3S-CONT.DS

'She was being cooked down there.'

41 *urisih-a-ro* *manni* *tii* *Koimeke* *nah-a-a-na:*
leave-3pcl.S-PERF.SS then ART.F 'female.name' say.to-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-F

"roo *tii* *manni* *heekoo-ki* *toku-ko* *kor-i-heeta-na.*
you.sg ART.F certainly any.way-ERG not-EMPH say-2S-FUT-F

hoo *roki* *mi-'-ko-ng."*
so just go.1S-pcl.inc-PRES-M

'After they had left, they said to Koimeke: "You certainly won't say anything at all. So just let us go." '

42 *kuroh-ee-r-u-ng* *manni.*
run-MID.3S-pcl-RMPAST-M then

'Then they ran.'

43 *hoo* *Rumanung* *tii* *ri'nono* *hu-ro* *manni* *ai*
ART.M the.Giant ART.L afternoon come.3S-PERF.SS then I.tell.you

ho-ko *o'koo* *ong* *hiuo* *ponor-oi-juu* *nok-u-u-ng:*
ART.M-EMPH that DEM.M clay.pot be.put-MID.3S-CONT.DS say-3S-RMPAST-M

"iih! *ana* *nee* *ru'kahw-oo-ro* *heekoo*
oh.dear DEM.F it.must.be do.cooking-MID.3S-PERF.SS some.place

pi-i-na.
go-3S-NRPAST-F

'The Giant came home in the afternoon, and then, I tell you, (when he saw) that clay pot being put (on the fire), he said: "Oh dear! My wife must have gone somewhere after having done the cooking." '

44 *toku* *hoo* *nok-u-i:* *"ong* *tii* *ina* *ru'k-a-a-ng."*
not it realise-3S-CONT.SS DEM.M ART.F my.wife cook-3O.3pcl.A-RMPAST-M

'He didn't realise that those (children) cooked his wife.'

45 *manni* *aranno* *te-u-mo* *tu-ki-na.*
then serve.3O.3A.PERF.SS eat-3O.3A-GEN.SS be.3S-HABPAST-F

'Then after he had served her, he kept on eating her.'

46	*te-u-mo*	*manni*	*hoo*	*irihwa*	*n-ajaa*	
	eat-3O.3A-GEN.SS	then	ART.M	finger	one-CL.object.wrapped.lengthwise	
	u'kisa	*haha'w-oro-mo*	*tokis-or-u-ng*			
	REL[long.ago	work-MID.3S-GEN.SS	cut.self-MID.3S-RMPAST-M]			
	mono-je-u-ro	*manni:*	*"iih!*	*nii*	*toku*	*nee*
	see-APPL-3O.3A-PERF.SS	then	oh.dear	me	not	it.must.be
	mim-m-a-a-ng.		*nii*	*nee*	*tii*	*ina*
	play.trick.on-1O-3pcl.A-RMPAST-M		I	it.must.be	ART.F	my.wife
	tee-uh=no-ng.					
	eat-3O.1A.PRESPROG-M					

'While he was eating it, he saw one of her fingers which she had cut long ago while working, then --- : "Oh dear! They must have played a trick on me. I must be eating my wife." '

47	*tiko*	*manni*	*sih-ro*	*ho-ko*	*hiuo*	*ti-ko*	*roki*
	and	then	leave.3O.3A-PERF.SS	ART.M-EMPH	clay.pot	there-PURP	just
	sapu'-ro	*manni*	*ai*	*pi-i-ng.*			
	smash.3O.3A-PERF.SS	then	I.tell.you	go.3S-RMPAST-M			

'And then, he left her (= left eating her), just smashed that clay pot there, and then, I tell you, he went.'

48	*pihk-u-'-hee*	*hoo*	*kitori.*
	look.for-3O.3A-pcl-DEFFUT	ART.M	children

'He will definitely look for the children.'

49 *tiko* *woo-ko* *ratik-u-'-hee?*
and where-PURP find-3O.3A-pcl-DEFFUT

'And where could he find them?'

50 *manni* *toku* *ratik-u-r-u-ng.*
certainly not find-3O.3A-pcl-RMPAST-M

'Certainly he could not find them.'

51 *ti-ki* *komik-ah.*
there-ERG finish-PART

'(The story) is finished there.'

Text XVII Traditional Fishing

Accounts of traditional fishing, narrated by Sirou Korikee from Haarii village. Interviewed and recorded by Therese Minitong Kemelfield in July 1989.

1	*ho-i*	*ingisii*	*pi-mo*	*tii*	*kuraisa* ---	*ho-i*	*ingisii*
	ART.M-ERG	fishing	go.3S-GEN.SS	ART.F	woman	ART.M-ERG	fishing

pi-mo	*ma'ni*	*hoo*	*kukumi* ---	*kukumi*	*pisi'-kui-na.*
go.3S-GEN.SS	then	ART.M	rope	rope	look.for.3O.3A-IMAG-F

'When a woman goes for fishing --- when a woman goes for fishing, she would look for a rope.'

2	*pisi'-mo*	*pisi'-mo*	*rati'-ro*
	look.for.3O.3A-GEN.SS	look.for.3O.3A-GEN.SS	find.3O.3A-PERF.SS

tonginno	*impa*	*miru-woro-kuu-ng.*
cut.3O.3A.PERF.SS	and.then	measure.on.self-MID.3S-IMAG-M

'She would keep looking for it, and after she finds it, she would cut, and then measure it on her body.'

3	*tii*	*owo*	*huki-ngori*	*miru-woro-kuu-ng* ---		*paarokai-ngori.*
	ART.L	DEM.L	buttocks-L	measure.on.self-MID.3S-IMAG-M		waist-L

'She would measure it here on the buttocks --- on the waist.' [The narrator makes a mistake and corrects it --- it is measured not on the buttocks, but on the waist.]

4	*tii*	*miru-woo-ro*	*impa*	*no'-ro:*	*"oo*	*ong*
	there	measure.on.self-MID.3sg-PERF.SS	and.then	say.3S-PERF.SS	yes	DEM.M

koot-ah ---	*nii-jori*	*koot-ah."*
be.enough-PART	me-LOC	be.enough-PART

'She measures it there, and then she says: "Yes, this is enough --- for me this is enough." '

5	*tonginno*	*hoo*	*no-muru*	*ti-ki*	*tuu-juu*
	cut.3O.3A.PERF.SS	ART.M	one-CL.part.of.long.object	there-ERG	be.3S-CONT.DS

sih-ro.
leave.3O.3A-PERF.SS

'After cutting, she would leave one piece of rope there as it was.'

6 *impa* *hoo* *nong* *koto* *komorikah-ngori* *tuhu'-kuu-ng*
now ART.M only up basket-L thread.through.3O.3A-IMAG-M

to'k-u-i.
hold-3O.3A-CONT.SS

'Now she would thread only the one (up) in her hand onto the basket, while holding it (= the piece of rope).'

7 *impa* *no'-kui-na* *koronong-e-u-mo:* *"oo* *ong* *kukumi*
now say.3S-IMAG-F pray-APPL-3O.3A-GEN.SS well DEM.M rope

tokis-e-ungo-ng. *Tantanu.* *hoo* *kaakaa* *ongo*
cut-APPL-3O.1A.PRES-M 'ancestor's.name' ART.M protein.food $_{REL}$[DEM.L.PURP

ong *kukumi* *tokis-ee-uh=no-ng* *tu-upee*
DEM.M rope cut-APPL-3O.1A.PRESPROG-M] kill-3O.1A.DEFFUT

mi-i=no-ng. *nii* *manni* *roki* *mohkoo* *mohkoo*
go.1S-PRESPROG-M I certainly just vicinity vicinity

huho=huh-ooto-ir-i-ku *ore* *tu-unno*
REDUP=come-CAUS-3pcl.O-2A-GEN.DS well kill-3O.1A.PERF.SS

arut-unno *urik-opeena-na.*
pile.in.abundance-3O.1A.PERF.SS come.up-1S.FUT-F

'Now she would say, praying over it: "Well, I am going to cut this rope. Tantanu. I am going to kill the protein food (= fish) for which I am cutting this rope. You will just make (fish) come closer and closer, and, well, I will certainly kill it in abundance and come up." '

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