TOLAI SYNTAX
AND ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

by

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Although I am not a native speaker, I have written this book in English in order to make it accessible to an international readership. I wish to thank Ingrid Hoyer for correcting my English, and to apologise for my style which could not be improved, unless the whole book were rewritten.

This book is dedicated to Joachim Mosel (1928-1982) in remembrance of the time we spent together.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE SCOPE OF STUDY

The aim of the present 'Tolai Syntax' is to provide a thorough description
of the noun phrase, the verbal phrase and the clause, and to present it in such
a way that information on these subjects is readily accessible to linguists
interested in language typology, universals of language or comparative syntax.
Due to the immense socio-cultural changes in Papua New Guinea, particularly
within the society of the Tolai people who were among the first to come into
close contact with Europeans, Tolai is a rapidly changing language and represents
an excellent field of study for language contact and language change; there are
still people alive speaking a variety of Tolai that is nearly unaffected by
interference phenomena, whereas the language variety spoken by young people
almost deserves the classification of a 'mixed language'. The present state of
research does not allow the presentation of a theory of linguistic change here,
but only the contribution of empirical findings that are certainly significant
for such a theory. Since language change cannot be understood unless it is
studied in its social context (Weinreich/Labov/Herzog 1968), this introduction
will give a brief account of the socio-cultural background (for further informa-
tion cf. Mosel 1979, 1980a, 1982), the Tolai speakers' attitudes towards the
intrusive languages English and Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin English) and the
regional, social and functional varieties of present day Tolai.

1.2 THE TOLAI PEOPLE

The Tolai people populate a strip of coast about 50 kilometres long and
up to 50 kilometres wide, in the north-west of the Gazelle Peninsula, East New
Britain, Papua New Guinea. The political and commercial centre of this area
is the seaport of Rabaul. The first regular contact the Tolais had with white
people was in the years after 1875, when the Methodist Church opened its mission
(Mosel 1982) and when, almost simultaneously, the first commercial firms set up
business on the Duke of York Islands and the Gazelle Peninsula (Hempenstall
1978:119).   These firms started to enlist workers for Samoa, and established
the first plantations. The Catholic Church began missionary work with the Tolai
in 1882 (Mosel 1982).   In 1884 the whole Bismarck Archipelago was declared a
German protectorate, in 1885 a German colony.

Since the Tolai did not work on the plantations in their own areas, but only enlisted for work on Samoa out of venturesomeness or because of family disordances, workers from other areas of the Bismarck Archipelago (especially from New Ireland) had to be brought in to work on the plantations on the Gazelle Peninsula. In the years leading up to the First World War, the population of Rabaul and its surroundings was made up of the following groups:

1. the Tolais
2. natives from other regions of the Bismarck Archipelago, who worked on the plantations
3. German government officials
4. European traders and planters
5. Chinese traders, craftsmen and domestic servants
6. missionaries from Germany, Anglo-Saxon countries, France, Fiji and Samoa.

The Tolais played a leading role amongst the natives, and enjoyed the highest prestige for the following reasons:

1. They were the original masters in the land, and the Europeans had to negotiate with them when they wanted to buy land.

2. Thanks to their affluence, they did not need to work on the plantations to acquire the coveted European goods. The Tolais earned enough money from the sale of coconuts and vegetables, things that the Europeans needed more than ever to provide for the imported workers.

3. The only job that they were prepared to take on permanently was that of a policeman in the 70-100 man strong police force. Otherwise they only took well paid occasional jobs, such as translators, sailors or as escorts on expeditions.

4. Because the Tolais, along with the tribes closely related to them on the Duke of York Islands, were the first to come into contact with missionaries, they were educationally superior to all other natives. In the mission schools they were the first to learn to read and write in their own language (Mosel 1979, 1980, 1982).

Today the Tolais are, educationally and economically, still part of the elite in the state of Papua New Guinea. Even amongst the oldest Tolais there are no illiterates, and the six-year period of education is generally followed. 60% of the children go to high school (forms 7-10). Since the early 1960's English is the language of instruction in both school types. In high school, the pupils are even forbidden to speak any language other than English on the playground.

Although the Tolais are the tribe most influenced by the Europeans in Papua New Guinea, they still stick to their traditions. The old structure of society, with its clans, secret societies and marriage categories, has hardly changed; in the village courts justice is done according to old law, and the traditional shell-money has more prestige than the national currency. In the villages European clothing is sneered at, and a marriage between a Tolai and a non-Tolai is rare. This sticking to tradition results in the fact that the majority of the 80,000 Tolais still live in the villages. Only a few live in the provincial capital of Rabaul (pop. 30,000). These are government officials and business men with their families, along with younger people, who work in town or still go to school (Malaguna Technical College, Rabaul Secretarial College). Those Tolais who live in Rabaul usually have a close relationship to their home village.

The majority of the population in Rabaul is made up of the Europeans, Chinese and Papua New Guineans from other provinces. This also applies to Kokopo with a population of not more than 5,000.

The village of Raluana, whose dialect was the object of my field work in 1978, is situated on the main road between Rabaul and Kokopo, and has a population of about 400. The young men nearly all work in town, as do nearly all unmarried young women. There are hardly any men over the age of 30 who have lived continuously in the village; most of them have worked one or more years in regions outside their own, as teachers, missionaries, workers or employees, whereas the majority of women stay at home. Those who have never left the village still come into contact with the non-Tolais through the market, shops, the health service etc., in Rabaul and Kokopo. Although good training and a good job are symbols of prestige, it is shameful to have 'to live only from money' (i.e. not being able to live on one's land), as other Papua New Guineans who work in the town and on the plantations do. 40-50-year-old men often give up their jobs and work on their land.

Apart from a few old people, nearly everyone in Raluana speaks such good Pidgin so that they can at least make themselves understood. Those under the age of 30 have usually learnt Pidgin before the age of ten, those between 30 and 50 years of age before they were 25. Because of their mobility, the men between 30 and 50 have a better grasp of the language than the women. Only those people who, because of their education (e.g. teachers, bank employees, secretaries), speak English daily, are able to speak it fluently despite it being the teaching language in schools.

1.3 THE TOLAIS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENGLISH AND TOK PISIN

Though especially young people and middle-aged men are bilingual in Tolai and Tok Pisin, Tok Pisin is held in rather low esteem by the Tolais (Mosel 1979, 1980:4ff, 1982, Salisbury 1967:46). Among themselves the Tolai people always communicate in Tolai, even government officials on the phone. Tok Pisin is best used in quarrels in order to signal that one is likely to regard one's opponent as a stranger. Consequently it is a severe offence when a Tolai inadvertently addresses another one in Tok Pisin. This negative attitude towards Tok Pisin dates back to the time before the First World War, when Tok Pisin mainly served as a means of communication between the imported labourers on the Gazelle Peninsula. Since the Tolais considered themselves superior to these people, Tok Pisin did not enjoy much prestige. Furthermore, the German government officials as well as the Catholic and Methodist missionaries learnt Tolai and tried to make it the lingua franca on the Gazelle Peninsula, the Duke of York Islands and New Ireland (Mosel 1982). Apart from a very few words, which belong mostly to the semantic sphere of hired labour, sex and drinking, Tok Pisin loan words are nowadays strictly avoided (e.g. woksip *to work on a ship*, paul *prostitute*, sipak *to be drunk*, sipirit *alcohol*). On the syntactic level, however, one finds several instances of interference from Tok Pisin, since the speakers are not so aware of the interference in the syntax than of that in the lexicon (cf. p. 49, p. 85).

With English the situation is completely different. Though English is used as the language of instruction in schools since the sixties, only people with third level education are fluent in English. But as the knowledge of English is not only a symbol of being well educated, but also a positive attitude towards

the modern way of life, even those who know little English often mix English words and whole phrases with Tolai. On the syntactic level English influence is only found in the radio news (cf.p.28) and with a few very well educated speakers. Conservative people dislike the young people's way of speaking, so that the latter are careful not to use English loans when talking with them. In general, the people regret that Tolai is not taught in village schools any more, so that the children can only learn to read and write in their native language in sunday school. (This problem is particularly discussed in Lynch 1979, Mosel 1982:162-164).

1.4 THE TOLAI LANGUAGE

1.4.1 The names of the language

The language of the Tolai people, which is nowadays simply called 'Tolai' in Austronesian linguistics, has been given several names. The Tolai people themselves call it A Tinata Tuna, literally *the indigenous language* or Kuanua, which is originally a word of the language of the Duke of York Islands meaning *over there* and which was first used by the Methodist missionaries who started their mission in these islands (cf. Brown 1908, Mosel 1982, Threlfall 1975). The Catholic missionaries introduced the names Tuna, literally *indigenous* (Meier 1960), Gunantuna (Zwinge 1953); other names used by Europeans are *Blanche Bay Dialect, New Britain Dialect* (Rickard 1889), *Nordgazellen Sprache* (Bley 1912), *Neu-Pommerische Sprache* (Costantini) and Raluana (Lanyon-Orgill 1960).

1.4.2 Genetic and typological classification

According to Capell's subgrouping of Austronesian New Guinea languages, which is based on the sequential order of subject, verb and object, Tolai belongs to the so-called 'AN$_1$-languages' as it shows SVO in contrast to AN$_2$-languages, which are SOV-languages (Capell 1971:241-243). Though spoken in New Britain, Tolai is not closely related to the other Austronesian languages of New Britain, but belongs genetically to the languages of Southern New Ireland (Beaumont 1972: 12ff, 1976:387ff; Chowning 1969:24).

As far as the typological classification of Tolai is concerned, it seems to be a language of the active type (Klimov 1972), since the choice of clause structure is determined by the criterion of activity versus inactivity. However, in contrast to the languages of the active type which have been investigated up until now (compare Bossong 1980; Klimov 1972; Van Valin 1977) activity and inactivity are not distinguished morphologically, but instead by word order. Secondly, whereas other languages of the active type do not show the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, but only that of active and stative verbs (Klimov 1972:14), in Tolai active transitive and active intransitive verbs are clearly kept apart. Non-derived transitive verbs are reduplicated when used intransitively (i.e. without patient noun phrase), whereas simple intransitive verbs, when they are used transitively, must be transformed into transitive verbs by so-called 'transitive suffixes'. Most other features of active languages listed by Klimov (1972) are also found in Tolai. The opposition between animate (active) and inanimate (inactive) nouns, which is 'not expressed in the structure of the nouns themselves' plays an important role in the expression of number and possession, e.g. different possessive constructions for animate and inanimate possessors, the absence of verbs of possession, and the distinction between

inherent and established possession (i.e. 'organic (inalienable)' and 'inorganic (alienable)' possession in Klimov's terminology). Furthermore, Tolai lacks bound morphemes indicating case and the category of passive voice.

1.4.3 The development of the Tolai language since 1875

The material culture of the Tolai people was rather simple in pre-colonial times — metal, pottery, clothing and wheeled vehicles were still unknown by 1875 and, as soon as the missionaries started to live in Tolai villages and brought with them all sorts of European goods which had to be named, the first linguistic changes affected the lexicon. The question when the first morphosyntactic changes took place is much more difficult to answer. A few innovations, as for instance the usage of the conjunction ba *when* (Mosel 1982:167ff) and the inalienable construction of tinavua *growth* (cf.p.51) originate from the earliest Bible translations (Bible 1889, Rickard 1892), but we do not know when these innovations became accepted as common expressions by the native speakers. Most morphosyntactic changes, however, seem to have occurred rather recently, as they presuppose bilingual speakers of Tok Pisin and Tolai or English and Tolai, and are not found in the variety of Tolai spoken by old people (compare the functional extension of the alienable possessive construction, p.48, the expression of number (cf.p.79), the loss of the subject marker in coordinated verbal phrases (cf.p.133) and the use of prepositional phrases as a means of expressing temporal relationships (cf.p.210) etc.). Further evidence for recent innovations is given in those cases where the speakers of Tolai borrowed constructions from Tok Pisin which themselves are recent developments, as, for instance, the pluralisation of verbal nouns (cf.p.88) and the redundant use of the plural marker along with quantifiers (cf.p.85).

As far as the lexicon is concerned, three stages of development can be observed:

1. During the first stage, which lasted from 1875 till approximately 1920, cultural innovations were mainly denoted by Tolai means of expression, namely by derivations from already existent word stems, circumlocutions, extensions of old designations for imported things and concepts, and onomatopoeia for objects that are characterised by a particular sound. Examples:

    (a) Derivations:

    Nouns denoting instruments are derived by reduplication from verbs signifying the actions the instruments are used for, e.g.

iaian	*plate*	ian	*to eat*
kakakap	*bag*	kakap (itr)	*to carry*
papapa	*tin* or *bottle opener*	papa	*to open*
tatata	*instrument for wireless telegraphy, radio*	tata	*to speak*
purpurung	*aeroplane*	purung	*to fly*

    (b) Circumlocutions:

    Cultural innovations resembling things of the traditional Tolai society, but which have a new function, are often signified by nominal compounds consisting of the head noun, the connective particle and the modifying noun which denotes the function of what is referred to by the head noun (cf.p.51), e.g.

```
pal   -na-kunukul              store
house -C- trading

pal   -na-banubat              prison
house -C- locking-up (people)

kiki  -na-vinavana             carriage, car
seat  -C- going

pia   -na-pal                  town
ground-C- house
```

Agent nouns are formed by tena + verbal noun *expert in doing stg.* or lup + verbal noun *person strongly inclined toward stg.*, e.g.

```
tena tutumu         secretary
     writing

tena vartovo        teacher
     teaching

lup  minomo         drunkard
     drinking
```

(c) Extensions:

```
mal         loin cloth   >   clothes
tumu        to draw      >   to write
pua         white        >   European man
```

(d) Onomatopoetica:

```
meme            goat
pedepededet     motorbike
petpet          slipper
pumpum          motorbike
```

The loan words borrowed from English, Tok Pisin, Fijian[1], German and Latin during the first stage of development were restructured according to the rules of Tolai phonology (cf. Mosel 1980:8-20), so that their morphological and syntactic integration caused no problems. As the voiced bilabial /b/ orthographically rendered by v) is the only fricative in Tolai, /f/ in loan words is substituted by /p/, /v/ by /b/, /s, z/ by /t/ and /ç/ by /t/ or /k/; the affricates /ts/ and /t/ are substituted by /t/ and /dz/ by /i/; /h/ is deleted. Consonant clusters are broken up by inserted vowels except for the sequences of /mb/, /nd/ and /ŋg/, which are realised as prenasalised stops in those dialects which show prenasalisation or are reduced to /b/, /d/ and /g/ respectively. Examples:

1. English

```
lamani                  Germany
kuk (tr), kukuk (itr)   to cook (cf.p.93)
matete                  matches
ot                      horse
vuat (tr), vuvuat (itr) to wash (with soap)
Tade                    Sunday
kukaba                  cucumber
```

2. Tok Pisin

```
banit  <  banis         enclosure
paut   <  paus          suitcase
puti   <  pusi          cat
```

3. German

guruken	< Gurken	*cucumber*
milit	< Milch	*milk*
tap	< Schaf	*sheep*
tepelin	< Zeppelin	*aeroplane*
tuka	< Zucker	*sugar*
verada	< Veranda	*veranda*

4. Fijian

bilo	*cup*
dinau	*debt*
kalaou	*God*
lotu	*church*
marama	*minister's wife*
matanitu	*government*
talatala	*minister*
tui	*king*

5. Latin

imolatio	*to sacrifice*
pekato	*sin*

As has been shown in Mosel (1979:173-177), a number of English loan words such as bok *box*, kuk *to cook*, vuas *to wash* and kolot *woman's blouse* were transferred directly from English into Tolai, while others certainly found their way into Tolai via the medium of Tok Pisin, e.g. titima *steamer*, tito *store*, as may be also the case with German loans.

The Fijian loan words were introduced by the Fijian Methodist missionaries[1], and the few Latin loan words by the Catholic missionaries. Some Tolai circumlocutions seem to be loan translations from Fijian, e.g.

Tolai	Fijian
gunan- na-vartovo	koro- ni-vuli
village-c- learning/teaching	*village-c- learning*
school	*school*

2. In the second phase of development, which started after the First World War and ended in the sixties when English became the language of instruction in village schools, German loan words and many Tolai expressions were replaced by Tok Pisin loan words. The rules of Tolai phonology were no longer strictly observed. Many speakers started to maintain the phoneme /s/ in loan words, whereas other sibilants and affricates were now replaced by /s/, e.g.

iaian	> pelet	*plate*
tatata	> vaialis	*radio*
purpurung	> balus	*aeroplane*
tepelin	> balus	*aeroplane*
pal-na-banubat	> karabus	*prison*
tuka	> suka, suga	*sugar*

Today some of the old expressions created during the first stage of development and which were abandoned during the second one are still maintained in the language of the radio news and the missionaries' language as, for instance, tepelin *aeroplane* and pia-na-pal *town*. There are also still some old people, particularly women, who have not yet accepted the phoneme /s/ and say Ingilit *English*, balut *aeroplane*, karabut *prison*, tito *store* etc. As far as

morphology and syntax are concerned, there seems to be no change during the second stage of development, since Pidgin verbs, for instance, could easily be reduplicated in order to express the imperfective aspect, or be nominalised by the infix -in-, e.g. simsipit *to be speeding*, sipasipak *to be habitually drunk*, sinipit *speeding*, etc.

3. Since the sixties nearly all Tok Pisin loans have been replaced by borrowings from English, which are no longer adapted to Tolai phonology, but, since the usage of English has become a symbol of 'good' education, are pronounced as English as possible. Furthermore, English loans are not only used to name cultural innovations which lack Tolai significations (e.g. cassette recorder, fridge), but also replace Tolai words and phrases such as numerals above ten, colour adjectives except korong *black*, meme *red* and pua *white*, kinship terms, e.g. *cousin, sister, daddy,* and temporal adjuncts, e.g. *last year, next day* etc. Because of their English phonological structure these loans raise a number of problems with respect to their morphosyntactic integration, which in some cases results in new constructions (cf.p.48, p.204).

As has been mentioned above, English loans are not used only by more or less fluent speakers of English, but also by people whose knowledge of English is rather limited and who obviously did not acquire it at school. How, then, do these people learn English words and phrases, and how do people of all ages and levels of education communicate, while the lexicon of the language is so radically restructured? The answers to these questions can hardly be gained by traditional elicitation procedures in interviews, but only by observation of casual conversations between people of different ages and education. Therefore, I asked my informants to tape conversations the participants of which were familiar with English to varying degrees, and to choose a subject which would cry for English loans. In all conversations the problem of communication was easily solved by the same strategy, namely by using English expressions and paraphrasing them with the Tolai correlates[2]. Examples:

1. When Desi, a young secretary, told the story of Nebukadnezar to some girls, she made extensive use of paraphrases, e.g.

(1) Ma i ga gire ra   vision dari a   ginigira.
and he TA *see* ART   *i.e.* ART *seeing*
And he saw a vision, i.e. something that you see.

(2) Ma nam ra Babylon di   ga destroy ta= na ba a
and DEM ART   INDEF TA   PREP=*it or* ART

kalou i ga va= kaina- vuē.
God   *he* TA CAUS=*be-bad-do-away+it*
And Babylon was destroyed, i.e. God spoilt it and made it disappear.

2. In a discussion held among several village people about the hymns composed by an European missionary the teacher Robin says:

(3) Kana umana sentences, a   umana pakapaka-na-tinata
his PL   ART PL   *pieces-* C- *speaking*

ta kana umana kakailai i complete ba i kidoloina
in *his* PL   *song*   *it*   *or it complete*

ta ra tinata   Kuanua.
in ART *speaking Kuanua*
His sentences, the parts of speech in his songs were completely correct Tolai sentences.

The alternative solution of exclusively using Tolai expressions in order to avoid misunderstandings was obviously rejected, since the speakers of higher education like to show off their knowledge of English. In the examples quoted above, which could be extended over pages, the English loan comes first and is explained by the following Tolai paraphrase. In conversations between people of the same level of education, English loans are not followed by Tolai para- phrases, but sometimes the speakers use the reverse strategy by which a Tolai expression is followed by an English paraphrase. This type of paraphrasing obviously does not meet the necessity of establishing meaningful communication, but only serves as a means of signalling the speaker's social and educational status. Thus when the two teachers Joe and To Mago were chatting about Joe's life, Joe said:

(4) Iau ga ngo kan ra tena- vartovo ba iau ga resign.
     I   TA rest from ART expert-teaching or I   TA
     I gave up my job as a teacher, i.e. I resigned.

(5) Dia   vole kadia   money, they waste their money.
     they/PL waste their/PL
     They waste their money, they waste their money.

1.4.4 Regional, social and functional varieties of present day Tolai

The Tolai language shows a large diversity of regional varieties, which according to Meier (1961) and Zwinge (1953) can be classified to three groups of dialects:

1. the Kokopo dialects, including the dialects of Paparatava
    (Kleintitschen 1924) and Raluana,
2. the Northcoast dialects, including the dialects of Volavolo
    (Bley 1912) and Rakunai (Meier 1909, Mosel 1977),
3. marginal dialects, including the dialects of Nodup, Kabair and
    Vuatom (Meyer 1910).*

Meyer and Zwinge also regard the languages spoken in Vunamarita, Masava and Birar as dialects of Tolai. As for the language of Birar, this classification can be rejected, because this language and Tolai are mutually unintelligible and are considered as different languages by native speakers. The language of Birar is more closely related to the languages of the Duke of York Islands than to Tolai.

Since the provincial capital Rabaul and the town of Kokopo are inhabited by only a comparatively small number of Tolai people, the Tolai language lacks an urban dialect, which might become the standard variety (compare Ferguson 1959/1972:248). But there is some evidence that due to the influence of the Methodist mission, the Kokopo dialect, and particularly the sub-dialect of Raluana, is nowadays favoured for communication beyond village level, which perhaps leads to the development of a standard variety (for details cf. Mosel 1982).

The immense socio-cultural changes during the last hundred years are not only reflected in the lexicon and the grammar of the Tolai language, but also in the development of new social and functional varieties, of which the most outstanding are the missionaries' language, the language of the radio news and the young people's language.

1. The missionaries' language

By missionaries' language is meant the language of the Methodist Scripture translations and its written and spoken imitations. While the average native speaker of Tolai only makes use of this variety on occasions that are directly connected with religious matters, as, for instance, when he is saying grace or when he is discussing during Church meetings, indigenous pastors and Church workers have also been observed to use this variety as their narrative style of speaking. Some characteristic features of the missionaries' language are:

(a) Regardless of their native dialect, the speakers try to approximate the pronunciation of the dialect of Raluana, into which the Bible has been translated, so that, for instance, a speaker from the Northcoast drops the prenasalisation of voiced stops.

(b) Even generally accepted loans from English such as taun *town* or tito, sto *store* are avoided and replaced by the circumlocutions that have been created by the earliest missionaries, e.g. pia-na-pal and pal-na-kunukul literally *place of houses* and *house for trading*.

(c) A number of genuine Tolai words which have become obsolete in casual speech are preserved and thus contribute to the impression that the missionaries' language is archaic and elevated.

(d) In contrast to colloquial Tolai, the missionaries' language almost totally lacks emphatic particles and makes little use of optional tense and mood markers. This evidently reflects upon the Europeans' way of speaking and writing Tolai, because it is very difficult for Europeans to grasp the function of all these little words which seem to mean nothing particular.

(e) When telling stories, the speakers of the missionaries' language frequently construct subordinated temporal clauses instead of coordinated clauses which are preferred in the traditional narrative style (for further information cf. Mosel 1982).

2. The language of the radio news

In contrast to the news spoken in English and Tok Pisin, the news which was broadcasted in Tolai in 1978 dealt mainly with regional matters and provincial affairs. It was not a translation from English, but compiled and read by native speakers of Tolai. The most characteristic feature of the language in the news is its nominal style, which is absent in other varieties of Tolai, and which is not understood by people who do not regularly listen to the news. Though the news is not translated from English, its nominal style is obviously an imitation of the style of English news, and it has been created in order to mark the speech as impersonal, specialised and technical in contrast to personal conversation (compare Rulon Wells 1960: "Nominal and verbal style"). For example:

```
(6) i    tar  lul  ra   matanitu   ngala
    he   TA   ask  ART  government  big

    varurung   ma    ra   ikilik  na  matanitu,
    together   with  ART  little  C   government

    upi   dir      a   tur    varurung
    that  they/DU  TA  stand  together

    ta  ra   umana  nga-na-papalum-na-tinur-  varbat
    in  ART  PL     way-C- work-   C- standing-hindering

    ta  ra   vinavana  kai  ra   tarai
    in  ART  going     of   ART  people
```

```
papa    ta   ra   bala-    na-gunan
from    in   ART  interior-C- village
```

```
tar     ta   ra   umana pia-   na-pal
to      in   ART  PL     place- C- house
```

he has asked the national government
and the provincial government
to cooperate
in the methods of preventing
the people from moving
from the villages into the towns.

In traditional Tolai nominalisations are only used for topicalisation and emphasis, and in certain syntactic constructions, e.g.

```
(7)  di       ga vana,  di       ga vana,  di       ga vana,
     they/DU  TA go      they/DU  TA go      they/DU  TA go
```

```
     a    vinavana ka   iat                                    Kl 50
     ART  going    only PART
     they went and went and went and did not stop
```

```
(8)  ma   nam ra  umana bul   dia       nunure ra  nialir      Kl 113
     and  DEM ART PL    child they/PL   know   ART swimming
     and those children know how to swim.
```

As far as the lexicon is concerned, the language of the radio news is very conservative. English and, of course, Tok Pisin expressions are avoided, since the news is intended to be understood by all people, though this aim is far from being reached; secondly, the mere fact that the news is broadcasted in Tolai is a symbol of prestige for the Tolai people, which would be weakened, if the language used in the news were not pure, but mixed with loan words. For it is rather the words and not so much the syntax that the people are aware of. Thus many cultural innovations are signified by circumlocutions, some of which have already been invented by the missionaries when they translated the Bible at the end of the last century, e.g.

```
(9)  a    pia- na-pal
     ART  place-C- house
     the place of houses, i.e. the town.
```

Recently introduced circumlocutions are, for instance,

```
(10) a    tena- kapkap-tinata
     ART  expert-taking-speech
     the expert in taking speech, i.e. the reporter
```

```
(11) a    pal- na-vungvung-mani
     ART  house-C- putting- money
     the house where the money is put, i.e. the bank
```

None of these expressions are used in normal conversations.

Occasionally the language of the radio news is imitated by educated speakers. Thus some teachers who were interviewed by my informants about their work made use of the nominal style and of new prepositions which are typical of this variety of Tolai (cf.p.29, p.210).

3. The young people's language

'Young people's language' is a cover term for the variety of Tolai spoken by
young and middle-aged people who appreciate the modern way of life and regard
the knowledge of English as a symbol of good education and prestige. Since it
is this variety which deserves our greatest interest and which, consequently,
will mainly be taken into consideration in the following sections about
innovations in modern Tolai (compare the table of contents), two examples might
suffice here in order to illustrate how English and Tolai expressions are mixed:

> (12) ... tuk   i   ga par   a   bar,
>   *until* *it* TA *be-finished* ART
>
> close ra   bar abara ra   outside.
>   ART   *there* ART
>
> lo,   nam ra   umana members abara,
> *well* DEM ART PL   *there*
>
> ba   nam i   ga close, a   umana bul pack up, take off.
> *when* DEM *it* TA   ART PL   *lad*
> *... until the bar outside was closed. Well, the members*
> *(of the club) there,*
> *when the bar closed, the lads packed up, took off.* (Boxing)

> (13) Ma   nina ra   Saturday ava   ga gigira- na-picture?
> *and* DEM   ART   *you/PL* TA *see/RED-C-*
>
> Patana, iau vana, iau ga weekend.
> *no*   *I* *go*   *I* TA
> *Did you go to the cinema that Saturday?*
> *No, I went (home), I spent the weekend (at home).*   (Meli)

Both examples are taken from casual conversations which were recorded by my
informants without myself being present. The first one is not grammatical in
respect to traditional Tolai syntax, as the verbs *close, pack up* and *take off*
lack the subject marker, whereas the second one could have been spoken by an
old man except for the loan words.

1.5 THE PRESENT DESCRIPTION OF THE TOLAI SYNTAX

1.5.1 The data

As soon as they had established the first mission stations, the Methodist
and Catholic missionaries started to learn Tolai and to prepare grammars,
dictionaries and Scripture translations, with the result that Tolai is one of
the best known languages of Papua New Guinea. Particularly the grammars by
Rickard (1889), Bley (1912), Fellmann (n.d., probably about 1910) and Zwinge
(1953) provide a useful, though not fully adequate record of the language as
far as its morphology is concerned, whereas the treatment of its phonology and
syntax is rather brief and insufficient. Further material can be found in a
number of language course books (Costantini 1907, Eberlein 1912, Waterhouse
1939, Franklin et al. 1974).

The most comprehensive dictionary is Meyer's *Wörterbuch der Tuna-Sprache*
(1961, compiled in 1921), followed by Lanyon-Orgill (1960), Rickard (1889) and Wright
(1964), which is based on Rickard (1889). Rickard (1889) and Lanyon-Orgill (1960)
also prepared an English-Tolai Index, and Bley (1917) a German-Tolai dictionary.
German-Tolai glossaries are also found in Bley (1912) and Costantini (1907).

As the Methodist missionaries (Rickard, Fellmann, Wright) and their Catholic colleagues (Bley, Eberlein, Meyer, Zwinge) did not cooperate (Mosel 1982), the research on the Tolai language followed two separate traditions, so that the modern linguist is fortunate in being provided with two kinds of sources whose reliability can be tested by comparison. Not being trained linguists, the missionaries often copied the views of their predecessors without verifying them. The dictionary by Lanyon-Orgill, who was not a missionary, is obviously based on Rickard (1889).

The most useful sources for a thorough study of the traditional Tolai language, however, are the texts edited and translated into German by Meier (1909) and Kleintitschen (1924). Smaller text editions were prepared by Schnee 1901, Meyer 1910 and Bögershausen 1917-1918. Mosel (1980) presents a short description of the Tolai phonology, morphology and syntax in comparison with Tok Pisin. The texts which I collected in Rakunai in 1976 (Mosel 1977) are mostly stories about the eruption of the volcano in 1937, the occupation by the Japanese in 1942-1944 and village affairs, and represent a rather traditional variety of Tolai for a number of reasons:

1. Most speakers were more than 50 years old.
2. The interviews were less informal than in 1978 (see below), since the speaker had to hold the microphone in his hand and to speak to an audience which regularly gathered around us.
3. As I myself was always present and the speakers knew that I collected the texts in order to write a book about the Tolai language, they were careful to avoid English expressions and to choose a good narrative style. On the other hand, the audience guaranteed that the speakers did not simplify their language in order to make themselves better understood.
4. Last but not least, the mere fact that I was a foreigner and did not live in the village prevented the speakers from using casual speech.

In 1978 I tried to overcome the 'observer's paradox', i.e. to systematically observe how the people talk, when they are not being systematically observed (Labov 1971:171). Soon after my arrival in Rabaul I was able to find accommodation in the village of Raluana, where I shared a hut with three young girls and took part in the village life for twenty hours a day. Thus I had the opportunity of learning the language quite fluently and to take down expressions that are scarcely heard when people tell stories or when their speech is taped. I also employed a former teacher, Ronnie To Mago, and the girls Rachel Nelson and Kapi Turmut, to tape conversations among people of all ages without myself being present. Furthermore, they used a very small cassette recorder with a built-in microphone. All tapes were transcribed with the help of Rachel and Kapi and thoroughly discussed with To Mago who was very interested in linguistic research and became an excellent field worker himself. The table below shows the number of male and female speakers of each age group whose speech was recorded; the whole corpus of taped material numbers about 55 hours.

age	male	female
under 14	1	3
14-20	11	17
21-30	2	3
31-40	7	3
41-50	10	5
51-60	8	2
over 60	7	4
	46	37

In the following description of Tolai syntax I usually quote examples from edited texts, as far as traditional Tolai is concerned, in order to allow verification. Bible translations and *Nilai ra Dovot* (1909-1976), the monthly paper of the Methodist Church, are only used as sources to demonstrate the peculiarities of the missionaries' language. The origin of the examples is given by means of the following abbreviations:

Bl	Bley (1912)
Co	Costantini (1907)
Eb	Eberlein (1912)
Kl	Kleintitschen (1924)
M	Meier (1909)
ND	Nilai ra Dovot
news	radio news taped in 1978
TT	*Tolai texts;* Mosel (1977)
Wr	Wright (1964)

Names in brackets, e.g. (Rachel), indicate the speaker's name and that the example in question is taken from the material taped in 1978. A list of the speakers whose expressions are quoted in this study are given in the Appendix.

1.5.2 Conventions

All examples are written in the modern standard orthography except that morpheme boundaries are indicated by = and that the subordinated constituents of nominal and verbal compounds are joined to the head by hyphens. Quotations from sources not written in the standard orthography are adapted, which mainly concerns the writing of the phonemes /g/ and /ŋ/. Whereas nowadays they are rendered by g and ng respectively, the early Methodist publications used the Fijian[3] spelling q and g, which had also been adopted by some Catholic writers. The table below shows the spelling of /g/ and /ŋ/ in the various publications:

	/g/	/ŋ/
Bley (1912)	q	g
Costantini (1907)	g	ng
Eberlein (1912)	q	g
Fellmann (n.d.)	q	g
Franklin et al. (1974)	g	ng
Kleintitschen (1914)	ɓ	g
Lanyon-Orgill (1960)	q	g
Meier (1906)	g	ṅ
Meyer (1961)	q	g
Wright (1964)	g	ng
Zwinge (1953)	g	ng
Rickard (1889)	q	g

The distinction between w and v in Rickard (1889) and Lanyon-Orgill (1960) is not justified; both letters render the voiced bilabial fricative /b/, which in all other publications is exclusively written as v.

In order to make them more readable, the interlinear translations are not strictly morphemic. Thus, for instance, the word kai *of* is rendered by

```
ka=          i
POSS.CLFR=POSS.M.
```

in the paragraphs dealing with possessive constructions, but elsewhere is simply translated by *of*. Similarly, the prenuclear tense, aspect and mood markers are mostly subscribed by TA, whereas the more explicit subscriptions, e.g. FUT, REMOTE etc., are used in 3.3.3 - 3.8. Many particles such as emphatic particles and the particle ba which introduces polite direct speech are rendered by PART, as they are very difficult to translate literally. The following table lists all abbreviations:

ART	article
C	connective particle
CAUS	causative prefix
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DEREL	derelational suffix
DISTR	distributional plural
DU	dual
DUR	durative
E	effective particle
EMPH PART	emphatic particle
EXC	exclusive
FRUST	frustrative marker
FUT	future tense marker
INC	inclusive
INDEF	indefinite subject marker
INGRESS	ingressive marker
ITR	intransitive
IRREAL	irrealis marker
ITER	iterative marker
PART	particle
PERF	perfect tense marker
PL	plural
POS	position
POSS.CLFR	possessive classifier
POSS.M.	possessive marker
REC	reciprocal prefix
RECENT	recent past tense marker
RED	functional reduplication
REMOTE	remoteness marker
SM	subject marker
TA	tense, aspect, mood marker
TRI	trial
TRM	transitive marker

Chapter 2

THE NOUN PHRASE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Tolai noun phrase contains a proper name (1), a noun (2), a personal pronoun (3), a demonstrative pronoun (4), an indefinite pronoun (5), a quantifier (6), or a numeral (7) as nucleus and functions as an agent (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7) and patient (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) in verbal clauses, as a subject and predicate in nominal clauses (8, 9) and as part of prepositional phrases (10). For example:

the male personal name Mikael and the village name Raluana in

(1) Mikael i   tar vana Raluana
     M.   *he* TA   *go* R.
     Mikael has gone to Raluana.

tutana *the man* and vavina *the woman* in

(2) A   tutana i   gire ra   vavina.
     ART   *man*   *he* *see* ART   *woman*
     The man saw the woman.

iau *I* in

(3) A   tutana i   gire iau.
     ART   *man*   *he* *see* *me*
     The man saw me.

nam *that* in

(4) A   tutana i   gire nam.
     ART   *man*   *he* *see* DEM
     The man saw that.

patana *nobody* in

(5) Patana i   gire ra   vavina.
     nobody *he* *see* ART *woman*
     Nobody saw the woman.

mangoro *many* in

(6) A   mangoro dia   gire nam.
     ART   *many*   *they*/PL *see* DEM
     Many people saw that.

ilima *five* in

(7) A   ilima dia   tar vana.
    ART *five* *they/PL* TA *go*
    Five people have gone.

iau *I* and vavina *woman* in

(8) lau a   vavina.
    I   ART *woman*
    I am a woman.

vavina *woman* and nam *that* in

(9) A   vavina nam.
    ART *woman*   *that*
    That is a woman.

gunan *village* in

(10) ta ra   gunan
     in ART *village*
     in the village

2.2 ARTICLES

All noun phrases in (1) – (10) are simple, i.e. noun phrases the nucleus of which is not modified by an adjunct. Nouns other than kinship terms (see below), quantifiers and numerals above one, e.g. tutana *man*, vavina *woman*, mangoro *many* and ilima *five* are obligatorily preceded by an article which is either definite as in the given examples, or indefinite.

A and ra are phonologically conditioned alternants, a being used after pauses (i.e. utterance initially, in nominal predicates of nominal clauses, or in appositions), and after words ending in /r/ or /l/, whereas ra occurs in all other places. A/ra stands in opposition to the indefinite article ta *a, some, any* and the numeral tika na *one* (plus the connective particle na), for example:

(11) a   tutana   *the man*
     ART *man*

     tika na tutana   *a man, one man*
     one   C   *man*

     a   ik   a oaga   *the small canoe*
     ART *small* C *canoe*

     ta   ik   a oaga   *a small canoe*
     ART *small* C *canoe*

     a   tarai   *the people, the men*
     ART *people*

     ta   tarai   *people, some people*
     ART *people*

Though a/ra and ta, tika na are somewhat similar to the English articles 'the' and 'a', their distribution is different, as shown in (8) and (12), e.g.

(12) "Una   kul pa   ta   ier   ma   ta   buai!"
      you/SG+TA *buy* PART *some pepper and some betelnut*

      I   ga kul pa   ra   buai   ma   ra   ier.
      he TA *buy* PART ART *betelnut and* ART *pepper*
      "Buy pepper and betelnuts'" He bought betelnuts and pepper.

which illustrate two rules:

1. The predicate of nominal clauses is not expressed by indefinite noun phrases
    as in English; *I am a woman* is rendered by

    (8) lau a   vavina.
         I   ART *woman*

    but not by

         *iau tika na vavina   or   *iau ta   vavina.
         I one C woman   *I* some woman

2. If a noun refers to something mentioned before (as buai *betelnuts* and ier
    pepper in the second part of (12), it is preceded by the definite article.

Ta and tika na may be combined in order to express that the head noun refers to
a single object, if it is a transnumeral noun (cf.p.77), e.g.

    (13) "Ba   pa   ka-   na   ta   mal   ati?
          PART *not* POSS.CLFR *his any dress(es) here*

          Una   takan pa   ka-   na   ta   tika na mal."
          you/SG+TA take PART POSS.CLFR *his some one C dress*
          "Isn't/aren't there any dress(es) for him here?
          Take a dress for him!"   M 252

The negative counterpart of a/ra, ta and tika na is pata *no*:

    (14) pata tutana
          no   man
          no man

Since pata is also a negative particle used in nominal clauses to negate the
predicate, e.g.

    (15) la pata ra   kotkot tuna.
          it not ART *crow   real*
          It is not a real crow.

it is doubtful, whether pata can be interpreted as being a combination of the
negative particle pa and the indefinite article ta.

Another item which can probably be classified as a kind of article is tara
(an)other e.g.

    (16) tara   tinir   mulai
          another question again   M 180
          another question (was): "...?"

and tara ... tara *one ... the other*, e.g.

    (17) Tara tutana-vurakit i   lua ...
          one t.   he precede

          ma   tara   tutana-vurakit i ga mur   M 248
          and the-other t.   he TA follow
          One tutana-vurakit (a spirit) preceded, the other followed.

Traditional proper names are preceded by To for males and la for females respectively and thus contrast with common nouns e.g.

(18) a   vuvu   To   Vuvu
     ART *wind*   *Mr*   *Wind*
     the wind, Mr Wind

     a   malana   la   Malana
     ART *morning* *Mrs* *Morning*
     the morning, Mrs Morning

Proper names of localities never take an article, but many names etymologically consist of ra + noun, for example: Raluana, literally *the hill*, Rabaul literally *the mangrove* etc. If an article precedes a place name, the whole noun phrase denotes a person originating from the place denoted by the place name, e.g.

(19) a   Iapan
     ART *Japan*   *the Japanese*

     tika na   Iapan
     one *C*   *Japan*   *a Japanese, one Japanese*

Kinship terms (cf.p.39) must not be directly preceded by an article, but only take an article, if the position immediately before them is filled by a numeral, a quantifier, a plural marker or an adjective; for example:

(20) tura=   gu   *my brother*
     brother=   *my*

     a   umana tura=   gu   *my brothers*
     ART PL   *brothers*= *my*

Kinship terms are obligatorily modified by a possessor (cf.p.40).

2.3 THE SEQUENTIAL ORDER OF NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

The adjuncts modifying the nucleus of a noun phrase can be classified into two classes according to their position left or right of the nucleus. The sequential order of the adjuncts and the head noun is almost totally fixed; there are only a few adjectives which may either precede or follow the nucleus. The basic word order of the Tolai noun phrase is:

$$\text{DEM + ART} \quad \text{+ PL} \quad \text{(+C)} + \text{ADJ}_{ev} + C + N_{NUC} \rightarrow$$
$$\qquad \text{POSS.PRON} \quad \text{QUANT} \qquad\qquad\qquad$$
$$\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \text{NUM} \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$$

$$\rightarrow \qquad + \quad \text{(C)} + N_{MOD} + \text{ADJ}_{ch} + \text{POSSESSOR-PHR}$$

DEM = demonstrative pronoun
ART = article
POSS.PRON = possessive pronoun
PL = plural marker
QUANT = quantificator
NUM = numeral
C = connective particle

ADJ_{ev} = evaluating adjective
ADJ_{ch} = characterising adjective
N_{NUC} = head noun
N_{MOD} = modifying noun
POSSESSOR-PHR = possessor phrase

Examples:

(22) nam kaugu ura ik   a rat
      DEM *my*   *two little* C *basket*
      my two little baskets there, those two little baskets of mine

(23) kana tika na barmana
      his one C *lad*
      one of his lads

(24) nam ra   utul   na ngala na pal-na-kapa   meme kai ra   tutana
      DEM ART *three* C *big*   C *hut-C- metal* *red* *of* ART *man*
      those three big red huts of sheet metal owned by the man.

(The possessive pronouns are composed of a possessive classifier, i.e. kau-,
ka- and suffixed pronouns, while kai *of* consists of a possessive classifier,
i.e. ka-, and the possessive marker -i; cf.p.32.)

With kinship terms the possessor is either expressed by a suffixed pronoun
or by the possessive marker -i, which is suffixed to the possessed noun, plus a
noun phrase referring to the possessor:

$$\text{DEM + ART + } \begin{matrix}\text{PL}\\\text{QUANT}\\\text{NUM}\end{matrix} \text{ + (C) + ADJ}_{ev} \text{ + C + N}_{NUC} = \begin{matrix}\text{PRON.SUFF}_{POSSESSOR}\\\\\text{POSS.M. + NP}_{POSSESSOR}\end{matrix}$$

(25) nam ra   umana ngala na tura=   na
      DEM ART PL   *big*   C   *brother*= *his*
      his big brothers there

(26) nam ra   umana ngala na tura=   i   ra   tutana
      DEM ART PL   *big*   C   *brother*= POSS.M.   ART *man*
      those big brothers of the man

Another class of nouns which is mainly comprised of nouns denoting body-
parts (cf.p.42) are constructed like kinship terms except that they are
directly preceded by an article. For example:

(27) go   ra   lima=   gu.
      DEM ART *hand*= *my*
      this hand of mine

in contrast to

(28) go   tura=   gu
      DEM *brother*= *my*
      this brother of mine, my brother here

According to the terminology used by the members of the Cologne research project
on language universals, articles and modifying adjuncts will be subsumed under
the term 'determiners' in the following, as both determine the reference and the
concept of what is denoted by the head noun (Seiler 1978:305ff.).

2.3.1 Determiners preceding the head noun

2.3.1.1 Demonstrative pronouns

In complex noun phrases demonstrative pronouns always take the very first
position and are followed by the definite article a/ra, unless the head noun is
a kinship term and directly follows the demonstrative pronoun as in (28), for
example:

(29) go   ra   tutana
      DEM ART *man*
      this man

Note that the inverse word order, e.g.

(30) A   tutana   go.
      ART   *man*   DEM
      This is a man.

is not a noun phrase, but a nominal clause consisting of two noun phrases (cf. p.158).

2.3.1.2 The second position: articles and possessive pronouns

The second position of complex noun phrases is taken by articles or by possessive pronouns which are composed of one of the two possessive classifiers ka- or a-/ra- and a suffixed pronoun (cf.p.33). Whereas the possessive pronoun and the definite article on the one hand, and the definite article and the indefinite article ta or the numeral tika na *one* + C on the other are incompatible, the possessive pronoun may be combined with ta *a*, *some*, *any* as well as with tika na *one* + C, e.g.

(31) a   pal
      ART *house*   *the house*

      a   umana pal
      ART PL   *house*   *the houses*

      kaugu pal
      my   *house*   *my house*

      kaugu umana pal
      my   PL   *house*   *my houses*

      tika na pal
      one   PL *house*   *one house, a house*

      kaugu tika na pal   *one of my houses,*
      my   *one*   C   *house*   *a house of mine*

      ta   umana pal
      some PL   *house*   *some houses, any houses*

      kaugu ta   umana pal   *some of my houses,*
      my   *some* PL   *house*   *any of my houses.*

2.3.1.3 Plural markers, quantifiers and numerals

The next position is taken by modifiers of quantification, namely a plural marker, a quantifier or a numeral, e.g.

(32) go   ra   umana magit
      DEM ART PL   *thing*   *these things* (cf.p.61)

      go   ra   lavur magit   *these various things*
      DEM ART PL   *thing*   (cf.p.77)

      go   ra   ta na tura=   na   *these brothers of his*
      DEM ART PL C   *brother=* *his*   (cf.p.62)

<pre>
(33) go   ra   peal   magit   these many things
      DEM ART many   thing   (cf.p.63)

      go   ra   paupau magit   these few things
      DEM ART few   thing   (cf.p.63)

      go   ra   mangoro na magit   this huge amount of things
      DEM ART many   C thing   (cf.p.63)

(34) tika na   magit   one thing (cf.p.65)
      one   C   thing

      a   ura   magit   two things (cf.p.65)
      ART two   thing

      a   ilima na   magit   five things
      ART five   C   thing
</pre>

Plural markers, quantifiers and numerals may not be combined with one another, i.e. plurality is exclusively expressed by a plural marker or a quantifier or a numeral; if plurality is expressed by a quantifier or a numeral it is not redundantly indicated by a plural marker. While all plural markers except tara (cf.p.62) and some of the quantifiers (cf.p.63), e.g. peal *many*, paupau *few* are juxtaposed to what follows them (i.e. an adjective or the head noun), other quantifiers and all the numerals except ura *two* require a ligature called 'connective particle' (abbr. C), e.g.

<pre>
(35) a   umana ngala na   pal   the big houses
      ART PL   big   C   house

      a   peal   ngala na   pal   many big houses
      ART many   big   C   house

      a   paupau ngala na   pal   a few big houses
      ART few   big   C   house
</pre>

but

<pre>
(36) a   tara na ngala na   tutana   the big men
      ART PL   C big   C   man

      a   mangoro na ngala na   pal   many big houses
      ART many   C big   C   house

      a   ilima na ngala na   pal   five big houses
      ART five   C big   C   house
</pre>

2.3.1.4 Evaluative and affective adjectives

The modifiers of quantification are followed by affective and evaluative adjectives which 'typically refer to the speech act, for it is the speaker who does the evaluation according to his own views' (Seiler 1978:310) and thus contribute to determining the reference rather than contribute to determining the concept of the head noun. The latter is done by colour adjectives and a small number of other adjectives which follow the head noun (see below). Note that there are no material adjectives such as English wooden in Tolai.

If two adjectives precede the head noun, the first one is usually either ngala *big* or ik *little* and refers to the size of the head noun referent, e.g.

```
(37)  o     ra   ik      a   bo   na  ula              M 188
      DEM   ART  little   C   good C   head
      that little nice head
```

```
(38)  ta   ik      a   ko   na  ram                    K1 351
      ART  little   C   good C   club
      a little good club
```

or it modifies the quality expressed by the second adjective as being strong or
weak, e.g.

```
(39)  a   ngala  na  kaina  bung                       TT 20
      ART big    C   bad    day
      a very bad day (the day when the volcano erupted).
```

In the whole corpus under consideration there is only one example of two
adjectives the first of which does not refer to size, e.g.

```
(40)  a   bo    na  dekdek  na  papalum
      ART good  C   hard    C   work
      good, hard work
```

and since this noun phrase was found in the radio news, it may be assumed to be
an innovation due to interference from English.

2.3.2 Determiners following the head noun

1. The head noun may be followed by a juxtaposed noun, or by a noun which is
    linked by the connective particle,
2. by adjectives,
3. by local deictics and prepositional phrases, and
4. by relative clauses.

2.3.2.1. Nouns

There is only a limited number of common and verbal nouns which directly
follow the head noun, and as this type of compounding is not productive, a few
examples might suffice here without further discussion, e.g.

```
(41)  a    bul    vartovo          the pupil
      ART  child  learning
```

```
(42)  a    bul    vavina           the girl
      ART  child  woman
```

```
(43)  a    bul    tutana           the boy
      ART  child  man
```

Only proper names of places are regularly juxtaposed to the head noun in order
to denote the origin of the head noun referent, e.g.

```
(44)  a    bul    Niu  Gini        the New Guinean child
      ART  child  New  Guinea
```

After adjectives which end in -na the connective particle is omitted. All other
nouns are joined to the head noun by the means of the connective particle. The
resulting construction is for practical reasons simply called N_1-C-N_2 -construc-
tion. The modifying noun (N_2) determines the concept expressed by the head noun

in a rather unspecific way. Thus, if N refers to a concrete object, N may characterise it by denoting its material or its destination (for further details cf.p.51):

    (45) a   pal - na- kunai   *the grass hut*
         ART *house* C   *grass*

    (46) a   pal - na -vartovo   *the school house*
         ART *house-C- learning*

If N_1 is a verbal noun, N_2 denotes the goal of the action expressed by N_1, e.g.

    (47) a   nirovoi-na-boroi   *the pig hunt*
         ART *hunting-C- pig*

Among the concept characterising determiners, the modifying noun N_2 shows the highest degree of cohesion, since the sequence of N_1-C-N_2 must not be interrupted by any additional determiners (cf.p.53).

2.3.2.2 Adjectives

In general, one can say that the adjectives following the head noun explicate the properties of the concept denoted by the head noun rather than serve as a means of identifying the reference as the evaluative adjectives do (see above). This becomes most evident by those adjectives which may either precede or follow the nucleus. Compare:

    (48) a   ikilik na pal   *the little house*
         ART *little* C *house*   (in contrast to a big house)

        a   pal   ikilik   *the toilet*
         ART *house* *little*

        a   ngala na vartovo   *the big school*
         ART *big*   C *school*   (in contrast to a small school)

        a   vartovo ngala   *the high school*
         ART *school* *big*

        a   vartovo ikilik   *the primary school*
         ART *school* *little*

In traditional Tolai colour adjectives follow the head noun, as one would expect according to the above made generalisation (compare Seiler 1978:309), e.g.

    (49) a   pal   pua   *the white house*
         ART *house* *white*

but in the modern variety of Tolai spoken by young people they are often used in the same position as evaluative adjectives, e.g.

    (50) a   pua na pal   *the white house*
         ART *white* C *house*

Two adjectives obligatorily follow the head noun, namely tabu *sacred, forbidden* and tuna *real, genuine* which is used to confirm that the head noun referent really owns its characteristic properties, e.g.

    (51) a   pal   tabu   *the sacred house*
         ART *house* *sacred*

(52) a   vavina tuna   *the real woman* (not the spirit;
       ART *woman*   *real*   i.e. the woman that owns all the
                                    properties a female human being has)

       a   tinata   tuna   *the indigenous language*
       ART *language* *real*   i.e. the Tolai language.

In combination with lima *hand* tuna is used metaphorically to denote the right hand, e.g.

(53) a   lima tuna   *the right hand*
       ART *hand* *real*

while *left hand* is expressed by the single lexeme maira.

2.3.2.3 Possessor phrases

Both alienable and inalienable possessor phrases (cf.p.31) take the third position after the head noun, e.g.

(54) a   pal- na-boroi pua   kai ra   tutana
       ART *house-C- pig*   *white* *of* ART *man*
       the white pig sty of the man

       a   vartovo ngala kai ra   matanitu
       ART *school*   *big*   *of* ART *government*
       the highschool of the government

(55) a   lima tuna i ra   tutana
       ART *hand* *real* *of* ART *man*
       the right hand of the man

If the head noun is a verbal noun, kai + NP denotes the actor of the action, e.g.

(56) a   vinavana kai ra   parau
       ART *going*   *of* ART *ship*
       the way of the ship

       a   kunukul-na-kar kai ra   tarai
       ART *buying- C- car* *of* ART *people*
       the car purchase of the people

The last example shows that the goal of the action is felt as being more inherently related to the action than the actor (cf.p.36). The difference between possessive constructions and the N_1-C-N_2-constructions will be discussed in 2.5.4 (cf.p.59).

2.3.2.4 Local deictics and prepositional phrases

Local deictics and prepositional phrases are always related to the immediately preceding noun, or in case that they follow a N_1-C-N_2-construction, to N_1, which is another proof of the strong cohesion of N_1-C-N_2, e.g.

(57) a   umana kar kai ra   tarai   mamati
       ART PL   *car* *of* ART *people from-here*
       the cars of the people from here

and not *the cars from here which belong to the people*, but

(58) a   tarai- na-papalum mamati
      ART *people-*C-* work*   *from-here*
      the workmen from here

As local deictics are not often used as adnominal adjuncts, we lack sufficient
data to be able to show all their possible positions within noun phrases.
Probably their use in complex noun phrases is rather restricted. The same seems
to hold true for prepositional phrases. In fact, noun phrases which contain a
prepositional phrase are very rare in traditional Tolai, e.g.

(59) a   vu- na-tarai   ta   ni   ra   ngenge   M 20
      ART *tribe-*C-* people from* DEM ART *yellow-coconut*
      the tribe of men originating from that yellow coconut

2.3.2.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses do not differ structurally from main clauses, and they
follow the noun they modify without being introduced by a relative pronoun. If
the subject of the relative clause is identical with that noun, the relative
clause simply consists of a verbal phrase, i.e. subject marker (+tense, aspect,
mood markers) + nucleus (+ patient noun phrase) (+ prepositional phrase), or
less often, it consists of an independent pronoun + VP, e.g.

(60) ... ma   i   ga   mut-kutu   pa ra   ul= i   na   ra   luluai
      and he TA *cut-sever* E   ART *head=of* DEM ART *chief*

          i   ga   ubu   na   na= na   M 128
          he TA *kill* DEM *mother=his*
      ... *and he cut off the head of the chief who had killed his mother*

(61) Di   kubika   ta   ra   tarai diat   dia   korot
      INDEF *give-a-gift* to* ART *men*   *they/*PL *they/*PL *chase*

      nam ra   boroi ma   ra   tabu   TT 133
      DEM ART *pig*   *with* ART *shell-money*
      The men who have chased the pig receive a small gift in shell-money.

If the noun modified by the relative clause is related to some other part of
that relative clause, it is referred to by a pronoun, e.g.

(62) Tika na bul   a   iangi=na To Noel amir
      One   C *chap* ART *name=* his* TO *Noel* *we/*EXC/DU

      amir   ga ki varurung ati ...   TT 124
      *we/*EXC/DU TA *sit* *together*   *here*
      One chap whose name was To Noel and I stayed together here.
      (lit. *one chap - his name (was) To Noel - we two stayed together
      here*)

(63) Nam ra   nga a   umana te   Ostrelia   dia   ga mal
      DEM ART *way* ART PL   *native* *Australia* *they/*PL TA *make*

      ia tika na pakana ta=na i   ga kaina.   TT 66
      it *one*   C *part*   *on=*it* *it* TA *bad*
      Part of the former road which the Australians had built was bad.
      (lit. *that road - the Australians had made it - one part of it was
      bad*)

2.3.3 Conclusion

1. Except for local deictics, possessor phrases, prepositional phrases
and relative clauses, determiners which mainly serve as a means to identify the
reference of the head noun precede it, starting with the referential determiner
par excellence, the demonstrative pronoun:

$$\text{DEM} + \text{ART} \quad + \text{PL} \quad + \text{(C)} + \text{ADJ}_{ev} + \text{C} + \text{N}_1$$
$$\text{or} \qquad\qquad \text{or}$$
$$\text{POSS.PRON} \quad \text{QUANT}$$
$$\text{or}$$
$$\text{NUM}$$

```
                    ─────────────────────────────────────────────────►
                    decreasing referential potential
 highest            increasing descriptive potential
 referential
 potential          increasing referential potential
                    decreasing descriptive potential
                    ◄─────────────────────────────────────────────────
```
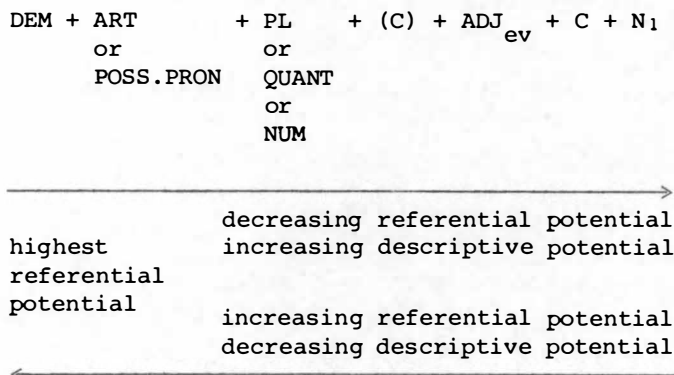
The order of elements preceding the head noun seems to be determined by the same
rule as stated for High German by Seiler (1978:309):

> The potential of a determiner D for singling out the object
> referred to by the head houn N increases proportionally
> with the positional distance of D from N.

The same regularity can be observed with nouns (N_2) and adjectives (ADJ_{ch})
following the head noun (N_1) which on the whole rather characterise the concept
denoted by N_1 than specify its reference. But N_2 which is closer to the head
noun (N_1) expresses a more strongly implied property of the head noun referent
than that expressed by the characterising adjective as, for instance, the
destiny of the head noun referent, the material it consists of or the whole
which it is part of (cf.p.51; compare Seiler (1978:309f.). Consequently, N_2
contributes less to the identification of reference than the following charac-
terising adjective. For the more a determiner contributes to identifying the
concept, the less it contributes to reference (Seiler 1978:309f.).

2. The fact that possessor phrases, prepositional phrases and relative
clauses follow $N_1 + C + N_2 + \text{ADJ}_{ch}$ regardless their referential and descriptive
potential has probably to be ascribed to their syntactic complexity (compare
Seiler 1978:317).

3. The only parts of speech whose position within the noun phrase contra-
dicts the observed principles are local deictics, as they follow the head noun
in spite of their high referential potential and their syntactic simplicity.

4. The use of the connective particle is only partly correlated with the
two principles of determination, i.e. determination of reference and determina-
tion of a concept. The only regularity which can be observed is that determiners
of a very high referential potential as demonstratives, articles, possessors
and local deictics are not linked by the connective particle. But it cannot
be explained why evaluative adjectives that precede the head noun require the
connective particle, whereas characterising adjectives lack it. Since the
items of a high referential potential lack the connective particle, one would
rather expect that characterising adjectives are linked by it instead of

evaluative adjectives. The characterising adjectives hold the same position as N_2 in N_1N_2-compounds, which also lack the connective particle, so that it might be reasonable to regard the sequence of N ADJ_{ch} as a compound, too.

2.3.4 Innovations in modern Tolai

2.3.4.1 Articles

The articles a/ra and ta are often left out before quantifiers in modern Tolai, e.g.

    (64) mangoro na tarai   *many people*
           many   c   *people*

so that these quantifiers take the function of the article, enabling the noun phrase to express the references of the concept, which is expressed by the mere noun, whereby the distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness is neutralised. Before numerals and plural markers the article is always maintained.

2.3.4 The sequential order of noun phrase constituents

As far as the sequential order of noun phrase constituents is concerned, modern Tolai shows two innovations:

1. Colour adjectives, which follow the nucleus in traditional Tolai (cf.p.24), are often placed before the nucleus, and thus they hold the same position as evaluative and affective adjectives:

    (65) a   pua   na pal
          ART *white* c   *house*
          the white house

This innovation can be ascribed to the influence of English and Tok Pisin, where colour adjectives always precede the head noun (Mosel 1980:54ff.), e.g.

    (66) wetpela haus   (Tok Pisin)
          white   *house*
          a/the white house

Adjectives borrowed from English also always precede the head noun, e.g.

    (67) a   yellow na pal
          ART   c   *house*
          the yellow house

The new position of the colour adjectives does not result from rule simplification, since the postponed adjectives tabu *sacred* and tuna *real* do not change their position, but always follow the head noun as their Tok Pisin equivalents tabu and tru do. The rule that the adjectives which specify the reference of the head noun precede it, while the characterising adjectives follow the head noun, is sometimes neglected in the language of the radio news, where one occasionally finds

    (68) a   ngala na matanitu   *the national government*
          ART *big*   c   *government*

          a   ikilik na vartovo   *the primary school*
          ART *little* c   *school*

instead of a matanitu ngala and a vartovo ikilik[3] (cf.p.24).

2. Due to the extensive use of nominalisations, the sequence of N_2-C-N_2 is sometimes interrupted by an adjective modifying the N_2 in the language of the radio news (cf.p.10), e.g.

> (69) a   minomo -na -ongor -na -sipirit
> ART *drinking* -C- *strong* -C- *liquor*
> *the drinking of strong liquor*

Apart from this construction of adjectives within compound noun phrases, the development of the nominal style (cf.p.10) leads to two other innovations:

1. Multiple compounding

While in traditional Tolai compound noun phrases consist of only two nouns, namely N_1-C-N_2, the head noun is occasionally followed by two or three modifying nouns in the radio news, e.g.

> (70) Di   vateten ra   vaden ure   ra   umana nga-na-papalum -
> INDEF *show*   ART *women* *about* ART PL   *way*-C- *work*
>
> na-balabaure-   na-kakaruk.
> C- *looking-after*-C- *chicken*.
> *They showed the women various methods of how to raise chickens.*

> (71) Di   tata   ure   ra   nga-na-vunuvung-na-tena
> INDEF *speak* *about* ART *way*-C- *placing*- C- *expert*
>
> vartovo   ta ra   umana pal- na-vartovo.
> *teaching*   *in* ART PL   *house*-C- *learning*
> *They discussed to which schools they should assign the teachers.*

2. Extensive use of adnominal prepositional adjuncts

There are two cases of prepositional adjuncts following a nominalised verb to be distinguished. Firstly, if a verb followed by a prepositional phrase is nominalised, this prepositional phrase also follows the nominalised verb, so that for instance

> (72) i lul upi ra nian
> *he ask for* ART *food*
> *he asked for food*

becomes

> (73) a   nilul upi ra nian
> ART *asking for* ART *food*
> *the asking for food*

Secondly, if the verb which is nominalised expresses an action affecting a patient, this patient can be denoted by a prepositional phrase in modern Tolai, e.g.

> (74) i long   ra kar
> *he steal* ART *car*
> *he stole the car*

> (75) a   nilong   ta   ra kar
> ART *stealing* PREP ART *car*
> *the stealing of the car*

(Ta, which is rendered by PREP in the interlinear morphemic translation, is basically a locative preposition; for details cf.p.202).

In traditional Tolai the patient of an action expressed by a nominalised verb can only be denoted by the C-N$_2$-construction, e.g.

(76) a   nilong-   na-kar
      ART *stealing* C- *car*

In this construction na-kar characterises nilong without specifying whether one particular car, several cars or cars in general are meant. Since in traditional Tolai the use of nominalisations is rather restricted, there seems to be no need to be more precise. But in modern Tolai, where nominalisations replace subordinated clauses such as time and purpose clauses, the specification of the patient becomes necessary. The patient is either denoted by the locative preposition ta + NP (cf.p.202) or by the preposition ure *in respect to* + NP (cf.p.201), if it is inanimate; or if it is animate, the patient is denoted by the locative preposition pire + NP (cf.p.185) or by ure pire + NP. For example:

(77) | pait kana tinata- na-varvadovot
      *He make his   speaking-*C- *finding-out-the-truth*

      ure   ra   vartakun pire August To Ima.   (news)
      about ART *accusing* PREP *A.*
      He held a speech to find out the truth about the accusation
      against August To Ima.

(78) A   nilul   upi   ra   maramaravut ure   pire
      ART *asking for* ART *supporting*   *in-respect-to* PREP

      ra   Red Cross ati   New Britain di   vaarikē
      ART   *here*   IND *announce+it*

      go   ra   ravian.   (news)
      DEM ART *afternoon*
      This afternoon it was announced that the population was asked to
      support the Red Cross here in New Britain.

In the last sentence the noun phrase a nilul ... New Britain is topicalised and referred to by the third person singular pronoun ia *it*, whose fusion with the transitive suffix -e of vaarike results in -ē; being an organisation of people Red Cross is animate.

2.4 POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASES

2.4.1 Introduction

Possessive constructions are grammatical constructions which contain two nominals and express that the referent of one of these nominals belongs to the other. The kind of relationship denoted by possessive constructions is not only that of ownership (1), as the term 'possessive' might suggest, but also that of kinship (2), bodypart relationship (3), part/whole relationship (4) and similar relationships, e.g.

(79) the house of the man
      the man has a house
      the house belongs to the man

(80) my brother
      I have two brothers

(81) the leg of the kangaroo
      The kangaroo has short front legs.

(82) the leaves of the tree

The following investigation will start with possessive constructions on phrase level, i.e. possessive phrases, and then deal with possessive constructions on clause level (cf. 4.6).

With regard to Tolai, possessive phrases can be defined as noun phrases containing a head noun and a subordinated noun or pronoun which express that the head noun referent belongs to what is referred to by the nominal or pronominal attribute. The head noun is called the 'possessed noun' and the attribute the 'possessor', e.g.

(83) tura-   gu   *my brother*
      brother   *my*
      POSSESSED POSSESSOR
      NOUN

As in other languages of Melanesia, Tolai shows different types of possessive phrases which on the basis of structural criteria can be grouped into the three classes of inalienable possessive phrases, alienable possessive phrases and compound noun phrases, and furthermore into several subclasses, as will be seen later (cf.pp.34, 39):

I.   Inalienable possessive phrases[4]

(84) a   bala= i   ra tutana
      ART *belly*=POSS.M. ART *man*
      the belly of the man

(85) a   bala= na
      ART *belly=his*
      his belly

II. Alienable possessive phrases[4]

(86) a   pal   ka=   i   ra tutana
      ART *house* POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. ART *man*
      the house of the man

(87) ka=   na   pal
      POSS.CLFR=*his* *house*
      his house

III. Compound noun phrases

(88) a   mapi- na - davai
      ART *leaf* C   *tree*
      the leaf/leaves of the tree

(89) a   bala-   na - pal
      ART *interior* C   *house*
           (belly)
      the interior of the house

In inalienable possessive constructions (84), (85), the possessor always follows the possessed noun (i.e. bala *belly*). While singular pronominal possessors are directly suffixed to the possessed noun (85), (90), non-singular pronominal and nominal possessors are connected to it by means of the possessive marker (POSS.M.) =i (91), (92):

```
(90)  a      bala= gu              my belly
      ART    belly=my

      a      bala= m               your (sg.) belly
      ART    belly= your

      a      bala= na              his/her/its belly
      ART    belly=his/her/its

(91)  a      bala= i=      dor
      ART    belly=POSS.M.=our/INC/DU
      our bellies

      a      bala= i=      mimir
      ART    belly=POSS.M.=our/EXC/DU
      our bellies

      a      bala= i=      datal
      ART    belly=POSS.M.=our/INC/TRI
      our bellies

      a      bala= i=      diat
      ART    belly=POSS.M.=their/PL
      their bellies

(92)  a      bala= i       ra    tutana
      ART    belly=POSS.M.  ART   man
      the belly of the man
```

The pronominal suffixes =gu, =m, =na etc. cannot be classified as possessive suffix pronouns, but only generally as suffix pronouns, because they also occur with some prepositions, e.g. ta=gu *to me*, pira=gu *near me*.

Since clusters of consonants are avoided in Tolai[5], the singular pronominal suffixes =gu, =m and =na are not directly joined to nouns ending in a consonant, but through mediation of an insert vowel. If the stem vowel of the noun is u or if the final consonant of the noun is p, the insert vowel is u, elsewhere it is i, e.g.

```
(93)  a      ul=    u=gu            my head
      ART    head=    my

      a      gap=   u=na            his blood
      ART    blood=   his

      a      pal=   i=na            his skin
      ART    skin=    his
```

With non-singular pronominal suffixes the insert vowel =u= is sometimes retained, e.g.

```
(94)  a      ul=    u=  i=     dir       their heads
      ART    head=      POSS.M.=their/DU

      a      ul=    i=     dir           their heads
      ART    head=POSS.M.  =their/DU

      a      pal=   i=     dir           their skins
      ART    skin   POSS.M. =their/DU
```

   In alienable possessive constructions the possessor noun follows the possessed noun and is joined to it by means of the particle kai or ai ((86), (95), (96)), which is composed of the possessive classifier (POSS.CLFR) ka= or a= and the possessive marker =i:

(95) a   nian ka=   i   ra   tutana
      ART   *food* POSS.CLFR=   POSS.M. ART *man*
      the food of the man, i.e. the food owned by the man but not
      necessarily eaten by him

(96) a   nian a=   i   ra   tutana
      ART   *food* POSS.CLFR=POSS.M.   ART *man*
      the food of the man, i.e. the food which is determined to be eaten
      by the man (but which is not necessarily owned by him).

The different meanings of the possessive classifiers will be explained below
(cf.p.39); here we are only concerned with the formal structure of the different
possessive constructions.

   Pronominal possessors of alienable possessive constructions are the same
suffix pronouns as in inalienable possessive constructions, but are suffixed to
one of the possessive classifiers and form an independent possessive pronoun
which usually precedes the possessed noun and replaces the article, e.g.

(97) ka=   na nian
      POSS.CLFR=*his food*
      his food, the food owned by him

(98) a=   na nian
      POSS.CLFR=*his food*
      his food; the food which is determined to be eaten by him.

Instead of the possessive classifier ka= one finds the allomorph kau= with the
first and second person singular suffix pronoun, i.e. kau=gu *my* and kau=m *your*,
in most dialects. The possessive classifier a= + suffix pronoun is only used
at the beginning of an utterance; elsewhere its allomorph ra= is used, e.g.
... ra=na nian *his food*.

   To conclude, the pronominal and nominal possessors are linked to the
possessed noun in four different ways, namely by means of juxtaposition (90),
the possessive marker i (91), (92), a possessive classifier (97), (98) or a
possessive classifier plus possessive marker (95), (96). Thus, the means of
construction form a 'scale of immediateness' (Seiler 1983:18) with juxtaposition
at one end and possessive classifier + possessive marker at the other:

	POSS.M.	POSS.CLFR	
inalienable			
singular pronom. possessor	–	–	(90)
non-singular pro- nominal possessor	+	–	(91)
nominal possessor	+	–	(92)
alienable			
pronominal possessor	–	+	(97), (98)
nominal possessor	+	+	(95), (96)

As will be seen later (cf.p.46), this continuum of structural means correlates
with a semantic continuum from the most intimate or inherent relationship (such
as kinship and bodypart relationship) to more distant relationships (as for
instance temporary ownership); the more inherent relationships require less

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mediating means of expression than the less inherent ones. Secondly, the choice of the means of expression is determined by morphosyntactic features of the nominal possessor. The syntactic relationship between the possessed noun and a pronominal possessor is closer than the corresponding relationship between the possessed noun and a nominal possessor; and in inalienable possessive phrases non-singular pronominal possessors require a more distant construction than singular pronominal possessors.[6]

Compound noun phrases (cf.p.51) are noun phrases consisting of a head noun (N_1) and a nominal adjunct (N_2) which are connected by the so-called connective particle (C). This class of noun phrases (abbr. N_1-C-N_2) is not only comprised of possessive phrases but also of noun phrases whose head noun is modified by a noun denoting some characteristic feature of the head noun referent, for example:

(99)   a   pal-   na-kunai
        ART   *house-* C- *grass*
        the grass hut

(100)   a   bala-   na-vavina
        ART   *belly-* C- *woman*
        a woman's belly, a belly like a woman

In comparison with

(101)   a   bala= i   ra   tutana
        ART   *belly*=POSS.M. ART *man*
        the belly of the man,

the last example (100) shows that one and the same noun may enter different constructions, and therefore it is not the nouns, but the constructions which should be classified (cf.pp.45, 55, 213).

2.4.2 Alienable possessive phrases

The class of alienable possessive phrases comprises of two subclasses[7], which are marked by the possessive classifier KA- (95), (97) and A- (96), (98) and their respective allomorphs, and hence will be called 'KA-possessive phrases' and 'A-possessive phrases' respectively.[8]

2.4.2.1 Alienable KA-possessive phrases

The KA-possessive phrases denote temporary ownership (102) which includes the relation between married people (103), (104), and their relatives by marriage (the bride is bought by the relatives of the bridegroom and becomes the property of the man. If the marriage is divorced, the family of the woman has to pay back the bride price (Parkinson 1926:5)), e.g.

(102)   a   pal   ka=   i   ra   tutana
        ART   *house* POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. ART *man*
        the house of the man

(103)   kau=   gu vavina, kau=   gu tutana
        POSS.CLFR=*my* *woman* POSS.CLFR=*my* *man*
        my wife   *my husband*

(104) kau=   gu taulai
      POSS.CLFR=*my* *wife/husband*
      my wife (said by a man), *my husband* (said by a woman).

There are three words for *child*, namely natu=, bul and mumum. While natu=, which is inalienably possessed, denoted one's own child by birth, bul means *child* in general and is alienably possessed. Kaugu bul *my child* refers to any child I take care of, whether it is my own or not. Hence bul may be used with the same reference as natu=, e.g.

(105) ura natu-gu ma   kau-   gu ura bul   M 24
      two son- my and POSS.CLFR- *my two child*
      my two sons, my two children!

The compound noun bul-mur *descendant* (lit. *following child*), however, may be either inalienably or alienably possessed without any changes in meaning, e.g.

(106) ra umana bul-mur= i=   dor   M 62
      ART PL   *descendant*=POSS.M.= *our*/DU/INC
      our descendants

(107) ka=   =dor   umana bul-mur
      POSS.CLFR=*our*/DU/INC PL   *descendant*
      our descendants.

Mumum *adopted child* is alienably possessed, since the relationship between the child and the adoptive parents is not inherently given, but established, which implies that the relationship is voluntary on the part of the possessor referent, e.g.

(108) kau=   gu ura mumum
      POSS.CLFR=*my two adopted-child*
      my two adopted children.

The same factor of voluntariness also accounts for the alienable construction of gunan *hamlet, village* in kaugu gunan *my village*, as people can leave their gunan and find a new one (compare Parkinson 1926:48). Similarly, in

(109) kau=   gu iang
      POSS.CLFR=*my name*
      the name given by me

the selection of the alienable construction is determined by the factor of voluntary choice; whereas 'my name' in the sense of 'the name given to me' is expressed by the inalienable construction. Furthermore, KA-possessors are used to indicate the agent of nominalised active verbs, i.e. verbal nouns, e.g.

(110) ure   ra pinot   ka=   i   ra umana   TT 121
      about ART *coming* POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. ART PL

      katiket
      catechism teacher
      about the arrival of the catechism teachers.

This construction of the verbal noun cannot be classified as a possessive phrase, if one defines possession semantically as a "relation between substance and substance" and syntactically as a "relation between nominal and nominal" as Seiler (1983) does in his monograph *Possession as operational dimension of language*.

> Linguistic POSSESSION consists of the representation of
> a relationship between a substance and another substance.
> Subtance A, called the POSSESSOR, is prototypically
> (+ animate), more specifically (+ human), and still more
> specifically (+ EGO) or close to the speaker. ...
>
> Semantically the domain of POSSESSION can be defined as
> bio-cultural. It is the relationship between a human
> being and his kinsmen, his body parts, his material
> belongings, his cultural and intellectual products. In
> a more extended view, it is the relationship between parts
> and whole of an organism. The complex bio-cultural feature
> may serve as one criterion to delimit POSSESSION from other
> relationships, in particular from VALENCE and from LOCATION.
> VALENCE is the relationship between an action or process or
> state and its participants. It does not show any limitations
> to the bio-cultural sphere. The number of participants can
> range from zero to three or four, whereas POSSESSION is a
> strictly binary relation. ...
>
> Syntactically speaking, POSSESSION is a relation between
> nominal and nominal, which is not mediated by a verb.
> Predication, specifically a verb of possession, does
> contribute to the expression of POSSESSION — but only to
> the extent that such a predication or such a verb refers
> to the particular mode of the possessive relationship and
> to nothing else. (Seiler 1983:4-5).

The relationship between an action and its agent evidently differs semantically
from the relationship that exists between a human being and his material belong-
ings, products etc.

However, the fact that the agent of verbal nouns is constructed in exactly
the same way as the possessor of a KA-possessive phrase is hardly accidental[9],
but this has to be ascribed to the similarities between the semantic role of the
agent of active verbs and that of the KA-possessor. The common determinator of
all KA-possessive phrases is that they denote active voluntary or controlling
relationship[10], such as temporary ownership implies acquisition and the possi-
bility of disposal, or as personal relationships other than kinship presuppose
selection. The very same relationship is expressed by the agent noun phrase
and the verb in active transitive and intransitive clauses and consequently by
the corresponding nominalised constructions, e.g.

(111) A   tutana i   vana.
       ART   *man*   *he*   *go*
       The man went.

(112) a   vinavana ka=   i   ra   tutana
       ART   *going*   POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. ART *man*
       the going of the man.

Transitive verbs are not directly nominalised, but are intransitivised first,
whereby the obligatory patient noun phrase of the transitive verb changes into
an optional nominal adjunct, e.g.

(113) A   tutana i   kul a   kar.
       ART   *man*   *he*   *buy* ART *car*
       The man bought a car.

(114) a   tutana   i   kukul   (na-kar)
       ART   *man*   *he* *buy*/INTR   (C- *car*)
       the man did the (car) buying

(115) a   kunukul (na kar)   ka-   i   ra   tutana
       ART   *buying*   (C *car*) POSS.CLFR POSS.M.   ART   *man*
       the (car) buying of the man.

In (114) and (115) na kar characterises the concept of buying in a rather
unspecific way. It is left open, whether the man bought one or several cars
(compare TT 147).

   To conclude, it is not only ownership (which is the prototypical established
possessive relationship) that is expressed by the alienable KA-possessive
constructions, but also other relationships which presuppose activity, control
or voluntariness on part of the possessor referent. The various relationships
expressed by the KA-possessive constructions constitute what might be called a
'continuum of possessivity' which starts with ownership representing the focal
instance of established relationships, and which ends with the construction of
the agent of the nominalised verbs as being the 'least possessive' relationship
(compare the other scale of 'possessivity' p.59).

+ possessive   ownership   kaugu   pal
                                  my   *hause*

                                  kaugu   bul
                                  my   *child*
                                  (the child I take care of)

                                  kaugu   gunan
                                  my   *village*
                                  (the village which I have
                                  chosen, which I can leave)

                                  kaugu   iang
                                  my   *name*
                                  (the name given by me)

- possessive   action/agent   kaugu   vinavana
                                  my   *going*

2.4.2.2 Alienable A-possessive phrases

   In A-possessive phrases the possessed noun refers to something that is
determined to the possessor referent, as food is determined to be eaten by
somebody, weapons are determined to hurt or kill somebody, or emotions are
determined to affect somebody. Compare the following expressions:

(116) a=   =na   vudu
       POSS.CLFR=*his*   *banana*
       his banana, lit. *the banana which is determined to be eaten by him*
       (but which is not necessarily owned by him)

(117) To-ia   u   u   iaian   kau=   gu   vudu?   KL 283
       who   *you*/SG *you* SG *eat*/RED POSS.CLFR=*my* *banana*
       Who are you who is eating my bananas?

(118) ... ma   dir   rapu ia ma   ra=   na ram   M 44
      and *they/DU hit it with* POSS.CLFR=*its club*
      ... *and they hit it (the pig) with its club (with the club that*
      was determined for it)

(119) ... ma   dia   ga mar   ka=   dia   rumu   M 150
      and *they/PL TA decorate* POSS.CLFR=*their/PL spear*
      and they decorated their spears

(120) Ma   i ga al   pa nam ra=   na kankan.
      And he TA attract E DEM POSS.CLFR=*his anger*
      And he drew their anger upon himself (because he always scolded
      them).

(121) Kau-   gu varmari na   tur   pira=m.   TT 174
      POSS.CLFR=*my love* *it*-TA *stand with*=*you*
      My love will be with you; I'll love you.

In contrast to KA-possessive phrases, the A-possessive phrases do not
express a relationship of control, but rather the relationship that exists
between an object (e.g. food, weapons) and somebody or something that is affected
by this object; i.e. in A-possessive phrases the possessor refers to somebody or
something the referent of the possessed noun phrase is used on.[12] While the KA-
possessors are always (+ animate), the A-possessors may also be (- animate) in a
few cases. The examples listed by Rickard (1889) suggest that the usage of
inanimate possessors is restricted to objects into which some other small object
is put, such as food is put into someone's mouth or a spear into someone's body,
e.g.

(122) a   ot   e   ra bok
      ART *nail* POSS.CLFR + POSS.M. ART *box*
      a nail for nailing the box

(123) a   ki   e   ra pal
      ART *key* POSS.CLFR + POSS.M.   ART *house*
      the key to unlock the house

(124) a   waraku e   ra maraket
      ART *oil*   POSS.CLFR + POSS.M. ART *musket*
      oil to oil the musket with.
                                        (Rickard 1889:439)

The translations by Rickard are misleading, because they suggest that the general
idea expressed by these constructions is that of purpose. But purpose is either
denoted by a compound noun phrase or by a prepositional construction with upi
for or ure *for*, e.g.

(125) a   davai ure ra pal   Wr 190
      ART *wood* *for* ART *house*
      timber for the house.

The fact that A-possessor referents are affected by what is denoted by the
possessed noun is correlated to the fact that A-possessive constructions express
a more intimate relationship than KA-possessive constructions, as it is the body
of the possessor referent or his personality that is affected. This becomes
most evident with the noun mal *clothes*. With an A-possessor mal refers to
clothes that someone wears or should wear on his body. But if it is possessed
by a KA-possessor, it is only intended to say that the possessor referent has
these clothes irrespective of whether he puts them on or not, e.g.

(126) ... o   ra   vat   i   ga   noe   vake   o   ra   mal   M 252
        DEM   ART   *stone* *it* TA *do* *fasten* DEM ART *dress*

      a=   i   ra   tutana
      POSS.CLFR=POSS.M.   ART *man*
      ... *the man's dress was caught under the flat stone.*

Both the KA- and the A-possessive constructions have been defined as
alienable constructions on the basis of mere structural criteria. If, however,
structural features are correlated with semantic ones, it becomes evident that
they do not form one class which is strictly opposed to the class of inalienable
constructions, but that these three types of possessive constructions constitute
different degrees on a gradient scale from established possession to inherent
possession with the alienable KA-possessive constructions at one end and the
inalienable constructions at the other (compare Seiler's claim that "the tradi-
tional exclusive categorisation into 'inalienable' or 'alienable' possession must
be given up" (Seiler 1983:81)).[13] As will be seen later, the morphosyntactic
class of inalienable possessive constructions also shows various degrees of
'inalienability' (cf.p.46).

                    KA-poss.   A-poss.   inalienable poss.

   - inherent   ————————————————————————————————————→ + inherent

   + established ←———————————————————————————————— - established
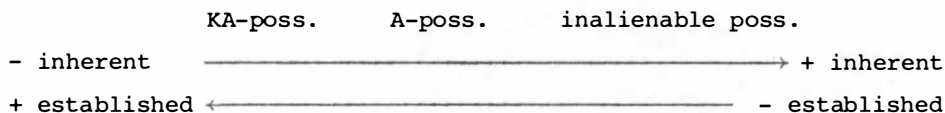
2.4.3 Inalienable possessive phrases

There are two types of inalienable possessive phrases to be distinguished:

1. possessive phrases denoting kin relationships, and
2. possessive phrases whose possessed noun refers to something that inherently
    belongs to the possessor referent and is not transferable.

Since mostly bodypart terms enter this second type of construction, it will be
called "possessive phrases of body part relationships".

Both types of possessive phrases are very similar in structure. The only
difference is that kinship terms must not be directly preceded by the article.
Thus, when the kinship term is not preceded by an adjective, a plural marker or
a quantifier (cf.p.19), there is no article, e.g.

   (127) tura=   i   ra   tutana
          brother=POSS.M.   ART *man*
          the brother of the man

          tura=   na
          brother= *his*
          his brother

   (128) a   umana tura=   i   ra   tutana
          ART PL   *brother*= POSS.M.   ART *man*
          the brothers of the man

   (129) a   bala= i   ra   tutana
          ART *belly*= POSS.M.   ART *man*
          the belly of the man.

2.4.3.1 Possessive phrases of kin relationships

There are two classes of kinship terms:

1. reciprocal kinship terms
2. non-reciprocal kinship terms.

Reciprocal kinship terms, which are by far in the majority, refer to both sides of a kin relationship, i.e., for instance, to the grandparent as well as to the grandchild, or to the nephew as well as to the uncle, so that

(130) tubu=   gu
       person who is in the relationship grandparent- *my*
       grandchild to another person

can either mean *my grandfather* (or *-mother*) or *my grandchild*. If a reciprocal kinship term enters a possessive construction as possessed noun, it can only be seen from the context which partner of the kin relationship is referred to by the kinship term and which one by the possessor, for example

(131) nina ra bul, tama=   i   nam ra tutana   Kl 375
       DEM   ART *child father/child*=POSS.M. DEM ART *man*
       that child, the child of that man

(132) tama=   i   nam ra bul   Kl 203
       father/child= POSS.M. DEM ART *child*
       the father of that child.

Tama= means *somebody who is in the relationship father-child to another person*.

If these kinship terms do not enter a possessive construction, they must be combined with the derelational suffix, i.e. a suffix whose function it is to derelationise words that are inherently relational and thus require a word or phrase to follow in order to make the expression of relationship complete. In the case of kinship terms the derelational suffix is phonologically identical with the third person singular-suffix pronoun -na, as all kinship terms end in a vowel, but with other relational nouns it shows different forms, e.g. -a in ul-a *head* in contrast to ul-u-na *his head* (cf.p.32).

The derelational form of kinship terms is used in combination with the plural marker bar in order to refer to at least two people who are in the relationship that is denoted by the kinship term (cf.p.62), e.g.

(133) a   ura bar tubu=   na   M 184
       ART *two* PL *grandparent/-child-* DEREL
       the grandmother and her grandchild.

Furthermore, the derelationised form of kinship terms occurs as nucleus in verbal phrases (134)-(135), as adjunct to independent and suffixed pronouns (137)-(139) and as prenuclear adjunct in verbal phrases (140)-(142). The derelationised kinship terms, as the nucleus in verbal phrases, always require a plural subject, in order to denote that the subject referents are relatives of the same kind. You cannot say 'he is my uncle' but only

(134) ... ami   matua=   na   Kl 194
           we/DU/EXC   uncle/nephew=DEREL
       ... *we two are in the relationship of uncle and nephew*, i.e.
       I am his uncle (*I am his nephew* is theoretically possible as well)

(135) ... mi   tura= na   ma   Kabinana   Kl 75
           we/DU/EXC   brother=DEREL *including K.*
       ... *I and To Kabinana are brothers, I am the brother of Kabinana.*

The subject marker refers to the total number of subject referents. If you want to say 'we two and Kabinana are brothers', you have to use the trial form:

(136)   amita   tura=   na   ma   Kabinana
           we/TRI/EXC brother= DEREL *including K.*
           (lit. *we three are brothers including To Kabinana*)
           we two and To Kabinana are brothers.

Non-singular independent and suffixed pronouns can be modified by derelationised reciprocal kinship terms in order to express that the people spoken about are relatives, for example:

(137)   I   vana papa kan amir   tama=   na   TT 97
           he   go   off   from   we/DU/EXC father/son= DEREL
           He left me and my father.

(138)   "Amur   ma   ia?" "Amir   tura= na."
           *you/DU including whom   we/DU/EXC brother=*DEREL
           "Who is with you?" "It is I and my brother."
           (lit. *"You two including whom?" "We two brothers."*)

(In amur ma ia the same rule of coordination as in (136) applies: the pronoun refers to the total number of participants including those expressed by the added noun phrases.)

(139)   ta ka=   dir   tura= na   pal
           in POSS.CLFR=*their/DU brother=* DEREL *house*
           in their, the two brother's house.

In verbal phrases derelationised kinship terms are found between the tense/ aspect/mood markers (abbr. TA) and the nucleus in order to modify the action as being done by relatives, for example:

(140)   Dir   ga tubu=   na   vartir.   M 182
           *they/DU TA grandmother/-child=*DEREL *ask-each-other*
           Grandchild and grandmother asked each other.

(141)   Dir   ga ti tama=   na   virua   par.   M 162
           they/DU TA TA father/child= DEREL *be-killed be-complete*
           They both, father and son, were killed.

Most kinship terms are reciprocal, including the word talai=na *friend*, which is strictly speaking not a kinship term:

(142)   Ami   talai= na   ma   nam ra kaia.   Kl 370
           we/DU/EXC friends= DEREL *including* DEM ART *k.*
           I and the kaia ghost are friends; I am the friend of that kaia.

There is only a very small number of non-reciprocal kinship terms, for example:

(143)   tina=na   *mother*
           natu=na   *child*
           tavu=na   *parent(s).*

The term tavu=na is also metaphorically used for the master of a dog, e.g.

(144)   Ma dia   tir nam ra   pap: "Ba   tavu= m   M 230
           and they/PL ask DEM ART *dog   please, master=your/SG*

           akave?
           where
           And they asked that dog: "Please, where is your master?"

2.4.3.2 Possessive phrases of bodypart relationships

Nouns denoting bodyparts are only inalienably possessed, if they refer to the bodyparts of human beings or animals, but not if they denote parts of plants or objects. In that case they enter N_1-C-N_2-construction as N_1, i.e. they form the head of a compound noun phrase (compare Table I). The only exception is pa *base*, *root of a tree* which, however, never denotes a part of a human being or animal.

Whereas kinship terms are obligatorily possessed or are combined with the derelational suffix, there are some bodypart terms which are optionally possessed and never take the derelational suffix. These non-relational bodypart terms characteristically denote bodyparts that are often found separated from the body which they belong to: for example gap *blood*, kiau *egg*, ur *bone*. The fact that separation from the body is a decisive factor of whether the possessed or the non-possessed form is preferred, is shown by the following sentence:

(145) I ga van' arikai ra gap=u= na i ga vilau   Kl 397
it TA *go appear* ART *blood= his it* TA *run*

urama liu nam ra gap.
upwards high DEM ART *blood*
(*The man was thrown into the sea.*) *His blood appeared* (i.e. *he started to bleed*)*, and the blood flew up to the surface.*

Consequently, kiau *egg* is mostly found in its unpossessed form, as eggs are not often talked about with reference to the animal to which they belong. Compare:

(146) Dir tak- pa ra ivu kiau.   M 30
they/PL take- E ART *two egg*
They took two eggs.

(147) Dia ga karakarate ra kiau=i= diat.   M 158
they/PL TA *bite/RED* ART *egg-* POSS.M.= *their*
Each of them (the ants) carried an egg in its mouth.

If one wants to characterise the sort of an egg, one uses the N_1-C-N_2-construction:

(148) a kiau-na-kakaruk,   a kiau-na-rumi
ART *egg* -C- *hen*   ART *egg* -C- *ant*
hen's egg   *ant's egg.*

Note that 'non-relational' is used here as a purely grammatical term, namely as label for optionally possessed inalienable nouns that are not combined with the derelational suffix, when used outside possessive phrases. Other bodypart terms must take the derelational suffix, when they are not possessed. The distribution of these derelationalised forms, however, is partly different from that of derelationised kinship terms. Derelationised bodypart terms never function as modifiers (compare (137)-(139)), but occur as the nucleus of verbal phrases and furthermore, like any other noun, as the head of a patient noun phrase and after prepositions, for example as the nucleus of verbal phrases:

(149) Ma i ga ul= a ura ra makilalat.   Kl 169
and he TA *head=*DEREL *towards-to* ART *door*
He had his head in the direction of the door.

i ga kake=ne ura ra vabungan
he TA *foot=*DEREL *towards-to* ART *back-of-the-hut*
he had his feet in the direction of the back of the hut, i.e.
he lay down with his head at the door and his feet in the back of the hut

and as the head of a patient noun phrase:

<pre>
(150) "... una   loe   ra   ul=u= m."   Kl 75
          you/SG-TA   shake   ART   head= your/SG

       I   ga low   ra   ul=   a.
       he TA shake   ART   head= DEREL
       "Shake your head." And he shook his head.

(151) I   ga iaian   ra   ul= a.   Kl 168
       he TA be-eating   ART   head=DEREL
       He was eating the head (of the victim).

(152) Nam di   kutu- vue   ra   ul=   a   ra   Kl 350
       DEM INDEF cut-   take-off   ART   head= DEREL ART

       kaia i   ga dolom   ia   ka.
       kaia he TA swallow him   PART
       That one whose head was cut off — the kaia-ghost swallowed him.
</pre>

As the head of a patient noun phrase a bodypart term may occur in its
derelationised form, if it does not refer to the speaker's or hearer's bodypart.
The second and the third example show that the derelationised form of the body-
part term is used, if it refers to a bodypart that has been separated from its
body.[14] This corresponds to the use of the non-relational bodypart terms gap
blood, kiau *egg* and ur *bone*. In our data the possessed form ul=u=na *his head*
is never used instead of ul=a *head*, when reference is made to a separate head
(which happens quite often in the myths and stories of the Tolai people). But
unless linguistic tests have not been made, it would perhaps be premature to
say that in this case the derelationised form is obligatory. If the person to
whom the separated head belongs is to be expressed by a noun phrase, one uses
the usual construction, e.g.

<pre>
(153) A   kaia i   vue   ra   ul= i   ra   tutana. Kl 350
       ART kaia he throw-away   ART   head=POSS.M. ART   man
       The kaia-ghost threw the head of the man away.
</pre>

Apart from true bodypart terms, several other nouns enter the inalienable
possessive construction which can be classified roughly as follows:

1. Nouns denoting personal attributes or properties which are physically
   related to the possessor referent, e.g.

<pre>
    non-possessed form   possessed form

    a   manua   a   manua=m
    ART ulcer   ART ulcer=your/SG
                                your ulcer

    a   nilai=na   a   nilai=gu
    ART voice=DEREL   ART voice=my
                                my voice

    a   pal-a-kau= na   a   pal-a-kau=i   ra   boroi
    ART track   DEREL   ART track   POSS.M. ART   pig
                                the track of the pig

    a   minat=i= na   a   minat= i=   vavat   M 94
    ART corpse=   DEREL   ART corpse= POSS.M.=your/PL
                                your corpses
</pre>

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2. Nouns denoting properties that are socio-culturally defined as non-transferable

non-possessed form	possessed form	
a iang ART *name*	a iang=i= gu ART *name=* *my* *my name*	
a kaia ART *secret*	a kaia= dat ART *secret*+POSS.M.=*our*/PL/INC *our secret*	Kl 504
a nga ART *way*	ra nga=i= dir ART *way*=POSS.M.=*their*/DU *their way*[15]	Kl 42
a rakirak ART *catafalque*	a rakirak =i= m ART *catafalque*= *your*/SG *your catafalque*	M 100
a tabu ART *taboo*	a tabu= gu ART *taboo*= *my* *something that is a taboo for* *me; that I am forbidden to touch*	M 34

3. Nouns denoting the hut or part of the hut where the possessor referent sleeps

non-possessed form	possessed form	
a kuba= =na ART *bed/dwelling*=DEREL	ra kuba=na ART *hut*= *his* *his hut*	Kl 64
	a kuba= gu ART *mat-to-sleep-on*= *my* *my mat to sleep on*	
a makmakilalat ART *entrance*	ra makmakilalat=i= dat ART *entrance*= POSS.M.=*our*/PL/INC *our entrance*	M 240
a marua= na ART *fire(-wood)* DEREL *with which to warm* *oneself*	tika na marua= gu *some* C *firewood=my* *some firewood to warm me*	Kl 70

4. Nouns denoting referential objects

non-possessed form	possessed form	
a malalar ART *picture*	a malalar=i ra umana ART *picture*=POSS.M. ART PL tubuan *Tubuan* *the picture of the Tubuans*	TT 62
a tinata ART *speech*	ra tinata=i nam ra tubuan ART *speech*=POSS.M. DEM ART *Tubuan* *the story about that Tubuan*	TT 86

While malalar obligatorily enters the inalienable possessive construction, tinata *speech, story* is also constructed with the preposition ure *about*. Other words of this semantic class, such as akakur *story, legend, fable* or pirpir *speech, talk* cannot be inalienably possessed, but must be constructed with ure *about*.

5. Two other nouns whose classification is unclear, e.g.

non-possessed form	*possessed form*		
a pupulu	ra pupulu=i tura= na		M 32
ART *parcel*	ART *parcel*=POSS.M. *brother*=*his*		
	the parcel into which his brother		
	has been wrapped up		
?	ra mata- i ra tabu		
	ART *source*-POSS.M. ART *shell-money*		
	the place where the shell-money is		
	found.		

Note that in the last example the possessor is inanimate and that this construction alternates with ra mata na tabu (M 96), i.e. a compound noun phrase without any changes in meaning.

In order not to complicate the terminology, the term 'bodypart term' will also be applied to the nouns listed above, which are constructed in the same ways as true bodypart terms.

A characteristic feature of bodypart terms is that most of them can also function as the nucleus of compound noun phrases (cf.p.55), e.g.

(154) ... i ga poko ra bala= i   ra marau   Kl 176
       he TA *cut* ART *belly*=POSS.M. ART *crocodile*
       ... *he cut the belly of the (living) crocodile*

(155) Ma i laplap ra bala- na-boroi.   M 218
       and he wash   ART *belly* C- *pig*
       And he washed the pig's entrails.

Some of the non-relational terms can also enter the inalienable possessive construction, e.g.

(156) ra kiau=i=   diat   M 158
       ART *egg*= POSS.M.=*their*/PL
       their eggs (the eggs of the ants)

(157) ra=   mamur kiau
       POSS.CLFR=*your*/DU *egg*
       your eggs; the eggs that you two should eat

(158) a iang=i   ra umana lapan
       ART *name*=POSS.M. ART PL   *Japanese*
       the name of the Japanese, i.e. *the name given to the Japanese*

(159) a iang ka=   i   ra umana lapan   TT 66
       ART *name* POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. ART PL   *Japanese*
       the name of the Japanese, i.e. *the name given by the Japanese*

If a relational bodypart term is to be alienably possessed, it must first be derelationalised, e.g.

(160) a=   gu bala= na
       POSS.CLFR= *my belly*=DEREL
       the entrails that are determined to be eaten by me.

To conclude, the construction of bodypart terms differs from that of kinship terms in the following points:

kinship terms	*bodypart terms*
1. Kinship terms must not be directly preceded by the article.	Bodypart terms are always preceded by the article.
2. All kinship terms are relational. They are either possessed or derelationised by the derelational suffix.	A number of bodypart terms are non-relational. If they are possessed, they enter the inalienable possessive constructions, but if they are not possessed they do not take the derelational suffix.
3. In the function of the head noun, kinship terms do not enter other nominal constructions than inalienable possessive phrases. They are neither the head noun of alienable possessive phrases nor the head noun of compound noun phrases.	Bodypart terms are also used as the head of compound noun phrases to denote, for instance, the part of an inanimate object. A few terms of this class (e.g. iang *name*, tinata *speech*) are also alienably possessed.

2.4.4 The continuum from inherent to established possession

While alienable possessive constructions express established possessive relationships which are not inherently given, the common determinator of inalienable possessive constructions is that they denote inherent possession:

> Inherent POSSESSION means that the possessive relationship
> is inherently given in one of the two terms involved, viz.
> the POSSESSUM: The POSSESSUM contains reference to the
> POSSESSOR. Semantically, this kind of representation
> implies more intimate POSSESSION: Prototypically, of 'self'
> to his kinsmen, his body parts, etc.

<div align="right">(Seiler 1983:5)</div>

The various types of inalienable possessive constructions suggest that the relationships expressed by them are not inherently given to the same extent, but that these types constitute a continuum with respect to inherence. According to Seiler's definition of "inherent POSSESSION" the construction of the reciprocal kinship terms (cf.p.40) is the most inherent one, as both sides of the kin relationship are already denoted by these terms themselves, e.g. tubu= *person who is in the relationship grandparent/grandchild to another person* (which is obligatorily denoted by the possessor), hence either *grandparent* or *grandchild* in English.

The second position on the scale of inherence is held by the non-reciprocal kinship terms. These terms are less inherent than the reciprocal kinship terms, because they explicitly denote only one side of the relationship, e.g. natu= *son*, *daughter*, tina= *mother*, though implicitly they contain "reference to the POSSESSOR" (Seiler 1983:5). Since one cannot speak of a mother in Tolai without saying whose mother is meant, these terms are more inherent than the relational

bodypart terms (e.g. ul= *head*), which can be derelationised, if they do not refer to the speaker's or hearer's bodypart, or if they denote a bodypart that has been separated from its body (cf.p.42).

The least inherent relationship within inalienable possessive constructions is expressed by non-relational bodypart terms. As was shown above, the fact that these terms are non-relational correlates with the fact that they denote bodyparts which are often found separated, e.g. ur *bone* etc.

The next position on the scale is held by the alienable A-possessive constructions (cf.p.37), and the least inherent and most established possessive construction is the alienable KA-construction (cf.p.34). In Tolai the continuum of inherence correlates with a continuum of control or activity. This correlation is probably not accidental, but has to be associated with the fact that for the encoding of actions, states and processes the very same feature of control or activity is relevant.

(- control)	possession of reciprocal kinship terms (e.g. tubu=)
(+ inherent)	
(- established)	possession of non-reciprocal kinship terms (e.g. natu=, tina=)
	possession of relational bodypart terms (e.g. ul=)
	possession of non-relational bodypart terms (e.g. ur)
(+ control)	A-possession
(- inherent)	KA-possession
(+ established)	

All but one possessive phrase express relationships that exist between an animate being on the one hand and some other animate being, a bodypart, a concrete object etc., on the other. This single instance of a possessor denoting an inanimate being is found with the inalienably possessed noun pa, which refers exclusively to the base or root of a tree. In other words, the relationship in which pa is involved, is inherently given, and that perhaps explains its inalienable construction; since the more inherent the relationship is, the more predictable the kind of relationship is.

KA-possessive phrases which express the least inherent relationship also denote the greatest variety of relationships, namely the relationship between temporary property and its owner, a selected object or person and the one who selected it, an action and its agent etc. With A-possessive constructions, the variety of relationships is much smaller, as it is only relationships that directly affect the possessor referent, and these are limited by nature. Hence the class of nouns which enter these constructions as possessed nouns is limited to the semantic field of food, clothes, weapons and emotions. However, in contrast to inalienably possessed nouns, this class is open to new words such as loan words for recently introduced food and weapons. Secondly, the nature of relationship is not definitely made explicit; radia tava *their water* can mean both: *the water by which they are killed* or *the water which they drink*.

The inalienable possessive phrases only express one clearly defined relationship. Since these relationships are defined biologically or on the basis of Tolai traditions, it seems plausible that inalienable constructions

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are not accessible to terms of cultural innovations. Apart from the above
mentioned ART pa=i NP$_{TREE}$ *the root* or *base of a tree*, all other part/whole
relationships the whole of which is inanimate are expressed by compound noun
phrases.

2.4.5 Innovations in modern Tolai

2.4.5.1 Alienable possessive constructions

Whereas in traditional Tolai the alienable possessor is obligatorily
animate, the KA-possessive construction is extended to inanimate possessors and
thus corresponds to the Tok Pisin construction of bilong *of* and the English con-
struction of 'of'.

1. The KA-possessive construction is used instead of a compound noun phrase,
when the head noun or the modifying noun or both are English loan words.
Compare:

(161) a   ura lualua-na-vinarubu   TT 4
       ART *two leader-C- fighting*
       chief warriors

(162) a   provincial minister kai ra   education   (news)
       ART   *of* ART
       the provincial minister of education.

2. Since inalienable constructions are not accessible to loans, loan words
denoting bodyparts or kinsmen enter the alienable construction, e.g.

(163) nam ra   toes kai nam ra   ngala na   image
       DEM ART   *of* DEM ART *big*   C
       the toes of that big image

(164) kaugu cousin
       my
       my cousin.

3. A few Tolai words which are inalienably possessed in traditional Tolai, are
often alienably constructed in modern Tolai, e.g.

(165) kaugu dekdek
       my   strength
       my strength

(166) pata tikai i   ga nuk   pa kana nuknuk   TT 67
       no   one   he TA *think* E *his   thought*
       nobody thought of doing what he liked to do
       (lit. *nobody thought his own thoughts*).

4. As has also been shown in my study of number in Tolai (cf.p.70) nouns
denoting vehicles are treated like names of animals in the syntax of modern
Tolai. Consequently, they may function as KA-possessors, though they are
inanimate and do not control what is expressed by the possessed noun, e.g.

(167) tai tika-na ginigira kai tika-na tepelin   (news)
       in one- C seeing   of   one- C plane
       when an inspection (of the area) was undertaken by plane.

5. Due to loan translations from English, there are alienable possessors which
replace prepositional phrases of location, e.g.

(168) a   tarai-na-papalum kai ra   pal- na-guria   (news)
       ART *men- C- work   of* ART *house-C- earthquake*
       the employees of the seismic observatory, the men who work
       in the seismic observatory

instead of

(169) a   tarai-na-papalum ta   ra   pal- na-guria   (news)
       ART *men- C- work   in* ART *house-C- earthquake*
       the men who work in the seismic observatory

which is also found in the same text.

A special case of loan translations are the constructions of abstract nouns such as lolovina *length* and mamat *weight* which are recent derivations from the adjectives lolovina *long* and mamat *heavy*, e.g.

(170) a   mamat   kai ra   vat
       ART *weight   of* ART *stone*
       the weight of the stone

(171) a   lolovina kai ra   pal
       ART *length   of* ART *house*
       the length of the house.

(note that in Tok Pisin, these abstract nouns are derived by the same mechanism from adjectives, e.g.

(172) longpela haus
       long   house
       the long house

(173) longpela bilong haus
       length   of   house
       the length of the house.)

But mamat *weight* and lolovina *length* are alienably constructed, though they denote inherent properties. Therefore it would be more reasonable if they were inalienably constructed (see below).

6. While in traditional Tolai the alienable possessive pronoun (i.e. POSS.CLFR + SUFF.PRON) obligatorily precedes the possessed noun, they are occasionally placed after the possessed noun in modern Tolai, which can certainly be ascribed to interference from Tok Pisin, e.g.

(174) ra nian ka=   vevet   TT 137
       ART *food* POSS.CLFR=*our*/EXC/PL
       our food

instead of

(175) ka=   veve   nian
       POSS.CLFR=*our*/EXC/PL *food.*

In Tok Pisin *our food* means

(176) kaikai bilong mipela
       food   of   us/EXC/PL

7. The A-possessive construction does not seem to have undergone changes. There is only one example in the whole corpus which contradicts the rules of traditional Tolai. In the next example

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```
(177)  a     ticket  ai   ra  bus
       ART           for  ART
       the ticket for the bus; the bus ticket
```

ai (POSS.CLFR=POSS.M.) is used as a synonym for upi *for*. If this extension of
the usage of ai is not accidental, it probably started with the metaphorical
expressions which are described above (cf.p.38).

2.4.5.2 Inalienable possessive constructions

1. The inalienable possessive construction is extended to expressions of temporal
relationships which do not seem to have any correspondences in traditional Tolai,
since no need was felt to express these relationships in the ancient Tolai
society (cf. Mosel 1979). If they had been expressed in traditional Tolai, one
would expect that they had been denoted by compound noun phrases like spatial
relationships (cf.p.56), e.g.

```
(178)  lakaka  ta   ra   bala= i         ka=        veve
       but     in   ART  belly=POSS.M.   POSS.CLFR=our/PL/EXC

       tama=          na     kini   iat   i     ga  vala
       father/children=DEREL  staying PART  he    TA  HABIT

       vapurpuruan  ka=         veve            tama=          na     kini.
       disturb      POSS.CLFR=our/PL/EXC  father/children=DEREL  staying
       (lit. but inside of our staying as father and children he used to
       disturb our staying as father and children)
       When he, our father, stayed with us in our family, he usually
       disturbed our family life.

(179)  ta   ra   bala= i          nam  ra   war
       in   ART  belly=POSS.M.    DEM  ART  war
       during that war

(180)  ta   ra   bala= i          go   ra   kilala
       in   ART  belly=POSS.M.    DEM  ART  year
       during this year.
```

2. In the modern texts I collected in 1978, there are three abstract nouns
denoting inherent properties of things, which are inalienably constructed: mata=
value, kukura= *meaning* and vinava= *system*, e.g.

```
(181)  ra   mata= i        nam  ra    money
       ART  value=POSS.M.  DEM  ART
       the value of that money

(182)  ra   kukura= i       nam  ka=        na    ginigira
       ART  meaning=POSS.M.  DEM  POSS.CLFR=his  seeing
       the meaning of what he saw

(183)  a     vinava=i        ra   kakao
       ART  system=POSS.M.  ART  cocoa
       the system of the cocoa, i.e. the system according to which the
       different sorts of cocoa are distinguished.
```

Vinava=i is derived from vinavana *going*, the verbal noun of vana *to go*, which is
reinterpreted as

```
       vinava-  na.
       going-   DEREL
```

3. In the missionaries' language (cf. Mosel 1982a) one finds inalienable
possessors with nominalised active verbs denoting the agent of the action,
which contradicts the principle that inalienable possessive constructions
express inherent and uncontrolled relationships, while established and
controlled relationships are expressed by the alienable KA-constructions,
e.g.

> (184) ra   pinot= i   Iesu   ND 1912
>   ART *coming*=POSS.M. *Jesus*
>   *the coming of Jesus*.

Since even very young speakers use KA-possessors with nominalised active verbs,
these constructions are not to be regarded as innovations, but as mistakes. A
different case is tinavua *growth*, *progress*, the verbal noun of the inactive verb
tavua *to grow*. As this word is the only verbal noun of an inactive verb, and it
is neither found in the oldest Methodist dictionary (Rickard 1889) nor in the
Catholic dictionary written in 1921 (Meyer 1961) nor in the mythological texts
(Meier 1909, Kleintitschen 1924), it is perhaps a creation of the Methodist
missionaries. It is frequently used in the newspaper of the Church *Nilai ra
Dovot* to speak of the progress of the mission, e.g.

> (185) ure   ra   tinavua=i   ra   lotu   ND 1913
>   *about* ART *growth*= POSS.M. ART *Church*
>   *about the growth of the Church*.

Here the inalienable construction is reasonable, because the subject of tinavua
does not control the action, or better: the process. That this construction is
an innovation is shown by the fact that it varies with

> ure   ra   tinavua ta   ra   papalum ati   ND 1912
> *about* ART *progress* *in* ART *work*   *here*
> *about the progress of the work here*

which shows that the writers were not sure how to construct tinavua.

2.4.5.3 Conclusion

The inalienable constructions do not show innovations which contradict the
main function of these constructions, as they express inherent relationships.
They only differ from inalienable constructions in traditional Tolai in that the
possessor can be inanimate. The innovations found with alienable constructions,
however, are of a different sort. Due to loan translations from English and Tok
Pisin, they also serve as a means of expressing inherent relationships and
modification. In other words, the inalienable constructions, which are of a
stronger structural cohesion and whose meaning is more restricted, are less
accessible to innovations than the alienable constructions.

2.5 COMPOUND NOUN PHRASES

In 2.4.1. the compound noun phrases were mentioned as a means of expressing
possession along with inalienable and alienable possessive constructions, as they
are used to denote part/whole relationships, which certainly belong to the domain
of possession in its wider sense (Seiler 1983:4, 68). However, in contrast to
inalienable and alienable possessive phrases, compound noun phrases have many
other functions than the expression of possessive relationships. One of these
other functions is the expression of spatial relationships, e.g.

```
(186)  a    ul-   a-pal
       ART  head  C house
       the top of the house
```

which like part/whole expressions show at least some lexical affinities with the
inalienable possessive phrases of bodypart terms, but whose classification as
possessive phrases is even more debatable (cf.p.56). Or, if one could speak of
degrees of 'possessivity' to characterise those constructions which are still
somewhat related to the proper possessive constructions, one might perhaps say
that the degree of 'possessivity' decreases from the construction of bodypart
terms to the expression of part/whole relationships and, further on, to the
expression of spatial relationships. At the end of such a scale of 'possessivity'
there would be those compound noun phrases then which have nothing to do with
possession.

While in possessive phrases the possessor specifies the reference of the
head noun, it is not its reference but the concept of the head noun that is
determined by the modifying noun in compound noun phrases. Which properties of
the head noun referent are modified is not made explicit, but depends on the
context. The modifying noun can denote the material (187), or the destination
of the head noun referent (188), e.g.

```
(187)  a    pal-  na-kunai
       ART  house-C- grass
       the grass hut

       a    pal-  na-kapa
       ART  house-C- metal
       the house of sheet metal

(188)  a    pal-  na-boroi
       ART  house-C- pig
       the pig sty

       a    pal-  na-vartovo
       ART  house-C- learning
       the school house,
```

the whole of which the head noun referent is part of, e.g.

```
(189)  a    mapi-    na-davai
       ART  leaves-  C- tree
       the leaves of the tree,
```

amorphous stuff of which the head noun indicates a measured quantity, e.g.

```
(190)  a    botol- na-whisky
       ART  bottle-C- whisky
       a bottle of whisky
```

or the goal of an action expressed by the head noun, if it is nominalised verb
(cf.p.36), e.g.

```
(191)  a    minomo-  na-whisky
       ART  drinking-C- whisky
       the drinking of whisky.
```

The semantic difference between possessive phrases and compound noun phrases
can be best understood from pairs of examples which only contrast in their
structure, and not in the selection of the head noun and the modifying noun.
Compare the following three pairs of phrases:

The inalienable possessive phrase

(192)   a   ivu= i   ra   pap
          ART *hair*=POSS.M. ART *dog*
          the hair of the dog

refers to the hair of a specific individual dog, whereas in

(193)   a   ivu- na-pap   Kl 441
          ART *hair*-C- *dog*
          dog's hair (was on the back of the dancer)

the hair is generally characterised as being of a certain kind, namely as dog's
hair, which does not, as one would expect, belong to a dog or several dogs but
to a dancer. Similarly in

(194)   a   bul- na-luluai   M 138
          ART *child*-C- *chief*
          the chief's child

na luluai characterises the child as being a chief's child and thus as having
all the properties that a child of this status has, whereas in

(195)   a   bul ka=   i   ra   luluai
          ART *child* POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. ART *chief*
          the child of the chief

the possessor identifies the child by specifying whose daughter or son it is.
Thirdly, in

(196)   a   bala= i   ra   vavina
          ART *belly*=POSS.M. ART *woman*
          the belly of the woman,

the possessor determines the belly as being the belly of a certain woman, and it
would be a contradiction in itself to say that a man has got a bala=i ra vavina.
But one can say that a man has

(197)   a   bala- na-vavina
          ART *belly*-C- *woman*
          the woman's belly,

i.e. he has a belly with properties of a woman's belly or a belly like a woman,
which means either that he is fat or metaphorically that he is a coward. But it
would not make sense to say that a woman has a bala-na-vavina.

    To conclude, C + N$_2$ determines the concept expressed by the head noun,
whereas alienable and inalienable possessors specify the reference of the object
which the head noun refers to. Being the modifier of the concept of the head
noun (N$_1$), the modifying noun (N$_2$) in N$_1$-C-N$_2$-constructions does not refer to an
individual entity which is discrete from the head noun referent. In N$_1$-C-N$_2$-
constructions, e.g. a bul-na-luluai *the chief's child* N$_1$ (bul) and N$_2$ (luluai)
form a closely knit unit which is more like a compound noun than a phrase,
because the sequence of these three elements must not be interrupted by any
additional determiners. The N$_1$-C-N$_2$-construction can only be modified as a
whole. While, for instance, both the possessed noun and the possessor in
possessive phrases may be modified by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

(198)   go ra bul ka=   i   ra   luluai
          DEM ART *child* POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. ART *chief*
          this child of the chief

```
(199)  a     bul    ka=       i      go   ra   luluai
       ART   child  POSS.CLFR=POSS.M.  DEM  ART  chief
       the child of this chief,
```

the demonstrative pronoun can only modify the whole N$_1$-C-N$_2$-construction:

```
(200)  go    ra    bul    na-luluai
       DEM   ART   child-C- chief
       this chief's child; this child of a chief.
```

Secondly, the fact that the modifying noun does not refer to a discrete entity is reflected by the fact that it cannot be pronominalised.

2.5.1 Part/whole constructions

Part/whole relationships are relationships that exist between an object or a plant and its constituent, and hence mostly removable parts, as for instance the relationship between a tree and its leaves, its crown, its stem etc. Apart from the exception mentioned above, all part/whole relationships are expressed by compound noun phrases, so that the whole of which the N$_1$-referent is part of is not specified or individuated. Even if you mean, for instance, the roof of a specific house, you simply say

```
(201)  (r)a   ul-  a-pal
       ART    head-C-house
       the roof of the house,
```

which can also mean 'the roof of a house'. Consider the following story of an American soldier, who fled from the Japanese and jumped on to the roof of a house, where he was shot. Tolai people got him down to the ground:

```
(202)  i    ga  van'  urama      liu   ta  ra  ul-    a- pal ...   TT 77-78
       he   TA  go    up-there   high  on  ART head-  C- house

       amir         ga  kau    urama      ra  ul- a-pal    ma
       we/DU/EXC    TA  climb  up-there   ART head-C-house  and

       amir         ga  tuman-vue         uro       ra
       we/DU/EXC    TA  push- do-away-him  down-to  ART

       ul- a-pal,  upi       i   ga  va,     i   ga  va-
       head-C-house so-that  he  TA  lie-down  he  TA  lie-down

       mur      nam  ra   ul- a-pal ...
       follow   DEM  ART  head-C-house

       kan   go   ra   papar-a-pal   arama     ra  ul- a-pal ...
       from  DEM  ART  side- C-house  up-there  ART head-C-house
```

he climbed on to the roof of a house (and stood there ... Then a leader of the Japanese shot at his neck ... But he did not fall down to the ground, he remained standing and died while standing).

We climbed up on to the roof of the house and knocked him down on the roof of the house, so that he lay down, he remained lying on the roof of the house ...

(We thought that we should carry him down properly) from the side of the house (from) the roof there (to the ground).

In other words, one does not refer to the house as an individual discrete entity, but to the concept of 'house', by which a part of it, namely the roof, is characterised, as if one could say 'the housy roof' in English. As will be seen in the next chapter (cf.p.56), ra ul-a-pal can also mean *the top of the house*. That the speaker here refers to the roof is particularly shown by the third sentence *and knocked him down on the roof of the house*.

If, however, the noun referring to the whole (N₂) is to be determined by a demonstrative pronoun and an adjective, C-N₂ is replaced by a prepositional phrase denoting location. But this construction is very rare and seems to be an innovation in modern Tolai, e.g.

(203) a   mapinai ta   nam ra ngala na davai
       ART *leaves* *on/from* DEM ART *big* C *tree*
       the leaves of that big tree.

Though being different in structure, the part/whole constructions show some affinities to the expressions of bodypart relationships. Firstly, many parts of objects are denoted by the very same lexemes as bodyparts, and, secondly, most part nouns are relational. If they are not followed by C-N₂, they require a derelational suffix. For example:

unpossessed form	*inalienable constr.*	*part/whole constr.*
bala=na *belly*	a bala=i ra boroi *the belly of the pig*	a bala-na-lama *the stem of the coconut tree/a coconut tree*
bit=i=na *anus*	a bit=i ra tutana *anus of the man*	a bit-na-davai *the base of the tree/ a tree*
kongkong=i=na *neck*	a kongkong=i ra tut *the neck of the man*	a kongkong-na-lama *the upper part of the stem of the coconut tree*
mata=na *eye*	a mata=i ra tutana *the eye of the man*	a mata-na-bair *the sharp end of a stick for husking coconuts*
ngie=ne *mouth*	a ngia=i ra tutana *the mouth of the man*	a ngie-na-tete *the tip of the flower of the banana/a banana*
paka=na *body*	a paka=i ra tutana *the body of the man*	a paka-na-davai *the piece of wood*
pal=i=na *skin*	a pal=i ra tutana *the skin of the man*	a pal-a-kiau *egg's shell* a pal-a-davai *the bark of a tree/the tree*
ul=a *head*	a ul=i ra tutana *the head of the man*	a ul-a-davai *the crown of a tree/the tree*
ur *bone(s)*	a ur=i ra tutana *the bones of the man*	a ur-na-mami *the thorny roots of the Mami/a Mami*

unpossessed form	inalienable constr.	part/whole constr.
ingar=i=na *twig*	-	a ingar-a-davai *the twig of the/a tree*
mapi=nai *leaf/leaves*	-	a mapi-na-davai *the leaves of a/the tree*
pat=i=na *kernel*	-	a pat-na-koai *the kernel of a/the mango fruit*

In contrast to the possessor of the inalienable and alienable possessive phrases, the modifying noun of these phrases cannot be pronominalised, i.e. one cannot say 'its crown, its roof' etc., but must use either the N₁-C-N₂-construction or the 'unpossessed' form, i.e. the derelationised or non-relational form.

2. .2 Spatial relationships

The second type of N₁-C-N₂-phrases, which shows some affinities to the constructions of bodypart terms, also expresses a kind of part/whole relationship. In this case, however, it is not the constituent part of a whole that is referred to, but a spatial or temporal relationship such as 'the top of something', 'the interior of something' or ' the beginning of something' etc.

Many spatial relationships are denoted by bodypart terms plus C-N₂, so that this type of phrase looks like the first one. Thus a ul-a-davai *the top of the tree* can mean both *the crown of the tree* and *the top of the tree*, which is not the same. While constituent parts of an 'organic' whole (compare Seiler 1973: 234) are discrete entities insofar as they can be removed, the spatial dimensions of an object, i.e. its top, its side, its interior etc. are not removable: even if you cut off the crown of the tree, it will still have a top. Secondly, objects that do not have a headlike part also have a top:

> (204) dir   kiki ta ra   ul- a-vat   M 30
>   *they*/DU *sit on* ART *top-C-stone*
>   *they were sitting on top of the stone*

> (205) i   ga kao   urama   liu ra   ul- a-vatar   Kl 173
>   *he* ART *climb* *up-there* *high* ART *top-C-table*
>
>   ma   i   ga va   arama   ra   ul- a-vatar
>   *and he* TA *lie* *up-there* ART *top-C-table*
>   *he climbed on the table and lay down there on top of the table.*

Nouns denoting the spatial dimensions of an object are more relational than nouns denoting the constituent parts of a whole; whereas one can speak of leaves, for instance, without mentioning the plant to which they belong:

> (206) ... ma   dia   ga parpar ta   ra   mapi= nai   M 110
>   *and they*/PL TA *dress   with* ART *leaves*=DEREL
>   ... *and they dressed themselves with leaves,*

it is not possible to speak of a top, an inside or a side, unless it is also said of which object the top, inside or side is meant. Thus relational nouns such as bala *belly, interior, inside* can only be derelationised, if it is understood from the context whose inside is referred to, e.g.

(207) ... i   takan pa ra kudu- na-davai   M 52
            he take   E   ART piece-C- wood

            ma i ga kala   ra bala= na
            *and he TA cut-out ART inside=*DEREL
     ... *he took a piece of wood and cut out the inside*
     (and thus made a wooden hand-drum)

(208) Di   ga na- taday ra vat   i ga mata   Kl 218
      INDEF TA *see-go-to* ART *stone it* TA *have-a-hole*

      ra bala= na.
      ART *inside=*DEREL
      They saw a stone which had a hole inside.
      (lit. *the inside had a hole*).

Theoretically, =na could also be the suffix pronoun, but this would contradict the rule that the N_2 of N_1-C-N_2-constructions cannot be pronominalised (cf.p.54). Further evidence for the interpretation of bala=na as the non-relational form of bala= is provided by the use of papar *side* in comparable contexts. In contrast to bala=, papar *side* is not morphologically relational. Hence papar is used without any suffix, if it is understood from the context whose side papar refers to. Compare:

(209) ..., dor   a vana ra papar-a-gunan   M 92
            *we/*INC/DU *TA go   ART side- C-village*
     ..., *let's go to the side of the village*, i.e. *let's go near the village (but not enter it)*

(210) I ga ku   ra tek,   a papar a kukuta   Kl 87
      he TA *paint* ART *kangaroo* ART *side* ART *black-paint*

      ma a papar a tar.
      and ART *side* ART *red-paint*
      (he took black paint, he took red paint)
      He painted the kangaroo, one side with black paint, the other side (with) the red paint.

2.5.3 "Piece-of-amorphous-stuff"-constructions

    The third type of N_1-C-N_2-constructions to be mentioned here differs from the first two ones, as it does not refer to a particular part of an object which is complete in itself (e.g. the roof or the interior of a house), but to an unspecific piece of an amorphous stuff, for example

(211) a   kudu-   na-davai   *a short piece of wood*
      ART *short-piece-C- earth*

      a   kut- na-pia   *a lump of earth*
      ART *lump-C- earth*

      a   paka-na-davai   *a piece of wood*
      ART *body-C- wood*

      a   paka-na-lokor   *an area of jungle*
      ART *body-C- jungle*

      a   paka-na-tinata   *a piece of talk, a word*
      ART *body-C- talk*

      a   pal- a-davai   *a long thin piece of wood,*
      ART *skin-C-wood*   *piece of board.*

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According to our definition of possessive phrases, these N$_1$-C-N$_2$-phrases are not to be classified as possessive phrases, as they do not express that the head noun referent belongs to what is expressed by N$_2$; a paka-na-davai *a piece of wood*, for instance, does not mean that the piece belongs to the wood as part of a whole, but that there is wood in a certain quantity and of a certain shape. However, most of these 'piece'-nouns share the feature of being grammatically relational with the head nouns of part/whole constructions; i.e. they must take the dere-lational suffix when used in isolation, for example: a kut=u=na, a paka=na, a pal=i=na *the lump*, *the piece*, *the long thin piece*. Furthermore, in many cases it usually is the same nouns that enter this 'piece-of-amorphous-stuff'-construction, the part/whole construction and the inalienable construction of bodypart terms. Compare:

(212) a   pal= i   ra   tutana
       ART *skin*=POSS.M. ART *man*
       the skin of the man

       a   pal- a-kiau
       ART *skin-C-egg*
       the egg shell

       a   pal- a-davai
       ART *skin-C-wood*
       the skin-like piece of wood, i.e. a long thin piece of wood;
       a piece of board

(213) a   paka=i   ra   tutana
       ART *body*=POSS.M. ART *man*
       the body of the man

       a   paka-na-davai
       ART *body-C- wood*
       the piece of wood.

On the other hand, they are related to measure phrases, the mensuratives of which are also relational nouns in some cases, for example:

(214) a   poko- na-tabu
       ART *string-C- shell-money*
       the string of shell-money

       a   poko=   no
       ART *string*= DEREL
       the string

(215) a   kur-   a-pa
       ART *half-a-dozen-C-taro*
       half a dozen taros

       a   kur=e=ne
       ART *bunch*=DEREL
       the bunch or *cluster of fruit (4-7 pieces).*

In contrast to the connective particle, the derelational suffix shows vowel-harmony.

2.5.4 Conclusion

There are three structurally different nominal constructions in which the head noun is modified by another noun[16]:

1. Inalienable possessive phrases

$$(\text{ART}) \ \text{N}_{\text{POSSESSUM}} = \text{POSS.M.} \qquad \text{NP}_{\text{POSSESSOR}}$$

2. Alienable possessive phrases

$$\text{ART} \ \text{N}_{\text{POSSESSUM}} \qquad \text{POSS.CLFR} = \text{POSS.M.} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{POSSESSOR}}$$

3. Compound noun phrases

$$\text{ART} \ \ \text{N}_1 - \text{C} - \text{N}_2 \ .$$

While the various types of inalienable and alienable constructions constitute a continuum from inherent to established possession, the compound noun phrases with relational head nouns show decreasing degrees of 'possessivity'. Starting with the part/whole-constructions which are lexically and semantically closely related to the possessive phrases of bodypart terms, the scale of 'possessivity' ends with measure phrases whose head noun, the mensurative, is still relational, but which have nothing to do with possession. What all compound noun phrases, including the non-relational ones (cf.p.52), have in common, is that the two nouns do not refer to two discrete entities, but to a single one only, which accounts for the fact that the modifying noun cannot be pronominalised.

(+ inherent, - established)

possession of reciprocal kinship terms				
possession of non-reciprocal kinship terms				
possession of relational bodypart terms	part/whole rel.	spatial rel.	piece-of-amorphous-stuff-rel.	measure/measured-entity-rel.
possession of non-relational body-part terms		$\text{N}_1 - \text{C} - \text{N}_2$		
A-possession				
KA-possession				

inalienable ↑ (upper portion)
alienable (lower portion)

(- inherent, + established)

(+ possessive) ←———————————→ (- possessive)

2.6 THE EXPRESSION OF NUMBER

2.6.1 Introduction

There are no bound morphemes which mark singularity or plurality with nouns in Tolai. On word level the only means to indicate the distinction of singularity vs. plurality is reduplication which denotes plurality of locally or temporally distributed entities (cf.p.78), e.g.

     (216) a   gunan
            ART *village*
            the village

            a   gunagunan
            ART *villages*
            the (all over the area distributed) villages

Nouns which are not reduplicated refer to single discrete entities (217), quantities of discrete units (218), collections (219), masses (220), actions (221) or are transnumeral, i.e. neutral in respect to the distinction of plurality vs. singularity (222), for example:

     (217) a   kalou   *the (Christian) God*

     (218) a   vaden   *the women*

     (219) a   kikil   *the group*

     (220) a   tava   *the water*

     (221) a   vinavana   *the going*

     (222) a   davai   *the tree(s), stick(s), wood*

            a   lama   *the coconut(s).*

On phrase level, singularity can be indicated by tika na *one* + C (C = connective particle), a voana/ta voana ART + *one* or a kapo na ART + *single* + C (a/ta voana, which is used beside tika na in meaning, and as the possible semantic differences are not relevant to the following discussion of number, they will not be discussed here), e.g.

     (223) tika na   davai   *one/a tree*
            one   C   *tree*

            a   voana davai   *one/a tree*
            ART   *one*   *tree*

            a   kapo   na   davai *the single tree.*
            ART   *single* C   *tree*

Plurality can be indicated by plural markers (224), indefinite quantifiers (225), quantifying nouns (226) or numerals (227), e.g.

     (224) a   umana   davai   *the trees*
            ART PL   *tree*

     (225) a   mangoro na   davai   *many trees*
            ART *many*   C   *tree*

     (226) a   e   na   balu   *the swarm of pigeons*
            ART *swarm*   C   *pigeon*

     (227) a   vinun   na   davai   *ten trees.*
            ART *ten*   C   *tree*

One distinguishes between three kinds of plurality:

1. Plurality of discrete entities of what is referred to by the noun.
2. Plurality of different kinds of the noun referent.
3. Plurality of locally and temporally distributed entities (compare Bierman 1982).

2.6.2 Plurality of discrete entities

All nouns except verbal nouns and nouns referring only to a particular object (e.g. kalou *God*) are 'countable', i.e. may enter into a direct construction with numerals, quantifiers and plural markers. Nouns denoting enumerable entities, e.g. houses, do not differ from those denoting liquids and other amorphous matter in this respect. In combination with numerals, quantifiers and plural markers, the latter denote a number of quanta of the noun referent, e.g.

(228) a   umana pal   *the houses*
      ART   PL   *house*

      a   umana tava   *the portions of water.*
      ART   PL   *water*

2.6.2.1 Plural markers
2.6.2.1.1 Umana

The most common plural marker for discrete plurality is umana, for example:

(229) a   umana davai   *the trees*
      ART   PL   *tree*

indicating that there are more than three entities (if there are two or three entities, the numerals ura, ivu *two* and utul *three* are used). Umana is not a bound morpheme, but a word in its own right which can be translated with *some*, *several* etc. It may be used in isolation, and then it refers to human beings, unless it is related to some other afore-mentioned noun phrase, for example:

(230) I kiki varkolono ta nam ra bil   pata   M 96
      he sit   alone   in DEM ART *wilderness no*

      umana ta-na.
      PL   *in-it*
      He was alone in that wilderness where nobody else was staying.

In complex noun phrases umana directly follows the article or the possessive pronoun, e.g.

(231) a   umana ngala na pap
      ART   PL   *big   C   dog*
      the big dogs

      kana   umana ngala na pap
      his   PL   *big   C   dog*
      his big dogs.

Umana and numerals as well as quantifiers are mutually exclusive, but umana may be combined with tarai *men* and vaden/varden *women*, e.g.

(232) a   umana tarai   *the men* (cf.p.67)
         ART PL   *men*

         a   umana vaden   *the women*
         ART PL   *women*

2.6.2.1.2 Bar, barbar

Bar, barbar indicate plurality with kinship terms, e.g.

(233) a   bar turana   *brothers*
         ART PL *brother*

         a   bar tubuna   *grandparent(s) and her/his/their*
         ART PL *grand...*   *grandchildren.*

Kinship terms denote both sides of a kin relationship. Hence tubuna (234) does not only correspond to English *grandparent*, but also to *grandchild*; it refers to any person whose relationship is that of grandparent-grandchild to another person (cf.p.40), and combined with bar it refers to at least two people who are in that relationship. In contrast to umana, bar does not occur in isolation and may be combined with numerals:

(234) a   ura bar tubuna   *two persons in the relationship of*
         ART *two* PL *grand...*   *grandparent-grandchild, i.e. grand-*
                                    mother or grandfather and grandchild
                                      (compare M 184).

The reduplicated form barbar expresses the notion of *more than one pair or group of people in the kin relationship referred to by* N_{kin}, e.g.

(235) a   barbar tamana   *more than one group of people who* M 15
         ART PL   *father/son*   *are in the relationship of father*
                                  and son(s); fathers and sons

         go   ra barbar tamaina   *these sisters and brothers-in-law*
         DEM ART PL   *sister-/*
                         brother-in-law

The plural marker umana is also found with inalienable kinship terms, but seems to indicate only plurality of relatives of the same level, e.g.

(236) ra   umana matua-m   ma   ra   umana tura-   m   Kl 440
         ART PL   *uncle-your/SG* *and* ART PL   *brother-your/SG*
         your uncles and your brothers.

In modern Tolai texts we also find umana combined with bar, but it is not clear whether this construction is an innovation or also acceptable in traditional Tolai, e.g.

(237) nam ra   umana bar turana
         DEM ART PL   PL *brother*
         those brothers.

2.6.2.1.3 Tara

A shortened form of tarai *men*, namely tara, is used to mark plurality with nouns referring to human beings, e.g.

```
(238)  nina  ra   tara  na  niuru=  na                          Kl 485
       DEM   ART  PL    C   relative=her
       her relatives

       kada         tara  na  tutana                            M 154
       our/PL/INCL  PL    C   man
       our husbands.
```

Tara never occurs in isolation and must be connected by the connective particle to the noun.

2.6.2.2 Quantifiers

Other words that serve as a means to express discrete plurality and precede the head noun, without being connected by the connective particle, are paupau *few* and peal *many, but still computable*, e.g.

```
(239)  a    paupau/peal  magit
       ART  few /many    thing
       a few/many things.
```

But since these words may also be used predicatively in contrast to umana, bar and tara, they are not to be classified as plural markers. Whereas peal is preceded by the subject marker and thus forms a verbal predicate, paupau may only function as head of a non-verbal predicate, e.g.

```
(240)  Pa   i   peal  ra   tabu.                                Kl 56
       not  it  many  ART  shell-money
       The shell-money was not much.

       ma   diat      a    paupau                               (Seri)
       and  they/PL   ART  few
       and they (were) few.
```

The Northcoast dialects have do + C instead of peal, e.g.

```
(241)  a    do    na  magit
       ART  many  C   thing
       many things.
```

Many is also often rendered by mangoro + C. According to my informants mangoro differs from peal/do in that it refers to a quantity which is too large to be countable. It is not the *many* - *much* -distinction which is expressed by peal/do and mangoro, e.g.

```
(242)  a    mangoro  na  magit
       ART  many     C   thing
       many things.
```

If one wants to express that some amorphous matter or substance, e.g. water, appears in a large quantity, one uses the adjective ngala *big*, as one does to refer to big entities; compare:

```
(243)  a    ngala  na  tava       much water, the big portion
       ART  big    C   water      of water

       a    ngala  na  pal        the big house.
       ART  big    C   house
```

The opposite of ngala is ik *little*, e.g.

```
(244)  A=  gu  ta  ik     a  tava.                    Kl 168
       for-me  ART  little  C  water
       Give me some water, please!

       ... i   ga  puak  pa  ra  ik     a  boroi       Kl 79
           he  TA  take  E   ART  little  C  pig/pork
       ... he took some pork

       ... ra  ura  ik     a  davai                   M 62
           ART  two  little  C  wood
       ... two small pieces of wood.
```

2.6.2.3 Quantifying nouns

Quantifying nouns (N_{quant}) are nouns that denote a certain quantity of something, i.e. either a collection or a part of a whole. In both cases they enter a N_1-C-N_2-construction as head (N_1) which is modified by N_2, e.g.

```
(245)  a    kor- na-tarai        the crowd of men
       ART  crowd-C- men

       a    e-   na-balu          the swarm of pigeons
       ART  swarm-C- pigeon

       a    kur- na-davai         the pile of wood
       ART  pile-C- wood

(246)  a    kudu- na-davai        the piece of wood
       ART  piece-C- wood

       a    kut- na-pia           the lump of earth.
       ART  lump-C- earth
```

Kor, e, kur, kudu, kut and numerous other words of this kind have to be classified as head nouns rather than modifying quantifiers as mangoro *many* (cf.p.63), since they can be modified by quantifying adjectives as any other head noun in a N_1-C-N_2-construction can do, e.g.

```
(247)  a    ngala  na  kor-     na-tarai
       ART  big    C   crowd-   C- men
       the big crowd of men

       a    ngala  na  pal-  na-tarai
       ART  big    C   house-C- men
       the big men's house
```

whereas QUANT - C - N may not be modified by a preceding adjective, e.g.

```
(248) *a    ngala  na  mangoro  na  tarai
       ART  big    C   many     C   men
```

Furthermore, N_{quant} are pluralisable and countable, e.g.

```
(249)  a    umana  kikil- na- tarai
       ART  PL     group  C   men
       the groups of men

       a    ilima  na  e-    na- balu
       ART  five   C   swarm  C  pigeon
       five swarms of pigeons.
```

In the following, N$_{quant}$ which denote collections such as kor *crowd*, kikil *group* and e *swarm* will be called 'collectives'. Note, however, that there are some other means of expressing the notion of collection.

2.6.2.4 Numerals

The construction of cardinal numerals shows some irregularities in the first four numbers. From five upwards all numerals are connected to the head noun by the connective particle. The table below shows the absolute and the attributive use of the numerals from one to five:

	ART	numeral used absolutely	ART	numeral used attributively	C	head noun
1	-	tikai	-	tika	na	tutana
	a	voana	a	voana	-	tutana
2	a	urua	a	ura	-	tutana
	a	evut/ivut	a	evu/ivu	-	tutana
3	a	utul	a	utul	a	tutana
4	a	ivat	a	ivat	na	tutana
	a	varvivi	a	varvivi	na	tutana
5	a	ilima	a	ilima	na	tutana

The meaning of tika na and a voana is often close to that of the English indefinite article 'a' (cf.p.60). In contrast to urua, evut/ivut comprises the notion of *couple*, *pair*, but is often used instead of urua. The difference between ivat and varvivi is that according to Bley(1912:79) varvivi is reserved for counting fruit. However, in the texts collected by Kleintitschen (1924) varvivi is also found with other nouns. Whether this is due to dialect differences or linguistic change has still to be investigated. For example:

(250)	a	varvivi	bung	*four days*	Kl 388
	a	varvivi	kakaruk	*four chickens*	Kl 207

The numerals utul *three*, ivat/varvivi *four* and ilima *five* are sometimes preceded by taba in order to emphasise that the items in question form a group, e.g.

(251)	nina	ra	taba	varvivi	tutana	Kl 182
	DEM	ART		*four*	*man*	

that group of four men.

In other words, taba which only occurs in this function is one of the various means of expressing the notion of collection.

2.6.2.5 Transnumerality

The indication of discrete plurality is regularly neglected, when the head noun enters a possessive construction as possessum whose possessor refers to more than one human being and when for extralinguistic reasons each possessor referent owns one possessum referent, e.g.

(252) Kamava   tutana ava? Komave   tutana a   umana pun.   M 92
       your/PL *man*   *what* *our/PL/EXC* *man*   ART PL   *turtle*
       What are your husbands?   *Our husbands are turtles.*

(253) ra   paka=i=   diat   par   M 278
       ART *body*=POSS.M.=*their/PL* *all*
       the bodies of all of them.

If the possessum also refers to a human being as in (254), it can be marked
for plurality:

(254) kadia   tara na tutana,   kada   umana tutana   M 86
       their/PL   PL C *man*   *our/INC/PL*   PL   *man*
       their husbands   *our husbands*

Whether a noun is marked for plurality or singularity, however, does not
only depend on the context, but also on its content. In the following paragraphs
we shall discuss several classes of nouns which can be established on the basis
of the use of the plural marker umana and number agreement between the noun
phrase in question, and related pronouns and subject markers in the verbal
phrase. The crucial questions asked will be:

1. Does ART+N primarily refer to a single discrete unit or to a certain quantity,
    or may ART+N refer to one discrete unit as well as to a quantity to more or
    less the same extent?

2. Is the noun phrase related to singular or plural markers and pronouns, when
    it does not refer to a single discrete unit, but to some quantity?

The following investigation, which cannot take the full range of Tolai nouns into
account but only a limited number of typical examples, will show that there are
various degrees of transnumerality, the highest of which is reached with those
nouns that in an ART+N construction may equally refer to a single discrete unit
or a certain quantity as, for instance, davai in a davai *tree(s)*, *stick(s)*, *wood*.

2.6.2.5.1 Nouns referring to unique entities (N_{single})

This noun class is comprised of nouns which are neither pluralisable by
plural markers nor countable, as they refer to discrete entities that occur only
once in the world, as for instance, a kalou *the (Christian) God*, a ta *the sea*
and proper names.

2.6.2.5.2 Verbal nouns (N_v)

Verbal nouns are derived from verbs by certain affixes or reduplication and
are neither pluralisable nor countable as N_{single}, for example:

(255) ... i   tup   avet   ra kini   up u   M 280
       it *exhaust* *us/PL/EXC* ART *sitting* *for* *you/SG*
       ..., waiting for you exhausted us.

2.6.2.5.3 Nouns referring to persons (N$_{pers}$)

With nouns referring to persons discrete plurality is almost always indicated. In other words, a noun phrase of the structure ART + N is primarily understood as referring to one human being. Apart from the above-mentioned possessive constructions, there is only one sentence in the data collected until now in which ART + tutana *man* does not refer to a single man, but to men in general. In one of the creation myths it is said:

(256) Nam ra   mong i   ga ti en- vapar   ra   en   ma   M 60
      DEM ART *shark* *it* TA TA *eat-finish* ART *fish* *and*

      na   ubu   ra   tutana tuna.
      it+TA *kill* ART *man*   *real*
      That shark ate all the fish and will (consequently) kill human
      beings.

In other creation myths a tarai *the men* is used instead:

(257) A   boroi na   gala rove-vatukum   ra   tarai.   M 26
      ART *pig*   *it-TA* TA   *hunt-do-always*   ART *men*
      Otherwise the pig would always hunt men.

Pluralised N$_{pers}$ are always related to plural subject markers and pronouns. Tutana *man* and vavina *woman* can be pluralised by umana or replaced by tarai *men* and vaden/varden *women* respectively (cf. below):

(258) a umana tutana/a tarai   *men*
      a umana vavina/a vaden/varden   *women*.

2.6.2.5.4 Tarai, vaden/varden

Tarai *men* and vaden/varden *women* refer to a plurality of men and women respectively, as a umana tutana and a umana vavina do, and are related to plural subject markers and pronouns. Two constructions, however, suggest that they differ in meaning. Firstly, though already referring to plurality, a tarai and a vaden/varden can be combined with umana:

(259) a umana tarai   *men*
      a umana vaden/varden   *women*

and secondly, at least tarai is found together with tika na *one*, which would be a contradiction in itself, if tarai was the pluralised form of tutana, for example:

(260) Tika na tarai ami   mal   diat   dia   Kl 56
      one   C   *men*   *we/DU/EXC* *create*   *them/PL*   *they/PL*

      vava   ra   pupui.
      sleep/RED   ART *bush*
      One tribe that we have created sleeps in the bush.
      (creation myth)

The numeral tika na *one* makes it evident that tarai *men* is understood as a unity of men; i.e. in contrast to a umana tutana *men*, a tarai *men* does not just refer to a plurality of discrete entities, but to a plurality that is apprehended as a collection, though it is not to be classified as a collective noun. For if tarai were a collective noun, a umana tarai would be expected to mean *several unities of men*, *tribes* and not *men*. The function of umana here is not to

pluralise what is referred to by the head noun (tarai), but to express that the head noun referent (*men, people, tribe*) consists of several discrete entities. The Janus-headed nature of tarai of referring to a single entity on the one hand (*a unity of men*) and a plurality of discrete entity (men) is reflected in the possibility to combine tika na *one* with tarai and the obligatory use of plural subject markers and pronouns.

2.6.2.5.5 Nouns referring to peoples and tribes (N_{people})

Nouns denoting people living in or originating from a particular village, area or country, i.e. nouns similar to English *Londoners*, *Americans* etc., show the same form as the corresponding names of localities, but differ syntactically, as they are preceded by the article, while names of localities never take the article. In the old texts (Kleintitschen 1924, Meier 1909) these N_{people} are not marked for plurality, if reference is made to peoples or tribes as a whole or in general, for example:

(261) Ma   go   ra   Baining pa   ami   mal   diat.   Kl 57
       and DEM ART *B.*   *not we/DU/EXC create   them/PL*
       We did not create the Bainings.

       A   Taulil ma   a   Baining dia   migir.   Kl 39
       ART *T.*   *and* ART *B.*   *they/PL speak-a-foreign-*
                                       language
       The Taulils and the Bainings speak a foreign language.

But plurality is expressed by the subject marker dia *they* and the object pronoun diat *them*. If a Taulil and a Baining were treated as singulars here, they would have been related to the dual subject marker.

If the speaker has the individual members of a people in mind, though he might speak of the whole people, he uses umana:

(262) ... dir   ga ima   ra   umana Talavurngada   Kl 84
          they/DU TA *hire* ART PL   *T.*
       ... *they hired the T.-tribe* (according to the context it was
       the whole tribe that was hired).

       Dia   ga varubu ra   umana Vairiki ma   diat   Kl 454
       they/PL TA *fight* ART PL   *V.*   *and they/PL*

       nanana Butam.
       DEM   *B.*
       The Vairiki people fought with those from Butam.

Since ART + N_{people} may also refer to one member of the people or tribe, e.g.

(263) nam ra America
       DEM ART *A.*
       that American,

the class of N_{people} has to be distinguished from tarai and collectives. Furthermore, while umana with collectives refers to a plurality of collections, it does not pluralise N_{people} in this sense, but has the same function as with tarai. Regardless of its different grammatical classification, however, the construction of ART + N_{people} is one of the various means to express the notion of collection in Tolai.

To conclude, in traditional Tolai the names of peoples and tribes form a class of nouns of its own which, in comparison to N_{pers} and tarai, is somewhat more transnumeral, because N_{people} is to a higher degree ambiguous in respect to the number of human beings spoken about (remember that with N_{pers} umana may only be omitted in possessive constructions or when N_{pers} is used generically.

2.6.2.5.6 Nouns referring to fruit, fish, insects etc. (N_{small})

Nouns referring to small objects that usually occur in a certain amount such as stones used for cooking, fruit, fish, insects etc. form a class that stands in direct opposition to the class of N_{pers} in respect to the marking of discrete plurality. In contrast with ART + N_{pers}, ART + N_{small} is primarily understood as 'some quantity of what is referred to by N_{small}'. Compare:

(264) Akave ra tutana?   *Where is the man?*
      where ART man

      Akave ra galip?   *Where are the peanuts?*
      where ART peanut

Provided that the context does not permit any other interpretation, ART + N_{small} may also refer to one object without singularity being marked, e.g. a makadao *green coconut* in

(265) "Ba una koe pa ta ivu tirip na   M 16f
      PART *you/SG+TA* *climb-and-get* E ART *two young* C

      ngenge ..." ... ma i ga koe pa ka ra
      yellow-coconut *and he* TA *climb-and-get* E *only* ART

      kapo na ngenge ma a makadao.
      single C *yellow-coconut and* ART *green-coconut*
      "Get two young yellow coconuts..."
      But he's got only one yellow coconut and a green one.

whereas in

(266) To Kabinana i ga vatavua ra lama, a ngenge,
      To K. *he* TA *create* ART *coconut* ART *yellow-coconut*

      a makadao.
      ART *green-coconut*
      To Kabinana created the coconuts, the yellow and the green ones.

ra lama, a ngenge and a makadao unambiguously refer to more than one single item. In other contexts singularity must be marked by tika na *one*, ART + voana *one* or ART + kapo na *single*, e.g.

(267) ... ma di vata ra vat ma di   M 142
      and INDEF *heat* ART *stone and* INDEF

      igir ia ma di kia
      prepare-with-vegetables it and INDEF *grasp-with-tongs*

      pa ra kapo na vat ma di vung ra kapo
      E ART *single* C *stone and* INDEF *put* ART *single*

      na vat ma i ga kaiane o ra kapo na vat.
      C *stone and it* TA *feel* DEM ART *single* C *stone*

> ... *they heated the stones in the fire and prepared it*
> *(the fish) with vegetables and they grasped a stone with*
> *tongs (got it out of the fire) and put the stone (to the*
> *fish) and it felt that stone.*

Umana is only used with N_{small}, when the speaker wants to stress that he is speaking about single individual objects, e.g.

(268) lau vung ra umana vat akanama parika liu.   Kl 40
       I   put   ART PL   stone up-there   all   high-above
       I placed all the stones (all by one) up there.

A vat and a umana vat are distinctive expressions for an undifferentiated collection vs. a quantity of discrete entities. In other words, umana not only serves as a means of pluralisation, but at the same time as a means of individuation. The same holds true for quantifiers and numerals. With N_{pers}, however, umana does not have this force, because the referents of N_{pers} are discrete entities a priori.

N_{small} differ from collectives in that umana, quantifiers or numerals plus N_{small} refer to one or more items of the collection that is denoted by ART + N_{small}, but not to one or more collections, e.g.

(269) tika na lama   *one coconut* (but not: one amount of
       one   C   coconut   coconuts)

       a   umana lama   *the coconut* (but not: several amounts
       ART PL   coconut   of coconuts)

in contrast to

(270) tika na kikil   *one group*
       one   C   group

       a   umana kikil   *the groups.*
       ART PL   group

Thus N_{small} are very similar to N_{people}, the only difference being that in contrast to N_{people}, N_{small} are always related to singular subject markers and pronouns:

(271) ma   ra   umana ngalangala na tamapodo ta go   ra   TT 22
       and ART PL   big   C   maggot   in DEM ART

       kake=ne   i   ga irairop   ta   nam ra   mata- na-kinkin
       foot=his it TA come-out/RED of DEM ART whole-C- wound
       big maggots came out of the wound on his leg

(272) ... ma   dia   puak ra   umana vat   ma   dia   M 184
           and they/PL take ART PL   stone and they/PL

           vung ia ...
           put   it
       ... *they took the stones and put them ...*

2.6.2.5.7 Nouns referring to big animals (N_{animal})

Nouns referring to big animals, such as pigs, which do not live in groups or herds, form a class of nouns that show a higher degree of transnumerality than N_{pers} (since there are not any herds of sheep, cows or other cattle in the

Tolai area, we do not know how such collections would be referred to). Good
evidence for the classification of these nouns are enumerations, e.g.

(273) Ma   di   ga mal   ra tarai, a   umana beo,   Kl 49
       and *they/PL* TA *create* ART *men*   ART PL   *bird*

       a   umana boroi, a   lama,   a   pa,   a   vudu,
       ART PL   *pig*   ART *coconut* ART *taro* ART *banana*

       a   lavur   nian parika.
       ART *various-sorts-of food all*
       They created men, birds, pigs, coconuts, taros, bananas,
       all various sorts of food.

(274) Ma   dia   long komave   ta umana magit, ta   TT 26
       and *they/PL* *steal* *our/PL/EXC* ART PL   *thing* ART

       umana boroi, a   kakaruk, a   vudu   a   tapiok.
       PL   *pig*   ART *chicken* ART *banana* ART *tapiok*
       And they stole our things, pigs, chickens, bananas, and
       tapioks.

(275) "Amur   tabar komamur tarai ma   ra   ava?"   Kl 55
       you/DU *give* *your/DU* *people* *with* ART *what*

       "A   pa,   a   lama,   a   boroi, a   tabu."
       ART *taro* ART *coconut* ART *pig* ART *shell-money*
       "What do you give to your people?"
       "Taros, coconuts, pigs and shell-money."

These enumerations show that boroi can be constructed like N_{pers} as well as like
N_{small}. Which construction is preferred in traditional Tolai cannot be decided,
as the old texts do not provide sufficient data to draw any conclusions from
mere statistics. As far as number agreement is concerned, boroi behaves like
N_{pers}. In contrast to ra umana ngalangala na tamapodo *big maggots*, a umana boroi
pigs is related to the plural subject marker dia *they*:

(276) A   umana boroi dia   kubar   parika.   Kl 79
       ART PL   *pig* *they/PL* *become-wild* *all*
       All the pigs became wild.

(Unfortunately there are no sentences which show pronominal agreement.)

To conclude, nouns referring to big animals, e.g. boroi *pig*, form a class
of their own which shows a higher degree of transnumerality than N_{pers} and
N_{small}, as undifferentiated quantities are referred to by ART + umana + N (273),
(274), (275), as well as ART + N (275). Since ART + umana + N is related to the
plural subject marker dia, it is assumed that in respect to the feature of
discreteness this class is closer to N_{pers} than to N_{small}.

2.6.2.5.8 Nouns referring to birds

Beo *bird* belongs to the same class as boroi *pig*, e.g.

(277) ... a   umana beo   par dia   ga malagene.   M 278
       ART PL   *bird* *all* *they/PL* TA *dance*
       ... *all birds danced.*

```
Ma    a- diat      ta  nian,  ta  lavur   mangana              Kl 48
and   for-them/PL   ART food   ART various  sort

parika,  ta  umana  beo,  ta  umana  boroi.
all      ART PL     bird  ART PL     pig
And food for them, all different sorts, birds and pigs,
```

whereas kakaruk *chicken* seems to belong to a different class, as, in contrast to
boroi *pig*, it is not preceded by umana in the enumeration quoted above (274).
Unfortunately the old texts do not provide any examples of subject marker and
pronominal concord, so that we do not know whether kakaruk belongs to N_{small}
like, for instance, rumi *ant* or to another one. In modern Tolai the subject
marker is i (sg.), and pronouns that are related to a umana kakaruk are also
singular, e.g.

```
(278)  Gono  ra   umana  kakaruk  i   ga ki    tika  na  mar      TT 48
       DEM   ART  PL     chicken  it  TA stay   one   C   hundred

       nam  di     kul-vairop          pa  Turmilet  me
       DEM  INDEF  buy-make-go-out      E   T.        with-it
       With these chickens which numbered one hundred they bailed
       out Turmilet.
```

2.6.2.5.9 A davai *wood, tree(s), stick(s)*

One word that shows a very high degree of transnumerality is davai. As the
following examples illustrate, ART + davai denotes *wood, trees, sticks* and other
natural things of wood. In contrast to ART + tutana *man* and ART + lama *coconuts*,
ART + davai does not primarily refer to a single object or to a certain amount,
but is really transnumeral in the sense that it may equally refer to both
singular and plural objects, i.e., for instance, to a stick as well as sticks.

Secondly, it is rather unspecific in respect to the size and shape of its
referent, as it may indifferently be used to denote whatever consists of wood.
What is meant by ART + davai only becomes clear from the linguistic or extra-
linguistic context. Thus, when ART + davai is the object of kita *to chop with
an axe*, it is evident that it refers to firewood, or when used with kao ta *to
climb on*, it obviously refers to a tree or trees, for example:

ART + davai *wood*:

```
(279)  ma  i   kita  ra   davai  ra   vavina ...              M 258
       and she chop  ART  wood   ART  woman
       and the woman chopped the firewood ...
```

ART + davai *stick, sticks*:

```
(280)  "Ba   u       tar vi  ra   davai  ta  ra   umana  pa?   M 72
       PART  you/SG  TA  tie ART  stick  to  ART PL     taro
       "Have you already tied the stick to the taros?"

       A    tatakula  i   bubur           a    davai.          Kl 120
       ART  t.        she break-off/RED   ART  stick
       The tatakula broke off sticks.
```

The reduplicated verb bubur indicates that the action of breaking off happened
several times. Hence ART + davai refers to more than one stick.

ART + davai *tree, trees*:

(281) "Ba   una   ki ta go ra   davai!   M 96
      PART *you*/SG+TA *sit on* DEM ART *tree*
      'Sit on this tree here!"

      Dia   ga kao   ta ra   davai.   Kl 123
      they/PL TA *climb on* ART *tree*
      They climbed the trees.

Umana is used, if it is explicitly to be expressed that what is spoken about is
a number of discrete entities of wood:

(282) Dor   a poko ta umana davai, upi   Kl 37
      we/DU/INC TA *cut* ART PL *stick* *in-order-to*

      dor   a mal ta tarai ...
      we/DU/INC TA *make* ART *people*
      Let's cut some sticks in order to carve some people ...
      (creation myth)

   Unfortunately there are no sentences in the material under consideration in
which ART + umana/QUANT/NUM + davai occurs in the subject position, so that we
do not know whether its subject marker is singular or agrees in number with the
subject. Pronouns related to davai are always singular, e.g.

(283) A   pel davai i   ga tuba   dir   me   Kl 148
      ART *many stick she* TA *cover* *them*/DU *with-it*
      She covered herself and it (the child) with many sticks, ...

      ... i   takan pa ra ura ik   a davai ma i   M 62
      he take E ART *two little* C *stick and he*

      kala ia
      carve it
      ... he took two little sticks and carved them

(adjectives that precede the modified noun like ik here are connected to it by
the connective particle).

2.6.2.5.10 Nouns denoting liquids (N$_{liqu}$)

   Nouns denoting liquids, e.g. tava *water*, gap *blood*, can be directly combined
with umana, quantifiers or numerals to denote an unspecified or limited number of
units or portions of the head noun referent. They differ from N$_{small}$, e.g. lama
coconut in two points:

1. The size and configuration of what is pluralised or counted as discrete
entity is extremely variable and only understood from the context; for liquids
are amorphous matter and the countable entities into which it can be portioned
are not given by nature as in the case of coconuts, fish etc., e.g.

(284) ra ura ik   a gap   M 24
      ART *two little* C *blood*
      two drops of blood

      Dia   ga bolo tika na tava ...   Kl 187
      they/PL TA *cross one* C *water*
      They crossed a water (i.e. *a river*)

Iau	vana	kan	kaigu	tika	na	tava.	M 24
I	*go*	*off*	*my*	*one*	*C*	*water*	

I left my water (i.e. container of water).

Ma	una	bal	ara	a	pel	tava.	Kl 33
and	*you/SG+TA*	*live*	*there*	*ART*	*many*	*water*	

And take your residence where there are many springs.

a	umana	kaina	tava,	a	umana	angina	tava	(Robin)
ART	PL	*bad*	*water*	ART	PL	*stinking*	*water*	

bad water, stinking water (filled in buckets)

2. In whatever context the unquantified form ART + N_{liqu}, e.g. a tava *the water*, occurs, it always refers to one quantum which is not to be understood as consisting of a number of quanta, as collections consist of discrete entities e.g. a collection of coconuts. For example:

(285)	"A	tava	akave?	Magari	u		tar	momē!	...	Kl 169
	ART	*water*	*where*	PART	*you/SG*		*TA*	*drink-it*	

...	iau	pa	iau	mome	ta	tava."	
	I	*not*	*I*	*drink*	*any*	*water*	

"Where is the water? You have drunk it!" ...
"... I have not drunk any water."

I	ga	vut	mulai	ta	ra	tava	...	M 92
she	*ART*	*come*	*again*	*at*	*ART*	*water*	

She came back to the water (i.e. a well) ...

As far as the degree of transnumerality of N_{liqu} is concerned, the crucial question "does ART + N primarily refer to a single discrete unit or to a certain quantity, or may ART + N refer to one discrete unit as well as to a quantity to more or less the same extent?" must be answered as follows: ART + N_{liqu} always refers to a single unit which, however, is not discrete, namely an unspecified quantum of a liquid, and at the same time to a certain quantity, though not to a quantity of countable items, but to a mass of amorphous matter. Consequently, ART + N_{liqu} is like ART + N_{single} in that it is absolutely non-transnumeral, but whereas ART + N_{single} is discrete, ART + N_{liqu} shows the highest degree of non-discreteness.

If the precise quantum of liquid is to be expressed, it is denoted by the noun referring to the container into which the liquid has been filled, e.g.

(286)	...	ma	i	ga	mome	pa	na	rana	kaur-	na-	tava.	M 42
		and	*he*	*TA*	*drink*	*E*	*DEM*	*his*	*bamboo*	*-C-*	*water*	

... and he drank that bamboo (vessel) of water.

Note that rana is a possessive which is only used with nouns or noun phrases referring to something that is determined to be eaten or drunk or otherwise consumed by the possessor (cf.p.37ff). Thus kaur-na-tava evidently refers to a quantum of water here. The same N_1 + C + N_2-construction, however, is also used to express the meaning of "a container full of the liquid denoted by N_2", e.g.

(287)	...	iau	kurue		ra	pal-	na-tava.	Kl 33
		I	*wear-round-the-neck*		ART	*vessel-C-*	*water*	

... I wore a vessel with water round my neck.

Due to insufficient data it is hardly possible to set up any rules of number agreement. The only sentence in the old texts where a umana tava occurs in subject position is

```
(288)  Ma    a    umana  tava   parika  dia    ga   mat.         Kl 114
       and   ART  PL    water  all     they/PL TA  die
       And all springs died.
```

2.6.2.5.11 Collectives (N_{coll})

The material under consideration provides only sufficient data to investi-
gate the construction of collectives referring to human beings, for example kor
crowd, kikil *circle, group*, vunatarai *clan*, so that nouns denoting collections
of animals, plants and non-living objects, e.g. e-na-balu *swarm of pigeons*,
tinga-na-lama *group of coconut trees*, cannot be taken into account. Collectives
referring to human beings (abbr. $N_{coll-hum}$) show some similarity with N_{liqu}, as
ART + $N_{coll-hum}$ refers to a single countable unit, namely a group (of people),
and at the same time to a certain quantity which, however, in contrast to liquids
is a quantity of discrete units, namely people.

Since ART + $N_{coll-hum}$ denotes a quantity of human beings, it is related to
plural subject markers and pronouns, as all other noun phrases are that express
the notion of a plurality of people; compare:

```
(289)  A    kor    dia     ga  vana  varurung ...              M 274
       ART  crowd  they/PL TA  go    together
       The crowd went together ...

       a    umana  tutana/a  tarai  /a  Baining  dir
       ART  PL     man    ART  people ART  B.        they/PL

       vana  varurung
       go    together
       the men/the people/the Bainings went together.
```

As any other noun phrase referring to a single, countable unit, ART +
$N_{coll-hum}$ can be pluralised by plural markers, quantifiers or numerals, for
example:

```
(290)  a    umana  kikil
       ART  PL     group
       the groups.
```

In this respect $N_{coll-hum}$ differs from other noun classes, the nouns of which
may serve as a means to denote collections. If N_{people}, tarai *men*, vaden *women*
or N_{small} are combined with umana, quantifiers or numerals, e.g. a umana Baining,
a umana tarai, a umana lama *the (individual) Bainings, the (individual) men, the
(single) coconuts* in contrast to a Baining, a tarai, a lama *the Bainings, the
men, the coconuts*, the resulting noun phrases never refer to a plurality of
collections.

2.6.2.6 Conclusion

2.6.2.6.1 Concord

Noun phrase whose head belongs to N_{pers}, $N_{tarai/vaden}$, N_{people}, N_{animal} or
$N_{coll-hum}$ are related to dual, trial and plural subject markers and pronouns, if
they refer to more than one item:

(291) A   umana tutana dia   vana.
       ART   PL   *man*   *they/PL*   *go*
       The men went.

       A tarai dia vana.
       A Baining dia vana.
       A umana boroi dia vana.
       A kor dia vana
       The people/the Bainings/the pigs/the crowd went.

Those nouns, however, which in an ART + N -construction primarily express
the notion of a collection of small objects or animals are related to the
singular subject marker and singular pronoun, even if numerals, quantifiers or
umana indicate discrete plurality:

(292) Ma   dir   gumu=e   pa ra   ivu vat   dir   M 52
       and   *they/PL*   *dive*=TR E   ART *two* *stone* *they*/DU

       vana me   ta   ra   kuba=i=   dir.
       go   *with-it*   *to*   ART *hut*= POSS.M.=*their*/DU
       And they dived for two stones and took them home.

   ... ma   dia   puak ra   umana vat   ma   dia   M 184
        and   *they/PL*   *take* ART PL   *stone* *and*   *they/PL*

        vung ia
        put   *it*
   ... *they took the stones and put them* ...

If in an ART + QUANT + N_{small} -construction the noun is dropped by ellipsis,
ART + QUANT may be combined with the singular or the plural subject marker, e.g.

(293) A   peal i   ga bura.   Kl 498
       ART   *many* *it* TA *fall*
       Many (apples) fell down.

   ... upi   ta peal diat   a   bura.   Kl 500
        so-that   ART *many* *they/PL* TA *fall*
   ... *so that many fruit will fall down.*

Though the data collected so far does not permit us to set up explicit
rules, it is evident that concord in Tolai is not grammaticalised. Otherwise
one would expect that all noun phrases that are marked for discrete plurality
would be related to plural subject markers and pronouns.

In contrast to many other languages the semantic features (± animate) or
(± human) are not relevant for number agreement. On the one hand, there are
$N_{-animate}$ which behave like tutana *man* etc., as, for instance, gunan *village*,
pal *house* or male *valley* and other topographical terms, and on the other hand,
nouns referring to small animals that usually occur in groups, swarms and the
like are treated like nouns denoting fruit; for example:

(294) ... ni   ra   umana gunan   dia   ki- na-ta   M 46
            DEM ART PL   *village* *they/PL*   *sit*-C- *sea*
        ... *these villages are situated at the seaside*

(295) tuk   nam ra   umana pakapaka-na-buana ma   ra   TT 67
       until   DEM ART PL   *pieces*- C- *hill*   *and*   ART

       umana male   ave   ga punang diat
       PL   *valley*   *we/PL/EXC* TA *dig*   *them/PL*
       until we had filled up the hilly areas and the valleys.

2.6.2.6.2 Transnumerality

There are five classes of non-transnumeral nouns:

1. nouns referring to unique entities
2. verbal nouns
3. tarai, vaden/varden
4. nouns denoting liquids
5. collectives.

Nouns referring to entities (N_{single}), e.g. a Kalou *the (Christian) God*, and verbal nouns (N_v) have in common that they are not pluralisable, but are always singular, whereas tarai *men, people* and vaden/varden *women* are always plural. Nouns referring to liquids (N_{liqu}) and collectives (N_{coll}) denote single countable units, namely portions of liquids and collections, when occurring in an ART + N -construction, and they must be pluralised by plural markers, quantifiers and numerals, if the plurality of portions of liquids or collections is to be expressed.

The remaining classes are comprised of transnumeral nouns, i.e. nouns that in an ART + N -construction can either refer to a single unit or to a plurality of units. Whereas ART + N_{pers} (nouns referring to persons) primarily denotes one person, and the cases in which this construction expresses plurality are restricted to certain contexts, ART + N_{small} (nouns referring to small objects that usually occur in a certain quantity) primarily denote an amount of what is referred to by N, e.g. lama *coconuts*, and it is the use as a singular noun that is restricted. Between these two extreme classes of N_{pers} and N_{small} the other classes which show different degrees of transnumerality can be located on what might be called 'transnumerality scale'. The highest degree of transnumerality is reached with those nouns which in contrast to N_{pers} and N_{small} may equally refer to a single item or to a quantity of items, i.e. the class to which davai *wood, tree(s), stick(s)* belongs.

$$N_{pers} \text{——} N_{animal} \text{——} N_x \text{——} N_{davai} \text{——} N_x \text{——} N_{small}$$

primarily referring to a unique item

primarily referring to a plurality of items

low degree of transnumerality → highest degree of transnumerality ← low degree of transnumerality
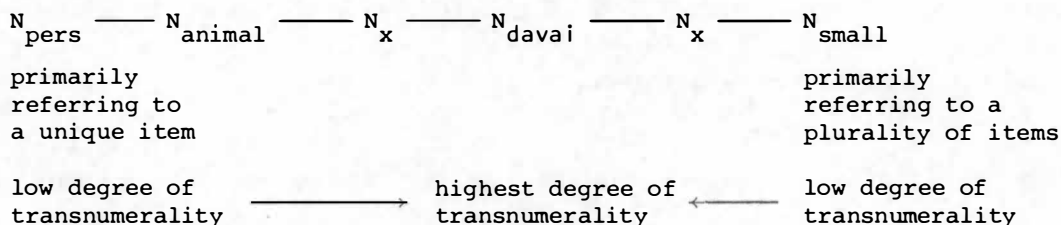
Nouns referring to big animals (N_{animal}) are located between N_{pers} and N_{davai}, because they primarily denote single entities as N_{pers}, but the contexts in which they can denote a plurality of items are less restricted than those of N_{pers}, i.e. they are more transnumeral than N_{pers}. The location of all noun classes on the transnumerality scale is far from being investigated and will only be possible, if one can check nouns of all classes in various contexts with informants. At the moment we are not even able to give a full list of the different noun classes into which the Tolai nouns have to be classified.

2.6.3 Plurality of different kinds ('Artenplural')

The plural marker lavur expresses the idea of different sorts of that which is referred to by the head noun. In traditional Tolai lavur and umana are mutually exclusive, and like umana, lavur does not pluralise a noun that has already been pluralised by a numeral or a quantifier, for example:

(296) a- gu ta   lavur mapinai.   Kl 252
       for-me ART   *leaf*
       (Bring) various leaves for me (to eat).

(297) Ma a   lavur tarai ma a   lavur varden   M 258
       and ART   *men* *and* ART   *women*

       dia   ga kokor kikil ia.
       *they/*PL *TA* *crowd round her*
       (All) various kinds of men and women (you can think of)
       surrounded her in a crowd.

(298) Pata vudu,   pata pa ma   pata lavur magit   M 196
       no *banana* *no* *taro* *and* *no*   *thing*

       ta na   ra   gunan.
       in DEM ART *village*
       Neither bananas nor taros nor anything else (to eat was found)
       in that village.

In contrast to umana, lavur is not used in isolation. In case that the
referent is not to be expressed explicitly, lavur is combined with the noun
mangana *sort, kind,* e.g.

(299) Ma a- diat   ta nian, ta lavur mangana parika. Kl 48
       *and for-them/*PL ART *food* ART   *sort*   *all*
       And food for them, all various sorts.

(300) Ta   umana beo, ta   umana boroi, ta   lavur mangana   Kl 48
       ART PL   *bird* ART PL   *pig*   ART   *sort*

       parika.
       all
       birds, pigs and all various kinds (of animals).

Mangana itself can be modified by a noun and enters a N_1-C-N_2-construction then,
in which it occurs in its basic form manga:

(301) a   lavur manga-na-kaur   Kl 264
       ART   *sort-* C- *bamboo*
       different sorts of bamboo

(mangana is the derelationised form which has to be distinguished from manga-na).

2.6.4 Distributional plurality

Distributional plurality of units means that each item of a number of units
is handled by a different person, or that a number of units is locationally or
temporally distributed. It is expressed by reduplication, for example:

(302) Ba   avat   a   puak pa na   ra   ogoaga ...   M 128
       PART *you/*PL *TA* *take* E DEM ART *canoe/*DISTR
       Take those canoes (each of you one) ...

(303) Avat   a   lualua mua upi ra   M 86
       *you/*PL *TA* *precede* PART *for* ART

       kubakuba= i=   dat
       *hut/*DISTR=POSS.M. *our/*INC/PL
       Go ahead, each of you to her hut, and I will follow to my hut.

(304) To Kabinana i ga vabuka   ra gunagunan   M 40
       To K.   *he* TA *make-full* ART *village*/DISTR

       ma   ra tava.
       with ART *water*
       To Kabinana supplied the villages with water.
       (creation myth)

(305) ... i ga giragire   a bungbung- na-malana parika.   Kl 66
           he TA *see/RED-him*   *day*/DISTR-C- *morning all*
       ... *he saw him every morning.*

Nouns that are marked for distributional plurality by reduplication, may additionally be preceded by umana or lavur, for example:

(306) a umana gunagunan   *villages*
       a lavur gunagunan   *various villages, villages of*
                                   different types.

If a noun is modified by a preceding adjective, distributional plurality is expressed by reduplication of that adjective, e.g.

(307) a koko   na gunan   Kl 33
       ART *good*/DISTR C *village*
       good villages

       nina ra livlivuan na boroi   Kl 390
       DEM   ART *fat*/DISTR C *pig*
       those fat pigs.

Reduplication serves also as a means to derive distributional numerals from cardinal numerals, for example:

(308) Diat   parika a   varvarvivi nga-na-   Kl 186
       they   *all*   ART *four*/DISTR *row*-C-

       pal-a-ngie=i=   diat.
       teeth=   POSS.M.=*their*/PL
       They all had four rows of teeth.

2.6.5 Modern Tolai

2.6.5.1 Pluralisation of loan words

According to their different ways of integration in Tolai, English nouns can be classified into two classes:

1. collectives
2. non-collective nouns.

2.6.5.1.1 Collectives

The class of collectives is comprised of nouns denoting groups of people, e.g. band, crew, education department, police, Provincial Government, Rabaul Secretarial College, abbreviation Rabsec, and staff. The peculiarity of these nouns is that, as one would expect, ART + N_{coll-E} refers to a single group, e.g.

(309) ra   police ati   Rabaul   (news)
      ART   *here*
      the police here in Rabaul

(310) a   band kai ra   army   (To Lik)
      ART   *of* ART
      the band of the army

while in contrast to English the pluralised form ART + umana/QUANT/NUM + N_{coll-E}
may either denote a plurality of N_{coll-E}, i.e. refer to several groups, or
express that the group spoken about is not regarded as a whole invisible body,
but as consisting of individual members, e.g.

(311) a   ura band kai Papua New Guinea   (To Lik)
      ART *two*   *of*
      the two bands of Papua New Guinea

(312) lau a   lualua   ta   ra   band ... di   vatang   (To Lik)
      I   ART *leader* *in* ART   INDEF *call*

      ia   ba   a   lualua   kai ra   umana band.
      him PART ART *leader* *of* ART PL
      I (was) the leader in the band ... who is called the
      leader of the band members.

(313) tika na arip   na police dia   vana ubara   (news)
      one   C   *thousand* C   *they/PL* *go*   *there*
      one thousand policemen went there

(314) ra   captain i   ga ve   kana umana crew   (Tarutia)
      DEM   *he* TA *inform* *his*   PL
      the captain informed his crew (the members of his crew)

(315) nina ra   lavutul na crew   (Tarutia)
      DEM   ART *eight*   C
      those eight members of the crew

(316) a   umana Rabaul Secretarial   (Gabi)
      ART PL
      the students of the Rabaul Secretarial College

(317) ... ra   umana Rabsec   (Desi)
           ART PL
      ... *the students of the Rabsec*

(318) diat   ma   ra   umana staff   (Magret)
      they/PL *and* ART PL
      they and the staff members.

Thus, with borrowed collectives, umana, quantifiers and numerals do not
only indicate plurality of groups, but also serve as a means of showing the
contrast between the notion of group as a whole body and the notion of indi-
vidual members of a group. In the latter case umana, quantifiers and numerals
have the same individualising force as in the case of N_{people}:

(319) a Baining   *the Baining people*
      a umana Baining   *the (members of the) Baining people.*

The borrowed collectives differ from the construction of ART + N_{people} in
traditional Tolai, as the subject markers and pronouns related to them are
usually not plural but singular. Only in three out of 17 cases in the material
under consideration ART + N_{coll-E} is related to by plural subject markers and
pronouns:

(320) kaugu family dia   ga ti mait ika   (Royal)
my   *they*/PL TA TA *sick* PART
my family has become sick

(321) i   boina ure ra   family iau settle tadiat   (Kepas)
it good for ART   *I*   *them*/PL
it is good for the family that I settle them

(322) ra   police ati Rabaul dia   tar vadovot pa   (news)
ART   *here*   *they*/PL TA *confirm* E

ra   tinata
ART *speech*
the police here in Rabaul confirmed the news

but, as already mentioned, the more common construction is

(323) ra   police ati Rabaul i   biti ba: ...   (news)
ART   *here*   *it say* PART
the police here in Rabaul said: ...

Umana + N$_{coll-E}$ in the meaning of 'members of what is referred to by
N$_{coll-E}$' looks very much like the plural of a singulative 'one member of what is
referred to by N$_{coll-E}$' that has been derived from the collective. Tika na
N$_{coll-E}$ 'one + C + N$_{coll-E}$', however, is never used in that meaning, but only
means 'one that is referred to by N$_{coll-E}$', e.g.

(324) tika na band
one   C
one band

but not 'a single member of the band'. Single members of a group are referred
to by circumlocutions, e.g.

(325) tika na tena - papalum kai ra   police   (news)
one   C worker   of ART
one policeman, a policeman

or by the corresponding English term, e.g.

(326) tika na Cocoa Board Inspector   (news)
one   C
an inspector of the Cocoa Board.

To conclude, borrowed collectives, as for instance police, may enter the
following constructions:

(327) a   police dia   vana
ART *police they*/PL *go*

a   police i   vana
ART *police it go*
the police went

a   umana police dia   vana
ART PL *police they*/PL *go*
the policemen went.

A police dia vana follows the rule of concord of traditional Tolai, as express-
ions referring to a plurality of human beings are referred to by plural subject
markers and pronouns. For the same reason, the construction of a police i vana
must be regarded as an innovation, whereas the development of the third con-
struction seems to follow the grammar of traditional Tolai, if one compares the

contrast between a police *the police* and a umana police *the policemen*, *a number of single members of the police* with that between a Baining *the Baining people* and a umana Baining *a number of single members of the Baining people* or a lama *coconuts* and a umana lama *single coconuts*.

But since Tok Pisin shows this kind of pluralisation of collectives borrowed from English as well, e.g.

(328)   ol   ami
       PL   *army*
       members of the army, soldiers,

it must be taken into consideration that the development of constructions like a umana police was at least reinforced by interference from Tok Pisin.

Peter Mühlhäusler who has investigated the development of number in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1981) states:

> Whereas in the text samples of older speakers and those recorded before 1950 animate group nouns are treated as syntactic singulars, there is now a strong trend towards regarding them as plurals. The assignment of the plural category appears to have taken place in a number of stages:
> stage 1:
> ol preceding names of countries, islands or towns indicates *inhabitants of a country*, for example ol Ostrelia *Australians* ol Amerika *the Americans* ...
> stage 2:
> ol preceding common nouns referring to localities indicates *inhabitants of that locality*, e.g. ol nambis *beach dwellers*, ol bikbus *people who live in the bush* ...
> stage 3:
> ol preceding names of organisations indicates *the members of that organisation*. This construction is particularly common with abstract nouns borrowed from English, for example ol ami *the army, soldiers*, ol misin *the mission, missionaries*, ol malaria sevis *the malaria service, people working for the malaria service*, ol pablik helt sevis *the public health service*, ol gavman *the government, members of government* (Mühlhäusler 1981:51).

The examples of stage 1 correspond to constructions such as a umana Baining *the Baining people* (Baining without the article is the name of the area, where the Bainings live). But if it is right that these forms did not exist before 1950, it is more probable that they developed independently, than that they were borrowed from Tolai into Tok Pisin. For the influence of Tolai on the development of Tok Pisin was greatest between 1900 and the early 1920's, but does not seem to play a role after the Second World War (Mühlhäusler).

The development of ol nambis *beach dwellers* etc. in stage 2 and ol ami *the army, soldiers* in stage 3 cannot be ascribed to direct substratum influence from Tolai or superstratum influence from English, but is the result of "natural expansion tendencies" (Mühlhäusler). While ol nambis etc. do not have any equivalents in Tolai, ol ami etc. do, and as all borrowed collectives in Tolai which are combined with umana in the meaning of *members of* ... refer to somewhat organised groups of people, I suppose that both the influence of Tok Pisin and the already given individualising function of umana played a role in the development of the construction of ART + umana + N_{coll-E} 'members of what is

referred to by N_{coll-E}'. This argument is supported by the fact that English loans denoting unorganised natural groups such as family only take umana to mark the plural of N_{coll-E}, e.g. a umana family *families*.

2.6.5.1.2 Non-collective nouns

With non-collective nouns borrowed from English (N_E) plurality is expressed in three ways:

1. ART + umana + N_E, e.g.   a umana student
2. ART + umana + N_E-s, e.g.   a umana students
3. ART + N_E-s, e.g.   a students.

Young speakers, especially, will freely mix all possible forms in one and the same speech act, for example:

(329) a umana magician   *magicians*   (Desi)

(330) a umana teachers   *teachers*   (Desi)

(331) nam ra toes   *those toes*   (Desi)
    DEM ART

(332) a umana student   *students*   (Pauline)
    a umana students   *students*   (Pauline)

Table 1 shows how 24 speakers, who use nouns borrowed from English, pluralise them.

Table 1		
ART + umana + N_E	ART + umana + N_E-s	ART + N_E-s
Doris (f, 59)		
Jennifer (f, 17)		
Kepas (m, 42)		
Lulupa (m, 59)		
Maibe (m, 45)		
March (f, 27)		
Melki (m, 50-60)		
Paraide (f, 50-55)		
To Vuina (m, 40)		
Eliab (m, 39)	Eliab	
Pauline (f, 32)	Pauline	
Rangrang (m, 40)	Rangrang	
Vinnie (f, 35)	Vinnie	
Desi (f, 24)	Desi	Desi
Gabi (m, 18)	Gabi	Gabi
Joe (m, 50)	Joe	Joe
Magret (f, 18)	Magret	Magret
Rachel (f, 16)	Rachel	Rachel
Tarutia (m, 40)	Tarutia	Tarutia
To Vartoto (m, 55)		To Vartoto
	Nancy (f, 20)	
	Boxing (m, 20)	Boxing
	Royal (m, 32)	

f = female, m = male; the numbers indicate the age of the speakers.

Since older speakers only use the ART + umana + N_E - construction and the use of ART + umana + N_E-s almost always implies the use of ART + umana N_E, and ART + N_E-s the use of ART + umana + N_E-s and ART + umana + N_E, it may be concluded that ART + umana + N_E represents the first stage of borrowing followed by ART + umana + N_E-s and ART + N_E-s.

That English nouns are pluralised only by the English plural morpheme -s seems to be a very recent development, because ART + N_E-s is used by speakers who are more or less fluent in English, and in most cases with nouns which are not usually used in their singular form, as their referents rarely occur in isolation, e.g. boots, bricks, passengers, slippers, toes, tools but also beginners, brothers, kingdoms and stores are found.

The pluralisation of nouns borrowed from English follows mainly the rules of Tolai grammar, so that not only 'countable' but also 'uncountable' English nouns are pluralised by umana, if the noun referent spoken about consists of a number of discrete entities, e.g.

(333) dia   vura kap pa kadia   umana pay   (Rachel)
       They/PL TA   *get* E *their*/PL PL   *pay*
       they set off to get their pay

(334) lau papalum ma   ra umana money i   la vana   (March)
       I   work   with ART PL   *money it* TA *go*

       papa ta   ra umana outstation.
       from in ART PL   *outstation*
       I work with money which comes from the outstations.

(335) ma   dita   ga anan ra umana slow music   (Rachel)
       and they/TRI TA *make* ART PL   *slow music*
       and they played (some pieces of) slow music

(336) ra pakana nina di   ga ivure nam ra umana   (News)
       ART *place* DEM INDEF TA *sell* DEM ART PL

       spirit ta-na
       alcohol in-it
       the place where the bottles of methylated spirits were sold.

There are similar constructions in Tok Pisin which have developed only recently so that they cannot be ascribed to substratum influence but have to be explained as "the result of internal natural growth" (Mühlhäusler), for example:

(337) em i helpim   ol inkam   bilong ol wokman
       he   increase PL *income of*   PL *workman*
       (i is the so-called predicate marker in Tok Pisin)
       he increased the income of the workmen (Mühlhäusler 1981:50)

But it should be taken into consideration that this type of pluralisation may be a common Melanesian or Papua New Guinean feature. Whatever the origin of pluralisation of nouns in Tok Pisin, that are 'uncountable' in English, might be, it certainly contributes to the maintenance of these un-English constructions with English loan words in Tolai.

In other instances the rules of Tolai pluralisation are violated. Thus for instance, English loan words that belong to the class of N_{small} according to Tolai grammar and should appear in their unmarked form, are in certain contexts pluralised, e.g.

(338) U   tar mome ra umana tablets?   (Magret)
       you/SG TA *drink* ART PL
       Did you ever take tablets (in order to commit suicide)?

```
(339)  ra    umana  weapons  nin  ave        vala  training  me      (Eliab)
       ART   PL              DEM  we/PL/EXC  TA    train     with-it
       the weapons with which we trained.
```

Only the very early introduced loan word bomb is sometimes handled like
nouns belonging to N_{small}, e.g.

```
(340)  a     umana  balus  dia       vue    ra    bomb              (Paraide)
       ART   PL     plane  they/PL   throw  ART
       the planes threw bombs.
```

There are no instances in which English loan words are pluralised by lavur
and only one case of reduplication:

```
(341)  dia        ivure  kadia      bag-bag-    na-cocoa
       they/PL    sell   their/PL   bags/DISTR-C-  cocoa
       they sell their bags of cocoa; each of them sells his bags of cocoa,
```

i.e. the distinction of discrete plurality, distributional plurality and
plurality of different kinds ('Artenplural') is not maintained with loan words.

2.6.5.2 New developments in Tolai grammar

2.6.5.2.1 Umana

While in traditional Tolai the marker for discrete plurality umana, quan-
tifiers and lavur, the marker for plurality of different kinds, are mutually
exclusive, some young speakers use umana in combination with quantifiers and
lavur, e.g.

```
(342)  a     umana  bul,  a    peal   umana  bul               (Royal)
       ART   PL     boy   ART  many   PL     boy
       boys, many boys
```

```
(343)  a     peal   umana  beo                                (Gabi)
       ART   many   PL     bird
       many birds
```

```
(344)  ma    ta    umana  lavur  magit  bulang               (Nancy)
       and   ART   PL     PL     thing  also
       and also various other things
```

```
(345)  ma    a     umana  lavur  manga-na-en                  (Royal)
       and   ART   PL     PL     sort- C- fish
       and various sorts of fish.
```

This development matches with the tendency of umana to become obligatory
with nouns referring to a number of entities and corresponds to the use of the
plural marker ol in Tok Pisin by young speakers. Mühlhäusler (1981:53) states:

> The use of ol together with the above quantifiers (i.e.
> sampela some, plenti many) is common with most speakers
> of the younger and the youngest generation and there are
> indications that the use of ol in this context is well on
> its way of becoming categorial ... At the present there
> are three variants:
>
> ```
> (346)  sampela ol bisnesman
>        ol sampela bisnesman
>        ol sampela ol bisnesman    some businessmen.
> ```

Since young Tolais are bilinguals of Tolai and Tok Pisin, the combination of umana with quantifiers is at least reinforced, if not caused, by interference from Tok Pisin.

2.6.5.2.2 Lavur

The already mentioned fact that lavur is not used with loan words indicates that the category of plurals of different kinds is becoming less established than the discrete plural. For otherwise there would not be any reason as to why lavur is not found with loan words. This tendency is also reflected in the use of lavur with Tolai words. While old speakers still use lavur as a plural marker to denote that the noun referent occurs in different varieties, e.g.

(347)   A   lavur   tinata   par   (Maibe)
        ART   PL   *word*   *all*
        all   different kinds of words

(348)   ra   lavur   papalum   ta   ra   balaguan   (Tiotam)
        ART   PL   *work*   *in* ART *feast*
        the different works during a feast

it occurs only with magit *thing* or mangana *thing; sort, kind* in the young people's variety of Tolai, e.g.

(349)   dia   ga tir iau ure   ra   lavur   magit   (Royal)
        they/PL TA *ask me   about*   ART PL   *thing*
        they asked me various things

(350)   ra   lavur magit parika nina di   pait ia pirevevet   (Darusila)
        ART PL   *thing all*   DEM   INDEF *do   it with-us*/PL/EXC
        all various things that were done to us

(351)   ure   ra   kinakap-   na-lavur   mangamangana   (Joe)
        about ART   *transport-* C- PL   *thing*/DISTR
        about the transport of various things.

If in modern Tolai the notion of different kinds of something specified is to be expressed, lavur is combined with manga-na, for example:

(352)   a   lavur   manga-na-pilai   dia   ga pait ia   (Goro)
        ART   PL   *kind-* C- *play* *they*/PL TA *do   it*
        they played various kinds of games

(353)   a   lavur   manga-na-malagene   (Gabi)
        ART   PL   *kind-* C- *dance*
        various kinds of dances.

In the same way plurality of different kinds is expressed with loan words:

(354)   ra   lavur   manga-na-subject   dari ra   English,   (Vinnie A.)
        ART   PL   *kind-* C-   *as* ART

        typing   ma   shorthand
                 ART
        various kinds of subjects as English, typing and shorthand.

In other words, while in traditional Tolai the combination of lavur with manga-na was optional, it is now becoming obligatory with nouns other tham magit and mangana, i.e. the distribution of lavur has become rather restricted, and consequently it has lost its status of being a plural marker of the same functional

capacity as umana. The distinction between discrete plurality and plurality of different kinds is no longer marked by different plural markers (i.e. umana and lavur), but has to be expressed by circumlocution, as, for instance, in English. The only difference between English and modern Tolai is that in Tolai 'different kinds of ...' is not expressed by ADJ + N, but that instead of the adjective 'different' the old plural marker lavur is used which originally covers the whole notion of 'different kinds of ...'.

In Tok Pisin plurality of different kinds is expressed by the plural marker ol + kain *sort* + N, e.g. ol kain projek *various projects*, and again we may assume that the changes in Tolai are the result of interference.

2.6.5.2.3 Collectives

In traditional Tolai nouns referring to groups of people are related to plural subject markers and personal pronouns. In modern Tolai both plural and singular subject markers and pronouns are used and sometimes variation is even found in one and the same text:

(355) a   kor-   na-tarai   i   mat   TT 41
       ART *crowd- C- people it   die*
       many people died

       a   kor-   na-tarai   dia   ga mat   TT 42
       ART *crowd-C- people   they/PL TA die*
       many people died

(356) vakir tika na vunatarai ka   i   ga vaki   (Walom)
       not   one   C   clan   only it TA establish

       ra   lotu   ati
       ART *church here*
       it was not only one clan which established the Church here.

This variation indicates that the criterion which governs concord is changing. Not being marked for discrete plurality, nouns denoting groups of people are tending now to be treated as singulars because of their form, whereas in traditional Tolai it was not form but content that was decisive:

A very interesting case in this respect is the noun barmana *young man, a youth*, e.g.

(357) ma   nam To Kabinana kana barmana nina ra   tagul   Kl 62
       and DEM To Kabinana his   boy   DEM ART star
       and the boy of To Kabinana was that star,

but due to lexical interference from English, it is also used in the sense of *youth, group of young men* in modern Tolai and related to singular subject markers and pronouns, though this leads to ambiguity:

(358) a   barmana i   vana
       ART *youth   he   go*
                      it
       1. *the young man went*
       2. *the group of young men went.*

However, the context always makes clear, whether only one young man or a group of men is spoken about, e.g.

```
(359)  a     umana barmana parika dia      vana ...                (Joe)
       ART   PL    youth   all    they/PL  go

       a     barmana iat  i    take part ta  ra    funeral
       ART   youth   PART it   take part in  ART   funeral
       all the young men went ... the youth itself took part in
       the funeral

(360)  a     ura  lualua ta  ra    barmana                         (Goro)
       ART   two  leader of  ART   youth
       two leaders of the youth.
```

2.6.5.2.4 Verbal nouns

In contrast to traditional Tolai where verbal nouns are uncountable, they are combined with umana, quantifiers or numerals in modern Tolai to express that an event or state of being occurs several times:

```
(361)  nam  ra    umana maramaravut  go   iau  veve        u       (Joe)
       DEM  ART   PL    help         DEM  I    inform/RED  you

       ta-  na
       about-it
       those acts of help I am going to inform you about now

(362)  ma   ure   ra    umana nginarao i    vala vanarikai         (news)
       and  about ART   PL    problem  it   TA   appear
       and about the problems which often come up

(363)  mangoro na  varmilikuanai  i    vanarikai                   (Darusila)
       many    C   dislike        it   appear
       much dislike has come up
```

(note that in modern Tolai mangoro is often constructed without the article).

Two factors seem to be responsible for this development:
1. the already mentioned tendency in Tolai grammar to express plurality when one speaks of more than one discrete entity, i.e. a decrease of trans-numerality, and
2. the influence of Tok Pisin in which plurality is expressed with abstract nouns, "if they are objects of a sentence with a plural agent ... (or) the abstract concept can be identified with several concrete items or events" (Mühlhäusler 1981:50), e.g.

```
(364)  ol    i  gat  ol  fan
       they     had  PL  fun
       they had fun

       ol kain projek i mas givim ol training long ol lokal pipel
       various projects must provide training for the local people.
```

2.6.5.2.5 Concord

In modern Tolai agreement between nouns and related subject markers and pronouns shows great variation, as it seems to be determined by three competing principles, the traditional one and two new ones:

1. According to the traditional grammar, nouns referring to discrete entities are related to plural subject markers and pronouns, when they denote a number of such discrete entities, regardless if plurality is formally expressed or not.

2. In modern Tolai noun phrases that are formally marked for plurality are related to plural subject markers and pronouns; noun phrases that do not contain a plural marker, quantifier or numeral are treated as singulars regardless their reference.

3. Nouns referring to inanimates are related to singular subject markers and pronouns, even if they are marked for plurality.

With some nouns the first rule determines the concordance, with others the second or the third one, and in some cases the speaker seems to have the choice of the one he prefers. Examples:

1. Collectives referring to groups of people, e.g. kor *crowd*, vunatarai *clan* are either related to plural subject markers and pronouns according to the first rule or treated as singulars according to the second rule.

2. Concord in number between pronouns and nouns referring to units of time, e.g. paka-na-bung *hour* (lit. *piece of the day*), kilala *year* (originally only *season*), and the loan word week, follows the third rule, e.g.

(365) ra   umana ki lala nina iau ga vartovo ta-na   (Luisa)
     ART PL   *year* DEM   TA *study*   *in-it*
     the years I studied ...

(366) a   vinun na kilala takodo   nam nina iau   (Pauline)
     ART   *ten*   C *year*   *straight* DEM DEM *I*

     papalum pa ia go
     work   E *it* DEM
     it is exactly ten years that I work now.

If concord with these nouns, which have been recently introduced into Tolai in order to meet the necessities of modern life, followed the first rule, one would expect plural pronouns, because they denote discrete entities. According to the second rule ra umana kilala, a vinum na kilala would have been related to plural pronouns, because in both cases plurality is marked.

3. A umana magit *things* is related to plural as well as singular subject markers and pronouns. The table below shows the frequency of singular and plural subject markers and pronouns that are related to ART + umana/QUANT + magit:

total number of occurrences	SM/SG	SM/PL	PRON/SG	PRON/PL
23	8	4	10	1

Magit *thing* may refer to abstract concepts as well as concrete things. In both cases the agreement varies, e.g.

(367) mangoro na pupukuai ta ra vartovo, mangoro   (Ia Peril)
     many   C *change*   *in* ART *school* *many*

     na magit dia   vanarikai
     C *thing* they/PL *appear*
     many changes in school, many things have come up

(368) ra   umana magit nina dia   ki   ta ra store   (Pauline)
      ART   PL   *thing* DEM   *they/PL* *sit* *in* ART *store*
      the things that are in the store

(369) pi   una   ve   iau ure   ta umana   (To Mago)
      so-that *you/SG+TA* *inform* *me* *about* ART PL

      magit nina dia-   dariba dia-   u   vala nuk
      thing DEM *they/PL* i.e. *they/PL* *you/SG* TA *think*

      pa diat   ta go-   ta ra umana kilala lua-
      E *them/PL* *in* DEM- *in* ART PL *year* *previous*

      ta umana magit u   ga pait ia
      ART PL   *thing* *you/SG* TA *do* *it*
      *in order to inform me about things which - that is - they -
      you often think of them in this - in the previous years -
      things you did.*

Obviously singular forms are favoured, but as singular and plural are
indifferently used by older and young people, the tendency of development is un-
clear. As far as concord in general is concerned, it seems that the old rule is
being replaced, but it is impossible to predict whether the feature (± animate)
or (± formally marked for plurality), or a combination of both will prevail.

Chapter 3

THE VERBAL PHRASE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The subject marker and the nucleus

The verbal phrase obligatorily consists of the nucleus denoting an action, process or state of being and the subject marker, which refers to the subject of the clause and agrees with it in number if it signifies human beings or big animals (cf.p.75):

```
                              S
              _____/        _____
         NP                                        VP
    ___/      \___                          ___/      \___
 ART              N               subject marker        nucleus
  |               |                    |                   |
  a            tutana                   i                 vana
 the            man                    he                  go
```
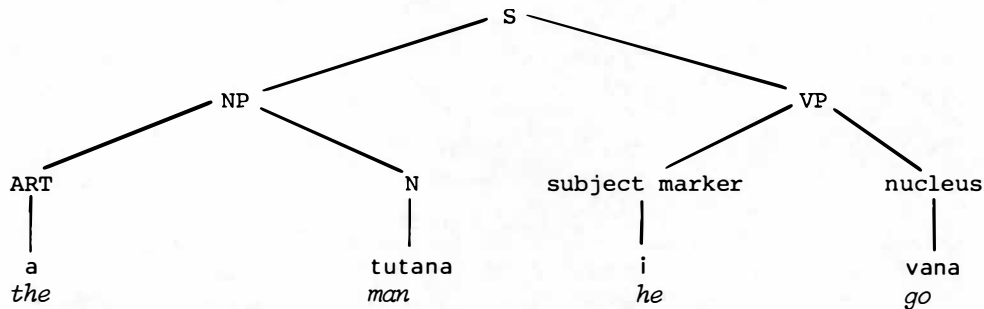
the man went
(the simple form i vana usually refers to the past).

The nucleus can be formed by verbs, adjectives, quantifiers, numerals and nouns, e.g.

(1) verb: i vana   *he went*
     adjective: i ngala   *it is big*
     quantifier: i do   *there are many* (cf.p.63)
     numeral: i utul   *there are three* (cf.p.65, 154)
     noun: i tutana   *he became a man* (cf.p.106, 159)

Though being the head of a verbal phrase, the word tutana *man* in i tutana *he became a man* has been classified as a noun, because it may function as the nucleus of a noun phrase in this form, while verbs, when they are used as the nucleus of a noun phrase, have to be transformed into verbal nouns by certain affixes or by reduplication (cf. Mosel 1980:80, 82, 104). Verbs differ from adjectives, quantifiers and numerals in that they cannot be used as nominal adjuncts. Thus in contrast to the adjective ngala *big*, the verb mulmulum *to be hungry* cannot be used attributively, e.g.

(2) i   ngala ra   pal   a   ngala na pal
     it big   ART house   ART *big*   C   *house*
     the house is big   *the big house*

     a   tutana   i   mulmulum   *a mulmulum na tutana
     ART *man*   *he   be-hungry*
     the man is hungry.

The notion of *the hungry man* can only be expressed by a relative clause:

(3) nina ra   tutana i   mulmulum
     DEM   ART   *man*   *he   be-hungry*
     the man who is hungry.

The verbs can be further classified into dynamic vs. stative, active vs. inactive and transitive vs. intransitive verbs:
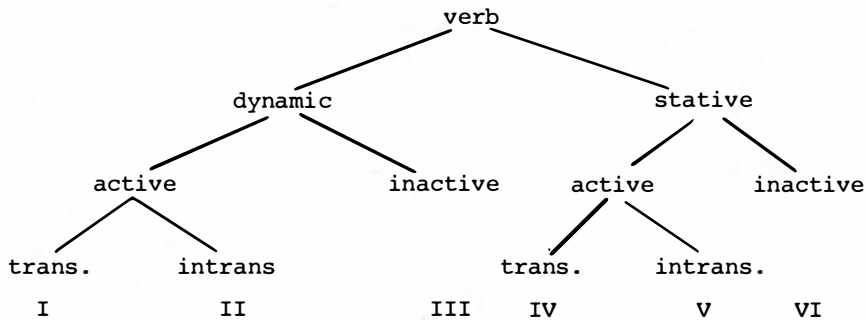
In the case of dynamic and stative verbs, i.e. verbs denoting actions or processes and verbs denoting states of being, the classification is based on their different behaviour with respect to the marking of aspect (cf.p.96), which obviously reflects the semantic difference between the two. Active verbs differ syntactically from inactive verbs in that they enter different clause structures (cf.p.137), and semantically in that the subject referent of active verbs is animate and controls the action or state expressed by the verb. Inactive dynamic verbs denote uncontrolled processes, whereas inactive stative verbs refer to uncontrolled states (cf.p.103), usually implying that the subject is inanimate. Transitive verbs are morphosyntactically distinguished from intransitive ones on the basis of whether or not the verb must be obligatorily followed by a patient noun phrase (cf.p.141). Examples:

I. dynamic, active, transitive verbs:

        kita   *to hit someone*
        mome   *to drink something*

II. dynamic, active, intransitive verbs:

        vana   *to go*
        kikita   *to hit*
        momo   *to drink*

III. dynamic, inactive verbs:

        takop   *to fall down*
        dudu   *to sink*
        guria   *to quake*

IV. stative, active, transitive verbs:

guguane	*to enjoy something*
maitane	*to be sick with*

V. stative, active, intransitive verbs:

gugu	*to be happy*
mait	*to be sick*

VI. stative, inactive verbs:

buka	*to be full*
par	*to be finished, complete.*

Verbs which are basically transitive, e.g. kita *to hit someone* can be transformed into intransitive verbs by partial reduplication, e.g. kikita *to hit*. This type of reduplication must be distinguished from the so-called 'full reduplication', which serves as a means of expressing the imperfective aspect (cf.p.96). Morphologically it usually differs from partial reduplication in that more phonemes are involved, e.g. kitakita *to be hitting someone*. Intransitive verbs which are derived by partial reduplication can be reduplicated for a second time in order to express imperfective aspect. In this case only the first syllable of the derived intransitive verbs is reduplicated, e.g. kikikita *to be hitting* (cf. Mosel 1980:103).

The subject marker, which obligatorily precedes the nucleus, is in most cases a shortened form of the independent pronoun.

			independent pronoun	subject marker	subject marker + Future Tense marker
Sg	1		iau	iau	ina
	2		u	u	una
	3		ia	i	na
Du	1	exc	amir, mir	ami, amir, mir	amir a
	1	inc	dor	do, dor	dor a
	2		amur, mur	amu, amur, mur	amur a
	3		dir	di, dir	dir a
Tr	1	exc	amital, mital	amita, amital, mital	amital a
	1	inc	datal	data, datal	datal a
	2		amutal, mutal	amuta, amutal mutal	amutal a
	3		dital	dita, dital	dital a
Pl	1	exc	avet	ave	avet a
	1	inc	dat	da	dat a
	2		avat	ava	avat a
	3		diat	dia	diat a
Indef			-	di	da

The indefinite subject marker di is only used with active verbs to indicate that the action or state denoted by the nucleus is controlled by someone whom the speaker does not know or does not want to refer to. It resembles the German man or French on. Whereas the plural forms of the subject marker are derived from the independent pronoun by deletion of the final t, the deletion of the final r

in the dual and the final l in the trial is optional; a variation which results from linguistic change. If the various forms of the subject markers listed here are compared with those recorded by Rickard (1889:436), it becomes evident that the loss of the final consonants in the dual and trial subject markers is a recent innovation and that the initial a of the first exclusive and second person has been developed through analogy with the corresponding plural forms.

The subject marker and the nucleus, i.e. the minimal verbal phrase, can constitute a clause, e.g.

(4) iau vana   *I went*
     dia vana   *they went*.

If the subject is emphasised and if it is pronominal, it is additionally denoted by an independent pronoun, which holds the same position as nominal subjects, e.g.

(5) diat   dia   vana   *they went*
     they/PL they/PL   go

     a   tarai   dia   vana   *the men went*
     ART men   they/PL go

and which can be separated from the verbal phrase by nominal determiners, e.g.

(6)

```
                              S
                 /                        \
            NP                               VP
         /       \                         /      \
      PRON      NOM.DET                  SM         V

      dir        parika                 dir        vana      Kl 81
      they/DU    all                    they/DU    go
      they both went
```

(7) ia iat   i   ga kap   ia   Kl 246
     he EMPH.PART. he TA take it
     he himself took it; it was him who took it.

Since the subject marker is an obligatory part of the verbal phrase, it must not be deleted when two verbal phrases are coordinated, e.g.

(8) a   tutana i   ian ma   i   momo
     ART man   he eat and he drink
     the man ate and drank.

3.2 THE SEQUENTIAL ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS

Besides the subject marker and the nucleus, the verbal phrase can contain:

1. A negative particle.
2. Up to three prenuclear tense, aspect and mood markers (abbr. TA).
3. A prenuclear adverb denoting the degree or intensity of what is referred to by the nucleus.
4. A postnuclear nominal adjunct which characterises the concept expressed by the nucleus.
5. Up to three postnuclear verbal adjuncts, i.e. verbs that form a construction of verb serialisation with the nucleus.
6. A postnuclear marker of aspect or directionality.

The sequential order of these constituents is fixed and seems to be subject to the same principle which determines the arrangement of noun phrase constituents. Those constituents which characterise the concept expressed by the nucleus (e.g. adverbs, characterising nominal and verbal adjuncts) are closer to the nucleus than those which serve as a means of identifying the reference of the action, process or state expressed by the nucleus (e.g. the subject marker, tense and aspect markers):

$$\text{NEG SM } TA_1 \ TA_2 \ TA_3 \ ADV \ (C) \ V \ (C) \ N \ V_2 \ V_3 \ V_4 \ E$$

NEG	negative particle
SM	subject marker
TA	tense, aspect, mood marker
ADV	adverb
C	connective particle
V_1	nucleus
N	nominal adjunct
V_2, V_3, V_4	verbal adjuncts
E	the so-called Effective Particle, which indicates aspect or directionality

A detailed discussion of the sequential order of constituents will follow after the various means of modifying the nucleus and expressing tense, aspect and mood have been described (cf.p.118). Here a few illustrating examples might suffice:

(9)   SM V_1 V_2 V_3 V_4

dir   vung-   pakate- vue-   mulē   M 268
they/DU *put down slap   throw away do-again=it*
they immediately threw it down again (the stone which they tried to carry)

(10)   SM+TA_1 TA_2 TA_3 V_1

na   ga   tia   beo   go   ra   ivu   M 28
it+FUT   REMOTE   CONTRAST *bird* DEM ART *two*

mapi-na-davai
leaf   tree
these two tree leaves will later become birds

(11)   SM TA   ADV V_1

i   ga   manga   kankan
he   REMOTE   very   be-angry
he was very angry

(12)   SM   TA V_1 C N V_2 V_3

iau ti   tata- na-kaia- vue-   mulē   M 166
I   really speak-C- spirit-throw-away-do-again=it
I uttered a magic formula, so that it (the snake) disappeared again

(13)   SM   TA V_1 V_2 V_3 E

dir   ga poko-kutu- va=lue   pa   ia   M 182
they/DU TA *cut- sever-CAUS=be-first   it*
they cut it into two pieces first

3.3 ASPECT, TENSE AND MOOD

3.3.1 Introduction

Tolai displays various means of expressing temporal, aspectual and modal relations whose distribution depends on whether the basic form of the nucleus inherently denotes an action or a process on the one hand or a state of being on the other. While, for instance, the present tense is indicated by reduplication with verbs denoting actions, it is unmarked with verbs denoting states, e.g.

(14) ian   *to eat*
     i iaian   *he is eating*
     mait   *to be sick*
     i mait   *he is sick.*

According to the inherent meaning of the basic form of the nucleus and the corresponding differences in marking tense and aspect, the verbs can be classified into dynamic and stative verbs (cf.p.103, 106). All non-verbal nuclei basically denote states, e.g. korong *black*, i korong *it is black.*

3.3.2 Aspect

3.3.2.1 Reduplication of dynamic verbs as a means of expressing imperfective aspect

3.3.2.1.1 Present tense, progressive and durative action

The basic function of the reduplication of dynamic verbs is to indicate that, for the subject spoken about, the action has not been completed, but that it is still going on; though from the view of the speaker it may already be completed. Compare the following sentences:

(15) To   ia   u   u   iaian   kaugu   vudu?   Kl 283
     ART *who you*/SG *you*/SG *eat*/RED *my*   *banana*
     Who are you, who is eating my bananas?

(16) i   ga   valongore ra   tabaran i   ga   tangtangi   Kl 125
     he TA *hear*   ART *spirit* *it* TA *cry*/RED
     he heard the spirit crying
     (lit. *he heard the spirit, it was crying*)

In (15) the speaker speaks of an action which is being performed just at the time of speaking and which, consequently, is in the present tense both from the view of the speaker and the subject spoken about. But in (16) the actions of hearing and crying are already completed at the moment of the utterance, i.e. the time of being of the speaker. If, however, one regards the temporal relationship between the action of crying and the subject spoken about, the spirit, it is in the present tense for the subject, i.e. it started crying in the past and will stop, from its point of view, in the future. This temporal relationship between the action and the time of being of the subject is indicated by reduplication (e.g. tangtangi), while the temporal relationship between the action and the speaker's time of being is signified by the prenuclear marker ga, which expresses that the action took place in the remote past from his point of view. In (15) both points to which the action can be related come together. This relationship, which will be called Present Tense in the following is marked only by reduplication of the nucleus without prenuclear tense markers.

(17)

```
                                    speaker
                       a                      b
_____|_____|_____>
         past                      speaker            future
                                   subject

                   a           b            speaker
_____|_____|_____|_____>
         past                                      future
               subject
```
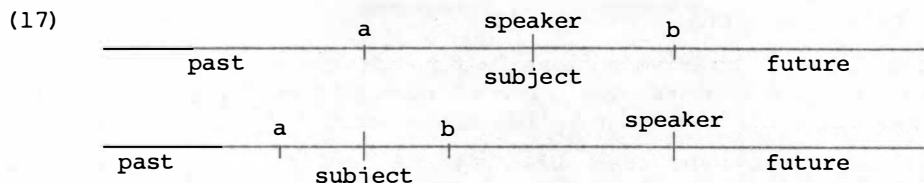
Verbal phrases which consist only of the subject marker and a simple non-reduplicated dynamic verb refer to an action in the past from the speaker's point of view without taking the perspective of the subject into account, e.g. i tangi *he cried*. In the preceding examples the construction of valongore *to hear* was chosen, because it clearly demonstrates the two kinds of temporal relationships which have to be distinguished (i.e. action — speaker and action — subject). As (17) and the examples quoted below show, the use of reduplication is not necessarily bound to subordination. But while the speaker is free to choose the perspective of his description and whether to use reduplication or not in the cases described below, it is obligatory when the action takes place in the present tense, or when it is to be expressed that a progressive action correlates with another action. When, for example, the speaker says that someone chased somebody else without relating the action of chasing to another intervening action, he may say

(18) i   (ga)   korot   ia
    he   (TA)   chase   him
    he chased him

or he may also adopt the point of view of the subject and say

(19) i   (ga)   korokorot   ia
    he   (TA)   chase/RED   him
    he chased him.

The latter construction is preferred when the speaker wants to express that the action took some time. In contrast to English, there are no prepositional or adverbial expressions in Tolai to render the notion of 'for a while', 'for some time' and the like. For example:

(20) iau korokorot ra balu   i takap ma kaigu kuara   M 90
    I   chase/RED ART pigeon it escape with my   sling
    I chased the pigeon which had escaped with my sling

(21) a   tabaran i ga papapala   Kl 169
    ART *spirit   it TA open*
    the spirit opened (the entrance, which took some time, since it had been carefully locked).

In order to distinguish between the obligatory use of reduplication, as illustrated by tangtangi *be crying* in (16), and its optional use in (18) and (19), the former type of action will be called 'Progressive Action' and the latter 'Durative Action'. Note that Present Tense Actions are necessarily progressive and durative, and that Progressive Actions are also durative, whereas the reverse is not true.

categories of types of actions	meanings		
	present	progressive	durative
Present Tense	+	+	+
Progressive	–	+	+
Durative	–	–	–

3.3.2.1.2 Collective Action

A special type of durative actions is found in the following two examples; these express that the members of a group of people do not perform an action at the same time, but continuously one after the other:

<table>
<tr><td>(22)</td><td>dia</td><td>vatvatur</td><td>ra</td><td>ula</td><td></td><td></td><td>Kl 111</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>they/PL</td><td>touch/RED</td><td>ART</td><td>head</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="7">they (the children) touch the head (one after the other)</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>dia</td><td>ga</td><td>irairop</td><td>ta</td><td>ra</td><td>pal-</td><td>na-lotu</td></tr>
<tr><td>they/PL</td><td>TA</td><td>go-out/RED</td><td>of</td><td>ART</td><td>house-C-</td><td>church</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="7">they left the church one after the other.</td></tr>
</table>

If the simple form irop were used instead of irairop, the last sentence would mean *they left the church* without specifying whether they all left it at the same time or one after the other. Furthermore, the use of the reduplicated form implies that the action took some time and that those who performed the action are regarded as a group. This kind of action will therefore be called 'Collective Action'. In other words, the Collective Action is considered to be a continuous sequence of separate actions performed by individuals who constitute a collective. From the point of view of the subject, namely the collective, the action is not completed. In the case of Present Tense, Durative and Progressive Actions, the action which is regarded as not being completed is a single, continuous and durative action. These three features are, in a slightly modified way, also characteristic of Collective Actions. With respect to its collective subject, the action is a single one, which starts when the first participant begins it and which ends when the last participant has finished it. But at the same time it consists of a plurality of actions dome by each member of the group.

(24)
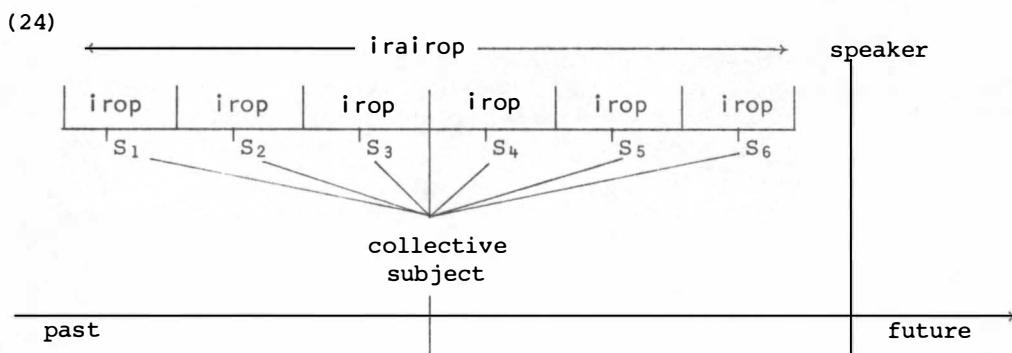
3.3.2.1.3 Continuously Repeated Actions

The following example shows that the action which is viewed as being un-completed and which is consequently expressed by a reduplicated verb is not necessarily a single, homogeneous action, but that a non-interrupted sequence of equal actions can also be considered as a single durative action, e.g.

<table>
<tr><td>(25)</td><td>i</td><td>kavkavir</td><td>ia</td><td>Kl 116</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>she</td><td>tear/RED</td><td>it</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="4">she tore it into pieces.</td></tr>
</table>

Kavkavir, which is derived from kavir *to tear a thing into two pieces*, literally means *to continuously repeat the action of tearing a thing into two pieces*, which implies that the thing is torn into many pieces.

(26)

```
                          |
        ◄───────────── kavkavir ──────────►    speaker
                          |
      | kavir | kavir | kavir | kavir | kavir |
                          |
                       subject
 ─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────
  past                    |                    │   future
```
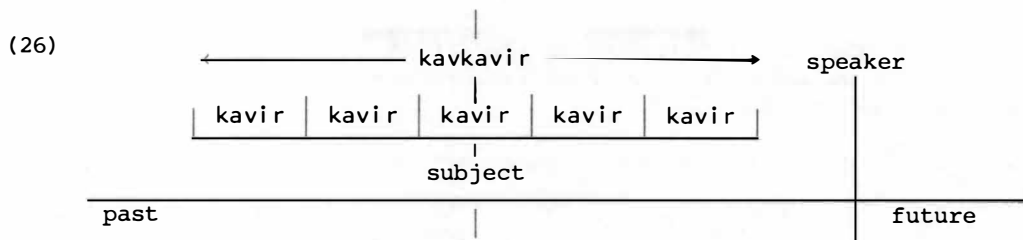
3.3.2.1.4 Iterative Actions

Iterative Actions differ from Continuously Repeated Actions in that the repetition is not absolutely continuous. The only decisive factor seems to be that actions are repeated over a relatively short stretch of time and that the intervals between them are rather short, so that they can be considered as belonging together and constituting one action, e.g.

(27) To Kalang i   ga kukukula upi   nam diat.   Kl 187
      To Kalang he TA shout/RED for DEM them/PL

Pa   dia   valavalongorē.
not   they/PL   hear/RED + him
To Kalang shouted several times for them, but they did not
hear him (each time that he shouted).

The action of shouting is not continuous, as To Kalang obviously waited for the people to react before he shouted again.

3.3.2.1.5 Distributional Actions

Distributional Actions, similar to Continuously Repeated Actions, and Iterative Actions, consist of a number of single actions. In contrast to the former, however, Distributional Actions affect different entities or are performed at different places, whereby these entities or places are of the same kind. Examples:

(28) i   alalire   pa ia ta go   ra   gunagunan   ma   M 196
      it float/RED   E   it to DEM ART place/DISTR and

i   ga poporē
it TA land+it
it (the sea) had floated them (the coconuts) to these places and
thrown them on the beach

(29) dia   ga vungvung ra   upaupa   Kl 205
      they/PL TA put/RED   ART   piece-of-coconut-fibre/DISTR

ta   ra   talinge=diat
into ART ear=   their
they put pieces of coconut-fibre into their ears (each of them
put pieces of coconut-fibre into his ears).

Each single action correlates with a different patient or place, which themselves form a unit corresponding to the Distributional Action as a whole. Accordingly, the distributional character of this type of action is additionally indicated by reduplication of the argument which denoted the patient or the place, as reduplication is also a means of expressing distributional plurality with nouns.

Due to the distributional plurality of the patient or the place, the whole sequence of the various single actions is regarded as one action which is uncompleted for its subject.

(30)

3.3.2.1.6 Habitual Actions

By Habitual Actions we mean actions consisting of a sequence of single, equal actions that are done regularly at a certain fixed point of time (e.g. every morning, every Christmas), or that are always done whenever the opportunity to do them arises. Though Habitual Actions are similar to Iterative Actions in that they are constituted by a sequence of repeated single actions, they differ from them just in those two characteristics which have been considered as being essential for the use of reduplication with Iterative Actions. The repetition of single actions is not limited to a short period of time, but can even continue for ever, and, secondly, the intervals between them can be very large. Therefore one can only argue that the coherence between them, which justifies their treatment as one action, is made up by the regularity of their performance.

(31)

(Habitual Action in the past)

From the speaker's point of view, a Habitual Action can be located in the past, present or future. If it is located in the present, it is not necessarily simultaneous with the moment of the utterance. In this respect Habitual Actions differ from all other types of Imperfective Actions. Examples:

(32) U   vava   ave?   Kl 269
      you/SG *sleep*/RED *where*
      Where do you sleep? (i.e. *Where do you live?*)

(33) Nam   ra   tubuan   ik   i   ga   monamono.   Kl 318
      DEM   ART   *old-woman* *little* *she* TA   *stay-in-the-village*/RED

      Ma   nam   ra   kaia   i   ga   poapot   ma   i
      and DEM   ART   *spirit* *it* TA   *come*/RED *and* *it*

```
ga  loalong   ra  pa  ma  ra  lama.
TA  steal/RED ART taro and ART coconut
That old little woman always stayed behind in the village
(to guard it, when the others went away).  And that spirit
always came and stole the taros and the coconuts.
```

(34) Na   ti karakarat bula diat   go ra lavur   M 66
     it-Ta Ta *bite/RED also them/PL DEM ART PL*

```
vavaguai.
animal
These various kinds of animals will also bite them.
```

3.3.2.1.7 Conclusion

There are eight types of actions which are expressed by reduplicated dynamic verbs: Present Tense, Progressive, Durative, Collective, Continuously Repeated, Iterative, Distributional and Habitual Actions. They all have in common that they denote an action which is not completed from the point of view of the agent, so that according to general linguistic conventions, the basic function of reduplication of dynamic verbs can be called 'Imperfective Aspect'. The various kinds of Imperative Actions can be classified further on the basis of the following features:

1. (± present), i.e. whether or not an action is necessarily simultaneous with the moment of the utterance. While only Present Tense Actions are (+ present), all others are (- present).

2. (± simultaneous), i.e. whether or not an action is simultaneous with the moment of the utterance or some other past or future event, or not. The class of (+ simultaneous) actions includes Present Tense and Progressive Actions, both of which are obligatorily expressed by reduplicated verbs.

3. (± single), i.e. whether an action is really a single action with only one starting point and one terminal point or whether it consists of a sequence of several equal actions. In contrast to (+ single) actions, (- single) actions expressed by

$$SM + V_{RED}$$

can be paraphrased by

$$SM + V + \frac{ma}{and} + SM + V + \frac{ma}{and} + SM + V \ldots$$

e.g.

(35) i kavkavir ia
     she tear/RED it
     she tore it several times, she tore it to pieces

can be paraphrased by

(36) i kavir ia ma i kavir ia ma i kavir ia ...
     she tear it and she tear it and she tear it
     she tore it and tore it and tore it ...

But i ga tangtangi *it was crying* in

(37) i ga valongore ra tabaran i ga tangtangi
     he TA hear   ART spirit it TA cry/RED
     he heard the spirit crying

cannot be paraphrased by

(38) i ga tangi ma i ga tangi ma i ga tangi ...
it TA *cry*   *and* *it* TA *cry*   *and* *it* TA *cry*
it cried and it cried and it cried ...

Collective Actions can be regarded both as (+ single) and (− single) actions. In respect to the collective subject,

(39) dia   ga irairop
they/PL TA *go-out*
they went out one after the other

must be regarded as a single action, which is reflected by the fact that this sentence cannot be paraphrased by

(40) dia   ga irop   ma dia   ga irop   ma ...
they/PL TA *go-out* *and* *they/PL* TA *go-out* *and*
they went out and went out and ...

But on the other hand irairop does consist of a sequence of several equal actions each of which is performed by a member of the collective; hence dia ga irairop can be paraphrased by

(41) i ga irop   ma i ga irop   ma i ga irop   ma ...
he TA *go-out* *and* *he* TA *go-out* *and* *he* TA *go-out* *and*
he went out and he went out and he went out ...

whereby the singular subject markers i refer to different people.

4.   (± continuous), i.e. whether the performance of an action is continuous or interrupted. The feature (+ continuous) is shared by all (+ single) actions and additionally by Continuously Repeated Actions, whereas Iterative and Habitual Actions are interrupted by more or less short periods of time. Because they affect different patients or are performed at various places, Distributive Actions are discontinuous.

5.   (± limited), i.e. whether or not an action is performed in a limited period of time and at a certain pace. The only (− limited) actions are Distributive and Habitual Actions.

Habitual and Distributional Actions are defined by the feature (+ regular) and (+ distributional) respectively, and do not fit into the hierarchic order of the other types of actions, which is made up by the following implications:

(+ present) → (+ simultaneous, + single, + continuous, + limited)
(+ simultaneous) → (+ single, + continuous, + limited)
(+ single) → (+ continuous, + limited)
(+ continuous) → (+ limited)

features	types of actions					
	Prs.	Progr.	Dur.	Coll.	Cont.	It.
present	+	−	−	−	−	−
simultaneous	+	+	−	−	−	−
single	+	+	+	±	−	−
continuous	+	+	+	+	+	−
limited	+	+	+	+	+	+

3.3.2.2 Stative verbs

There are two classes of stative verbs:

1. Stative verbs denoting mental or bodily states, which combine with animate experiencers and enter the construction of active verbal clauses (cf. p.141), e.g.

(42)	burut	*to be afraid*
	laun	*to live*
	mait	*to be sick*
	mudian	*to be cold*
	talanguan	*to be tired, to dislike*
	tianan	*to be pregnant.*

2. Stative verbs denoting states of being of things, which enter the construction of inactive verbal clauses (cf.p.148), e.g.

(43)	buka	*to be full*
	par	*to be complete.*

Both types of stative verbs are used in their simple, unreduplicated form when they refer to a Present Tense state, e.g.

(44) tina= gu i mait
mother=my she be-sick
my mother is sick

(45) i buka ra rat
it be-full ART *basket*
the basket is full.

But while the former can be reduplicated in order to express Progressive, Repeated, Habitual and Intensive States, the latter cannot be reduplicated at all. In analogy to Progressive Actions, we speak of a Progressive State, if a state of being is simultaneous with another state or action. The examples found in Kleintitschen (1924) and Meier (1909) suggest that Progressive States are only expressed by reduplicated verbs in subordinated clauses. Since the construction of reduplicated stative verbs has not been checked on with informants, unclear whether it is obligatory or optional. For example:

(46) Nina ra tutana i ga mait.   Kl 360
DEM ART *man* *he* TA *sick*

Ma nina tura= na pa i ga nana pa ia ...
and DEM *brother=his not he* TA *see*/RED E *him*

Nina, i ga mait, i ga tir:
DEM *he* TA *sick he* TA *ask*

"Bulik, To Bua akave, ari pa i giragire
my-dear To Bua where since not he see/RED

pa iau, ari-eri iau mamait."
E *me as-long-as I be-sick*/RED
That man was sick.
But his brother did not visit him ...
The one who was sick, asked: "My dear, where is To Bua, since he
has not visited me, for long as I have been sick now."

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(47) Ba   da   lagalagar ma   da   momo   M 250
      when we/PL/INC   be-healthy and we/PL/INC drink

      vurvurbit.
      everywhere
      As long as we are healthy, we can have something to drink everywhere.

Repeated States are very rare. In the following example the repetition of a
state is correlated with an Iterative Action:

(48) Iau ma   ororo   pa diat.
      I   in-vain call/RED E   them/PL

      Dia   talatalanguan.
      they/RED dislike/RED
      I called for them in vain. But they did not like (to come).
      (But they refused to come each time that I called for them).

Examples for Habitual States are particularly found in creation myths, where the
effect of the event in question or people in future times is stated, e.g.

(49) kador   umana bul diat   a   ti burburut   M 76
      our/DU/INC PL   child they/PL TA TA be-afraid/RED

      upi ra   tabaran
      of ART spirit
      our children will always be afraid of the tabaran-spirit.

(50) avat   a   ti tiatianan   Kl 391
      you/PL TA TA be-pregnant/RED
      you (women) will become pregnant.

The most frequent function of the reduplication of stative verbs is to indicate
intensity, which is often additionally signified by the emphatic particle ka or
its allomorphs uka and ika, e.g.

(51) Iau ruvaruva   ka   ta=m.   Kl 401
      I   be-respectful/RED PART of=you/SG
      I am very respectful of you.

(52) "Tago   u   tanan   ika."   Kl 447
      because you/SG be-pregnant PART

      "Iau mamaur   uka."
      I   be-full/RED PART
      "Because you are pregnant." "I am only full up.
      (That's the reason, why my belly is so big)."

(53) da   malamalari   Kl 191
      we/PL/INC   be-unhappy/RED
      we are very unhappy.

A number of stative verbs only have a reduplicated form without the corresponding
simple counterpart, e.g.

(54) gugu   *to be hungry*
      kankan   *to be angry*
      mulmulum   *to be hungry*
      nunure   *to know*
      ririvon   *to dream*
      ririvone   *to dream of.*

These verbs cannot be reduplicated further. Whereas Intensive and Habitual
States can be indicated by the adverbs manga *very* and vatikai *always*, Progressive
and Repeated States cannot be explicitly marked.

A special case of stative verbs is found with kiki *to sit, to be seated* and
tutur *to stand, to stay*, which are derived from the dynamic verbs ki *to sit down*,
and tur *to stand (somewhere), to place oneself (somewhere)*. These reduplicated
verbs differ from reduplicated dynamic verbs in that they do not denote Imper-
fective Actions but states; otherwise kiki would mean *to be taking a seat, to
continuously sit down (and get up again)* and tutur *to be placing oneself some-
where, to continuously stand up (and sit down again)*. Examples:

<table>
<tr><td>(55)</td><td>Ava</td><td>nam</td><td>u</td><td>kiki</td><td>taun</td><td>ia?</td><td>Kl 72</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>*what*</td><td>*DEM*</td><td>*you/SG*</td><td>*sit*</td><td>*upon*</td><td>*it*</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="6">*Where are you sitting on?*</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>(56)</td><td>Una</td><td>tutur</td><td>ati!</td><td>Kl 244</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>*you/SG+TA*</td><td>*stand*</td><td>*here*</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">*Remain standing here!*</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

But:

<table>
<tr><td>(57)</td><td>Una</td><td>ki</td><td>ati!</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>*you/SG+TA*</td><td>*sit-down*</td><td>*here*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">*Sit down here!*</td></tr>
</table>

3.3.2.3 Adjectives

Adjectives forming the nucleus of verbal phrases are reduplicated in order
to indicate that the quality expressed by the simplex is intensive or is growing
intensive, e.g.

<table>
<tr><td>(58)</td><td>i</td><td>ga</td><td>malamalapang</td><td>nam</td><td>ra</td><td>vat</td><td>Kl 332</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>*it*</td><td>*TA*</td><td>*be-hot*/RED</td><td>*DEM*</td><td>*ART*</td><td>*stone*</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="6">*that stone became very hot*</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>(59)</td><td>i</td><td>ga</td><td>tutukan</td><td>mulai</td><td>Kl 331</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>*it*</td><td>*TA*</td><td>*be-small*/RED</td><td>*again*</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="4">*it became small again*</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>(60)</td><td>ma</td><td>pa</td><td>i</td><td>ga</td><td>boboina</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>*and*</td><td>*not*</td><td>*it*</td><td>*TA*</td><td>*good*/RED</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="5">*and it did not become better.*</td></tr>
</table>

That these two meanings of reduplication, which will be called Intensive and
Ingressive State, should be kept apart is shown by different paraphrases. Thus
according to the context, boboina can either be paraphrased by manga boina *very
good*, by boiba tuna *really good* or by boina vanavana *becoming good step by step*.

3.3.2.4 Agent- and patientless verbs

There are two kinds of agent- and patientless verbs, namely process and
stative verbs. While the former, which denote natural events, are treated like
dynamic verbs, e.g.

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```
(61)  i    gurguria
      it   quake/RED
      the earth is quaking,
```

the latter, which refer to the time of the day, are only reduplicated in order
to express Ingressive States, e.g.

```
(62)  i    ga  malamalana,    i    ga  ve      Talikun        Kl 172
      it   TA  be-morning/RED  he   TA  inform  T.
      when it became morning, he informed Talikun
```

```
(63)  ma   i   papalum  tuk   i    kakapa                     Kl 406
      and  he  work      until it  be-clear/RED
      and he worked until dawn broke.
```

3.3.2.5 Other types of nuclei

Due to insufficient data, it is not known whether quantifiers, which behave
similarly to adjectives in adnominal constructions, are also reduplicated to
express Intensive and Ingressive States when they function as the head of a
verbal phrase. Numerals are only reduplicated to derive distributive numerals
(cf.p.78); whether these distributive numerals only occur in adnominal construc-
tions or also as the nucleus of a verbal phrase has not yet been investigated.

Nouns, which are reduplicated to indicate distributional plurality when
they function as the head of a noun phrase, are not reduplicated when used as
the nucleus of a verbal phrase. In order to express the notion of 'to become
what is expressed by the noun', it is sufficient to use the noun as the nucleus
of a verbal phrase (cf.p.159), e.g.

```
(64)  i    tutana                 he becomes a man
      he   man

      ia   a    tutana            he is a man.
      he   ART  man
```

3.3.2.6 Conclusion

As illustrated by the chart below, reduplicated verbs show the greatest
variety of meanings. While dynamic verbs are reduplicated in order to express
that the action or process has not been completed from the point of view of the
subject spoken about, i.e. in order to express Imperfective Aspect, this function
of reduplication only plays a marginal role with active stative verbs, and none
with inactive stative verbs. This behavioural difference in marking aspect
correlates with the semantic differences between dynamic and stative verbs.

functions	types of verb phrase nuclei					
	dynamic verbs	active stative verbs	adj.	agent- and patientless stative verbs	inactive stative verbs	nouns
Present Tense	+	-	-	-	-	-
Progressive	+	(+)	-	-	-	-
Durative	+	-	-	-	-	-
Collective	+	-	-	-	-	-
Continuously Repeated Actions	+	-	-	-	-	-
Iterative Actions/ Repeated States	+	(+)	-	-	-	-
Distributive	+	?	?	-	-	-
Habitual	+	+	?	-	-	-
Intensive	-	+	+	-	-	-
Ingressive	-	?	+	+	-	-

+ indicates that reduplication is used in this case
- indicates either that this function is not expressed by reduplication,
   or that it is not a function of the respective nucleus
? indicates unclear cases

States imply duration and incompleteness, and consequently, stative verbs need not
be marked for the Present Tense and the Durative, whereas actions and processes
involve change and termination. In contrast to stative verbs, the simple form
of dynamic verbs refers to completed past events and can also be used to express
generic or habitual actions (compare the stories about the preparation of sweet-
potatoes, the pig, the pig-hunt and the house-building in Mosel 1977:129, 132,
135, 137, 139). As far as Present Tense and continuous actions (i.e. Progressive,
Durative, Collective and Continuously Repeated Actions) are concerned, redupli-
cation seems to serve as a means of making dynamic verbs similar to stative
verbs. That dynamic and stative verbs do not form two strictly separated
categories, but are interrelated in this way is best shown by such pairs as ki
to sit down and kiki *to sit, to be sitting*, where the reduplicated form does not
denote a continuous action (*to be sitting down, taking a seat* or *to be continu-
ously sitting down and getting up again*), but a state. Further evidence for the
interrelation between reduplicated dynamic and simple stative verbs is provided
by the fact that a number of stative verbs is formally reduplicated without
having a corresponding simple form, e.g. gugu *to be happy*, kankan *to be angry*,
mulmulum *to be hungry*.

3.3.3 Tense

3.3.3.1 Present, past and future tense

     As has been pointed out on several occasions in the preceding paragraphs,
the construction of a subject marker plus a non-reduplicated nucleus denotes a
past event, when the nucleus is formed by a dynamic verb, and refers to the
present or past tense in the case of a stative verb or adjective, e.g.

(65) i tangi   *he cried*
      i tangtangi   *he is crying, he was crying*
      i mait   *he is sick, he was sick*

Similar to stative verbs and adjectives, imperfective, i.e. reduplicated dynamic
verbs can refer both to past and present events, when they are combined only
with a subject marker. In other words, a past event is only distinguished from
a present event, if it is perfective.

A further obligatorily marked temporal distinction is the opposition
between future and non-future actions, processes and states. All future actions,
processes and states are obligatorily marked by the Future Tense marker and thus
contrast with non-future actions, processes and states:

		dynamic verbs	stative verbs adjectives
Past Tense	perf.	unmarked	unmarked
	imperf.	marked by reduplication	
Present Tense	imperf.	marked by reduplication	unmarked
Future Tense	perf.	marked by the Future Tense marker	marked by the Future Tense marker
	imperf.	marked by the Future Tense marker and by reduplication	

The Future Tense marker holds the first position after the subject marker fusing
with it into a portmanteau-morpheme in the singular and in the case of the
indefinite subject marker di. In the dual, trial and plural the form of the
Future Tense marker is a, while the subject marker shows the same form as the
independent pronoun (cf.p.93). The Future Tense marker is used to denote future
actions, processes and states in declarative and interrogative clauses, and it
is used to express commands, which, of course, refer to future actions or states.
Tolai does not have a particular means of signifying imperatives. Examples:

(66) ina   vana   (dynamic verb)   *I'll go*
      I+FUT   *go*

      una   vana   (dynamic verb)   *you'll go; go!*
      you/SG+FUT   *go*

      diat   a   mulmulmul   (stative verb)   *they will be hungry*
      they/PL FUT

      diat   a   ngala   (adjective)   *they will be big*
      they/PL FUT

      na   malana   (agent- and patientless verb)   *it will be morning*
      it+TA   *morning*

      una   beo   (noun)   *you will become a bird*
      you/SG+FUT   *bird*

3.3.3.2 Optionally marked temporal categories

3.3.3.2.1 The Remoteness marker ga

If an action, process or state is located in the past before yesterday from the speaker's point of view, it is optionally marked by ga, e.g.

<table>
<tr><td>(67)</td><td>i</td><td>ga</td><td>tangi</td><td>he cried</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>he</td><td>REMOTE</td><td>cry</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>i</td><td>ga</td><td>tangtangi</td><td>he was crying</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>he</td><td>REMOTE</td><td>cry/RED</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

but:

<table>
<tr><td>*nabung</td><td>i</td><td>ga</td><td>tangi/tangtangi</td></tr>
<tr><td>yesterday</td><td>he</td><td>TA</td><td>cry /cry/RED</td></tr>
</table>

and:

<table>
<tr><td>(68)</td><td>i</td><td>ga</td><td>kukuta</td><td>ra</td><td>ngie= ne</td><td>its mouth was black</td><td>Kl 336</td></tr>
<tr><td>(69)</td><td>i</td><td>ga</td><td>nat-</td><td>na-mumum</td><td></td><td>it was a little</td><td>Kl 202</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>it</td><td></td><td>little-C-</td><td>adopted-child</td><td></td><td>adopted child</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

In combination with the Future Tense marker ga indicates that the action, state or process will occur in the remote future, or after something else will have happened before. Hence ga is called 'Remoteness marker'. Examples:

<table>
<tr><td>(70)</td><td>una</td><td>ga</td><td>na</td><td>mule</td><td>tama= m</td><td>ma</td><td>M 98</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>you/SG+FUT</td><td>REMOTE</td><td>see</td><td>do-again</td><td>father=your/SG</td><td>and</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

na=   m
mother=your
you will see your father and mother again later

<table>
<tr><td>(71)</td><td>ina</td><td>vana,</td><td>ina</td><td>ga</td><td>vut- mulai ...</td><td>M 200</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>I+FUT</td><td>go</td><td>I+FUT</td><td>REMOTE</td><td>come-again</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

I'll go, but I'll come back later ...

3.3.3.2.2 The Perfect marker tar

The construction of the Perfect marker tar plus a dynamic verb denotes a state that has resulted from a past action or process, i.e. the Present Perfect Tense, which indicates

> the continuing present relevance of a past situation ...
> it expresses a relation between two time-points, on the
> one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior
> situation, and on the other the time of that prior
> situation (Comrie 1981:52).

For example:

<table>
<tr><td>(72)</td><td>i</td><td>tar</td><td>vana</td><td>Kl 270</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>he</td><td>PERF</td><td>go</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

he has gone (and is not here now)

<table>
<tr><td>(73)</td><td>iau</td><td>tar</td><td>ian</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>I</td><td>PERF</td><td>eat</td></tr>
</table>

I have eaten (and I am still satisfied)

(74)   i   tar   mat
         he PERF *die*
         he has died; he is dead.

The Past Perfect Tense, which indicates that a past state has resulted from an earlier event, is expressed by a combination of the Remoteness marker ga and the Perfect marker tar, e.g.

(75)   Ma   nam ra   ngala= na   i   ga   oraoro   upi ia. Kl 174
      and DEM ART *mother=* *his* *she* REMOTE *call/*RED *for* *him*

      Ma   ni   ra   bul   i   ga   tar   mat.
      and DEM ART *child* *it* REMOTE PERFECT *die*
      The mother called several times for him. But the child had
      already died, was already dead (so that it could not answer).

Furthermore, tar can be combined with the Future Tense marker or even with the Future Tense marker plus the Remoteness marker ga in order to express that a state in the future will result from some other, earlier future action, e.g.

(76)   una   tar   mat
      *you/*SG+FUT PERFECT *die*
      (you will have died)
      you will be dead

(77)   una   ga   tar   mat
      *you/*SG+FUT REMOTE PERFECT *die*
      (you will have already died)
      you will be already dead.

With stative verbs, tar explicitly indicates that the state referred to by the verb has started in the past. This often implies that it is the result of a past action or process. In English tar + stative verb can best be rendered by the adverb *already*, e.g.

(78)   "U   tar mal va= par   koum   vaga?"   Kl 59
      *you/*SG PERF *make* CAUS=*be-finished* *your/*SG *canoe*

      "I   tar   par."
      it PERF *be-finished*
      "Have you finished your canoe?"
      "It is finished."

(79)   "Ba   i tar   maranai kau   gunan?"   M 100
      PART *it* PERF *be-near* *your/*SG *village*
      "Have we already come close to your village?"
      (lit. *"Is your village already near?"*)

The same function of tar can be found with imperfective dynamic verbs, which is further evidence for the relationship between stative verbs and imperfective dynamic verbs, e.g.

(80)   lo,   dir   ga   tar   mal va= par   ia,   M 46
      well *they/*DU REMOTE PERF *make* CAUS=*be-finished* *it*

      ma To Karvuvu i   ga   tar   tintiding ra   garamut
      and *To Karvuvu* *he* REMOTE PERF *beat/*RED ART *garamut*

      ma To Kabinana i   ga   biti: ...
      and *To Kabinana* *he* REMOTE *say*
      Well, they had finished it (the canoe and the garamut-drum) and
      To Karvuvu had already started to beat/was already beating the
      garamut-drum, and To Kabinana said: ...

(81) "Ba   u   tar   gogogo?"   M 240
      PART *you*/SG PERF *peel*/INTR/RED
      "Are you already peeling (the nut)?"

(gogogo, which is derived from the transitive verb go *to peel something*, shows
two types of reduplication, namely reduplication as a means of intransitivisation
(cf.p.92) and, secondly reduplication as a means of indicating imperfective
aspect.)

As the following examples illustrate, tar can also be combined with
adjectives, numerals, the interrogative pronoun ivia *how many* and nouns:

(82) "Ba   i   tar   ivia   nam u   tar   pir   ia?"   M 98
      PART *it* PERF *how-many* DEM *you*/SG PERF *plait* *it*

      "Ba   i   tar   vinun."
      PART *it* PERF *ten*
      "How many baskets have you already made?" *"Ten."*
      (lit. *"How many is it already that you have plaited?"*
      "It is already ten.")

(83) I   tar   ngala.
      he   *big*
      He is already grown up.

(84) ... ma   i   tuk- tadap nam na=   i=   dir   i   M 36
          and he   reach-go-to DEM *mother*=POSS.M. *their*/DU *she*

      ga   tar   bul   mulai ...
      REMOTE   PERF *child again*
      *... and he came to their mother there, who had become a child
      again ... (because she was a snake which had stripped off its skin)*

In contrast to the Future Tense and the Remoteness marker, tar does not
occur in negative clauses. Thus *I have not eaten* cannot be translated by

(85) pa   iau tar ian
      not I   PERF eat

but only by

(86) pa   iau ian
      not I   eat
      I did not eat

or by

(87) pa   iau ti   ian
      not I   really eat
      I (really) did not eat (cf.p.115).

Similarly, tar must not be combined with the modal markers mala *nearly* and ma,
mama *in vain*, which also express that the action denoted by the verb did not
take place e.g.

(88) iau mala   bura ta   ra   tung
      I   nearly fall into ART *pit*
      I nearly fell into the pit

(89) i   ga   mama   poko ra   vat
      he REMOTE *in-vain cut* ART *stone*
      he could not cut the stone

but not:

> (90) *iau tar mala bura ...
>   *i tar mama poko ...

3.3.3.2.3 The Recent Past Tense marker kabur

Due to insufficient data, it is not clear, whether the Recent Past Tense marker is only used with dynamic verbs, or whether it may also occur with stative verbs. With dynamic verbs, it indicates that the action or process denoted by the verb took place in the recent past, e.g.

> (91) iau kabur pait ia ka
>   I   RECENT *do* *it* PART
>   *I just did it,*

or when it is combined with the Remoteness marker ga, it expresses that the action or process had just taken place when something else happened in the remote past. In other words, kabur itself indicates temporal closeness (compare Comrie 1981: 60) in relation to the moment of the utterance or in relation to some other past event. In the latter case we shall speak of Relative Recent Past Tense. In contrast to tar, kabur does not seem to imply that the action is still relevant for the present time, which correlates with the fact that it can be combined with the so-called Frustrative marker ma, mama *in vain* (cf.p.116), e.g.

> (92) iau kabur mama   pait ia
>   I   RECENT *in-vain* do   *it*
>   *I have just tried, but could not do it.*

3.3.3.2.4 Conclusion

The preceding analysis has shown that eleven tenses can be distinguished in Tolai.

tense	means of expression	dynamic verbs	
Past Tense	unmarked	i vana	*he went*
Present Tense	reduplication	i tantangi	*he is crying*
Future Tense	NA	na vana	*he will go*
Remote Past Tense	ga	i ga tangi	*he cried*
Remote Future Tense	NA ga	na ga vana	*he will go later*
Perfect Tense	tar	i tar vana	*he has gone*
Pluperfect	ga tar	i ga tar vana	*he had gone*
Future Perfect	NA tar	na tar vana	*he will have gone*
Remote Future Perfect	NA ga tar	na ga tar vana	*he will have gone later*
Recent Past	kabur	i kabur vana	*he just went*
Relative Recent Past	ga kabur	i ga kabur	*he had just gone*

past   moment of the utterance   future

Past Tense   Future Tense

Present Tense

Remote Past Tense   Remote Future Tense

Pluperfect   Present Perf.   Future Perf.   Remote Future Perf.

Relative Recent Past   Recent Past
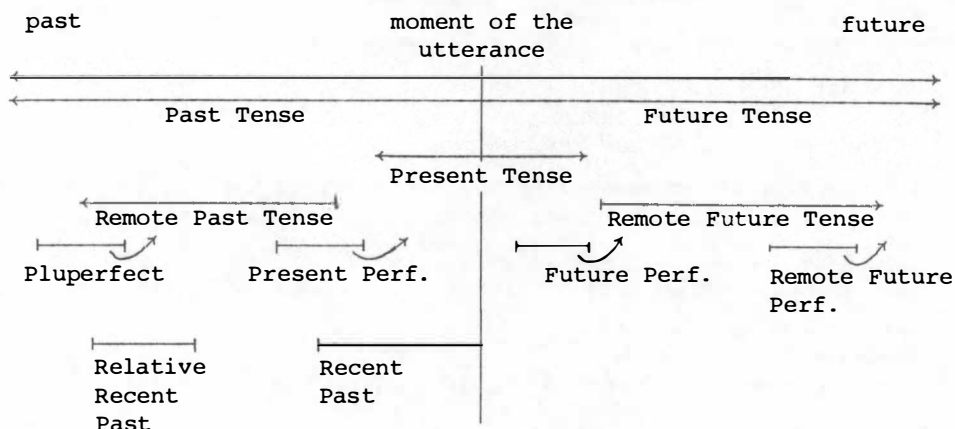
3.3.4 Mood

3.3.4.1 The Irrealis marker gala

The Irrealis marker gala indicates that the action, process or state denoted by the nucleus of a verbal phrase is not real, but that the wish exists that it occurs, that it would occur or would have occurred under certain conditions, which, however, are or were not fulfilled. Accordingly, gala is either combined with the Future Tense, the Remote Future Tense, the Past Tense, the Recent Past Tense or the Remote Past Tense.

While gala appears between the subject marker and the nucleus in the North-coast dialects and, consequently, can be classified as belonging to the prenuclear tense, aspect and mood markers, it precedes the subject marker in the Kokopo dialects and thus holds the same position as the negative particle, e.g.

(93) na   gala bata, gala   na   bata
      it-FUT IRREAL *rain* IRREAL *it*-FUT *rain*
      if only it would rain.

In irreal conditional sentences, gala appears in the protasis denoting the condition as well as in the apodosis, which expresses what is conditioned. In both groups of dialects the first gala is put at the beginning of the sentence like a conjunction. Examples:

(94) Gala   dia   tutun ma   ra   lalau   na   davai,   M 40
      IRREAL *they/PL* *cook* *with* ART *living* C *wood*

      diat   a   gala   laun vatikai.
      they/PL FUT IRREAL *live always*
      If they cooked with green wood, they would live eternally.

(95) Gala   amur   ongo tar   ika   a   iav   ik   ta=gu,   Kl 71
      IRREAL *you/DU*   *obey* *give* PART ART *fire* *little* *to=me*

      gala   amur   a   laun vatikai.
      IRREAL *you/DU*   FUT *live always*
      If you had obeyed and given me some fire, you would live for ever.

(96) Ma   gala   nam   ra   bul   i   ga   ongo   ta=na   M 106
      and   IRREAL   DEM   ART   *child*   *it*   REMOTE   *obey*   *to=her*

      pa   dat   a   gala   mat.
      not   we/INC/PL   FUT   IRREAL   *die*
      If the child had obeyed her, we would not die.

The first gala can also be combined with the conjunctions ba *if, when*, ona *if* and ari *if, when*, thus forming ba gala, ona gala and ari gala, e.g.

(97) Ari   gala   na   keake,   gala   dor   a   ki
      if   IRREAL   *it*-FUT   *sun*   IRREAL   we/INC/DU   FUT   *sit*

      ara   ra   valian.
      down-there   ART   *beach*
      If the sun were shining, we would be sitting on the beach.

3.3.4.2 The marker of emphatic certainty ti

The marker ti, which is called a 'marker of emphatic certainty', emphasises the speaker's certainty about what he is saying, and can be best translated by English adverbs such as *really, certainly, indeed* etc. As the following examples will illustrate, it is found in all tenses except the Perfect Tense, and with dynamic verbs, stative verbs and adjectives:

1.   Present Tense

(98) U   ti   varavarara   go   kador   M 58
      you/SG   *really*   *cause-to-be-wrong*/RED   DEM   *our*/INC/DU

      umana   bul-   mur.
      PL   *child-follow*
      You really cause our descendants to be wrong.

(varavarara is the reduplicated form of the causative verb va=rara *to cause to be wrong*)

(99) Kir   i   ti   kiki   ta   kada   gunan.   Kl 195
      not   *she*   *really*   *sit*/RED   *in*   *our*/INC/PL   *village*
      She really does not stay in our village.

(100) lau   ti   malari.   M 32
      I   *really*   *be-miserable*
      I am really miserable.

(101) Da   ti   malamalari   tuna.
      we/INC/PL   *really*   *be-miserable*/RED   *really*
      We are extremely miserable indeed.

(102) Ma   i   ti   korong   ra   ul   i   na   ra   malip.   M 266
      and   *it*   *really*   *black*   ART   *head*   *of*   DEM   ART   *malip*
      And the head of that malip (a bird) was really black.

2.   Past Tense

(103) Tika   na   tutana   i   ti   mome-   va=   par   Kl 393
      one   C   *man*   *he*   *really*   *drink*-CAUS=*be-finished*

      ram   tava.
      your/SG   *water*
      Somebody else drank up your water.

3. Remote Past Tense

(104) A   keake   i   ga   ti   rang   ia.   Kl 66
     ART   *sun*   *it* REMOTE   *really* *burn* *him*
     The sun burnt him.

(105) I   ga   ti   par.
     it   REMOTE   *really*   *be-finished*   M 100
     It was completely finished.

(106) I   ga   ti   ngala.
     it   REMOTE   *really*   *big*
     It was really big.

(107) Pa   i   ga   vung   ia, i   ga   ti   Kl 278
     not *he* REMOTE   *put-down* *it* *he* REMOTE   *really*

     kapkap   ia.
     carry/RED *it*
     He did not put it down, he always carried it.

4. Future Tense

(108) Kador   umana   bul   diat   a   ti   burburut   M 76
     our/INC/DU PL   *child* *they/PL* FUT *really* *be-afraid/RED*

     upi   ra   tabran   na   ti   korokorot   diat.
     of   ART   *tabran* *it-FUT* *really* *chase/RED* *them/PL*
     Our children will certainly always be afraid of the tabaran
     (a spirit), which will always chase them.

(109) Ina   ti   kita-puar   ra   ulu= m   kien!   Kl 121
     I-FUT *really*   *hit- break* ART *head=your/SG* *now*
     I am going to smash your head now!

(110) Go   raveve   magit   na   ti   kaina parika.   M 234
     DEM   *our/EXC/PL* *thing* *it-FUT* *really* *bad*   *all*
     All our things here will certainly be spoilt.

If the Future Tense is used to express a command, ti indicates that the speaker expects that the command is strictly followed without resistance, e.g.

(111) Avat   a   ti   va= par   ra   nirautan!   Kl 83
     you/PL   FUT *really*   CAUS=*be-finished* ART *clearing*
     Finish the clearing (of the bush)!

Similarly, ti often renders the notion of English *must*, e.g.

(112) Ina   ti   vana   ga!
     I-FUT *really*   *go*   *eventually*
     I must go now!

Since the negative equivalent of iau tar ian *I have eaten* is

(113) pa   iau ti   ian
     not *I*   *really*   *eat*
     I have not eaten,

ti is regarded by Bley (1912:54ff) as a means of indicating the Present Perfect Tense, which contradicts the meaning of ti in the Present and the Future Tense. Being unmarked for its temporal relationship, ian *eat* refers to an action in the Past Tense, whereas ti is an optional marker of mood (see above), so that pa iau ti ian is to be translated literally as *I really did not eat*. It is the adequate, though not obligatory negative answer to the question

(114) U   tar   ian?
       you/SG PERF   *eat*
       Have you already eaten?

3.3.4.3 The Frustrative marker ma/mama

The marker ma (Kokopo dialects) /mama (Northcoast dialects) is called
'Frustrative marker', because it indicates that somebody unsuccessfully tried
to perform an action, e.g.

(115) Ma   To Karvuvu i   ga   mama   poko ra   vat.   M 52
       and To Karvuvu *he* REMOTE FRUST   *cut*   ART *stone*
       And To Karvuvu could not cut the stone.

       Nam   ra   tubuan   i   ga   vu   ra   iap.   Kl 73
       DEM   ART *old-woman*   *she* REMOTE *blow* ART *fire*

       I   ma   vuvu   ia, i   ga   tar   mat ra   iap.
       she FRUST   *blow*/RED *it*   *it*   REMOTE PERF *die* ART *fire*
       That old woman tried to fan the fire. But she could not fan
       it up, because the fire had already died.

The reduplication of mama in the Northcoast dialects and of the verb following
ma in the Kokopo dialects has certainly to be explained as an instance of
Imperfective Aspect. Ma/mama is only used in the Past and the Remote Past Tense
and does not occur with stative and inactive verbs.

3.3.5 Unclassified markers

3.3.5.1 la and vala

La is used only in the Northcoast dialects to indicate Continuously
Repeated, Iterative and Habitual Actions, which are marked in the Kokopo dialects
only by reduplication.

(116) Ma   i   kap- pa   tara   umana   kurkurua   ma   i   ga   M 140
       and *he* *take*-E   *other*   PL   *necklace*   *and* *he* REMOTE

       la   vung   ia   ta   ra   timul-a-davai.
       put   *it*   *on*   ART *trunk-C-tree*
       And he took the other necklaces and placed them one after the
       other on the trunks of the trees.

(117) Tika na   bul   i   ga   kiki   ta   ra   vatar   M 138
       one   C   *child* *it*   REMOTE *sit*/RED   *on*   ART *table*

       ma   pa   i   la   rua   ra   pia.
       and   *not*   *it*   *step* ART *ground*
       There was a child who was always sitting on a table and never
       touched the ground with its feet.

Vala occurs both in the Northcoast and the Kokopo dialects, and signifies the
frequency or duration of an action, which can also be expressed by reduplication
(cf.pp.97, 100), e.g.

(118) i   tar   vala   va   Kl 260
       he PERF   *sleep*
       he has already been sleeping for some time

(119) lau vala gire ke   ra   tarai   ta ra   gunagunan.   Kl 336
      I   *see* PART ART *people in* ART *village*/DISTR
      I often see the people in the villages.

3.3.5.2 The Ingressive marker vura

Syntactically vura differs from other prenuclear markers in that it is
often, though not obligatorily, joined to the nucleus by the connective particle
na. Due to insufficient data, it is not clear, whether vura is only used with
dynamic verbs, as the examples suggest, or if it occurs with all types of nuclei.
With dynamic verbs vura expresses that the action or process denoted by the verb
has started, e.g.

(120) I   ga   vura   na kuma arikai tuna   TT 111
      it REMOTE   INGRESS   C   *rise appear really*

      nam ra   gai.
      DEM ART *moon*
      It began to rise, that moon.

3.3.5.3 The Contrastive marker tia

In all Tolai grammars and dictionaries tia is considered a variant of ti
(cf.p.114), a statement which can easily be proved wrong, since ti and tia may
occur together in one and the same verbal phrase:

(121) ... tago   amita   ga   tia   ti   kapa
          because we/INC/TRI REMOTE CONTRAST *really clear*

      lua   ta   ik   ure   ra   music
      precede some   little about ART
      *(it was very difficult for those men to learn how to play an
      instrument, because they were not familiar with European
      music, but it was no problem for us) because* we *(really) had
      some knowledge of European music.*

The following examples, which have been elicited in several interviews with To
Mago and To Walom, show that tia overtly marks contrast and focuses the agent.
Compare:

(122) Ari   To Marum   i   tirtir   vatikene   iau, kir iau
      when To Marum he ask/RED *do-always*/TR *me   not   I*

      tia   balbalbali   tago iau ti   talanguane
      CONTRAST *answer*/INTR/RED   *as   I   really tired-of*

      ra   tinir.
      ART *asking*
      *When To Marum always asks me questions, I do not answer,
      because I am really tired of his questions.*

(123) Dave   u   talanguane   kaugu mangoro na tinir?
      what-about-it   you/SG *be-tired-of my   many*   C   *asking*

      Pata, pa   iau tia   talanguanē.
      no   not   I   CONTRAST *tired-of+it*
      *Are you tired of my many questions? No, I am not tired of them
      (but other people would perhaps be tired).*

Another possible answer which contains the modal marker ti could be:

(124) Pata, iau ti gugu ta= na.
      no   I   really be-happy about=it
      No, I really enjoy them.

Tia is frequently found in the stories of To Kabinana and To Karvuvu (Meier 1909), when one of the two explains what each of them has to do, e.g.

(125) Iau, ina ki- irirai, ma u, una tia   M 46
      I   I+FUT stay-aside and you/SG you/SG+FUT CONTRAST

      ki- irirai. Na boina, ma dor a
      stay-aside   it+FUT be-good and we/INC/DU FUT

      var=giragirai, ma una tia gire kaugu,
      REC=see/INTR and you/SG+FUT CONTRAST see mine

      ma ina tia gire koum.
      and I+FUT CONTRAST see yours
      *(We should not watch each other.) I will stay aside, and you
      will stay aside. When it is well done (what each of us is
      going to do), we will show it to each other. You will see mine,
      and I'll see yours.*

3.3.6 The sequential order of prenuclear markers

The nucleus of the verbal phrase may be preceded by up to three markers whose order is strictly fixed according to the following rules:

1. If only tense markers are combined, the first position after the subject marker is held by the Future Tense marker, the second by the Remoteness marker and the third by the Perfect Tense marker, e.g.

    (126) diat a ga tar vana   *they will have gone*
          they/PL FUT REMOTE PERF go   *in the remote future*

          diat a ga vana   *they will go in the*
          they/PL FUT REMOTE   go   *remote future*

          diat a tar vana   *they will have gone*
          they/PL FUT   PERF go

          dia ga tar vana   *they had gone.*
          they/PL   REMOTE PERF go

    The Recent Past Tense marker holds the same position as the Perfect Tense marker, but in contrast to the latter it does not combine with the Future Tense marker:

    (127) dia- ga kabur vana   *they had just gone.*
          they/PL REMOTE RECENT go

2. Apart from the Irrealis marker gala, which precedes the subject marker in the Kokopo dialects, the mood markers always follow the tense markers, e.g.

    (128) diat a ga ti vana *they will certainly go*
          they/PL FUT REMOTE really go in the remote future

          dia ga mama vana *they went in vain.*
          they/PL   REMOTE FRUST go

3. The position of the four unclassified markers la, vala, vura and tia is determined by the following rules: While la precedes the Perfect Tense marker tar, e.g.

> (129) dia   la   tar   korot pa ia
> *they/PL* ITER PERF *chase* E *him*
> *they have chased him repeatedly* (compare M 212),

vala follows it, e.g.

> (130) i   tar vala va   Kl 260
> *he* PERF DUR *sleep*
> *he has already been sleeping for some time.*

Due to insufficient data it is not clear whether vala precedes or follows mood markers. The Ingressive marker vura follows the mood markers, e.g.

> (131) ... upi ra   pia   ni   i   ti   vura na kal-vuē
> *for* ART *earth* DEM *he really* INGR C *dig-do-away+it*
> *For the earth that he was going to dig out first,*

whereas the Contrastive marker tia holds the position between the tense markers and the mood markers, e.g.

> (132) i   ga   tia   ti   vana
> *he* REMOTE CONTRAST *really go*
> *it was him who in fact went.*

3.4 PRENUCLEAR ADVERBS

A few adverbs directly precede the nucleus:

1. kabila *again, one more, also*

> (133) ma i kabila taule tara   vavina   M 86
> *and he again marry another woman*
> *and he married another woman*

> (134) Ina   kabila vana.   Wr 62
> *I+FUT also   go*
> *I will also go.*

2. kaina, kakaina *much, strongly, hard, intensively*

> (135) Pa i ga   kaina ian.
> *not he* REMOTE *much   eat*   Kl 270
> *He did not eat much.*

> (136) I kaina   tangi ka   nam ra bul.   Kl 116
> *he intensively cry* PART DEM ART *child*
> *That child cried terribly.*

> (137) Pa i ti   kaina   marum.   Kl 147
> *not it really intensively be-night*
> *It is not deep night.*

3. manga *very, much*

> (138) I manga kankan.
> *he very be-angry*
> *He is very angry.*

(139) i   manga oro
        he   much   call
        he called aloud

(140) i   manga ngala
        he   very   big
        he is very big

(141) lau manga maingē.
        I   much   like+it
        I like it very much.

4. tibuna *alone, by oneself*

(142) lau tar   tibuna   ingit ra   mal.
        I   PERF by-myself sew   ART dress
        I have sewn the dress by myself.

(143) Tikatika na pia- na-pal   ia iat i tia   (Namaliu)
        one/DISTR C   ground-C- house it self it CONTRAST

        tibuna   varakurai ure   kana pia.
        by-itself decide   about its   ground
        Each village makes its own decisions about its real estate.
        (the expresseion pia-na-pal *town, village* was introduced by the
        missionaries; cf.p.10)

5. to *almost*

(144) I to   na mat.   Wr 177
        he almost C   die
        He almost dies.

6. mat *at all* (only used in negative clauses)

(145) Ari   di   ga   poko iau, pa iau ga   tia   (Doris)
        when INDEF REMOTE cut   me   not I   REMOTE CONTRAST

        mat   na va   ga.
        at-all C sleep then
        When I had the operation I did not sleep at all.

3.5 INCORPORATION OF NOUNS

If the nucleus of a verbal phrase is formed by a dynamic verb, it can be modified by nouns, which either directly follow the verb or are joined to it by the connective particle, e.g.

(146) pait-pal   *to build a house*
                                     to build houses
        ki-rokrok   *to sit like a frog*

(147) momo-na-tava   *to drink water*
        tata-na-ingal   *to speak like an ingal-bird.*

These two constructions, which will be referred to as the V-N-construction and the V-na-N-construction respectively, differ from each other in the following points:

1. While the V-N-construction is not productive, but forms a lexicalised compound verb, the V-na-N-construction is productive; whenever it makes sense to characterise a verb by a noun, it may enter the V-na-N-construction.

2. The verb of a V-N-construction may be either transitive (e.g. pait *to make* in pait-pal *to build houses, a house*) or intransitive (e.g. ki *to sit* in ki-rokrok *to sit like a frog*), whereas the V-na-N-construction is only formed by intransitive verbs.

In both constructions the noun, which is not preceded by an article or by possessive pronouns, has the same function. It is not referential, but only expresses a concept by which the verb is characterised. In this respect the noun of the V-N- or V-na-N-construction is similar to the N_2 of a N_1-na-N_2-construction (cf.p.52). In constructions like pait-pal *to build houses, a house* or momo-na-tava *to drink water*, the noun does not refer to a concrete patient that is affected by the action denoted by the verb, but is used in a generic sense. In other words, the construction of noun incorporation is used, if the patient of an action is not individuated, but generic. Furthermore, the noun can be incorporated in order to denote the manner in which the action is performed, e.g. ki-rokrok *to sit like a frog*, tata-na-ingal *to speak like an ingal-bird*, or in order to make a general statement about the reason or the place of the action. Examples:

1. The noun denotes a generic patient:

(148)	kul-tarai	*to hire* (lit. *buy*) *men*
	en-virua	*to eat human flesh*
	kal-up	*to dig yams*
	kap-ier	*to get pepper*
	kap-bala	*to become pregnant* (lit. *to get a belly*)
	palum-tabu	*to distribute shell-money* (a ceremony)
(149)	gigit-na-bin	*to pick beans*
	kakap-na-nian	*to get food*
	kukul-na-buai	*to buy betelnuts*

2. The noun expresses how the action is performed:

(150)	va-galang	*to lie like a mouse*, i.e. *to pretend to sleep*
(151)	ngangar-na-beo	*to scream like a bird*
	tangi-na-tavur	*to sound* (lit. *cry*) *like a trumpet shell*
	pait-na-vavina	*to behave* (lit. *do*) *like a woman*

3. The noun denotes the cause of an action:

(152)	mat-na-lom	*to die because of the lom-ghost*
	kukula-na-gugu	*to cry because of joy*
	dadadar-na-bunurut	*to tremble because of fear*

4. The noun denotes the place of an action:

(153)	ki-malur	*to sit in the shadow*
(154)	papalum-na-uma	*to work in the garden*.

3.6 VERB SERIALISATION

3.6.1 The structure of verbal chains

If the nucleus of a verbal phrase is formed by a verb (V_1), it may be followed by up to three other verbs ($V_2 V_3 V_4$). These verbal chains are complex endocentric constructions, as can be illustrated by bracketing:

$$((((V_1)\ V_2)\ V_3)\ V_4),$$

i.e. V_2 modifies V_1, V_3 modifies the whole expression $((V_1)\ V_2)$, and V_4 modifies $(((V_1)\ V_2)\ V_3)$, for example:

(155) Tumu-ba   i   la   ko-   mur   ta ra   vinau, dir   M 182
      whenever *he* ITER *climb-follow* *on* ART *liana*   *they/DU*

      la   tar   poko-kutu- vue-   mulē   meme.
      ITER PERF *cut- sever-throw-away-do-again with-it*
      Whenever he climbed the liana following them, they cut it
      through making him fall down again with it.

While transitive verbs can only be modified by transitive verbs, intransitive verbs can be followed by intransitive as well as transitive verbs. The composition of an intransitive verb plus a transitive verb is transitive:

1. $V_{itr} + V_{itr}$

(156) i   pil   irop   M 96
       it   jump   come-down
       it (the chicken) jumped down

2. $V_{itr} + V_{tr}$

(157) dia   ga   vue-   va= gumu diat   M 278
       they/PL REMOTE *throw-away-*CAUS=*dive* *them/PL*
       they threw them into the sea

3. $V_{tr} + V_{tr}$

(158) ma   i   al- vuē   M 168
       and   he   pull-do-away+it
       and he pulled it away.

All verbs constituting a verbal chain must have the same agent, and when they are transitive, the same patient. Since adjectives can be constructed like intransitive stative verbs in verbal chains, the term 'verbal chain' as well as the labels V_1 and V_2 will be applied indifferently to adjectives. For semantic reasons, there are no adjectives in the V_3 and V_4 positions.

3.6.2 The meaning of the modifying verbs in verbal chains

The sequential order of the modifying verbs V_2, V_3 and V_4 is determined by their semantic function. As the most frequently used verbal chains only contain the nucleus and one modifying verb, it seems reasonable to describe the function of the modifying verb first on the basis of these minimal verbal chains ($V_1 V_2$), and then to investigate how the sequential order of the constituents of larger verbal chains is determined by their meaning.

3.6.2.1 The meaning of $V_{itr} + V_{itr}$

With intransitive verbs functioning as the nucleus of a verbal chain, an intransitive modifying verb can have five meanings:

1. V_2 denotes the manner in which an action is performed or a characteristic property of a state according to whether V_1 is a dynamic or a stative verb:

    (159) vana-bia   *to go naked*   M 108
    go   be-naked

    bura-ivaivai   *to fall without being noticed*   M 152
    fall-be-concealed   *by others*

    tata- kakaina   *to speak incorrectly*   M 216
    speak-bad

    vana-lulut   *to go quickly*   M 96
    go- quick

    ngala-lulut   *to grow quickly*   M 24
    big- be-quick

    tata- mut   *to speak in a low voice*   TT 95
    speak-be-quiet

    va- palar   *to lie flat on the ground*   M 270
    lie-be-flat

2. V_2 denotes a simultaneous action or state:

    (160) i   ga   mat-tur   TT 70
    he   REMOTE die-stand
    he died standing

    (161) i   ga   tangtangi-vanavana   M 140
    he   REMOTE cry/RED   go/RED
    he was crying while going

3. V_2 relates the action or state expressed by V_1 to some other action or state:

    (162) Na=   i   =dir   i   ga   igigir-   M 106
    mother=POSS.M.=their/DU she   REMOTE cook/RED-

    lua   adir.
    precede   for-them/DU
    Their mother cooked for them before they returned.

    (163) Ma i ruk- mur   ta=na.   M 176
    and he enter-follow to=her
    And he entered following her/after she had entered.

The most frequently used modifying verb of this class is mulai (itr) *to return*, *to do again*, which indicates that the action or state denoted by V_1 is a repetition of an earlier action or state (cf.p.199).

    (164) I   ga   tangtangi-mulai ...   M 98
    he   REMOTE cry/RED- do-again
    He was crying again ...

    (165) ... na   gomgom- mulai   ra   paka=i=   dat   M 38
    it   beautiful-be-again ART body=POSS.M.=our/INC/PL
    ... our body will be beautiful again.

4. In the case that V_1 is a verb of motion or position, V_2 specifies the direction of the motion or the location of the position (cf.p.182, 187).

<div style="margin-left:2em">

(166) vila-bolo   *to run past*   Kl 223
       run   pass

       pil- irop   *to jump down*   M 96
       jump come-down

       kinau-likun   *to creep back*   M 212
       creep-return

       ki-   livuan   *to sit in the middle*   M 186
       sit   be-in-the-middle

       ki- lua   *to sit in front*   M 186
       sit-precede

</div>

5. Par *to be complete, to be finished* is used as a modifying verb in a verbal chain in order to express that all subject referents are involved in the action or state denoted by V_1, or if V_1 signifies an action, that the action is completely done. In the latter case par often indicates that an action has been completed, before a subsequent action is done.

<div style="margin-left:2em">

(167) ... dia   ga   vut- par   M 126
       they/PL REMOTE come-be-complete
       ... *all of them came*

(168) i   ngala-par   ra ngia= i=   dir   M 290
       it big- be-complete ART mouth=POSS.M.=their/DU
       both of them had a big mouth (lit. *all their mouths were big*)

(169) ... ma   i   ga   raut. I   ga   raut- par   Kl 381
       and he REMOTE clear he REMOTE clear-finish

       i   ga   ve   ra kaia.
       he REMOTE inform ART kaia
       ... *and he cleared the bush. After he had cleared the bush,*
       he informed the kaia (a spirit).

(170) Ma   dir   ga   ian. Dir   ga   ian par   Kl 302
       and they/PL REMOTE eat   they/PL REMOTE eat finish

       ma   nam ra tutana i   ga   biti ...
       and DEM ART man   he REMOTE say
       And they ate. After they had eaten, that man said ...

</div>

Since par inherently carries the notion of perfective aspect, it cannot be combined with verbs denoting a Present Tense action or state.

3.6.2.2 The meaning of $V_{tr} + V_{tr}$

In pure transitive verbal chains the modifying verb shows the same functions as in intransitive verbal chains, and, additionally, a few others which result from the fact that with transitive verbs the relationship between action and patient may also be modified by a subordinated serial verb (V_2).

1. Manner:

> (171) ... i   pait-ive   ke   na   ra   garamut   M 48
>   he make-conceal PART DEM ART *garamut*
>   ... (and To Karvuvu) secretly made a garamut drum

> (172) Pa   iau valongore-mal   ia.   M 28
>   not I   hear -   do-well it
>   I did not hear it properly.

> (173) I   ga   na   va= dekdek ia.   Kl 124
>   he REMOTE look CAUS=*firm* it
>   He looked at it firmly.

Here the causative prefix va- only serves as a means of transitivisation, but not of causativisation.

2. Simultaneous action:

> (174) ... upi   dat   a   ian kilangē   Kl 375
>   so-that we/INC/PL FUT eat try+it
>   ... so that we taste it

> (175) Ma   dir   voko-ilam   ia.   M 60
>   and they/DU see- recognise him
>   And they saw and recognised him/they recognised him from seeing.

Similarly:

> (176) angine ilam   *to recognise by smelling*
>   bing ilam   *to recognise by pressing*
>   valongore ilam   *to recognise by hearing.*

3. Relationship to other actions:

The transitive counterparts of lua *to precede, be the first,* mur *to follow* and mulai *to be again, do again, repeat* and mule *to do something again, to repeat something* and the causative forms value *to do something first* and vamur *to make something follow.*

> (177) Ma i   konom- va= lue   kadir   tabarikik ...   M 182
>   and he swallow-CAUS=*precede* their/DU things
>
>   Ma i   konom- va= mur   mua   dir.
>   and he swallow-CAUS=*follow* PART them/DU
>   And first he swallowed their things ...
>   And then he swallowed them.

> (178) ... una   ga   na- mule   tama= m   M 98
>   you/SG+FUT REMOTE see-do-again father=your/SG
>
>   ma   na=   m
>   and mother=your/SG
>   ... you will see your father and mother again.

4. Location:

Similarly to verbs of motion, transitive verbs of transportation, i.e. verbs expressing that somebody or something is moved somewhere, can be combined with verbs that specify the direction of the movement. Many of these modifying verbs of transportation are derived from verbs of motion by causativisation.

(179)	korot-va= gumu *chase*-CAUS=*dive*	*chase into the water*	M 212
	puak- va= gumu *carry*-CAUS=*dive*	*carry into the water*	M 46
	korot-va= ruk *chase*-CAUS=*enter*	*to chase into*	
	korot-va= irop *chase*-CAUS=*go-out*	*to chase out of*	
	korot-vue *chase-throw-away*	*to chase away*	M 114

(180) Dir   puak- va= gumu ia.   M 46
       *they/DU carry-*CAUS=*dive it*
       They carried it (the canoe) into the water.

5. Completeness:

The transitive counterpart of par *to be complete, to be finished* is the
causative verb va=par *to complete, finish something*, which correspondingly
indicates that the action denoted by the nucleus is completely done and that
it affects all patients. Like par, vapar is incompatible with Present Tense.

(181) I   ga   mome-   va= par   tika na pal   Kl 393
       *he   REMOTE   drink/*TR-CAUS=*complete one   C   vessel*

       a   tava.
       C   *water*
       He drank up one vessel of water.

(182) ... i   ga   ti   ubu- va= par   diat.
       *he   REMOTE   really kill-*CAUS=*be-complete   them/PL*
       ... (and those others - To Garagaraloko) killed them all.

(183) ... ma i   kal ra   ubu. Ma i   kal-va= par   M 148
       *and he   dig *ART *pit. and he   dig-*CAUS=*be-complete*

       ia, ma a   tutana i   tir ia ...
       *it and *ART *man   he   ask him*
       ... and he dug the pit. After he had dug it, the man asked
       him ...

6. Additional meanings of transitive serial verbs:

Transitive serial verbs are often used to specify the effect that the action
has on the patient. This meaning is most clearly shown by causative serial
verbs which express that the action denoted by the nucleus caused the patient
to do something or to be in a certain state.

(184) Dia   ga   tun- va =imur   ia.   Kl 265
       *they/PL   REMOTE   roast-*CAUS=*be-consumed-by-fire   it*
       They roasted it, until it was reduced to ashes.

(185) ... ma i   vangan-   va= buka   ni   M 98
       *and she   put (into a container) *CAUS=*be-full   DEM*

       ra   utul   a   vinun na   rat ...
       ART three C   ten   C   basket
       ... and she filled those 30 baskets (with shell-money) ...

(186) Ma   ave   kita-va= mat ia   Kl 470
      and we/EXC/PL hit- CAUS=die it
      And we hit him dead.

Non-causative verbs in this function are, for instance, bubur and puar *to break*,
doko *to kill*, kutu *to sever* and vake *to hold fast, to detain*, e.g.

(107) al- doko   *to kill with a sling*
      pull-kill

      go-   doko   *to kill with a spear*
      pierce-with-a-spear kill

      kita-doko   *to hit dead*
      hit- kill

      kubu-doko   *to kill by hanging*
      tie- kill

      al- kutu   *to pull out, off*
      pull-sever

(188) biu- kutu   *to twist off*
      twist-sever

      bual-kutu   *to cut off*
      cut- sever

      bur- kutu   *to break off*
      break-sever

      karat-kutu   *to bite off*
      bite- sever

      kita-kutu   *to hit off*
      hit- sever

      poko-kutu   *to cut into pieces*
      cut- sever

      kinim-vake   *to hold fast*
      catch-hold-fast

      oro- vake   *to call and thus detain,*
      call- hold-fast   *to call back*

      va= tur- vake   *to hold*
      CAUS=stand-hold-fast

      vi- vake   *to bind fast*
      tie-hold-fast

Examples from texts:

(189) ... dia   ga   al- kutu ra kati= na   Kl 374
      they/PL REMOTE pull-sever ART liver=his
      *... (and those women ...) pulled out his liver (and separated
      it from his body)*

(190) I   ga   karat-puar a   kaur.   Kl 176
      he REMOTE bite- break ART bamboo
      He bit the bamboo-flute to pieces.

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(191) ... ma i kita-doko na ra vavina   M 138
       and he hit- kill DEM ART woman
       ... and he hit the woman dead.

Tar *to give* is frequently used as a modifying verb in verbal chains in order to
indicate that the action denoted by the nucleus has a recipient. Thus tar
serves as a means of establishing an additional argument, namely that of a
recipient, which is not inherently given in the nuclear verb. Details of the
usage of tar *to give something* and its intransitive counterpart tatar will be
discussed in 4.9.2. (cf.p.172) and 4.9.6.3.4. (cf.p.185). Examples:

(192) Ma i ga kaile-tar a malira ta-diat.   Kl 156
       and he REMOTE sing- give ART love-spell to-them/PL
       And he sang a love-spell to them.

(193) Ma i tul- tar tika na vuvu tai tura= na.   M 194
       and he put-forth-give one C flute to brother=his
       And he passed the flute to his brother.

3.6.2.3 The meaning of V_{itr} + V_{tr}

Transitive verbs following an intransitive verb in a verbal chain express
that the action denoted by the nucleus is accompanied by another simultaneous
action, or that it has a certain side-effect on somebody or something.
Syntactically, the transitive modifying verb introduces a patient noun phrase
into the clause.

(194) I ga vava- ririvone ra voana limlimut   Kl 214
       he REMOTE sleep/RED-dream/TR one green

       na tabaran.
       C tabaran
       He slept and dreamt of a green tabaran (a spirit).

(195) ... i ga valua-maravut ia   M 17
       she REMOTE row- help him
       ... she rowed helping him, she helped him rowing

(196) Dia malagene-kikil ia.   Kl 153
       they/PL dance- surround it
       They danced around it.

(197) Ma dir ga kiki- va= livuan   M 130
       and they/DU REMOTE sit/RED-CAUS=be-in-the-middle

       na kadir tutana.
       DEM their/DU man
       When they sat down, they used to take their husband in the middle.
       (In precolonial times a man could have more than one wife).

The most frequently used transitive verb in V_{itr} - V_{tr}-constructions is bat *to
obstruct, to stand in the way of*, e.g.

(198) I ga tur- bat ra makilalat   Kl 124
       he REMOTE stand-obstruct ART door
       He stood in the doorway.

(199) Ave   ga   kankan- bat   komave   TT 26
       we/EXC/PL REMOTE   *be-angry-defend* *our*/EXC/PL

       umana magit.
       PL   *thing*
       We angrily defended our things.

3.6.3 The sequential order of serial verbs

Since the sequential order of modifying verbs in verbal chains has not been investigated with the help of informants, and since the texts do not seem to provide examples for all variations of possible combinations, a number of problems remain unsolved in the following description. To start with, compare the following transitive verbal chains which have been chosen from the texts as prototypical examples:

nucleus	I	II	III	IV	
poko *cut*	kutu *sever*	va= lue CAUS *be-first*			*to cut through first*
bobe *gaze=at*		va= lue CAUS=*be first*	vue *do-away*		*to gaze at something first, so that it falls down*
al *pull*	kinakino= e *creep*/RED=TR		vue *do-away*	mule *do-again*	*to slowly pull something away again*
pait *do*	va= rara CAUS=*be-wrong*	va= par CAUS=*be-complete*			*to do everything in the wrong way*
koe *pick*		va= par CAUS=*be-complete*	vue *do-away*		*to pick completely, so that nothing is left*

(200) ... dir   ga   poko-kutu- va= lue   pa ia   M 182
           they/DU REMOTE   *cut- sever-*CAUS=*be-first* E   *it*
       ... *they cut it through first*

(201) I   bobe   va= lue   vue   mule   M 184
       he   *gaze-at*   CAUS=*be-first* *do-away*   *do-again*

       kadir   rarat.
       their/DU *basket*/RED
       He gazed at their baskets first and made them fall down.

(202) Ma   i   al- kinakino= e   vue   mule   o   M 164
       and   *he*   *pull-creep*/RED=TR *do-away*   *do-again*   DEM

       ra   davai.
       ART   *stick*
       He slowly pulled the stick back again.

(203) ... u   pait-va= rara   va= par   ia.   M 52
           you/SG   *do-* CAUS=*be-wrong* CAUS=*be-complete* *it*
       ... *you do everything in the wrong way.*

(204) | ga koe- va= par- vue ra kapiaka.
he REMOTE *pick-CAUS=be-complete do-away* ART *breadfruit*
He picked all the breadfruits, so that none were left.

Though the nucleus of a verbal chain can only be followed by three modifying verbs, at least four positions following the nucleus can be distinguished (I – IV; see above), according to which the verbs are classified into class I-, class II-, class III- and class IV-verbs. Verbs characterising an inherent property of the concept denoted by the nucleus directly follow it (as, for instance, kutu *to sever* follows poko *to cut*) and precede verbs which specify the temporal relationship between the action in question and other actions (e.g. value *to cause to be first, to do first*), or which indicate that the action is completely done (e.g. vapar *to cause to be complete, to do completely*). Semantically, value is less intimately related to poko than kutu to poko, as the comparison of V_1-kutu and V_1-value constructions show. While nearly all actions can be characterised as being done first, the number of actions that can be characterised as being an action of severing is limited. The same holds true for the relationship between pait *to do* and vapar *to cause to be complete, to finish* on the one hand, and pait *to do* and varara *to do in the wrong way* on the other. The notion of being done completely is more general than that of being done wrongly. In verbal chains containing four modifying verbs the last one is always mule *to do again, repeat*. That an action is repeated depends on its nature to an even lesser degree than the fact that it is done before another action or that it is completed, before something else happens.

The semantic features of class I-verbs (e.g. kutu, kinakinoe), class II-verbs (e.g. value, vapar, vamur *to cause to follow, to do later*) and the class IV-verb mule correlate with distributional properties. The verbs of class I are less combinable than class II-verbs and the class IV-verb mule, and the class II-verbs are less combinable than the class IV-verb mule. On the other hand, the number of verbs constituting these three classes decrease from class I to class IV.

	class I	class II	class IV
combinational freedom	low ←———————→		high
number of class members	high ←———————→		low

From these correlations it seems as if the arrangement of the modifying verbs in a verbal chain forms a continuum, as long as vue *to do away* is not taken into account. Since vue *to do away* specifies the effect that an action has in respect to the patient, it does not seem reasonable why it follows class II-verbs instead of preceding them as class I-verbs do.

As for intransitive verbal chains, the longest chains found in the corpus contain a verb of motion as their nucleus, e.g.

(205) i irop galgalir ba   M 84
*he come-out-down slide/*RED *go-down*
he came down sliding (the tree)

(206) i dolo ba mulai   M 132
he go-through go-down do-again
he went down and through (the hole) again

(207) dir ga vana varkuvo mulai   Kl 39
*they/*DU REMOTE *go come-together do-again*
they came together again

These examples show that the arrangement of the modifying verbs follows similar principles to those determining the sequential order of transitive verbs. Verbs which characterise the manner in which a motion is performed directly follow the nucleus and precede those specifying its direction. *Mulai*, the intransitive counterpart of *mule*, comes last of all. That *mulai* and *mule* are less intimately related to the nucleus than other modifying verbs is also shown by the fact that they can be separated from the nucleus or other modifying verbs by the so-called 'effective particles' (see below), e.g.

(208) ma   dir   luk   pa mulē   M 34
       and they/DU gather E do-again+it
       and they gathered it again.

3.7 THE EFFECTIVE PARTICLES pa, papa AND kapi, kakapi

The term 'effective particle' has been taken from Bley (1912:119), who introduced it for pa "which indicates that the action really happens or is performed with success or in respect to something. Intransitive verbs are transitivised by pa, e.g. ... ki pa *to wait for* ..." (Bley 1912:119). In the present description the term 'effective particle' is extended to kapi, since pa and kapi, which show complementary distribution, belong to the same class of functional words. As will be shown below, Bley's interpretation of pa has to be modified.

3.7.1 pa, papa

The basic function of pa is to indicate that the action denoted by the verb leads up to a terminal point, which implies that it is of short duration and that its end is known, e.g.

(209) Ina   vuas pa boko ra   lima=gu.
       I+FUT wash E yet   ART hand=my
       I am just going to wash my hands.

As an extension of this basic meaning pa also serves as a means of distinguishing punctual actions from actions which imply duration. Compare:

(210) dia   puak   iau   *they carried me*
       they/PL carry me

       dia   puak   pa iau   *they grabbed me*
       they/PL carry E me

       dia   gire   iau   *they saw me*
       they/PL see   me

       dia   gire   pa iau   *they caught sight of me.*
       they/PL see   E me

Furthermore, pa expresses that the goal being aimed at by the action has been or will be accomplished, e.g.

(211) iau oro   Pelis   *I called Pelis*
       I   call Pelis

       iau oro   pa Pelis   *I called Pelis and he came*
       I   call E Pelis

```
        iau  tikan   ia              I searched for it
        I    search  it

        iau  tikan   pa  ia          I searched and found it
        I    search  E   it
```

and that it is directed towards the agent of the action; compare

(212)　i　kap　ia　　　　　　　　　　*he carried it*
　　　　he　take　it

　　　　i　kap　pa　ia　　　　　　　　*he took it (for himself)*
　　　　he　take　E　it

　　　　i　kap- tar　ia　ta ...　　　*he took it to ...*
　　　　he　take-give　it　to

Intransitive verbs such as ki *to sit, stay* can be combined with pa plus a
Patient Noun Phrase (cf.p.141) in order to express that the action is done with
respect to a certain goal which is to be accomplished and thus defines the
extent of the action, e.g.

(213)　i　vilau　pa　ia　　　　　　　*he ran and got it*, i.e. *he fetched it*
　　　　he　run　E　it

　　　　una　　　　　ki　　pa　iau　*stay, until I (shall) come*, i.e. *wait*
　　　　you/SG+FUT　stay　E　me　　　*for me*

　　　　i　tata　pa　iau　　　　　　　*he greeted me.*
　　　　he　speak　E　me

While pa is used with active transitive verbs and those active intransitive
verbs denoting an action that is aimed at somebody or something, active
intransitive verbs signifying an action of limited duration whose termination
is not explicitly expressed are combined with the reduplicated form papa, e.g.

(214)　Ina　　　momo　papa.
　　　　I+FUT　drink　E
　　　　I am just going to drink something.

(215)　Ari　　iau　ga　　　　vavamat　　papa　ka,　iau　ga
　　　　when　I　REMOTE　sleep/RED　E　PART　I　REMOTE

　　　　ti　　　　vatorome　ke　　ra　　bel.
　　　　really　hear　　　PART　ART　bell
　　　　When I was just having a little sleep, I heard the bell.

The last example proves that pa/papa and the Imperfective Aspect do not exclude
each other. The fact that an action is leading up to a terminal point and that,
from the speaker's point of view, it is of short duration, is no obstacle for
considering it as not being completed for the subject spoken about. Further
examples:

(216)　Dir　　　tikan　ma　　dir　　　tikan　pa　ra　ik　　　　　M 196
　　　　they/DU　search　and　they/DU　search　E　ART　little

　　　　a　tautau.
　　　　C　firewood
　　　　They searched and found some firewood.

(217)　Ma　to　　ia　　na　　　vila　pa　dir?
　　　　and　ART　who　he+FUT　run　E　them/DU
　　　　Who will go and bring them here?

(218) lau ma   puapuak   pa ia.   Kl 88
       I   FRUST *carry/RED* E *it*
       I could not carry and bring it here.

3.7.2 kapi, kakapi

The particles kapi and kakapi indicate that the action denoted by the verb
is not the final one, but that it is succeeded by another one, e.g.

(219) I   ga   punang kapi ia ma i   ga   vana.   Kl 445
       he REMOTE   *bury*   E   *him* and *he* REMOTE   *go*
       He buried him and went off.

(220) lau tar   rang- va= mat kapi ra   voana.   Kl 66
       I   PERF *roast*-CAUS=*die* E   ART *one*
       *I have already roasted one (and I will certainly roast more
       than that).*

Should the successive action not be expressed, then it is often implicitly
understood that the agent leaves after he has done what the verb refers to, e.g.

(221) I   ga   galum kapi ra   ngie= i   kana vavina. Kl 361
       he REMOTE   *kiss* E   ART *mouth*=POSS.M. *his* *wife*
       He kissed his wife's mouth on leaving.

(222) lau girē   kapi ia.
       I   *see+it* E   *it*
       I saw it and went off.

(223) Ina   papalum kakapi boko.
       I+FUT *work*   E   *yet*
       I will do a little work first (and then go).

While transitive verbs are followed by kapi, intransitive verbs require the
reduplicated form kakapi. The fact that the effective particles pa, papa and
kapi, kakapi are sensitive to transitivity and intransitivity, and that the
intransitive forms are derived by reduplication, suggests that they have
developed from serial verbs.

3.8.   INNOVATIONS IN MODERN TOLAI

3.8.1 The subject marker

The subject marker, which obligatorily introduces the verbal phrase in
traditional Tolai, is nowadays occasionally omitted in coordinated verbal
phrases, e.g.

(224) Ave   papalum bulang ta ra   High School,   (Goro)
       we/EXC/PL *work*   *also*   *at* ART

       pait ra   (u)mana pal, ...
       do ART PL   *house*
       We also worked at the High School, built the houses (there), ...

(225) A   paupau tarai dia   burut   ma vilau.   (news)
       ART *few*   *men*   *they/PL* *be-afraid* *and* *run-away*
       A few men were afraid and ran away.

3.8.2 Aspect and tense

Since I had observed that the most radical changes begin with imported words (cf.pp.69, 48, 204), I tested the behaviour of loan words in respect to reduplication and asked several young people to construct sentences which I expected to contain reduplicated verbs in order to express Habitual Actions or States. Apart from a few exceptions only those loan words, whose phonological structure has been adapted or is originally similar to that of Tolai words, were reduplicated, whereby the phoneme /s/, though not being a genuine Tolai phoneme, is nowadays fully accepted. Examples:

simple form	reduplicated form	borrowed form	meaning
belat	belabelat	belhat, T.P.	*to be angry*
galas	galagalas	glas, T.P.	*to dive using diving goggles*
kuk	kukuk	cook, E	*to cook*
sipak	sipasipak	spak, T.P.	*to be drunk*
sipit	simsipit	speed, E. sipit, T.P.	*to speed*
taip	tataip	type, E.	*to type*
vuas	vuvuas	wash, E.	*to wash*

Loan words which, because of consonant clusters, do not fit into the Tolai phonological patterns, are not reduplicated, but are preceded by the marker vala (cf.p.116), e.g. vala fiks *to fix habitually*, vala sponsoa *to sponsor habitually*, vala klin *to clean habitually* etc. The only exception regularly heard is stostori *to tell stories (habitually)*, and a few speakers also say stastadi *to study habitually*.

In the texts I collected in 1978 one even finds frafrai *to fry (habitually)*, which, however, was considered as irregular by other informants. Nevertheless even if such forms have to be regarded as slips of tongue, they show that reduplication is far from disappearing.

The Tolai system of marking aspect and tense does not seem to be affected by interference from Tok Pisin or English. All prenuclear markers and the two postnuclear effective particles still maintain all their functions and are indifferently used with genuine and borrowed words, e.g.

(226) Di   ga   kabur   promote ika ta= gu.   (Pauline)
      INDEF REMOTE RECENT   PART PREP=*me*
      I had just been promoted.
      (for the use of the preposition ta after loan words cf.p.204)

The fact that prenuclear markers of tense, aspect and mood are freely combined with English loan words shows that they have a different morphological status than prefixes as, for instance, the causative prefix, which can only be added to loan words which show the same phonological structure as Tolai words, e.g. va=sipak *to make somebody to be drunk*.

3.8.3 Incorporation of nouns

Though in traditional Tolai the V-N-construction is not productive, it is found in modern colloquial expressions, which can be ascribed to interference from Tok Pisin, e.g.

(227) Tolai   Tok Pisin

korot dance   bihainim danis   *to visit one party after*
chase   *follow*   *the other*

kakap money   kisim pe/mani   *to get one's pay*
get

Lukbuk *to read* looks as if it were derived from English 'look' and 'book', i.e. as if it were an imitation of the V-N-construction with English words. But since luk is identified with Tolai word luk *to count* by Tolai native speakers, and the Tok Pisin equivalent of lukbuk is rit, ritim, it seem to be more likely that lukbuk is a loan translation from Fijian which was introduced by the Methodist missionaries along with other terms concerning education and mission. In Fijian the notion of *to read* is expressed by wilii vola, which is a V-N-construction similar to that in Tolai and which literally means *to count letters*.

The V-na-N-construction is frequently used with borrowed nouns, but borrowed verbs only enter this construction, if they are adapted to Tolai phonology, e.g.

(228) gigira-na-filim   *to see a film, go to the cinema* (Gabi)

mat-na-overdose   *to die from an overdose*   (Magret)
                      (of tablets)

galas-na-shell   *to dive for shells with diving*
                      goggles

vok-na-bunurut   *to work with fear*   TT 57

3.8.4 Verb serialisation

While the texts edited by Meier (1909) show a rich variety of verbal chaining, this type of construction seems to be declining in modern Tolai. Firstly, there are found hardly any verbal chains containing more than one modifying verb, and, secondly, the number of verbs which are selected as modifying verbs is reduced (e.g. ba *to go down*, bat *to obstruct*, doko *kill*, irop *to go out*, mulai, mule *to do again*, par *to be complete*, ruk *to enter*, tar *to give*, vaba *to cause to go down*, vairop *to cause to go out*, vake *to hold fast*, varuk *to cause to enter*, vue *to do away*. The modifying verbs lua, value and mur, vamur *to do first* and *to do later* are often replaced by recently developed prepositional phrases (cf.p.211).

Further evidence for the decline of verb serialisation is provided by the fact that it is not productive with loan words. Apart from the very early introduced word lain *to be lined up* (cf.p.206) in tur lain *to stand in a line* (TT 58), loan words do not function as modifying verbs in verbal chains. But they occasionally occur as the nucleus, e.g.

(229) Pa   dia   record vakai.   (Joe)
      not they/PL   *hold-fast*/ITR
      They did not make a record (of the cars which had been repaired).

which corresponds to the Tolai expression tumu vake *write + hold fast*/TR (cf.p.204).

3.8.5 Conclusion

   The verb and the verbal phrase are less accessible to innovations than
the noun and the noun phrase. Whereas nouns borrowed from English may occur
as head nouns as well as in subordinated positions, e.g. korot-dance *to visit
one party after the other*, mat-na-overdose *to die from an overdose of tablets*
(cf.p.135), borrowed verbs do not function as adjuncts (cf.p.135). In contrast
to nominal categories such as the various kinds of expressing number and
possession (cf.pp.48, 79), the verbal categories of tense, aspect and mood have
not undergone any changes. Tolai nouns are more frequently replaced by loans
than verbs, and English nouns are often used in the function of verbs, whereas
English verbs are not found in the position of nouns (cf.p.203), e.g.

(230) lau ga   christmas ati.   (Kapi)
      I   REMOTE   *here*
      I spent Christmas here.

(231) Ave   forgiveness ta- diat.   (Joe)
      we/EXC/PL   PREP-*them*/PL
      We forgave them.

Chapter 4

CLAUSE STRUCTURE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to present a thorough description of the various
types of clauses in Tolai. In 4.2 the Verbal Clauses are dealt with, which
can be further classified into Active and Inactive Clauses and a few marginal
types of clauses on the basis of the sequential order of constituents and the
correlating semantic structure. While Active Verbal Clauses, which show the
constituent order

$$NP_{AGENT/SUBJECT} \quad VP_{ACTIVE} \quad (NP_{PATIENT}),$$

express some action done by an agent, Inactive Clauses denote a state of being
or a process; the noun phrase which refers to what is in the state of being or
the process denoted by the verbal phrase, follows the verbal phrase:

$$VP_{INACTIVE} \quad NP.$$

Since it is obviously functionally equal with the Patient Noun Phrase on Active
Transitive Clauses, it will be also called 'Patient Noun Phrase'.

4.3 describes Nominal Clauses, which express existence and equation, and
4.4 deals with a type of clauses which is called 'Semi-Verbal Clauses', because
it has some features of Verbal Clauses as well as some characteristics of
Nominal Clauses. Other, less frequently used types of clauses, are described
in 4.5 - 4.7. In 4.8 the main types of clauses are compared with one another.
This comparison shows that they constitute a continuum from Active Transitive
Verbal clauses denoting the highest degree of activity to Nominal Clauses
expressing states or non-activity.

The description of adjuncts on clause level (4.9) shows that the relation-
ship between the predicate and the semantic role expressed by the adjuncts does
not need to be made explicit, if the information of the nature of the relationship
is either inherently given in the predicate or the adjunct. The adjuncts whose
function is not made explicit are juxtaposed or linked by the preposition ta.
At first sight ta seems to be an all purpose preposition, since it introduces
adjuncts denoting the position, goal or source of an action, the time, the
recipient, beneficiary or addressee, and the cause of an action. In modern
Tolai, the patient of verbs borrowed from English is even expressed by ta + NP.
(4.10.1). A closer look at the usage of ta, however, shows that it basically
functions as a locative marker and that its other functions are derived from

this basic function. The various functions of ta constitute a continuum with its basic function at the one end and its function as the linking particle of patient noun phrases with verbs borrowed from English at the other.

There are five types of simple independent clauses in Tolai, the classification of which is based on the structure of the predicate:

1. Verbal Clauses, whose predicate is a verbal phrase with a verb, an adjective, a quantifier or a numeral as nucleus.
2. Nominal Clauses, whose predicate is a noun phrase.
3. Semi-Verbal Clauses, whose predicate is a verbal phrase with a noun as the nucleus.
4. Locational Clauses, whose predicate is a prepositional phrase or a local deictic.
5. Alienable Possessive Clauses, whose predicate is an alienable possessive phrase.

For example (predicates are underlined):

(1) A   tutana   i   vana
     ART   *man*   *he* *go*
     The man went.

(2) Avet   a   umana ko   na tutana.   Kl 494
     we/EXC/PL ART PL   *nice* C *man*
     We are nice men.

(3) A   kaliku i   ga boroi lua ...   M 218
     ART   *snake* *it* TA *pig* *before*
     The snake was a pig before ...

(4) lau mamati.
     I *from-here*
     I am from here.

(5) Kaugu a   ngala na pal.
     mine ART *big* C *house*
     I have a big house.

The verbal phrase obligatorily consists of the nucleus denoting an action, state or process and the so-called subject marker, a shortened form of the independent pronoun which precedes the nucleus and refers to the subject of the sentence, i.e., for example, i *he, she, it* in (1) and (3) (cf.p.91). The Verbal Clause and the Semi-Verbal Clause may be constituted solely by a verbal phrase:

(6) I   vana.
     he go
     He went.

Besides these obligatory constituents, the verbal phrase may contain various prenuclear tense and aspect markers (abbr. TA) between the subject marker and the nucleus (cf.p.94), as well as postnuclear modifiers such as the effective particle (abbr. E) (cf.p.94), adverbials etc. Another means of modification is compounding with nouns (cf.p.120) and verbal chaining, whereby up to three verbs may follow the nucleus (cf.p.122). Negation is expressed by negative particles directly preceding the subject marker, e.g.

(7) Una   ti ian vapar   vue   ge   nam.
     you/SG-TA TA *eat* *do-something-completely* *do away* *finally* *that*
     Eat that all up now! (said to a child)

> (8) Pa iau ti ian boko.
> *not I   TA eat yet*
> *I have not eaten yet.*

    Noun phrases function as the agent and the patient in Verbal Clauses (13) - (20), as the subject and the predicate in Nominal Clauses (2), as the subject in Semi-Verbal Clauses (3) and as part of prepositional phrases. The nucleus can be formed by nouns, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, numerals and indefinite quantifiers.

4.2 VERBAL CLAUSES

    As mentioned above, the main characteristic of Verbal Clauses is that their predicate is a verbal phrase, the nucleus of which is a verb, an adjective, a quantifier or a numeral, e.g.

> (9) dia   ga vana
> *they/PL TA go*
> *they went*

> (10) dia   ga ngala
> *they/PL TA big*
> *they were big*

> (11) i ga do vanavana   ra umana motokar   TT 16
> *it TA many step-by-step ART PL   car*
> *the number of the cars increased step by step*

> (12) Ma   dital   ga utul, ...   M 204
> *and they/TRI TA three*
> *And they were three, ...*

    On the basis of the number and the sequential order of the obligatory nominal constituents Verbal Clauses can be classified into five classes:

I. NP V NP

> (13) A   tutana i kita ra bul.
> ART *man*   *he hit*   ART *child*
> *The man hit the child.*

> (14) A   tutana i mome   ra   tava.
> ART *man*   *he drink/TR* ART *child*
> *The man drank the water.*

II. NP V

> (15) A   tutana i vana
> ART *man*   *he go*
> *The man went.*

> (16) A   tutana i kikita.
> ART *man*   *he hit/INTR*
> *The man hit (someone).*

> (17) A   tutana i momo.
> ART *man*   *he drink*
> *The man drank.*

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III. V NP

    (18) | buka ra rat
          it full   basket
          The basket was full.

    (19) | ga io ra pal.   Kl 478
          it TA *burn* ART *house*
          The house burnt.

    (20) Ma i ga kubur a lama ...   Kl 23
          and it TA *grow* ART *coconut*
          And the coconut tree grew ...

IV. V NP NP

    (21) | tup iau ra vinavana.
          it be-severe-upon me ART *going*
          The march was severe upon me; I was exhausted by the march.

V. V

    (22) | bata. | marum
          it rain it night
          It rained. It was night.

The sequential order of constituents in the foregoing examples represents the basic word order. If a word or phrase is topicalised, it is shifted to the beginning of the clause. Topicalised noun phrases other than the patient noun phrases in inactive clauses (16)-(18) (cf.p.148) must be referred to by pronouns in their original unmarked position. Furthermore, topicalised noun phrases are usually marked by demonstrative pronouns. In order not to complicate the following description, topicalisation phenomena will not be discussed here, but only illustrated by the following examples:

1. Topicalised patient noun phrase in a Transitive Clause

    (23) Nam bula kador vavaguai kador umana   M 66
          DEM *also our*/INC/DU *animal our*/INC/DU PL

          bul- mur diat a rapu ia.
          child-follow they/PL TA *hit it*
          Our animals will also be hit by our descendants.
    (non-human nouns may be referred to by singular pronouns)

2. Topicalised possessor attribute of the patient noun phrase in a Transitive Clause

    (24) ... kador umana bul a bata na ti   M 44
          our/INC/DU PL *child* ART *rain it*+TA TA

          ububu kadia nirautan.
          destroy/RED *their*/PL *cleared-place*
          ... the rain will destroy the cleared place of our children.

3. Topicalised patient noun phrase in an Inactive Clause

    (25) Go ra papalum pa i ga par lulut.   TT 43
          DEM ART *work not it* TA *be finished quickly*
          This work was not quickly finished.

4. Topicalised noun phrase of a prepositional phrase in an Inactive Clause

(26) A   pel   lololoi   i   ga buka   ra   pal   me.   K1 384
      ART *many tabu-rolls it* TA *be-full* ART *house with-it*
      The house was filled with many tabu-rolls.

4.2.1 Active clauses

4.2.1.1 General characteristics and subclassification

In NP-V-NP- and in NP-V-clauses (type I and II) the sequence of NP-V
expresses the relationship that exists between an action and its initiator or
controller. Hence both types of clauses will be called 'Active Verbal Clauses'
as contrasted with 'Inactive Verbal Clauses' (see below); and the noun phrase
preceding the verb will be called the 'Agent Noun Phrase'. The relationship
expressed by the sequence of V-NP in (13)-(14) is that of an action and the
entity affected by that action. The noun phrase following the verb shall
therefore be called the 'Patient Noun Phrase'. The function of a noun phrase
as agent or patient is marked solely by its position within the clause. If
one replaces tutana *man* by bul *child* and vice versa, the meaning of the clause
(13) would be *the child hit the man*. Since in Tolai the encoding of the
semantic role of the experiencer does not differ from that of the agent of
actions (cf.p.143), we will only speak of Agents in the following.

There is no passive voice in Tolai. If the Agent is not to be expressed
explicitly, it is referred to by the indefinite subject marker di *someone*,
which corresponds to German man or French on, e.g.

(27) Di   kita ra   bul.
      INDEF *hit* ART *child*
      Someone hit the child; The child was hit.

(28) Di   vana.
      INDEF *go*
      Someone went.

According to general conventions, the verbs in (13)-(14) and (15)-(19) can be
called 'transitive' and 'intransitive' respectively, but only in the very
strict sense that transitive verbs obligatorily govern a patient noun phrase,
whereas intransitive verbs do not. Thus kikita *to hit* in (16), which is derived
from the transitive verb kita *to hit* by partial reduplication, is intransitive
in contrast to the latter and must not be followed by a Patient Noun Phrase.

The reverse operation of deriving a transitive verb from an intransitive
one is shown in (14), where the transitive verb mome *to drink something* is
derived from the intransitive verb momo *to drink* by suffixation of the transi-
tive marker -e and the simultaneous loss of the final vowel. Each transitive
verb has an intransitive counterpart which is usually arrived at by means of
various derivational processes, whereas a number of intransitive verbs, e.g.
laun *to live* cannot be transitivised. Only a limited number of verbs may be
used transitively as well as intransitively, e.g. ian *to eat, to eat something*.

Verbs of position, e.g. ki *to sit down, to sit, stay, be* and verbs of
directed motion, e.g. vana *to go*, bolo *to pass*, dolo *to go through*, ruk *to enter*
etc. may optionally be followed by a noun phrase referring to the location of
the action, e.g.

(29) I   ki.   Kl 132
      he   sit-down
      He sat down.

```
(30)  Ma   dir      ga ki       ra  oaga ...                    M 140
      and  they/DU  TA sit-down  ART canoe
      And the two sat down in the canoe ...
```

```
(31)  ave          ga vana Vunagalip                           (Ia Tia)
      we/PL/EXC    TA go   V.
      we went to Vunagalip.
```

```
(32)  ... dia      ga bolo.                                     Kl 113
          they/PL  TA pass
      ... they passed.
```

```
(33)  ... dia      bolo nam ra  davai                          Kl 255
          they/PL  pass DEM ART tree
      ... they passed that tree
```

```
(34)  I   ga dolo        ra  pupui.                             Kl 446
      he  TA go-through  ART bush
      He went through the bush.
```

```
(35)  I   ga ruk.                                               Kl 170
      he  TA enter
      He came in.
```

```
(36)  ... i   ga ruk   ra  mata na ganau                       Kl 150
          he  TA enter ART cave C  flying-fox
      ... he entered the cave of the flying-foxes.
```

Though (30), (31), (33), (34) and (36) look like transitive clauses (compare
Bley 1912:96, Mosel 1980:44), they are more adequately classified as intransi-
tive clauses with a locational adjunct (cf.p.178).

That locational noun phrases cannot be interpreted as a kind of patient
and, consequently, the verbs of position as being neutral in respect to
transitivity is shown by the following examples where noun phrases denoting
location are juxtaposed to derived intransitive verbs, which are unambiguously
intransitive:

```
(37)  ... i   ga tia tia kakal     ra  bala      na tung.       M 164
          he  TA TA  dig/INTR  ART interior  C  hole
      ... he dug inside the hole (down there in the ground).
```

```
(38)  Tika na tutana i   ga rovoi      ra  lao.                 M 208
      one  C  man     he  TA hunt/INTR ART wilderness
      A man hunted in the wilderness.
```

Further evidence is that these noun phrases cannot be pronominalised as patients
are, but can only be replaced by local deictics, e.g. ara *there*, ati *here*, or
by the preposition ta *in, to, at* plus suffixed pronoun, e.g.

```
(39)  I   ki        ara / ati.
      he  sit-down  there  here
      He sat down there/here.
```

```
(40)  I   ki        ta=na.
      he  sit-down  in-it
      He sat down in it.
```

Active Intransitive Clauses do not only serve as a means of encoding real
acts that are consciously done by an animate doer with respect to an object or
somebody else, but are also used metaphorically when an action is said to be
carried out by an actor like tool (41) or a natural force (42), e.g.

(41) ma   a   pagal-a-tup   i   ga poko ra lima=na   M 204
      and ART *leaf- C-sugar-cane it* TA *cut*   ART *hand=her*
      and the sugar-cane leaf cut her hand

(42) ..., a   tava   i   tar alir= ē   M 38
            ART *water* it TA   *float*=TR+*it*
      ..., and the water has carried it away

or when a mental activity is directed towards somebody or something, e.g.

(43) A   tutana i   gire ra   bul.
      ART *man*   *he see*   ART *child*
      The man saw the child.

There is no difference between 'verba sentiendi' and other transitive verbs in
Tolai, as can also be seen from constructions of verbal chaining. Compare:

(44) ... ma   i   voko-tadap   dir.   M 178
           and he see- go-to   them/DU
      ... and he caught sight of them.

(45) ... i   gire-vue   dir.   M 138
           he see- do-away   them
      ... he saw how they disappeared.

with

(46) A   tabaran i   ga mur- tadav ia.   Kl 222
      ART *spirit   he* TA *follow-go-to   him*
      The spirit followed and caught him up.

(47) Ma   i   al   vuē ...   M 168
      and he draw do-away+it
      And he drew it away ...

Active Intransitive Clauses denote actions which are more or less consciously
done by an animate being such as movements and bodily or mental activities (48),
(49), as well as temporary states of being of the body or the mind (50), (51), e.g.

(48) To Purgo i   ga vana.   Kl 26
      To P.   he TA *go*
      To Purgo went off.

(49) Ma   ra   ngala= na   i   ga peke.   Kl 148
      and ART mother= its she TA *excrete*
      And its mother excreted.

(50) A   umana bul   dia   mulmulum.
      ART PL   *child they*/PL   *be-hungry*
      The children are/were hungry.

(51) A   umana Iapan dia   ga kankan.   TT 47
      ART PL   *Japan they*/PL   TA *be-angry*
      The Japanese were angry.

In contrast to English, most temporary states of being of the body or the
mind are not denoted by adjectives (e.g. 'hungry', 'sick', 'sad', 'angry'), but
by intransitive verbs. Hence the notion of 'the hungry man' is rendered by a
relative clause:

(52) Nina ra   tutana i   mulmulum   i   vana.
      DEM   ART *man*   *he be-hungry   he go*
      The man who was hungry went; the hungry man went.

All verbs including the Tolai translation equivalents of 'to give' are maximally bivalent; they do not require more than two arguments. The notion of 'to give' can be expressed by several Active Transitive Verbs. The most general verb is tar *to give (away)*, whose Patient Noun Phrase refers to the thing which is given. The recipient is optionally expressed by a prepositional phrase, e.g.

(53) ..., ma   i   ga tar ia tai tura= na   M 17
         and he TA *give it to   brother= his*
     ..., *and he gave it to his brother*

(54) ..., ma   i   tar- bali kapi nam ra laun   TT 147
         and he give-return E   DEM ART *debt*
     ..., *and he pays the debt.*

Usually, however, tar is not used as the nucleus of the verbal phrase, but as a modifier in a verbal chain. The most frequent combinations are tak-tar *to pick up + give* and tul-tar *stretch forth, hand or send + give*, e.g.

(55) ..., ma dia   tak- tar ia ta=gu   M 150
         *and they/*PL *pick-up-give it to=me*
     ..., *and they gave it to me.*

(56) Una   tul- tar a   maset   ta=gu.
     *you/*SG+TA *hand-give* ART *matches to=me*
     Give me the matches.

As can be seen from the next examples, tar often only qualifies the action as being directed towards another person or an inanimate goal, e.g.

(57) di   ga kap- tar go   ra nian pira=na   TT 76
     INDEF TA *carry-give* DEM ART *food near=him*
     they took the food to him

(58) ..., ma   i   vue- tar ia ta na   ra ubu- na-vat ... M 26
         and he throw-give her to DEM ART *oven-*C- *stone*
     ..., *and he threw her into the stone oven.*

Tabar *to give* is used if the thing given is food or a present. The Patient Noun Phrase of tabar refers to the recipient, whereas the given food is optionally expressed by a prepositional phrase introduced by ma *with*, e.g.

(59) ... upi   iau tabar kaiqu taulai   ma kaigu   TT 155
         so-that I give my   husband and my

     umana bul
     PL   *child*
     ... *so that I can give my husband and my children something to eat.*

(60) ... upi   dia   ga tabar nam ra umana lapan   TT 75
         so-that theyPL TA *give* DEM ART PL   *Japan*

     ma   ta   umana kakaruk.
     with some PL   *chicken*
     ... *(the people were asked) to give chickens to the Japanese.*

A third verb corresponding to English *to give* is tibe which implies distribution. Its Patient Noun Phrase refers to the given object, while the recipient is expressed by ta + NP, e.g.

(61) I   tibe   nam tika na kakaruk ta=dir.   Kl 210
     he distribute DEM *one* C *chicken to=them/*DU
     He gave the other chicken to them.

```
(62)  Di      ga  tibe       ra   vudu.                      Kl 275
      they/DU TA  distribute ART  banana
      They distributed the bananas among themselves.
```

In Active Transitive Clauses the Agent and the Patient Noun Phrase may have identical reference, e.g.

```
(63)  Dir     ga  marimari  dir.                             M 198
      they/DU TA  pity      them/DU
      They pitied themselves.
```

4.2.1.2 Intransitivisation of transitive clauses

By intransitivisation we mean the operation by which a transitive clause is made intransitive. There are two types of intransitive clauses resulting from intransitivisation. The first type may be called 'absolutely intransitive', because the Patient NP is completely deleted, e.g.

```
(64)  dia      kip       ia  tuk   uro      ra   valian       TT 69
      they/PL  carry/TR  him up-to down-to  ART  beach

  ... da        rapu ra   tutana, tumu pa  i  kikip
      INDEF-TA  beat ART  man     if   not he carry
      they (the Tolai people) carried him (the chief of the Japanese
      soldiers) down to the beach on their shoulders (they were forced
      to do so) ... If a man did not carry him, he would be beaten.
```

The clauses of the second type are 'less intransitive', insofar as the Patient NP is not deleted, but has become a nominal adjunct of the verbal nucleus, which does not refer to a specific entity affected by the action as in the case of a patient, but characterises the concept expressed by the verb. Thus the transitive clause

```
(65)  dia      la git       ra   umana bin                   TT 28
      they/PL  TA pick/TR    ART  PL    bean
      they used to pick the beans (which my parents had planted)
```

has the intransitive counterpart

```
(66)  dir      ga  gigit-       na-bin                       TT 28
      they/DU  TA  pick/INTR-C- bean
      they picked beans (they performed the action of bean-picking)
```

which can be compared to the contrast of specific and generic objects in English. The Tolai V_{itr} na N -construction, however, has a wider range of use. Corresponding to compound noun phrases in which the nominal modifier is also joined to the nucleus by the connective particle na, e.g.

```
(67)  a    uma-     na-bin                                   TT 28
      ART  garden-C- bean
      the garden of beans
```

the relationship between nucleus and modifier is rather unspecific. With non-derived intransitive verbs na-N can denote manner, circumstance, reason and the like (cf.p.120) e.g.

```
(68)  ... i  ga  dadadar-        na-bunurut, ...              M 264
          he TA  tremble/RED-C-  fear
      ... he trembled with fear, ...
```

(69) Ma   To Karvuvu   i   ga   ngangar-na-beo ...   M 32
      and To K.   *he* TA *scream- C- bird*
      And To Karvuvu screamed like a bird ...

(70) ... nin i   ga   ki- na- karabut   ara   ta   ra   tung   TT 76
          DEM *he* TA   *sit-C- prison   there in* ART *tunnel*
      ... who sat imprisoned in a tunnel

(71) iau ga   diop- na-vavaongo   TT 125
      I TA   *sleep-C- lie*
      I pretended to sleep

Since the nominal adjunct is a modifier of the nucleus, it directly follows the
nuclear verb in constructions of verb serialisation, e.g.

(72) iau ti   tata- na- kaia-   vue- mulē   M 166
      I TA   *speak-C- evil-spirit-do-away-do-again + it*
      I uttered a spell to make it go away again.

To conclude, the various types of 'more or less' transitive and intransitive
clauses may be arranged on a scale[17]

NP_{AG} V_{tr} NP_{PAT} transitive

a umana lapan dia git ra bin
the Japanese picked the beans

NP_{AG} $V_{itr/derived}$ $^{na} N_{MOD}$

a umana lapan dia gigit-na-bin
the Japanese picked beans

NP_{AG} $V_{itr/derived}$

a umana lapan dia gigit
the Japanese picked

NP_{AG} $V_{itr/simple}$

a umana lapan dia vana
the Japanese went   intransitive

4.2.1.3 Reciprocal clauses

A special case of intransitivisation is found with reciprocal verbs which
are derived from transitive verbs by the prefix var= and express that at least
two people, who are involved in the action, also performed it, and are affected
by it at the same time. Compare:

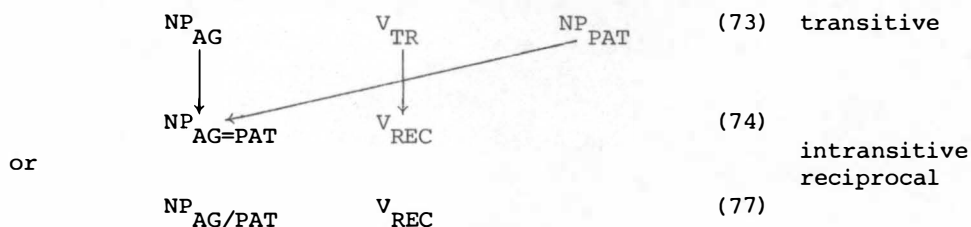(73) A   tutana i   ubu ra   bul
      ART   *man*   *he hit* ART *child*
      The man hit the child.

(74) A   tutana ma   ra   bul   di   var=ubu.
      ART   *man*   *and* ART *child they*/DU REC=*hit*
      The man and the child hit each other.

(75) Dat   a   var=ubu, ...   Kl 73
     we/INC/PL TA REC=*hit*
     Let's fight, ...

(76) Pa dor   a   var=boboi mule, ...   Kl 201
     not *we*/INC/DU TA REC=*see*   *again*
     We won't see each other again, ...

While in these sentences the agents and the patients are identical, there are some cases of reciprocal verbs whose subject refers to more than one person, among whom the roles of the agent and the patient are distributed. Varkorot, for instance, which is derived from korot *to chase* means *to perform the action of chasing* whereby at least one person chases another person, e.g.

(77) Nam ra   tutana i   vilau. A   tabaran i   ga   Kl 222
     DEM ART *man*   *he* *flee*   ART *ghost*   *he* TA

     mur- tadav ia. Di   ga var=korot.
     follow-go-to *him*   *they*/DU TA REC=*chase*
     The man fled. The ghost followed him and chased him while the
     man tried to escape. (lit. *the two performed the action of chasing*)

Varkorot does not mean that they chased each other, which would not make sense, but that the two were involved in the action of chasing.

$$NP_{AG} \quad V_{TR} \quad NP_{PAT} \qquad (73) \quad \text{transitive}$$

$$NP_{AG=PAT} \quad V_{REC} \qquad (74) \quad \text{intransitive reciprocal}$$

or

$$NP_{AG/PAT} \quad V_{REC} \qquad (77)$$

The prefix var= does not exclusively mean reciprocity, but is also used to derive non-reciprocal intransitive verbs from transitive verbs, e.g.

(78) karat   *to bite* (tr)
     var=karat   *to bite* (itr)

(compare the intransitivisation of transitive causative verbs, p.156).

4.2.1.4 Transitivisation of intransitive clauses

As mentioned above, a number of simple intransitive verbs may serve as base for the derivation of transitive verbs by the so-called transitive suffixes =e and =ane. The suffix =e increases the valence of intransitive verbs of action other than movement and position, so that it becomes possible to refer to what is affected by the action. Compare:

(79) Dia   momo.
     they/PL *drink*/ITR
     They drank (quenched their thirst).

(80) Dia   mom= e ra   tava.
     they/PL *drink*=TR ART *water*
     They drank the water.

In (80) ra tava *the water* denotes a specific quantity of water as, for instance,

the water that was given to them. The notion of *they drank water* is expressed
by the V$_{itr}$na N-construction, e.g.

    (81)   Dia   momo-   na-tava.
            they/PL *drink/ITR-C-* *water*
            They drink water.

where tava qualifies the concept of drinking as drinking water in contrast to
drinking tea or beer, but does not refer to a concrete entity. The suffix =ane
is mainly used with intransitive verbs denoting mental or bodily states, e.g.

    (82)   kankan   *to be angry*   kankanuane   *to be angry with*
           mait   *to be sick*   maitane   *to be sick with.*

4.2.2 Inactive Clauses

4.2.2.1 General characteristics

    Inactive Clauses express states of being and processes which are not
initiated or controlled, but rather occur to somebody or something. Like Active
Intransitive Clauses, the Inactive Clauses contain only one noun phrase, but
differ in that this noun phrase follows the verb. As shown by the following
examples, the noun phrase may refer to an animate or inanimate entity:

    (83)   I   par   ati   kaigu tinata.   TT 52
           it be-finished here my   speaking
           Here my story ends.

    (84)   Ma   ra   tabaran i   pap uka, ma i   par   Kl 133
           and ART spirit he dog PART and it be-finished

           a   pap, i   geleng.
           ART dog it mouse
           *And the spirit became a dog, and after he had become a dog, he
           became a mouse* (lit. *and the dog was finished, he became a mouse*).

In the grammars written by the missionaries (Bley 1912, Fellmann, Rickard 1889,
Zwinge) agentless clauses with one noun phrase following the verb are treated
like Active Intransitive Clauses. But since syntactic functions of parts of
speech are only marked by their position within the clause, we think it more
adequate to regard the sequence of V NP in (83) as being functionally equal
with V NP in (85):

    (85)   A   tutana i   kita ra   bul.
           ART man   he hit   ART child
           The man hit the child.

than as being functionally equal with NP V in (86):

    (86)   A   tutana i   vana.
           ART man   he go
           The man went.

    Thus, Tolai differs considerably from languages of the nominative-accusative
type such as English where the semantic roles of the agent of actions and the
patient of states and processes are encoded similarly, but the patient of actions
and the patient of states and processes are encoded differently[18], e.g.

    (87)   the man goes   (action)

    (88)   the coconut tree grew   (process)

but

(89)   the basket is full   (state)

(90)   he filled the basket   (action).

The pronominal elements preceding the verb within the verbal phrase (the subject markers) e.g. i *he, she, it* in

> A   tutana i   kita ra   bul.   (85)
> ART *man*   *he* *hit* ART *child*
> *The man hit the child.*

> A   tutana i   vana.   (86)
> ART *man*   *he* *go*
> *The man went.*

(91)   I   buka   ra   rat.
       it *be-full* ART *basket*
       The basket was full.

refer to the subject[19] of the sentence which is not necessarily an agent as in the case of inactive clauses (91). That i in (91) is not a kind of dummy agent marker is shown by Inactive Clauses in which the semantic role of the patient is represented by a non-singular noun phrase. For in this case the subject marker occasionally agrees with it in number. Since the verbal phrase precedes the noun phrase, agreement is not obligatory. For example:

(92)   Ma   dir   ga ti dudu-par   ra   ivu korkor   M 138
       and *they/*DU TA TA *sink-be-complete* ART *two korkor-fruit*
       And the two korkor-fruits sank completely down.

(93)   I   ga buka   ra   evu rat.   Kl 498
       it TA *be-full* ART *two basket*
       The two baskets were full.

Further evidence for the inactiveness of verbs such as buka *to be full*, par *to be complete* is that they never occur with the indefinite subject marker di, which refers to an unknown or unspecified agent (cf.p.141).

The Inactive Clause construction is obligatory, when a state of being or a process of a bodypart is to be expressed, irrespective of whether the predicate is formed by an inactive verb (i.e. a verb that exclusively enters the Inactive Clause construction), an adjective or an active intransitive verb (i.e. a monovalent verb which is usually constructed with an animate agent noun phrase). For example:

1.   inactive verbs:

(94)   Ma   i   ga buka   ra   bala= na.   Kl 319
       and *it* TA *be-full* ART *belly=his*
       And his stomach became full.

(95)   I   ga kapa   ra   paka=na.   Kl 466
       it TA *be-clear* ART *body his*
       His body was free (from lunacy).

2.   adjectives:

(96)   Kir i   ongor a   paka=gu, ...   Kl 212
       not it strong ART *body=my*
       My body is not strong, ...

(97) Ma   i   ga ngala ra   bala= i   ra   vavina.   M 92
     and *it* TA *big*   ART *belly*=POSS.M. ART *woman*
     And the belly of the woman grew thick.

3.   intransitive verbs:

(98) ..., i   ga papala   ra   mata=na   Kl 46
         it TA *open/ITR* ART *eye= his*
     ..., his eyes opened

(99) Ma   i   ga pidil ra   libongi=na.   Kl 53
     and *it* TA *knock* ART *chest= his*
     And his heart was beating.

(100) Ma   i   ga vana ra   polo   ura   ra   pi.   Kl 354
      and *it* TA *go*   ART *liquid* *down-to* ART *ground*
      And the liquid (of his body) flew down to the ground.

4.2.2.2 Transitivisation of Inactive Clauses

     As has been described above, a typical example of Inactive Clauses is the
expression of states of bodyparts, e.g.

(101) ..., i   makmaki   ra   bala= gu   Kl 47
          it *be-hurting* ART *belly=my*
      ..., my belly is hurting; I have stomach-ache

(102) I   malapang ra   ulu= na.
      it *hot*   ART *head his*
      His head is hot.

(103) I   ga korong ra   paka=na, ...   M 19
      it TA *black* ART *body=her*
      Her body was black, ...

Most of the inactive verbs indicating some state of sickness or mood have
transitive counterparts which are derived by transitive suffix -ane, e.g.
maki-ane *to feel pain at*. Whereas transitivisation of active intransitive
clauses leads to the establishment of a patient (cf.p.147), it is the agent/
experiencer (cf.p.142) that is established by transitivisation of inactive
clauses of the type described above:

(104) A   vavina i   maki=ane   ra   bala= na.
      ART *woman* *she* *feel-pain-at* ART *belly=her*
      The woman has stomach-ache.

(105) A   tutana i   malapangi=ane   ra   ulu= na.
      ART *man*   *he* *be-hot-in-respect-to*   ART *head=his*
      The man has headache.

This operation of transitivisation can be described by the following formula:

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
\emptyset & V_{INAC} & NP_{PAT} & \text{inactive} \\
 & & (=S) & \\
\downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\
NP_{AG} & V_{TR} & NP_{PAT} & \text{transitive} \\
(=S) & & &
\end{array}
$$
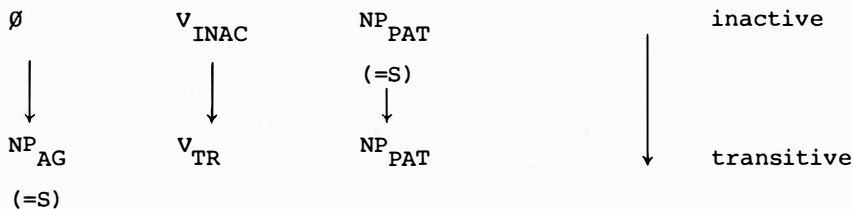
4.2.2.3 Inactive Clauses derived from Active Transitive Clauses

A number of inactive verbs are derived from transitive verbs by the prefix ta=, e.g. puar *to break*, tapuar *to be broken*. ta=V indicates a state of being that has resulted from the action expressed by the verbal base, e.g.

```
(106)  A     bul    i   ga  puar     a    kap.
       ART   child  he  TA  break    ART  cup
       The child broke the cup.
```

```
(107)  I    ga  tapuar     a    kap.
       it   TA  be-broken  ART  cup
       The cup had been broken.
```

```
(108)  To  Purgo  i   ga  rup     pa  ta    boro- na-vudu.        Kl 81
       To  Purgo  he  TA  uproot  E   some  shoot-C- banana
       To Purgo uprooted banana shoots.
```

```
(109)  Ma    i   ga  guria.                                      Kl 368
       and   it  TA  earthquake

       Ma    i   ga  tarup        ra   davai.
       and   it  TA  be-uprooted  ART  tree
       The earth quaked, and the trees got uprooted.
```

It is the clauses with these derived verbs which provide the strongest evidence for our clause classification into Active and Inactive Clauses, because they show most clearly that the noun phrase following the verb in Inactive Clauses (a kap in (107)) is to be identified with the Patient Noun.Phrase in Active Transitive Clauses (106). The initiator of the state of being or the process expressed by the ta-verb is often, but not necessarily understood from the context. While in

```
(110)  ..., ma   i   ga  ubu   nam  ra   evu  tabaran.           Kl 260
            and  he  TA  kill  DEM  ART  two  spirit

       I    ga  tapuar      ra   ul=   i=       dir.
       it   TA  be-smashed  ART  head=POSS.M.=their/DU
       ..., and he killed the two spirits.  Their heads were smashed.
```

it is evident that the person who killed the spirits smashed their heads, it remains unclear in

```
(111)  Ma    i   ga  ruk    ura       ra   mata-na-ganau          Kl 171
       and   he  TA  enter  there-to  ART  cave-C- flying-fox

       Ma    i   ga  takop      ra   makilalat.
       and   it  TA  fall-down  ART  entrance
       He entered the cave of the flying foxes, and the entrance fell
       down.
```

whether there was an initiator of the collapse of the entrance at all.

The derivation of Inactive Clauses from Active Transitive Clauses may be regarded as an operation opposite to that of transitivisation of inactive clauses: while by transitivisation the agent is established, it is deleted by making active transitive clauses inactive.

NP_{AG}	V_{TR}	NP_{PAT}	active transitive
a bul	i ga puar	ra kap	
the child	*broke*	*the cup*	
↓	↓	↓	
∅	V_{INACT}	NP_{PAT}	
	i ga tapuar	ra kap	
	the cup had been broken		inactive
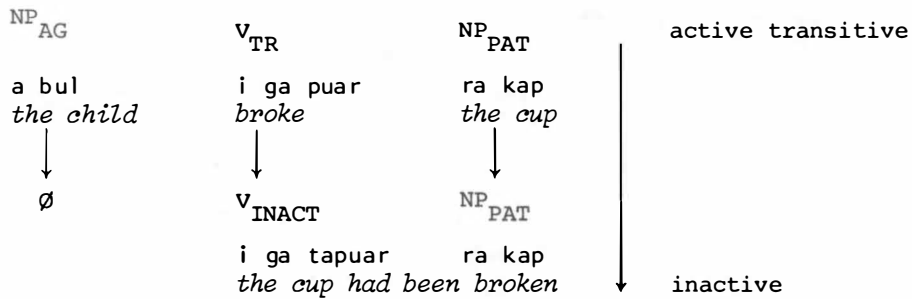
4.2.3 Transitivisation, intransitivisation and inactivisation compared

There are two valence increasing operations (transitivisation of intransitive and inactive clauses) and two valence decreasing operations (intransitivisation and inactivisation of transitive clauses) which can be cross-classified as either affecting the agent or the patient:

	AG	PAT
increasing valence	transitivisation of inactive clause V PAT ⟶ AG V PAT	transitivisation of intransitive clause AG V ⟶ AG V PAT
decreasing valence	inactivisation of transitive clauses AG V PAT ⟶ V PAT	intransitivisation of transitive clauses AG V PAT ⟶ AG V

As illustrated in the diagram below, the transitive clause is involved in all types of valence decreasing and increasing operations, which shows that the transitive clause is the focal type of verbal clauses in Tolai.

```
                     transitive
        - PAT      AG   V   PAT      - AG

          + PAT                 + AG

   intransitive                    inactive

     AG   V                        V   PAT
```
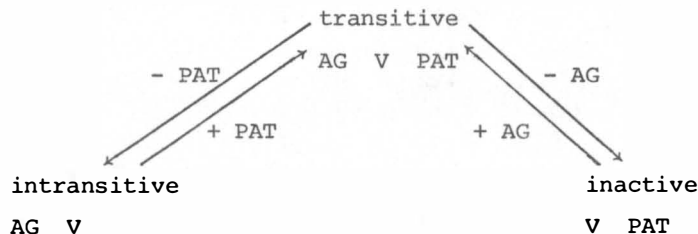
There are no derivational relations between Active Intransitive and Inactive Clauses. But they are related to each other in a different way by the fact that with verbs of motion variation is permitted between the two (cf.p.150), depending on the degree of control excercised by the subject referent.

4.2.4 Further types of verbal clauses

The fourth type of clause construction, namely V NP NP, is found with the two verbs tup and monong, both meaning *to be severe upon*, *to exhaust*, e.g.

(112) I   ga   monong   avet   ra   mulmulum.   TT 54
       it   TA   be-severe-upon us/EXC/PL ART hunger
       Hunger tormented us.

Though the verbs tup and monong are bivalent, tup- and monong-clauses differ from transitive clauses in two points:

1. The verb does not denote an action affecting the patient-referent (avet), but rather a bodily state of being of the patient referent.
2. In contrast to Active Transitive Clauses the relationship between the subject (mulmulum) and the verb (monong) is not that of control, but that of cause.

Formally these differences are reflected in different word order (V NP_{PAT} NP_{CAUS} against NP_{AG} V NP_{PAT}), and in that the subject is always inactive and consequently cannot be represented by the subject marker di. Thus, in spite of their bi-valence, tup- and monong-clauses are closely related to inactive clauses of type III and can be regarded as links between Active Transitive and Inactive Clauses.

NP_{AG} V NP_{PAT} active transitive

= S

    V NP_{PAT} NP_{CAUS}

        = S

    V NP_{PAT}
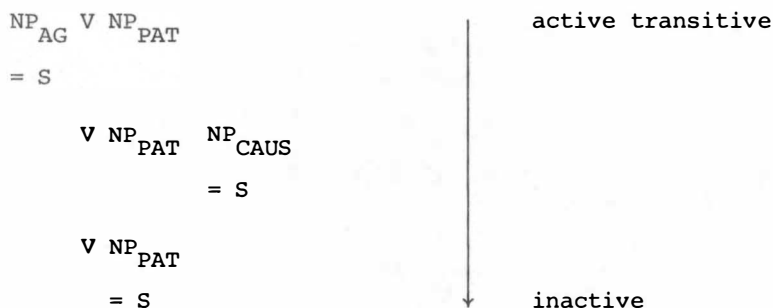
      = S   inactive

A further type of clause construction closely related to the inactive type is found with the impersonal expression i tale *it is possible* and i topa *it suits*, which are followed by animate Patient Noun Phrases, e.g.

(113) i tale iau   *it is possible for me, I can (do it)*
        i topa u   *it suits you, you must (do it).*

If it is to be expressed what someone can or must do, these verbal clauses are followed by a subordinated clause introduced by (u)pi *that*, e.g.

(114) Pa   i   tale   iau   pi   ina   vana.
       not it   be-possible (for) me that I-TA go
       I cannot go.

(115) I   topa   iau pi   ina   papalum.
       it   suits me   that I-TA work
       I must work.

(Upi-clauses refer to events that follow what is expressed by the main clause. Thus upi-clauses also denote the content of wishes, intentions, purposes and the like, e.g.

(116) lau mainge (u)pi ina vana.
I want that I-TA go
I want to go.)

4.2.5 Agent- and patientless clauses

The last type of verbal clauses consists only of the subject marker, optional tense and aspect markers and the nucleus, which refer to some natural event or to time, e.g.

(117) i ga guria, i ga bata, i ga labur ...   Kl 325
it TA earthquake it TA rain it TA storm
The earth quaked, rain fell, the storm blew ...

(118) i ga batabata.   Kl 133
it TA rain/RED
It was continuously raining.

(119) i ga malana, nam ra tutan i ga vana.   Kl 67
it TA morning DEM ART man he TA go
(When) it was morning, the man went; the next morning the man went.

(120) ..., i maranai, upi na keake.   M 244
it near so-that it-TA sun
..., it was near that the sun shone = it was shortly before sunrise.

The words referring to natural events (bata, guria, labur) or the time of the day (malana, keake) are multifunctional in that they may function as nuclei of either noun or verbal phrases, e.g.

(121) a bata, a guria, a labur, a malana
ART *rain* ART *earthquake* ART *storm* ART *morning*

a keake
ART *sun*
the rain, the earthquake, the storm, the morning, the sun, daytime.

An idiomatic way of expression is found with numerals, which in agent- and patientless clause constructions refer to a number of days:

(122) i ivat dor a bung.   Kl 370
it four we/PL/INC TA come-together
In four days (lit. *it is four*) *we'll come together.*

4.2.6 Causative constructions

Causative Clauses express that an action, state or process is caused by an animate being. What all types of Causative Clauses have in common is that the verbal nucleus is a causative verb derived by the prefix va= and that in comparison with the corresponding non-causative clause a new agent noun phrase is established (NP_{AG}). The simplest type of causativisation is found with inactive clauses where the new agent noun phrase is just added:

(123)
```
Ø               V                   NP_PAT                          inactive
|                                   |
|               i    buka           ra | rat
↓               it   be-full        ART| basket
NP_AG           ↓                   ↓
                V_CAUS              NP_PAT
a     tutana    i   va=   buka      ra    rat
ART   man       he  CAUS- be-full   ART   basket
the basket was full; the man filled the basket.              causative
```

If Active Intransitive Clauses are causativised, the agent of the caused action is represented as the patient ($NP_{PAT'}$) or the resulting transitive causative clause:

(124)
```
NP_AG              V_INTR                                   intransitive

A      pap       i  | ga  ki.
ART    dog       it | TA  sit down

NP_AG'             V_CAUS                 NP_PAT'

a     tutana       i   ga  va=  ki        ra   pap.
ART   man          he  TA  CAUS= sit-down ART  dog.       causative
The dog sat down.  The man made the dog sit down.
```

In the case of causativisation of Active Transitive Clauses, the agent of the caused action becomes the patient of the resulting causative clause, while the patient of the transitive clause is either deleted or represented by an optional prepositional phrase.

(125)
```
NP_AG              V_TR                    NP_PAT          transitive

a     vavina     i  | nunure              nam
ART   woman      she| know                that

NP_AG'             V_CAUS                 NP_PAT'

a     tutana       i   va=  nunure        ra   vavina
ART   man          he  CAUS=know          ART  woman        causative
the woman knew that, the man instructed  the woman.
```

There are no Causative Clauses derived from V NP_{PAT} NP_{CAUS} –clauses (cf.p.153), which is most plausible, since these clauses already express states of being that are caused. Secondly, causativisation is not found with agent- and patientless clauses. Again, this also seems to be quite natural, as these clauses denote natural events and time (cf.p.154), which are not thought of as being caused by an animate being. With the other three types of clauses causativisation is productive to varying degrees. The degree of productivity decreases from inactive clauses to transitive clauses. While all Inactive Clauses can be causativised, there are a few exceptions with Active Intransitive Clauses (no causative, for example, can be derived from vana *to go*), and as for the Active Transitive Clauses, it is hard to find any causative counterparts. The notion of 'to cause somebody to do something' is usually expressed by circumlocution with subordinated 'that'-clauses.

Causativisation always implies transitivisation. But as all other transitive clauses, Causative Transitive Clauses may be intransitivised, which is done by prefixing var- to the causative verb and deletion of the patient noun phrase ($NP_{PAT'}$).

$\emptyset$	NP_{AG}	V_{ITR}		intransitive
	$NP_{AG'}$	V_{CAUS}	$NP_{PAT'}$	causative transitive
	$NP_{AG'}$	V_{CAUS}	$\emptyset$	causative intransitive

Compare:

(126) I   ga   ruk.   Kl 170
       he   enter
       He entered.

(127) ..., di   ga va= ruk   ia   tai tika na pal.   Kl 170
       they/DU TA CAUS=enter him in   one   C   house
       ..., they brought him into another house.

(128) ..., ma   dia   ga ubu-var= va= ruk.   Kl 441
       and they/PL TA hit-INTR=CAUS=enter
       ..., and they made (them) enter by force.

The intransitivised Causative Clauses show none of the arguments of the corresponding non-causative clauses, because their agent has been newly established and the patient (which is the agent of the caused action) has been deleted.

4.3 NOMINAL CLAUSES

Nominal Clauses are clauses whose predicate is formed by a noun phrase and thus they cannot be marked for person and number by subject markers and tense and aspect by tense and aspect markers (abbr. TA). There are two types of Nominal Clauses in Tolai.

1. Existential Clauses
2. Equative Clauses.

4.3.1 Existential Clauses

Existential Clauses consist of only one noun phrase stating the existence of what is referred to by that noun phrase, e.g.

(129) A   kilala-na-mulmulum.   Kl 143
       ART *season-C- hunger*
       There was famine.

or its non-existence in case that the noun phrase is determined by the adnominal negative particle pata *no*, e.g.

```
(130)  Pata  bo   na  nga.                              TT 66
       no    good-C- way
       There was no good road.
```

```
(131)  Pata  taina,  a    tava    parika.              M 106
       no    salt    ART  water   all
       There was no salt, only water.
```

If it is not understood from the context when the noun phrase referent existed
or exists, the time of its existence can be indicated by temporal adjuncts,
(cf.p.198), e.g.

```
(132)  Ma   amana     a    vaden  parika.              M 92
       and  formerly  ART  women  all
       In former times only women (existed).
```

```
(133)  Lua    boko  pata  tek.                         Kl 501
       before yet   no    kangaroo
       Before (that event by which the kangaroos came into being)
       there were not any kangaroos at all.
```

With inalienably possessed nouns, existential clauses correspond to what is
expressed by 'to have' in English (cf.p.164), e.g.

```
(134)  ..., a    lolovina  lima=i=         diat.       Kl 390
            ART  long      hand=POSS.M.=their/PL
       ..., their long arms (existed), i.e. they had long arms.
```

```
(135)  Pata  paka=i=      diat     a    ur    parika.   Kl 193
       no    body=POSS.M.=their/PL ART  bone  all
       No body of them (existed), bones only (existed),
       i.e. they had no body, only bones.
```

Existential Clauses formed by a verbal noun serve as a means of emphasising the
action denoted by that verbal noun, e.g.

```
(136)  Di        ga vana,  di        ga vana,  di        ga    Kl 50
       they/DU   TA go      they/DU   TA go     they/DU   TA

       vana,  a    vinavana  ka    iat.
       go     ART  going     only  PART
       They went and went and went and did not stop
       (lit. only going existed).
```

```
(137)  Avet        ave         ga ki  va   vakuku,            TT 67
       we/EXC/PL   we/EXC/PL   TA stay lie  purposelessly

       pata  nidiop.
       no    sleeping
       We lay there and could not sleep, we did not sleep all
       night  (lit. no sleeping existed).
```

4.3.2 Equative Clauses

Equative Clauses consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases NP$_1$ NP$_2$ expressing
that the NP$_1$ referent is what NP$_2$ refers to, e.g.

```
(138)  Kamave       tutana  a    umana  pun.                  M 92
       our/EXC/PL   man     ART  PL     turtle
       Our husbands are turtles.
```

(139) Ia   a   kiap.   TT 69
      he   ART *chief*
      He was the chief.

If the predicate noun phrase NP₂ is negated, it is preceded by the negative
particle pata. In contrast to negative existential clauses, here the negative
particle does not function as a determiner which replaces the article, e.g.

(140) Nam ra   boroi pata ra   boroi tuna.   Kl 123
      DEM ART *pig*   *no* ART *pig* *real*
      That pig was not a real pig.

For emphasis, the predicate noun phrase may be shifted to the initial position
of the clause, e.g.

(141) A   lunga u!   M 34
      ART *fool* *you*/SG
      You are a fool indeed!

(142) A   tabaran ika   iau.   Kl 224
      ART *spirit* *only* I
      I am only a spirit.

(143) Ava   u?   A   tutana u?   Kl 75
      what *you*/SG ART *man*   *you*/SG
      What are you? You are a man?

(144) A   keake, ia To Purgo. A   vagam, ia To Kabinana. Kl 61
      ART *sun* he To Purgo   ART *moon* he To Kabinana
      To Purgo is the sun. The moon is To Kabinana.

In the last sentence the personal pronoun ia *he, she, it* is inserted between
the two noun phrases in order to avoid that a keake *the sun* and a vagam *the
moon* are interpreted as subjects.

    If the subject is represented by a demonstrative pronoun, the inverse
word order NP$_{PRED}$ NP$_{SUBJ}$ is the usual one, e.g.

(145) A   vavina   nam.   Kl 26
      ART *woman* DEM
      That is a woman.

(146) Pata ra   guria   tuna   nam, ...   Kl 369
      no ART *earthquake* *real* DEM
      That is not a real earthquake, ...

since deictic subjects usually imply the emphasis of the predicate. If, however,
a demonstrative pronoun functioning as the subject is to be emphasised in order
to express a contrast, it appears twice: firstly in the initial position, and
secondly in its unmarked position following the predicate noun phrase, e.g.

(147) Go   a   garamut   (i)   ta   go, pata ra   oaga   M 46
      DEM ART *garamut-drum* PART DEM *no* ART *canoe*
      This is a garamut-drum, not a canoe.

(148) Go   a   ingal   go, ma   nam ada   beo   M 32
      DEM ART *ingal-bird* DEM *and* DEM *our*/INC/PL *bird*

      vakuku   na, ...
      common DEM
      *This here is an ingal-bird, but that is a common bird for
      us to eat, ...*

Besides equation, the NP₁NP₂-clauses can also express that the NP₁ referent has what is referred to by the NP₂ (cf.p.163), e.g.

(149) Avet   a   mangoro na buai   ma ...   M 208
　　　　　we/EXC/PL ART *many*   C   *betel-nut* *and*
　　　　　We have many betel-nuts, and ...

That these nominal clauses are to be distinguished from Equative Clauses becomes evident with their negative counterparts. For if the possession is negated, the negative particle pata replaces the article as in the case of negative existential clauses, e.g.

(150) Ba   u   pata ik   a   via   abara   M 194
　　　　　PART· *you/SG no   little* ART *knife   there*
　　　　　Don't you have a little knife with you?

4.4 SEMI-VERBAL CLAUSES

4.4.1 Structure and function of Semi-Verbal Clauses

    Semi-Verbal Clauses are clauses whose predicate is a verbal phrase with a noun as the nucleus. Similarly to nominal clauses they express existence or equation and, additionally, coming into being. All Nominal Clauses can be transformed into Semi-Verbal Clauses, if tense and aspect are to be expressed, e.g.

(151) tuk   i   ga pui vanavana mulai   TT 18
　　　　　until it TA *bush by-and-by again*
　　　　　until the bush grew again

(152) A   kaliku i   ga boroi lua.   M 218
　　　　　ART *snake   it* TA *pig   before*
　　　　　The snake has been a pig before.

(153) Una   moar,   iau ina tutana tuna ka.   Kl 438
　　　　　you/SG+TA moar-bird I   I+TA man   real PART
　　　　　You shall be a moar-bird, I'll be a real man.

Secondly, Semi-Verbal Clauses are used instead of Nominal Clauses to express the process of somebody or something changing his or its state of being, irrespective of whether tense and aspect is marked or not, e.g.

(154) ..., i   ga tar bul   mulai, ...   M 36
　　　　　she TA TA *child again*
　　　　　..., she (the mother) had become a child again, ...
　　　　　(because she was a snake and had thrown off her skin)

(155) Ma namur dir   tutana.   M 13
　　　　　and later they/DU man
　　　　　And later they became men.

The corresponding nominal clauses are:

(156) Ia a   bul.
　　　　　she ART *child*
　　　　　She is/was a child.

(157) Dir   a   ura tutana.
　　　　　they/DU ART *two man*
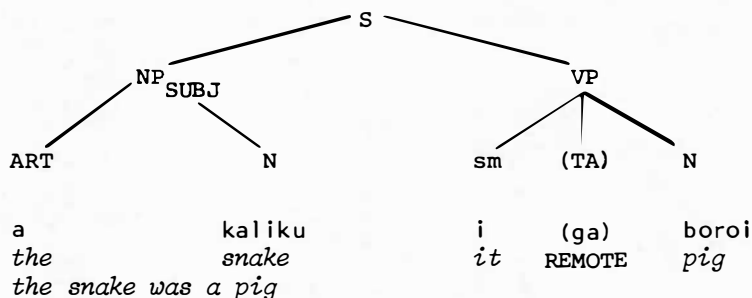　　　　　*They are/were men.*

To conclude, Semi-Verbal Clauses have two functions:

1. they replace Nominal Clauses of existence and equation, when tense and aspect are to be marked.
2. they express the process by which the subject referent becomes what is denoted by the nominal nucleus of the verbal phrase.
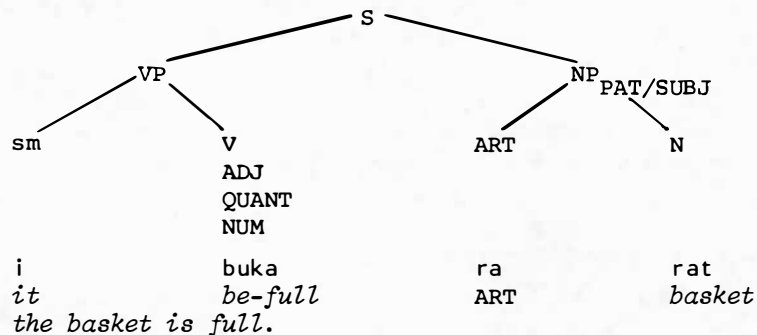
	existence equation	process
tense/aspect unmarked	nominal clauses	semi-verbal clauses
tense/aspect marked	semi-verbal clauses	semi-verbal clauses

The Semi-Verbal Clauses differ from the proper Verbal Clauses in the following points:
1. Though they do not denote activities of the subject referent, but states or processes, they show the word order

```
                              S
              NP                          VP
               SUBJ
        ART           N          sm    (TA)    N

        a           kaliku       i     (ga)    boroi
        the         snake        it    REMOTE  pig
        the snake was a pig
```

and thus they contrast with Inactive Verbal Clauses, in which the verbal phrase precedes the noun phrase:

```
                              S
            VP                            NP
                                            PAT/SUBJ
        sm          V            ART           N
                    ADJ
                    QUANT
                    NUM

        i           buka         ra            rat
        it          be-full      ART           basket
        the basket is full.
```

In other words, the close relationship between Semi-Verbal and Nominal Clauses is reflected by the fact that the sequential order of subject and predicate is the same.

2. In contrast to Inactive Verbal Clauses, Semi-Verbal Clauses cannot be causativised, which is also a characteristic feature shared by Nominal Clauses.

4.4.2 The modification of the predicate of Semi-Verbal Clauses

The noun forming the nucleus can be modified by another noun which is joined to it by the connective particle, i.e. the predicate of Semi-Verbal Clauses may be formed by a compound noun, e.g.

(158) | bala- na-vavina ra bala= m, ...   Kl 292
       it belly-C- woman ART belly=your/SG
       Your belly is a woman's belly, ...
       i.e. *you have a belly like a woman, ...*

Secondly, the noun can be modified by an adjective, e.g.

(159) Ma i ga nat na mumum,   nina ra bul   Kl 202
      and it TA little C adopted child DEM ART child
      And it was a little adopted child, that child.

(160) Pa i ga ngala na gunan iau ki abara.   TT 106
      not it TA big C village I stay there
      It was not a big village where I stayed.

A different sort of predication is found with adjectives followed by verbal nouns, e.g.

(161) Ave   ga bo- na-kini.   TT 67
      we/EXC/PL TA good-C- staying
      We had a good stay.

(162) Iau mal kaugu tarai, dia   ko- na-tinata,   Kl 40
      I create my   people they/PL good-C- speaking

      dia   tata tuna- a   ko na tinata   parika.
      they/PL speak properly-ART good C speaking completely
      I have created my people, they speak a good language, they speak properly - a completely good language.

(163) Diat   dia   ga ngala-na-niligur.   TT 63
      they/PL they/PL TA big- C- mourning
      They felt great sorrow.

These constructions do not denote equation, but express qualities of the subject referent in respect to some activity (namely staying, speaking and mourning). In other words, it is the adjective which is the nucleus, whereas the verbal noun is a modifier, which is also shown by the fact that without the adjective the clause would become ungrammatical. A verbal noun alone cannot function as the nucleus of a verbal phrase. Consequently, these clauses are obviously Inactive Verbal Clauses, and if their subject were expressed by a noun phrase, it would have to follow the verbal phrase. Note that the same type of modification by a verbal noun is also found with Active Intransitive verbs, e.g.

(164) Ave   ki- na-bunurut.
      we/EXC/PL stay-C- being-afraid
      We stayed (there) with fear.

To conclude, the verbal phrases sm-ADJ-C-N$_V$ (e.g. dia ko-na-tinata) and sm-ADJ-C-N$_{COMMON}$ (e.g. i ga nat na mumum) only superficially resemble one another but completely differ in respect to the function of their constituents, and, accordingly, they have to be ascribed to different types of clauses.

The fact that the nucleus of the verbal phrase of Semi-Verbal Clauses, e.g.

(165)	..., i	ga	tar	bul	mulai, ...		M 36
	she	TA	TA	*child*	*again*		

..., she had become a child again, ...

is modified like a noun shows that it cannot be regarded as a derived denominal verb, so that bul in (165) would be a verb meaning *to become a child*. Further evidence for the classification of the nucleus as a noun is given by the fact that it cannot be modified by following verbs, as verbal nuclei of VPs can be; i.e. the nominal nucleus of the verbal phrase of Semi-Verbal Clauses cannot form the head of a verbal chain.

4.5 LOCATIONAL CLAUSES

In Locational Clauses the predicate denotes the position, the goal or the source of the subject referent. It may be formed by a prepositional phrase, a local deictic (cf. Mosel 1982) or an adverb. Examples:

1. The position of the subject referent is indicated by a prepositional phrase:

(166) Patana ta ra pal. K1 484
nobody in ART *house*
Nobody is in the house.

by a positional local deictic:

(167) Pata ia boko a= ti. K1 499
not she yet POS=*here*
She is not yet here.

or by an adverb:

(168) Ma dital boko na-ta ma ... M 186
*and they/*TRI *still* C- *sea and*
And they are still at sea, and ...

2. The goal of the subject referent is indicated by a local deictic:

(169) ..., dor u= r= a ra bung, ... K1 489
*we/*INC/DU GOAL=*there*=*down* ART *market*
..., we (will go) down there to the market, ...

3. The source of the subject referent is indicated by a prepositional phrase:

(170) A vavina papa ra pui. M 132
ART *woman from* ART *bush*
The woman is from the bush.

or by a local deictic:

(171) Iau ma= ti Rakunai. TT 22
I SOURCE=*here R.*
I am from Rakunai here.

As in Nominal and Semi-Verbal Clauses, the subject precedes the predicate. This rule also applies to locational question words which form a morphological sub-class of the local deictics, e.g.

<table>
<tr><td>(172)</td><td>Dor</td><td>u=</td><td>ve?</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Kl 292</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">*we*/INC/DU GOAL=*where*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="4">*Where shall we go?*</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>(173)</td><td>U</td><td>mama=</td><td>ve?</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Kl 264</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">*you*/SG SOURCE=*where*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="4">*Where are you from?*</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>(174)</td><td>ma</td><td>ra</td><td>umana</td><td>ngala=</td><td>na</td><td>diat</td><td>aka=</td><td>ve?</td><td>Kl 127</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>*and*</td><td>ART</td><td>PL</td><td>*parent*=DEREL</td><td></td><td>*they*/PL</td><td>POS/STATE</td><td>*where*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="8">*and where are the parents?*</td></tr>
</table>

4.6 POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS ON CLAUSE LEVEL

4.6.1 Alienable possessive constructions on clause level

Alienable possessive phrases correspond to two types of nominal clauses, depending on whether the possessed NP functions as the predicate or the subject. If the possessed NP functions as the predicate, the clause consists of two juxtaposed noun phrases N_1 + N_2 and thus exhibits the same structure as equative clauses, e.g.

(175) NP_1 (subject) NP_2 (predicate)
       possessor   possessed

<table>
<tr><td>Avet</td><td>a</td><td>mangoro</td><td>na</td><td>buai.</td><td>M 208</td></tr>
<tr><td>*we*/PL/EXC</td><td>ART</td><td>*many*</td><td>C</td><td>*betel nuts*</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">*We have many betel nuts.*</td></tr>
</table>

(theoretically this sentence could also mean *we are betel nuts*). If the ownership is denied, the possessed NP_2 is introduced by the negative particle pata *no*, e.g.

<table>
<tr><td>(176)</td><td>Ba</td><td>iau</td><td>pata</td><td>tabu.</td><td>Kl 384</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>PART</td><td>*I*</td><td>*no*</td><td>*shell-money*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="4">*I have no shell-money.*</td></tr>
</table>

In clauses which express that something belongs to somebody, the possessed NP functions as the subject, whereas the predicate is formed by a possessor, introduced by the possessive classifier ka- or a-, e.g.

<table>
<tr><td>(177)</td><td>"Ka=</td><td>i</td><td>ia</td><td>go</td><td>ra</td><td>uma?"</td><td>Kl 500</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>POSS.CLFR=POSS.M.</td><td>*who*</td><td>DEM</td><td>ART</td><td>*garden*</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>"Ka</td><td>mamital</td><td>go."</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>POSS.CLFR=*our*/EXC/TRIAL</td><td>DEM</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">*"Whom does this garden belong to?"   "Us."*</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>(178)</td><td>Ko=</td><td>mamur</td><td>nina</td><td>ra</td><td>ngala</td><td>na</td><td>tabu.</td><td>Kl 361</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>POSS.CLFR=*your*/DU</td><td>DEM</td><td>ART</td><td>*big*</td><td>C</td><td>*shell-money*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="7">*That big (roll of) shell-money is yours/belongs to you.*</td></tr>
</table>

(179) ka=   i   nam parika ra tabaran nam ra umana
   POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. DEM *all*   ART *ghost* DEM ART PL

   vavina
   woman
   those women belonged to all those ghosts

(180) A-   i   nam uka ra tutana nam ra magit. Kl 410
   POSS.CLFR-POSS.M. DEM *only* ART *man* DEM ART *food*
   The food was only for that man.

The common feature of the last four clauses is that the possessor, which functions as a predicate, precedes the possessed noun phrase, whereas in the corresponding possessive phrases nominal possessors follow the possessed noun, and pronominal possessors take the position of the article before the possessed noun, e.g.

(181) nina ko=   mamur ngala na tabu
   DEM POSS.CLFR=*your*/DU *big* C *shell-money*
   your big (roll of) shell-money there

(182) nam ra umana vavina ka=   i   nam parika
   DEM ART PL *woman* POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. DEM *all*

   ra tabaran
   ART *ghost*
   those women of all those ghosts.

If the ownership is denied, the negative particle pa *not* precedes the possessor phrase:

(183) ..., tago pa ka=   gu ta vabirau   Kl 402
   for *not* POSS.CLFR=*my* *some* *light*
   ..., *for I have not got a light*

(184) ..., pa a=   vavat ta magit ika   Kl 87
   not POSS.CLFR=*you*/PL *some* *food* PART
   ..., *there is not any food at all for you.*

It seems that all kinds of relationships denoted by alienable possessive phrases can also be expressed on sentence level by predicating either the possessed or the possessor.

4.6.2 Inalienable possessive constructions on clause level

  The relationships denoted by inalienable possessive phrases differ from those of alienable possessive phrases in that they cannot be expressed on sentence level by predicating either the possessed noun phrase ('I have a father'), or the possessor noun phrase ('the father belongs to me', 'the father is mine'), which is quite natural, since inherent relationships cannot be predicated. But whereas one can say 'I have four brothers' in English, there are no possessive constructions on clause level in Tolai which could be regarded as translation equivalents of 'have' in this or similar contexts. One can only say:

(185) A ivia   tura- m?
   ART *how-many* *brother-your*
   (lit. *how many brothers of you (exist)?*)
   How many brothers do you have?

This clause has to be classified as an Existential Clause, i.e. as a clause that consists of only one noun phrase and denotes that what is referred to by noun phrase exists. The same clause type is also used to deny the existence of a certain kind of kin relationship, in other words, to express that somebody does not have this certain kind of relative, e.g.

> (186) Ma   patana i   ga mal   nam ra   ura bul.   Kl 377
> *and nobody he TA care DEM ART two child*
>
> Pata matua=i=   dir   pata tura   i=   dir
> *no   uncle=POSS.M.=their/DU no   brother=POSS.M.=their/DU*
>
> pata ta= i=   dir   patana kakit.
> *no   sister=POSS.M.=their/DU nobody at-all*
> *Nobody cared for the two children, they had neither uncle,*
> *nor brother, nor sister, they had nobody at all.*

Another possibility of expressing the absence or non-existence of relatives is to topicalise the possessor noun phrase and place it at the beginning of a negative existential clause:

> (187) Nam pata matua= na   ati, ...   Kl 386
> DEM *no   nephew=his here*
> (lit. *that (one), no nephew of his here (exists)*)
> *He has not got a nephew here, ...*

> (188) ..., tago iau pata niuru= gu ara   valien.   Kl 343
> *for   I   no   relative=my there beach*
> *..., for I have not got any relatives there on the beach.*

(Note that every nominal part of the clause may be shifted to clause initial position providing that a pronoun is related to it in its original place). The relationship between a human being or an animal and its bodyparts or other things intimately belonging to him is similarly expressed on clause level as kin relationship, e.g.

> (189) A   evu ia= gu.   Kl 63
> ART *two name my*
> (lit. *the two names of mine (exist)*)
> *I have two names.*

> (190) 0   ra   evu ngala na mata=na   Kl 141
> DEM ART *two big   C   eye= his*
> (lit. *that two big eyes of him (exist)*)
> *He had two big eyes.*

> (191) Ma   pata paka=i=   diat, ...   Kl 191
> *and   no   body=POSS.M.=their/PL*
> (lit. *and no body of them (exists)*)
> *And they (the spirits) had no bodies.*

As the literal translations suggest, these clauses do not differ structurally from noun phrases, but the context unambiguously determines them as independent clauses.

If it is to be said that somebody has a bodypart of a particular quality or property, as for instance a big mouth, long legs etc., the modifying expression becomes the predicate of the clause, whereas the possessed noun and the possessor noun form the subject noun phrase, e.g.

```
(192)  l  ngala  par        ra  ngia= i=      dir ...        M 290
       it  big   be-complete ART mouth=POSS.M.=their/DU
       (lit. the mouth of the two was completely big)
       They both had a big mouth, ...
```

```
(193)  l  bala- na-vavina  ra  bala= m.                     Kl 292
       it  belly-C- woman   ART belly your/SG
       (lit. your belly is a woman's belly)
       You have a belly like a woman.
```

As with kinship terms, the possessor may be topicalised:

```
(194)  A   pap  i  ga tar ikilik  ra  ngie= ne  dar        M 288
       ART dog  it TA TA  small    ART mouth=its like

       dat          i  ga tar ngie- na-tutana ...
       we/PL/INC   it TA TA  mouth-C- man
       (lit. the dog - his mouth had been little like we,
       it had been a human mouth)
       The dog had had a little mouth like us, he had had a
       human mouth ...
```

To conclude, inalienable possessive phrases cannot be transformed into
clauses in which the possessor and the possessed noun function as the predicate
and the subject, or the subject and the predicate, as alienable possessive
phrases can be. The possessor and the possessed noun are always constituents
of the same part of the clause. Thus the inherence of the relationship between
an animate being and its relatives or its bodyparts is syntactically reflected
by the strong bondedness between the possessor and the possessed noun. In
contrast to the established possessive relationships, none of the participants
of an inherent relationship can be syntactically predicated to the other.

4.6.3 Part/whole constructions on clause level

There are three devices for expressing part/whole relationships on clause
level: Similar to inherent relationships, part/whole relationships can be
expressed by existential clauses, e.g.

```
(195)  a   banbanu-na-pal
       ART door-  C- house
       the door of the house (exists)
```

```
(196)  A   ivia      banbanu-na-pal?
       ART how-many  door-  C- house
       (lit. how many doors of the house (exist)?)
       How many doors does the house have?

       A   utul  a banbanu-na-pal.
       ART three C door-  C- house
       (lit. three doors of the house (exist))
       The house has three doors.
```

Secondly, the noun referring to the part may function as the subject, whereas
the predicate is formed by a prepositional phrase denoting where the part is
located, e.g.

(197) A   utul   a banbanu ta   ra   pal.
      ART   *three* C *door*   *in* ART *house*
      Three doors (are) in the house.
      The house has three doors.

(198) Pata lok   ta   ra   banbanu.   Co 62
      no   *lock* *at*   ART *door*
      (there is) No lock on the door.
      The door has no lock.

Ta is a kind of all purpose preposition, which is not only used to indicate all
sorts of locational relationships (*in*, *at*, *to* etc.), but also temporal relation-
ships (*in*, *during* etc.). Furthermore, it introduces prepositional phrases
denoting the reason or the instrument.

The third means of expressing part/whole relationships on clause level is
given by a number of words which do not only occur as the head of nouns denoting
parts of a whole but may also be used verbally, i.e. following the subject
marker and being the head of a verbal phrase. Compare:

(199) a   vuai- na-lama
      ART   *fruit-C- coconut-tree*
      the fruits of the coconut-tree

(200) I   ga vuai   ra   lama.   Kl 382
      it TA *fruit* ART *coconut-tree*
      The coconut-tree bears fruit.

(201) Di   ga na tadav ra   vat   i   ga mata ra   Kl 218
      they/DU TA *see* *go-to* ART *stone* *it* TA *hole* ART

      bala= na.
      belly its.
      They saw a stone, the interior of which had a hole.

4.6.4 Vatur-vake *to have*

Vatur-vake is a verbal chain consisting of

(202) va= tur   and   vake
      CAUS=*stand*   *detain*

While in traditional texts vatur-vake always means *to hold fast*, *to have in
one's hands*, it is nowadays often used in the general sense of *to have*. For
example:

(203) ..., ina   vatur-vake nam ra   bul.   Kl 116
         I-TA *hold*   DEM ART *child*
      ..., I will hold that child.

(204) Vakir dia   vatur-vake ta   papalum.   (news)
      not   *they/PL* *have*   *some* *work*
      They do not have work.

(205) Di   vatur-vake tika na wire ka   ure ra   power. (news)
      INDEF   *have*   *one* C *wire* *only* *for* ART *power*
      They have only one conduction for electricity.

Thus vatur-vake replaces the alienable KA-possessive construction on phrase level.

4.7 OTHER TYPES OF CLAUSES

Occasionally the predicate of non-verbal clauses consists of a prepositional phrase other than a locational one.   The only clauses of this type found in the corpus are:

 (206) Ure ra marum go ra kinakinau.   Kl 267
    for DEM *night* DEM ART *kinakinau-magic*
    This kinakinau-magic is for the night.

 (207) ..., ma amur upi ra minong?   M 124
    and *you/DU* *for* ART *decorating*
    ..., (you have not yet taken revenge for your mother)
    and you think of decorating yourselves?
    and you are about to decorate yourselves?

While the first clause, which expresses what the subject referent is determined for, is undoubtedly complete, the second clause seems to be an ellipsis of amur nuk upi *you think of ..., you search for ...*

 Another problem of grammatical analysis arises with

 (208) Ba oaria   a kinao!   M 152
    PART *the-day-after-tomorrow* ART *climbing*
    The climbing will take place the day after tomorrow!

for it is hard to decide, whether this clause is an existential clause with a temporal adjunct (*the climbing (will exist) the day after tomorrow*) or a clause whose predicate is formed by a temporal adverb.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The continuum from verbal to nominal clauses

The term 'Semi-Verbal Clauses' has been introduced to label those clauses which share some features of verbal clauses as well as some features of nominal clauses:

Type	Predicate	Nucleus of the predicate
verbal clauses	VP	N, ADJ, NUM, QUANT
semi-verbal clauses	VP	N
nominal clauses	NP	N

While Nominal and Semi-Verbal Clauses are clearly distinguished by the criterion of whether the predicate is formed by a noun phrase or by a verbal phrase, the borderline between Verbal and Semi-Verbal Clauses seems rather to be gradient, since agent- and patientless Verbal Clauses (cf.p.154) and subjectless Semi-Verbal Clauses are very closely related. The nucleus of subjectless Semi-Verbal Clauses is formed by a noun, e.g.

 (209) I ga pui
    it TA *bush*
    The bush grew

whereas the nucleus of agent- and patientless Verbal Clauses was said to be formed by multifunctional words which can function as verbs and as nouns (cf.p.154), e.g.

(210) í   ga guria.   a   guria
       it TA *earthquake*   ART *earthquake*
       The earth quaked.   *the earthquake.*

In other words, guria in i ga guria is classified as verb, but pui in í ga pui is not, which does not seem to make sense. However, we think it justified to distinguish between agent- and patientless Verbal Clauses (i ga guria) and subjectless Semi-Verbal Clauses (i ga pui) in this way for the following two reasons:

1. While subjectless Semi-Verbal Clauses (i ga pui) correspond to nominal
   Existential Clauses, agent- and patientless clauses do not have such
   counterparts. If it is to be expressed that there is an earthquake, one
   cannot say a guria *the earthquake (exists)*, but only

(211) í   gurguria   go.
       it *earthquake*/RED *now*
       The earth is quaking now.

2. The verbal force of words like guria in i ga guria is reflected by the fact
   that they are reduplicated to indicate the imperfect aspect, e.g. gurguria
   in (211) and batabata in (212):

(212) í   batabata.
       it *rain*/RED
       It was raining continuously (cf.p.96).

But with Semi-Verbal Clauses the imperfect aspect can only be indicated by adverbs such as vanavana *step by step, gradually, continuously*, vatikai *always*.

The various types and subtypes of verbal, semi-verbal and nominal clauses constitute a continuum with the Active Transitive Verbal Clauses at the one end and the Nominal Clauses at the other:

	Predicate	nucleus of the predicate	meaning
Active Tr. V Cl	VP	V_{tr}	action
Active Itr. V Cl	VP	V_{itr}	action
Inactive V Cl	VP	V, ADJ, NUM QUANT	process, state
agent- and patientless V Cl	VP	V, NUM	process, state
subjectless Semi-V Cl	VP	N	process, state
other Semi-V Cl	VP	N	process, state
Nominal Clauses	NP	N	state

4.9 ADJUNCTS ON CLAUSE LEVEL

4.9.1 Definition and classification

In Tolai syntax, adjuncts can be defined as syntactically optional consti-
tuents which denote participants other than those expressed by the Agent or
Patient Noun Phrase, or which give some additional information about the
circumstances and conditions associated with the event such as the reason, the
purpose, the manner, the time and the place. In contrast to English there are
no verbs in Tolai with which the indication of the beneficiary, the time or the
place is compulsory. The Tolai translation equivalents of 'to give' (cf.p.144)
and 'to put', for instance, are bivalent, and only require the Agent and the
Patient Noun Phrase, e.g.

(213) I   tar   ia.
       he   give   it
       He gave it.

(214) I   tabar   ia.
       he   give (food)   him
       He gave him food.

(215) I   vung ia.   Kl 124
       she put   it
       She had put it (down).

The meaning of *the dance took place in Rabaul, the climbing will take place the
day after tomorrow* or *the feast lasted for three days* is rendered completely
different in Tolai:

(216) Di   ga malagene aro   Rabaul[18].
       IND TA *dance   there-in R.*
       One/they danced in Rabaul.

or:

(217) Nam ra   malagene akano   Rabaul[18].
       DEM TA *dance   there-in R.*
       That dance (existed) there in Rabaul.

(218) Ba   oaria   a   kinao.   M 152
       PART *the-day-after-tomorrow* ART *climbing*
       The climbing (will be) the day after tomorrow.

(219) Di   ga balaguan   pa   ra   utul   a bung.
       INDEF TA *celebrate for* ART *three* C *day*
       They celebrated for three days.

Adjuncts can be formed by:

1. prepositional phrases, e.g.

(220) Nam ra   tutana i   ga vana in   ra   marum.   Kl 143
       DEM ART *man*   *he* TA *go*   *in*   ART *night*
       The man went off during the night.

2. adverbs, e.g.

(221) Amana   lua   a   bil   uka, ...   M 200
       formerly first ART wilderness only
       A long time ago there was only wilderness, ...

3. local deictics, e.g.

> (222) Una   van' u=   ti[18]
> *you*/SG+TA *go*   GOAL=*here*
> *Come here!*

4. noun phrases, e.g.

> (223) ... ma amir   ga talil   ra marum.   TT 108
> *and we*/EXC/DU TA *return* ART *night*
> ... *and we returned in the night.*

On the basis of semantic criteria the adjuncts can be classified into:

1. adjuncts denoting the addressee, the recipient and the beneficiary
2. adjuncts denoting the cause or the reason of an action
3. instrumental and comitative adjuncts
4. adjuncts denoting the person or the thing which is wanted to be obtained by the action (purposive adjuncts)
5. locational adjuncts
6. temporal adjuncts
7. adjuncts of manner
8. adjuncts denoting what the action is concerned about.

The adjuncts are normally placed at the end of the clause; only topicalised locational and temporal adjuncts occur at the beginning (cf.p.191, 196). Unfortunately the data does not provide sufficient material to make any conclusive statement about the sequential order of adjuncts, if there are more than one in the same clause.

The description of the various kinds of adjuncts will follow their semantic classification given above. The table below gives a rough survey of the means of expression for each semantic class. The correlation between the structural means and their semantic content will be discussed later in the conclusion.

		prepositional phrases		adverbs		others
1.	addressee recipient beneficiary	ta	*to*	–		–
2.	cause	ta	*because of*	–		–
3.	instrument	(ta)	*with, through, by*	–		–
		ma	*with*			
	concomitance	ma	*with*	–		(verb ser.)
4.	purpose	upi	*for*	–		–
5.	location	ta	*in at, to, from ...*	vailik	*far away*	LOC.DEIC. NP
		kan, papa	*from*	na-ta	*out to sea* etc.	(verb ser.)
		pire	*near*			
		tatar	*towards, to*			
		taun	*over, upon*			
		tuk	*till, up to*			

continued ...

6.	time	ta pa papa tuk	*in, during* *for* *since* *until*	amana namur gori	*before* *later* *today* *etc.*	NP (verb ser.)
7.	manner	dari	*like*	damana	*thus*	(verb ser.)
8.	concern	ure	*about, in respect to*	–		–

The abbreviation (verb ser.) indicates that in these cases the construction of verb serialisation is also used to express what is denoted by the adjuncts.

4.9.2 Adjuncts denoting the addressee, the recipient and the beneficiary

Adjuncts denoting the addressee, the recipient and the beneficiary are introduced by the preposition ta, e.g.

(224) To Kabinana i   ga biti ta nina ra   tutana.
       To K.   *he TA say to DEM ART man*
       To Kabinana said to that man.

(225) ..., i   ga tibē   ta=dir.   Kl 294
            he TA distribute+it to=them/DU
       ..., he distributed it to them.

(226) ... i   vut   pirai=dat   upi   na   pait   M 92
           he come to= us/INC/PL in-order-to he+TA   make

       ra   bul   ta=dat.
       ART child to us/INC/PL
       ... he came to us in order to make us with child.

Note, however, that there are also transitive verbs expressing the notion of speaking, giving and doing something to someone's benefit with which the semantic roles of the addressee, the recipient and the beneficiary are encoded by patient noun phrases, e.g.

(227) i   ga ve   iau (ure ...)
       he TA inform   me   (about ...)
       he informed me (about ...)

       i   ga tabar   iau (ma ...)
       he TA give (food)   me   (with...)
       he supplied me (with ...)

       i   ga maravut iau
       he TA help   me
       he helped me (cf.p.176)

The beneficiary may also be signified by a possessor phrase, if it is understood that the beneficiary owns or will own what is affected or produced by the action, or that it is determined for the beneficiary, e.g.

(228) Una   kap ia ka=   i   natu=um.   Kl 266
      you/SG+TA take it POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. *son= your/SG*
      Take it for your son (i.e. *so that your son will own it*).

(229) I ga igir   a=   dir.   Kl 210
      he TA cook-vegetables POSS.CLFR=*them/DU*
      He cooked vegetables for them.

A special kind of recipient adjunct is found with verbs denoting mental
activities such as anger, shame, fright, obedience or belief. Recipient
adjuncts of these verbs signify towards whom the mental activity is directed,
e.g.

(230) ..., pa i ga ongo ta=na   M 106
      not it TA obey   her
      ..., it (the child) did not obey her

(231) Una   nur   ta=gu   Wr 126
      you/SG+TA believe in=me
      Believe in me.

(232) Iau ruvaruva   ka   ta=m, ...   Kl 401
      I   be-respectful/RED PART you/SG
      I am respectful of you, ...

(233) Iau ngarau   ta=vavat.   Kl 265
      I   be-afraid-of   you/PL
      I am afraid of you.

In some cases the verbs of mental activities can be transformed into transitive
verbs (cf.p.148), whose construction alternates with that of the intransitive
verbs plus ta, e.g.

intransitive	transitive	
burut ta + NP	burutue + NP	*to be afraid of*
kankan ta + NP	kankanuane + NP	*to be angry with*
ngarau ta + NP	ngarauane + NP	*to be afraid of*
ruva ta + NP	ruvane + NP	*to be respectful of.*

Verbs which do not express an action of giving something, i.e. verbs with which
the semantic role of a recipient is not inherently given, may be combined with
tar *to give*, in order to express that the action has a recipient, e.g.

(234) Ma i ga kaile-tar a   malira   ta=diat.   Kl 156
      and he TA sing- give ART love-spell to=them/PL
      And he sang the love-spell to them.

Since the obligatory Patient Noun Phrase of tar refers to the thing given,
while the expression of the recipient is optional, tar can also be used to
change the construction of transitive verbs. With ve *to inform*, for instance,
the Patient Noun Phrase refers to the recipient or addressee, and the matter
spoken about is expressed by a prepositional adjunct, e.g.

(235) I ve   iau ta   nam.
      he inform me about that
      He informed me about that.

But with ve tar that matter of information becomes the patient, while the
person who is informed is denoted by an adjunct, e.g.

<pre>
(236) I   ve-   tar   ia (ta=gu)
       he inform-give it (to=me).
</pre>

Examples from edited texts:

<pre>
(237) Una   ve   natu=m   ta= na.   Kl 266
       you/SG+TA inform   son= your/SG about=it
       Inform your son about it.

(238) I   ga ve   tar   a   malira.   Kl 268
       she TA inform give ART love-spell
       She told (him) (the secret of) the love-spell.
</pre>

4.9.3 Adjuncts denoting the cause

Ta plus noun phrase can indicate the cause of an action or of a bodily or mental state of being, e.g.

<pre>
(239) I   ga maur   ta ra   mapinai.   Kl 253
       he   TA be-satisfied by ART leaf
       He became satisfied by leaves.

(240) Iau mari u   ka ta   ra   tangien.   Kl 195
       I   pity you/SG PART because-of ART crying
       I pity you because of (your) crying.

(241) ..., ave   matmat   ta   ra   boroi   Kl 333
            we/EXC/PL die/RED   from ART pork
       ..., we die from pork.

(242) Dital   ga tangtangi ta nam kadital   uma.   M 204
       they/TRI TA weep/RED over DEM their/TRI garden
       They wept over their garden (which has been destroyed).

(243) ..., diat   a ti varubu ta   ra   en, ...   M 56
            they/PL TA TA fight because-of ART fish
       ..., they will fight because of the fish, ...
</pre>

In the case of mental states of being, it is often hard to decide whether ta + NP indicates the recipient or the cause of the emotions, e.g.

<pre>
(244) ..., i ga burut   ta   go ra   umana   TT 29
            he TA be-afraid-of   DEM ART PL
               be-frightened because-of

       Iapan.
       Japan.
       ..., he was afraid of these Japanese.
       ..., he was frightened because of these Japanese.
</pre>

4.9.4 Instrumental and comitative adjuncts

Instrumental and comitative adjuncts are introduced by the preposition ma. Instrumental adjuncts denote the tool or the means which is used to perform an action. For example:

(245) ... ma   dir   rapu ia ma   rana ram   M 44
      *and they/*DU *hit it with its   club*
      ... and they hit the pig with the club (that was meant for it)

(246) ..., iau maravut avat   ma   ra keake, ...   Kl 67
      *I   help   you/*PL *with* ART *sunshine*
      ..., I help you with sunshine.

(247) ... dia   tabar ia ma   ra umana tabu.   M 92
      *they/*PL *give her with* ART PL   *shell-money*
      ... they gave her a present of shell-money.

(248) ..., tago   di   kukul ma   ra money
      because INDEF *trade by-the-means-of* ART *money*
      ..., because they trade by the means of money.

Furthermore, they signify things or persons that are involved in states of
being, such as the contents filled into a container is involved into the state
of being full, e.g.

(249) I ga buka   ra rat   ma   ra en.
      it TA *be-full* ART *basket with* ART *fish*
      The basket was full of fish.

(250) ..., i ga tar buka   ra gunan   ma   diat.   Kl 386
      it TA TA *be-full* ART *village with them/*PL
      ..., the village was full of them (the people).

(251) I ga kor   a papar-a-pal   ma   diat   KL 186
      it TA *crowded* ART *side-* C*-house with them/*PL
      The side of the house was crowded with them.

In the texts collected by Kleintitschen (1924) and Meier (1909) there are very
few examples of instrumental adjuncts which are introduced by ta. The reason
why ta is used instead of ma is unclear. Compare:

(252) Dia   ga ububu   kana vudu ta ra labur.   Kl 156
      *they/*PL TA *destroy/*RED *his banana by* ART *wind*
      They (the spirits) destroyed his bananas by wind.

with

(253) Una   ubu ra umana tabaran ma   ra lum.   Kl 122
      *you/*SG+TA *kill* ART PL   *spirit   with* ART *water*
      Kill the spirits by water.

and

(254) ... upi   ina kabila varku   ta= na.   M 48
      so-that I+TA *also   paint-oneself with=it*
      ... in order to paint myself with it.

with

      Ma una   tumu ra mata=na ma   ta   kabang. Kl 142
      *and you/*SG+TA *paint* ART *eye= his with some lime*
      And paint his eyes with lime.

    There are four kinds of comitative adjuncts:
Firstly, comitative adjuncts express that the agent of an action is accompanied
by somebody else, in which case they are animate, e.g.

(255) Nam ra tutana i ga rovoi ma ra pap.   Kl 403
       DEM ART *man*   *he* TA *hunt* *with* ART *dog*
       That man hunted with the dog.

Secondly, they denote things which are a constituent part of a whole, that is affected by the action, e.g.

(256) I ga ian ia ka ma ra pali=na.   Kl 210
       he TA *eat* *it* PART *with* ART *skin=its*
       He ate them (the bananas) with the skin.

Thirdly, with verbs of motion comitative adjuncts denote things that are taken along by the person who moves, e.g.

(257) Ma ra tabaran i ga pot ma ra davai.   Kl 246
       and ART *spirit* *he* TA *come* *with* ART *tree*
       And the spirit came along with the wood.

(258) ... i ga tul- vue kana vavina ma radi   Kl 367
       he TA *send-do-away* *his* *woman* *with* *their*/DU

       magit.
       food.
       ... he sent his wife away with their food.

Fourthly, the verb ki *to sit, stay* can be followed by a comitative adjunct containing a verbal noun, which signifies some bodily or mental state of being, in order to express that the agent referent is in this state of being, e.g.

(259) ..., ma di ki ma ra mulmulum.   M 64
       and INDEF *stay* *with* ART *hunger*
       ..., and they suffered from hunger.

Ma is certainly the same word as ma *and*. Its different functions as an adjunctive particle (preposition) or conjunctive particle of coordination is overtly marked by number agreement. Compare the following two sentences:

(260) Nam ra tutana i ga rovoi ma ra pap.   Kl 403
       DEM ART *man*   *he* TA *hunt* *with* ART *dog*
       That man hunted with the dog.

and

(261) Telengai dir rovoi ma ra pap.   M 168
       T.   *they*/DU *hunt* *with* ART *dog*
       Telengai and the dog hunted.

While in (260) the subject marker i is singular and refers solely to nam ra tutana *that man*, in (261) it is dual and indicates that Telengai and ma ra pap are coordinated and have the same syntactic function within the clause.

Another possibility of expressing concomitance is verb serialisation whereby the verb maravut *to help, assist* follows the nuclear verb as a modifier, e.g.

(262) ..., i ga valua-maravut ia.   M 17
       she TA *row- help*   *him*
       ..., she rowed helping him; she rowed with him.

While valua *to row* is intransitive, the verbal chain valua-maravut is transitive because of the transitivity of maravut. As various other verbs which are used as modifiers in verbal chains, maravut occasionally occurs in the function of a preposition or an adverb (cf.p.203), e.g.

(263) ... uro   ra   tung. Ma a   garamut maravut   M 184
           down-to ART *hole* *and* ART *drum*   *with*

       ia   uro.
       him *downwards*
       ... (and they took the stones and threw him with them)
       into the hole and (threw also) the drum down with him.

(264) ma   dir   irop-   mulai ma   kadir   rarat
       and *they/DU* *get-out* *again* *with* *their/DU* *basket/PL.DISTR*

       maravut mulai
       with   *again*
       and they got out and each of them took his basket along with
       him.

4.9.5 Purposive adjuncts

By purposive adjuncts we mean adjuncts that denote persons or things which
are wanted to be obtained by an action. They are introduced by the preposition
upi, pi *for* and are characteristically, though not necessarily, found with verbs
expressing wish, desire, search etc. For example:

(265) ma   i   lulul ra   ura   tai= na   upi rana   M 112
       and *he* *ask* ART *two* *sister=his* *for* *his*

       ta   ik   a pa.
       some *little* C *taro*
       and he asked his two sisters for some taro.

(266) Ma   i   oraoro   upi nam ra   vavina.   Kl 451
       and *she* *call/RED* *for* DEM ART *woman*
       And she called for that woman.

(267) lau rovoi upi ta   boroi.   Kl 404
       I *hunt* *for* *some* *pig*
       I hunted for pigs.

(268) A   tava   na   ki   ra   pupui kan   M 216
       ART *water* *it+TA* *stay* ART *bush* *so-that-not*

       diat   a mat upi ta   tava.
       they/PL TA *die* *for* *some* *water*
       The water should remain in the bush, so that they will
       not die from lack of water.

The adverb vakuku expresses that the action is done without any purpose or
definite reason or without means, e.g.

(269) Ma   go   ra   gun i   ga pua   vakuku   TT 30
       and DEM ART *gun* *it* TA *explode* *purposelessly*

       ta   ra   maup.
       in ART *air*
       And the gun only fired into the air.

(270) Dor   ki   vakuku   ta go   ra   paka-na-gunan. M 196
       we/INC/DU *stay* *without-means* *in* DEM ART *part-C- village*
       We shall stay in this place without means.

4.9.6 Locational adjuncts

Locational adjuncts show the greatest variety of forms, since they can be formed by

1. noun phrases
2. prepositional phrases
3. local deictics
4. adverbs, and
5. combinations of adverbs and prepositional phrases
        local deictics and noun phrases
        local deictics and prepositional phrases
        local deictics and adverbs, and
        local deictics, adverbs and prepositional phrases.

For example:

(271) A   kapul   i   ga kiki   a=   r=   ama   liu   Kl 166
       ART   *opossum* *it* TA *sit*/RED POSITION=*there*=*up* *high*
                                 (local deictic)   (adverb)

       ta   ra   davai.
       on   ART *tree*
       (prepositional phrase)
       The opossum was sitting up there, high above on the tree.

4.9.6.1 Noun phrases and prepositional phrases introduced by ta

The position, goal or source of an event can be expressed by a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase introduced by the so-called 'all-purpose-preposition' ta, if the nature of the locational relationship is understood from the context. This is the case with verbs which inherently contain reference to the position, the goal or the source of an action. Thus positional verbs such as ki *to sit (down), to stay,* tur *to stand* and va *to lie (down), sleep* imply that the action occurs at a certain place, e.g.

(272) Ma   dir   ga ki   ra   oaga   ma ...   M 140
       and *they*/DU TA *sit* ART *canoe* *and*
       And they sat down in the canoe and ...

(273) Ma   i   ki   ta   kana oaga ...   M 48
       and *he*   *sit* *in*   *his*   *canoe*
       And he sat down in his canoe ...

(274) A   korkor   i   tur   ra   val.   M 140
       ART   *korkor*   *it* *stand* ART *beach*
       The korkor (plant) stood at the beach.

(275) ..., ma   i   ga tur   ta   ra   pi.   Kl 166
            and *he*   TA *stand*   *on*   ART *ground*
       ..., and he stood on the ground.

Verbs of motion inherently carry information concerning the direction, so that a locational noun phrase or a prepositional phrase introduced by ta may refer to the goal or to the source of the motion depending on the verb. While vana *to go,* for instance, always implies a goal, vilau *to run away* implies a source, e.g.

(276) ave   ga vana Vunagalip.
       we/EXC/PL TA *go*   *V.*
       we went to Vunagalip.

(277) I ga vilau   ta   ra   labur.   K1 133
       he ART *run-away* *from* ART *tempest*
       He ran away from the tempest.

(note that if the goal of vana *to go* is animate, it must be expressed by the preposition pire *near* + NP (cf.p.185).

Furthermore, many verbs of motion express how the goal of the motion is arrived at, e.g.

(278) bolo   *to go past, pass*
       irop   *to go down, come down from a height, descend*
                  to get out
       dolo   *to go through*
       ruk   *to go into, enter.*

For example:

(279) ... dia   ga bolo dital.   K1 442
       they/PL TA *pass* *them/TRI*
       ... *they passed the three.*

(280) I ga dolo   ra   pupui, ...   K1 446
       he TA *go-through* ART *bush*
       He went through the bush, ...

(281) I ga dolo   ta   ra   babait.   K1 409
       it TA *go-through*   ART *hedge*
       It went through the hedge.

According to whether they imply a goal or a source, the verbs of motion can be classified into goal oriented and source oriented verbs. For example:

(282) goal oriented verbs

       bolo (ta)   *to go past*
       dolo (ta)   *to go through*
       kao   *to climb* (K1 246)
       kuba   *to descend* (M 248)
       mur (ta)   *to follow* (K1 120, 123)
       pil ta   *to jump* (M 86)
       ruk (ta)   *to go into, enter* (K1 150, 66)

       source oriented verbs

       bura ta   *to fall down from* (K1 336, 503)
       irop ta   *to descend, to go out* (K1 155)
       talingir ta   *to run out, to be poured out* (inactive) (K1 47)

Verbs expressing the notion of 'to put something somewhere' or 'to take something from somewhere', hence called 'verbs of transportation', are similarly constructed as verbs of motion. The place where something is put or where something is taken from is denoted by a noun phrase or by ta + NP, e.g.

(283) Ma dir   poe   ra kapo na pia   ra kapo na kakia. M 158
       and they/DU *put-into* ART *one* C *earth* ART *one* C *basket*
       They put one portion of earth into one basket.

(284) ..., i ga poe   pa ia ta ra kakia.   M 78
        he TA *put-into* E *it*   ART *basket*
      ..., he put it into the basket.

(285) ..., i ga vung ia ra makilalat.   Kl 124
        he TA *put* *it* ART *entrance*
      ..., he put it near the entrance.

(286) ... ma i ga la vung ia ta ra timul- a-davai M 140
        and he TA TA *put* *it*   ART *stump-* C-*tree*
      ... and he put it on the stump of the tree.

(287) Dia   ga kul ia, nam ra vavina, ta- na,   Kl 384
      *they/*PL TA *buy* *her* DEM ART *woman*   *from-him*

      ta   nam ra tutana.
      from DEM ART *man*
      They bought her, the woman, from him, the man.

Due to insufficient data it is not quite clear by which rule the presence
or absence of the preposition ta is governed. As far as this question has been
investigated, it seems to be partly a matter of the lexicon. While many goal
oriented verbs of motion, for instance, may be alternatively followed by a noun
phrase or by ta + NP, e.g. bolo (ta) *to go past*, dolo (ta) *to go through*, mur
(ta) *to follow*, ruk (ta) *to enter*, there are some verbs which are not combined
with ta, e.g. kao *to climb*, kuba *to descend*. A grammatical rule determining
the use of ta is that ta is never used with proper names of places. Compare:

(288) ... ma dia   pukai Nakanai.   M 104
        *and they/*PL *land* N.
      ... and they landed in Nakanai.

(289) ... ma pa dia   ga ti pukai boko ta kadia   M 104
        *and not they/*PL TA TA *land* *yet*   *their/*PL

      gunan ...
      village
      ... and they have not arrived at their village yet ...

(290) A   tadar   i pitil   Laur.   M 118
      ART *dukduk* *it* *originate-from* L.
      The dukduk originates from Laur.

(291) Nam ra kakaruk i ki Tabai, ...   M 104
      DEM ART *chicken* *it* *sit* T.
      That chicken stayed in Tabai, ...

This suggests that one of the functions of ta is to mark the relationship
between a verb and a common noun phrase as a locational relationship the nature
of which is already implicitly given in the verb.

A further rule which obviously accounts for the presence or absence of ta
is that the source of source oriented verbs is obligatorily marked by ta,
whereas with goal oriented verbs the usage of ta is optional in many cases. In
the case of vana *to go* the construction of the adjunct is determined by the
fact whether the noun referring to the goal is a proper noun or an animate or
inanimate common noun. While place names such as Vunagalip in (276) are juxta-
posed, common nouns of places such as nirautan *clearing* in (292) require the
preposition ta (or a local deictic; see below). If the goal of vana *to go to*
is a person, the preposition pire *near* + NP is used (cf.p.185).

(292) Ba   una   vana   ta kador   nirautan.   M 42
      PART *you/SG+TA* *go*   *to our/INC/DU clearing*
      Go to our clearing.

Locational noun phrases are found with all kinds of verbs, if they them-
selves express a spatial relationship such as

(293) a   bala- na-pia
      ART *belly-C- earth*
      the interior of the earth

(294) a   ul- a-davai
      ART *head-C-tree*
      the top of the tree.

(For further details on compound noun phrases expressing spatial relationships
cf.p.56). For example:

(295) Ma   dital kuba   ra bala- na-pia, ...   M 248
      and they/TRI descend ART *belly-C- earth*
      And they descended into the interior of the earth, ...

(296) ..., i ga tia kakal   ra bala- na-tung.   M 164
      he TA TA dig/ITR ART *belly-C- pit*
      ..., he dug (down there) inside the pit.

(297) ... dir   parau me   ra papar-a-vat   M 30
      they/DU hide with+it ART *side -C-stone*
      ..., they hid themselves with it behind the wall of the rock
      (lit. *at the side of the rock*)

(298) Ma i voko-tadap dir   ra ul- a-davai.   M 182
      and he see- go-to them/DU ART *head-C-tree*
      And he saw them in the tree.

Here the nature of the locational relationship between the event and the place
need not be made explicit by prepositions, adverbs or local deictics, as it is
already inherently given, in the noun phrase. Being a locational adjunct,
a bala-na-N. for instance, can only mean that the event takes place inside
what is referred to by N. These noun phrases of spatial relationships, which
can also be preceded by ta, are often used where other languages show preposi-
tions:

on, on top of:

(299) i ki (ta) ra   ul- a-davai
      he sit   ART head-C-tree
      he sat on (top of) the tree

under:

(300) (ta) ra vavai-   na-tebol
            ART *space-underneath-C- table*
      under the table

behind:

(301) (ta) ra muru-na-davai
            ART *back-C- tree*
      at the back of the tree, behind the tree

near , beside:

```
(302)  (ta)  ra   papar-a-pal
             ART  side- C-house
       beside  the  house
```

in front of:

```
(303)  (ta)  ra   l'uai- na-pal
             ART  front-C- house
       in front of the house
```

```
(304)  (ta)  ra   mata-na-pal
             ART  face-C- house
       in front of the house
```

in, into:

```
(305)  (ta)  ra   bala- na-pal
             ART  belly-C-house
       in the house.
```

Verbs which express how a goal is approached, e.g. bolo *to go past*, dolo *to go through*, irop *to go out* etc., are often used as modifying verbs in verbal chains in order to give additional information about the direction of the action expressed by the nuclear verb. These constructions often correspond to English prepositional phrases or adverbs. For example:

```
(306)  A      tabaran  i   ga  vila-bolo.                          Kl 223
       ART    ghost    he  TA  run- go-past
       The ghost ran past.
```

```
(307)  Ma   i   ti  vilau-dolo        ta  ra  ik     a           Kl 252
       and  he  TA  run- go-through   ART little  C

       mata  ik.
       hole  little
       And he escaped through a little opening.
```

```
(308)  ... dir       lop- kao    ra   ul- a-davai                 M 182
           they/DU  flee-climb  ART  head-C-tree
       ... they fled onto the tree
```

```
(309)  ... dir       pil- mur    ia ...                           M 28
           they/DU  jump-follow  him
       ... they jumped following after him ...
```

```
(310)  ..., ma  i   ga  vila-ruk    ta  ra  ngovo   na  davai.    Kl 117
            and  he  TA  run- enter  ART hollow  C   tree
       ..., and he fled into a hollow tree.
```

Similarly, the causative derivations of verbs of motion are used with verbs of transportation, e.g.

```
(311)  Ma   i    vue- va= ba      nam  ra  ur= i          M 232
       and  she  throw-CAUS=go-down  DEM  ART  bone=POSS.M.

       nam  ra  tutana.
       DEM  ART  man
       And she threw down the bones of the man.
```

A further case of verb serialisation as a means of expressing locational relationships is found with tar (tr), tatar (itr) which basically means *to give*

(cf.p.144). But in verbal chains it is also used as a mere indicator of the direction of the action, namely that it is directed towards a goal, such as the action of giving is directed towards a recipient, e.g.

(312) ..., ma i vue- tar ia ta na ra ubu-na-vat ... M 26
     and he throw-give her into DEM ART *pit-C- stone*
     ..., and he threw her away into the oven ...

(313) Nam ra vavina i ga purpurung-tatar ta ra davai. Kl 446
DEM ART *woman she* TA *fly- give to* ART *tree*
And that woman flew on to the tree.

(314) "... una kap- tar a= gu ta tuv Kl 396
     you/SG+TA *take-give* POSS.CLFR=*my some sugarcane*

ik." Nam ra tutana i ga kap pa ra tuv
little DEM ART *man he* TA *take* E ART *sugarcane*

ik. I ga takan- tar ia ta=na.
little he TA *pick-up-give it to*=*her*

*"Bring me some sugarcane."   That man took some sugarcane and
give it to her.*

In this function tar contrasts with the so-called 'Effective Particle' pa (cf. p.131), which expresses that the action is directed towards the agent itself, e.g.

(315) i kap tar ia ta ...   *he took it to ...*
      i kap pa ia   *he took it (for himself)*

      i oro tar iau ta ...   *he called me to go to ...*
      i oro pa iau   *he called me to come to him.*

4.9.6.2 Prepositional phrases other than those introduced by ta

If the relationship between an event and a place is not predictable from the meaning of the verb or the noun phrase referring to the place, it is made explicit by prepositions, local deictics or combinations of local deictics and prepositions or adverbs and prepositions. Thus goal oriented verbs of motion are combined with kan *away from* or papa *(starting) from*, if the source of that motion is to be expressed; whereas the goal of source oriented verbs is indicated by tatar *to*, e.g.

(316) "Akave ra magit?" "Akana." Kl 273
     where ART *food there*

     "U vana kan ia ka dave?"
     you/SG *go from it* PART *why*
     "Where is the food?" "There."
     "Why did you leave it?"

(317) I bura u- r- a ra pia.
     it fall GOAL-*there-down* ART *ground*
                 (local deictic)
     It fell down to the ground.

(318) I ga irop ta ra lama tatar ta ra pi. Kl 443
     he TA *descend from* ART *coconut-tree towards to* ART *ground*
     He descended from the coconut tree down to the ground.

Though explicit prepositions are not required with goal and source oriented verbs of motion to specify locational adjuncts as the goal and the source respectively, they may be redundantly combined with these prepositions, e.g.

(319) I   ga   vana tatar   ta   ra   lum.   Kl 372
       he TA *go* *towards* *to* ART *water-hole*
       He went into the water.

In comparison to European languages, Tolai shows very few prepositions, as it has various other means of expressing locational relationships at its disposal, such as verb serialisation (cf.p.182), noun phrases denoting spatial relationships (cf.p.180) and local deictics (cf.p.189). Furthermore, as has already been shown, many verbs inherently carry information about direction, so that specification by prepositions is not needed. In order not to complicate the description of Tolai prepositions, they will be listed alphabetically and briefly explained in the following.

4.9.6.2.1 kan *from*

kan *from* expresses separation. With verbs of motion it introduces locational adjuncts indicating the source of the motion; with other active verbs it denotes that the action is done separately from what is referred to by the adjuncts, e.g.

(320) Dia   ga   vana   kan   ia.   Kl 119
       they/PL TA *go*   *from* *him*
       They left him.

(321) "Ba   upi   ra   ava   go   u   tututun-   ivai   M 36
       PART *for* ART *what*   DEM *you*/SG *cook*/ITR/RED *be-secret*

       kan   na=   i=   dor?"
       from *mother*=POSS.M.=*our*/DU/INC
       "Why are you cooking secretly, so that our mother cannot see it?"

(322) ... nina   ra   tutana i   ga   mat   kan   Kl 202
           DEM   ART   *man*   *he* TA *die* *from*

       natu=   i=   dir.
       child=POSS.M.=*their*/DU
       ... that man died and left behind their child.

4.9.6.2.2 papa *(starting) from*

In contrast to kan *from*, papa *(starting) from* is only used with verbs of motion and adjuncts referring to concrete places. It is either combined with ta or with positional local deictics, unless the place is denoted by a proper name, e.g.

(323) I   ga   pil   papa   ta   ra   timul   tatar ta   ra   Kl 148
       it TA *jump* *from* ART *stump* *to*   ART

       tanguvan davai, ...
       pile   *wood*
       It sprang from the stump (of the tree) to the pile of wood, ...

(324)   Ma   i   pil   papa a= ba=   M 102
         and *it* *jump* *from* POS=*known-to-the-hearer*

         r=   ä   ra   pui ...
         there *up-in-the-bush* ART *bush*
         And it jumped from the bush ...

(325)   "Ba   papa ave   go   ra   tabu?
         PART *from* *where* DEM ART *shell-money*

         "Ba   papa Nakanai!
         PART *from* N.
         "Where is this shell-money from?"
         "From Nakanai!"

papa *from* also introduces temporal adjuncts in the sense of *since*.

4.9.6.2.3 pirai/pire *near, close to*

    pirai/pire means *near the place where somebody or something is located,* and it is used irrespective of whether this place is a position or a goal, e.g.

(326)   dir   ga ki   pire nam ra   vat   TT 111
         *they/*DU TA *sit* *near* DEM ART *stones*
         they sat down near the stones

(327)   I   ga vana pire ra   kaia, ...   Kl 122
         he TA *go*   *near* ART *kaia*
         He went to the kaia (a spirit), ...

(328)   ..., tago   u   vut   pira=mavet!   M 92
             because *you/*SG *come* *near=us/*EXC/PL
         ..., because you have come to us!

pirai/pire is obligatorily used when the goal of a motion is a person.

4.9.6.2.4 tatar *towards, to*

    While papa signifies the starting point of an action (cf.p.184), tatar denotes where it ends up, and consequently it is often used as the counterpart of papa *from*, e.g.

(329)   I   ga pil   papa ta ra   timul tatar ta ra   Kl 148
         it TA *jump* *from*   ART *stump* *to*   ART

         tanguvan davai.
         pile   *wood*
         It sprang from the stump of the tree to the pile of wood.

(330)   I   ga bura ra   kapiaka   tatar ta ra   lum   Kl 322
         it TA *fall* ART *breadfruit* *to*   ART *water-hole*
         The breadfruit fell into the water.

Like papa *from*, tatar *to* is combined with ta, unless the place is denoted by a proper name, e.g.

(331) ... ma   i   ga   vue   ra   palina   tatar   Nangananga.   M 212
      and he **TA** *throw* **ART** *skins   to   N.*
      ... and he (the giant) threw the skins to N.

tatar, which is translated by *towards to* here, is identical to the derived
intransitive form tatar *to give* of tar *to give something* (cf.p.144). The
various functions of tatar constitute a scale with tar (tr), tatar (itr) *to give*
as an independent verb at the one end and tatar (ta) *towards to* as a preposition
at the other:

independent verb	tar (tr) tatar (itr)	
	V_{tr} + tar + NP_{PAT} (ta ...) V_{itr} + tatar (+ ta ...)	modifying verb in a verbal chain indicating that the action denoted by the nuclear verb is done for someone.
	V_{tr} + tar + NP_{PAT} (+ ta ...) V_{itr} + tatar (+ ta ...)	modifying verb in a verbal chain indicating that the action is per- formed in the direction towards a goal
preposition	V_{tr} + NP_{PAT} + tatar (ta)... V_{itr} + tatar (ta) ...	preposition meaning *towards to*

In the construction of V_{tr} + NP_{PAT} + tatar (ta), tatar cannot be interpreted as
a modifying verb of a verbal chain, because serial verbs must not be separated
from the nuclear verb, and, secondly, transitive nuclear verbs can only be
followed by other transitive verbs. Besides locational adjuncts, tatar (ta)
also introduces temporal adjuncts.

4.9.6.2.5 taun *upon*

    The word taun resembles tatar in that it does not only function as a
preposition, but also as a transitive verb meaning *to press down upon*, e.g.

(332) una   taun   ia   Wr 172
      you/SG+TA   press-down-upon   it
      you press down upon it

(333) ... ma   i   kokopo   taun   ia.   M 168
      and   it   fall-down (of earth)   press-down-upon   him
      ... and it (the earth) fell down burying him.

(If transitive verbs modify intransitive ones, the whole verbal chain becomes
transitive.) While in the last example taun is still a verb, it functions as
a preposition in the following sentence:

(334) Ma   dia   pale   kapi   ra   ding   taun   ra   tung.   M 184
      and   they/PL   spread **E**   **ART**   *mat*   *over*   **ART**   *hole*
      And they spread the mat over the hole.

4.9.6.2.6 tuk *till, up to*

tuk *till, up to* differs from tatar in that it indicates the goal of a
motion of some duration, whereas tatar is typically used with verbs denoting
motions that only last a short instance as, for instance, pil *to jump*, bura *to
fall*. In other words, it is aspect that determines the selection of tuk. The
duration of motion, however, is not necessarily indicated by reduplication or
repetition of the verb. As other prepositions, tuk is often combined with
local deictics. For example:

(335) "I   korokorot   avat   tuk   ave?"   Kl 141
       he   chase/RED   you/PL   up-to   where

       "Tuk   ati."
       up-to   here
       "Where did he chase you to?" "To here."

(336) Nam   ra   tutana   i   ga   na- murmur   ia   tuk   Kl 211
       DEM   ART *man*   *he* TA   *see-follow/RED*   *him* *up-to*

       a=   r=   ama   Baining.
       POS= *there*=up B.
       That man followed him with his eyes up to the Baining area.

(337) Ma   i   vana   me   tuk   a=   r=   o   Kl 164
       and *he* *go*   *with+him* *up-to* POS= *there*=same level

       Ieriiem.
       I.
       And he went with him to Ieriiem.

4.9.6.3 Adverbs

The number of locative adverbs in Tolai is rather small, which correlates
with the fact that those relationships expressed by adverbs in other languages
are mostly expressed by the means of verb serialisation, e.g.

(338) lau tul- va=   lua   u   meme.   M 64
       I   send-CAUS=*be-first*   you/SG *with-it*
       I sent you ahead with it.

(339) ... ma   i   korot-vue-   mule   dir.   M 114
           and *he* *chase-do-away*   *do again* *them/DU*
       ... and he chased them away again.

Adverbs differ from modifying verbs in verbal chains in that they can be
separated from the nuclear verb by patient noun phrases, local deictics etc.,
whereas modifying verbs of verbal chains directly follow the nuclear verb.

There are two types of adverbs, namely simple and compound adverbs. The
simple adverbs are mostly formed by multifunctional words, which do not only
function as adverbs, but also as independent verbs:

(340) vailik   *(to be) far away*
       livuan   *(to be) in the middle*
       maranai   *(to be) near*
       maravai   *(to be) near*
       vurvurbit   *(to be) everywhere.*

For example:

(341) Nam   ra   gunan   i   vailik   iat.
       DEM   ART *village* *it* *far*   PART
       The village is very far away.

(342) ... ma   da   punang   i   avat   vavailik   ta   M 94
           and INDEF+TA   *bury*   TRM *you/PL*   *far*/RED   *in*

       ra   bil.
       ART   *wilderness.*
       ... and you will be buried far away in the wilderness.

If these words directly follow intransitive verbs, e.g.

(343) ki   livuan   *to sit in the middle*
       ki   vailik   *to stay far away,*

it is impossible to decide whether to class them as an adverb or as a modifying
verb of a verbal chain. Compare the following occurrences of maravai *(to be)*
near:

(344) I   ga maravai ga   aina   ra   kuba=na, ...   Kl 223
       it TA *near*   PART *there* ART *hut= his*
       His hut was near, ...

(345) Gali u   vanavana maravai pire=vevet.   Kl 502
       not *you/SG* *go*/RED   *near*   *near=us/PL/EXC*
       Do not come near us.

(346) ..., i   ga irop   aina   ga   maravai pire   Kl 487
          he TA *come-down* *there* PART *near*   *near*

       ra   pi, ...
       ART *ground, ...*
       ..., he climbed down, until he was just above the ground, ...

(347) ... ma u=   ti maravai tika na gunan   a= kari. TT 74
           and GOAL=here *near* *one* C   *village* POS=here
       ... and here, close to a village here.

The only simple adverb which is not a multifunctional word seems to be liu *high,*
e.g.

(348) ... ma   i   vung ia liu   Kl 215
           and *she* *put* *it* *high*
       ... and she put it high up.

Thus the various functions of these multifunctional words constitute a scale:

independent ────────────→ modifying verb in ────────────→ adverb
verb   a verbal chain

Compound adverbs consist of na, which is certainly identical with the connective
particle na[20] (abbr. C), and a common noun denoting a place:

(349) na-gunan   *in the village*
       na-livuan   *in the middle*
       na-nga   *on the way*
       na-pal   *at home, in the house*
       na-ta   *on the sea, out to sea*

```
        na-taman                        outside
        C - clear swept ground
            around a house

        na-uma                          in the garden
        na-vavai                        underneath
        C - space underneath
```

A few adverbs of this type are formed by reduplication:

```
(350)   na = nga = na = nga            on the way
        C  = way = C  = way

        na = pa = na = pal             from house to house
        C  =      = C  = house


        na = ng = na = gunan           from place to place
                  C    village
```

which shows that C + N form a closely knit unit.

The number of these adverbs is limited, though the list given above is probably not complete. na-gunan, na-pal, na-ta and na-uma are most frequently found as a means of further specifying local deictics. Examples:

```
(351)   Amir      a  vana ta  go   ra   marum na-ta.          M 138
        we/EXC/DU TA go   in  DEM  ART  night  C- sea
        We will go out to sea this night.

(352)   Una     va    a= ti     na-pal.
        you/SG  sleep POS=here  C- house
        Sleep here in the house.
```

(na-) livuan in the middle, na-vavai underneath and na-taman outside can be combined with the preposition ta to express the notion of between, under and outside of respectively, e.g.

```
(353)   Na     tur   uka  na-livuan  ta=mimir.           Kl 280
        he+TA  stand PART C- middle  =us/EXC/DU
        He should stand between us.

(354)   I  ga vana livuan        ta ra  ura  okor, ...   Kl 373
        he TA go   in-the-middle ART two root
        He walked between the roots of the two trees.
```

4.9.6.4 Local deictics

The system of Tolai local deictics, i.e. deictic adverbs of place, is rather complicated, as they are not only distinctive for the contrast of 'here' and 'there', but also marked for

1. the level at which the place indicated is located in relation to the speaker's position, for instance, whether it is somewhere upwards or downwards

2. whether the place is

- (a) a place where an action takes place (e.g. 'they dance there') or
- (b) a place where somebody or something is located (e.g. 'he is there') or
- (c) the goal of an action or
- (d) the source of an action

3. whether the place pointed at is known to the hearer or not.

These various semantic features are marked by distinctive morphs which can be combined to rather complex forms consisting of two to five morphs, e.g.

(355) u= ti,   a= ti,   ma= ti,
       GOAL=*here*   POS=*here*   SOURCE=*here*
       hither,   *here,*   *from here*

(356) u= ka=   ba=   r= a
       GOAL=*further-on=known-to-the-hearer=there=down in direction*
                                                    to the beach
       there to a place known to the hearer, somewhere further down
       in direction to the beach.

Since we are not concerned with morphology here, and the local deictics have been described in detail in Mosel 1982, we will confine ourselves to a brief description of their syntactic behaviour.

The local deictics can be optionally followed by noun phrases (357), (358), (359), (361), prepositional phrases (362), (363) or adverbs (358), (360) in order to specify their reference. For example:

(357) Ba   dor   vana u= r=   a   ra valian, ...   M 50
       PART *we/INC/DU* *go*   GOAL=*there=* *down* ART *beach*
       Let's go down to the beach, ...

(358) ..., nina tikai i ga kao   u= r=   ama liu   Kl 351
            DEM *one*   *he* TA *climb* GOAL=*there=up* *high*

       tikai i ga tur   uka a= r=   a   ra pi.
       one   *he* TA *stand* PART POS=*there=down* ART *ground*
       ..., one climbed high up, the other one remained standing
       on the ground.

(359) ... i ga bura u= r=   a   ra   pi   Kl 142
            he TA *fall* GOAL=*there=* *down* ART *ground*
       ... he fell down to the ground

(360) ... i irop   mur   ma= r=   a   na-ta   M 266
            it *get-out* *follow* SOURCE=*there=down* C- *sea*
       ... it climbed out of the sea following it

(361) I   ga irop ... ma=   r=   ama ra ul- a-davai.   Kl 257
       he TA *get-out* SOURCE=*there=up* ART *head-C-tree*
       He climbed down (from the top of) the tree.

(362) Una   va   a= ti   pire ra iap.   Kl 475
you/SG+TA *sleep* POS=*here* *near* ART *fire*
Sleep here near the fire.

(363) ... tago   dat   ti koako   a= ti   ta
because *we*/INC/PL TA *good*/RED POS=*here* *in*

ka=   da   gunan.
POSS.CLFR=*our*/INC/PL *village*
... because we are very happy here in our villages.

In the case of papa *(starting) from* and tuk *till, up to* (cf.p.187) the local
deictic follows the preposition, e.g.

(364) papa a= ti,   tuk   a= ti
from POS=*here*   *up-to* POS=*here*
from here,   *to here.*

Such combinations of a local deictic and a noun phrase, an adverb or a preposi-
tional phrase are more frequently used than the literal English translation
might suggest. In fact, they often occur where a speaker of English would be
less precise, and only use a prepositional phrase.

4.9.6.5 Conclusion

Tolai shows various means of expressing locational relationships which,
according to their complexity, can be arranged on a scale (cf.p.192). The
complexity of locational constructions is determined by two forces:

1. whether the verb or the noun phrase referring to the place already carries
   information about the nature of the locational relationship (i.e. position,
   goal or source)
2. the degree of how precisely the speaker intends denoting the locational
   relationship.

The second factor particularly accounts for the selection of local deictics.

As the examples quoted so far demonstrate, locational adjuncts usually
follow the predicate. They are only found at the beginning of a clause, when
they express a contrast to what has been said before, e.g.

(365) ... ma pa diat   a parpar!   M 108
and *not* *they*/PL TA *wear-a-loin-cloth*

Ma a= ti   Ramoaina diat   a parpar.
and POS=*here* R.   *they*/PL TA *wear-a-loin-cloth*
(All the people should go naked)
and they should not wear a loin-cloth!
But here in Ramoaina they should wear a loin-cloth.

The scale of implicit and explicit means of expressing locational relationships:

implicit

1. $V_{GOAL \atop POS}$ NP

2. $V_{GOAL \atop POS \atop SOURCE}$ ta   NP

3. V_1 V_2 $_{GOAL \atop SOURCE}$ ta   NP

4.   V   (ta) $NP_{SPATIAL \atop RELATIONSHIP}$

5.   V $PREP_{POS \atop GOAL \atop SOURCE}$ NP

6.   V   ADV   ta   NP

7.   V $LOC.DEIC._{POS \atop GOAL \atop SOURCE}$ (ta)   NP

8.   V $LOC.DEIC._{POS \atop GOAL \atop SOURCE}$ ADV

9.   V $LOC.DEIC._{POS \atop GOAL \atop SOURCE}$ ADV (ta)   NP

10.a.   V $PREP_{GOAL \atop SOURCE}$ $LOC.DEIC._{POS}$ NP

10.b.   V $LOC.DEIC._{POS \atop GOAL \atop SOURCE}$ PREP   NP

explicit

The nature of the locational relationship is implicitly given in V or NP

(verb serialisation)

The nature of the locational relationship is made explicit by additional means.

Examples:

1.   (366)   I   ki   ra   oaga.
             he sit ART canoe
             He sat in the canoe.

      (367)   I   ruk   ra   pal.
             he go-in ART house
             He went into the house.

2.   (368) I ruk   ta ra   pal.
               he *go-in*   ART *house*

      (369) *He went into the house.*

      (370) I irop   ta ra   pal.
               he *get-out*   ART *house*
               He went out of the house.

3.   (371) I vilau-ruk (ta) ra   pal.
               he *run- go-in*   ART *house*
               He ran into the house.

      (372) I vilau-irop   ta ra   pal.
               he *run- get-out*   ART *house*
               He ran out of the house.

4.   (373) I ki (ta) ra   ul- a-davai.
               he *sit*   ART *head-C-tree*
               He sat on the tree.

5.   (374) I vana kan ra   gunan.
               he *go*   *from* ART *village*
               He went away from the village.

6.   (375) I ki na-livuan ta ra   ura davai.
               he *sit* C- *middle*   ART *two   tree*
               He sat between the two trees.

7.   (376) I ki a= r= ama (ta) ra   davai.
               he *sit* POS=*there*=*up*   ART *tree*
               He sat on the tree there.

8.   (377) I ki a= r= ama liu.
               he *sit* POS=*there*=*up* *high*
               He sat high up there.

9.   (378) I ki a= r= ama liu ta ra   davai.
               he *sit* POS=*there*=*up* *high*   ART *tree*
               He sat high up there on the tree.

      (379) I ki a= r= ama liu ta ra   ul- a-davai.
               he *sit* POS=*there*=*up* *high* ART ART *head-C-tree*
               He sat on (top of) the tree.

10.a. (380) I vana tuk a= ti ra   valian.
               he *go*   *till* POS=*here* ART *beach*
               He went, until he reached the beach here.

10.b. (381) I vana papa a= ti ra   valian.
               he *go*   *from* POS=*here*   *beach*
               He went off from the beach here.

The translation equivalents of English prepositions:

    after   (cf.p.182)

          V_1 mur
            follow

    behind   (cf.p.181)

         (ta)ra muru-na- N
           ART *back*-C- N

beside

      (ta)ra   papar-a-N   (cf.p.182)
         ART *side*-C- N

between

      (na-) livuan ta   (cf.p.189)
       C   *middle*

down

      V_1 irop   (cf.p.182)
         go-down

      a= r=   a,   u= r=   a   etc.
      POS=*there*=*down* GOAL=*there*=*down*

from, off

      kan   (cf.p.184)
      from

      papa (ta)   (cf.p.184)
      from

      ma=   r=   a,   ma=   r=   o   etc.   (cf.p.190)
      SOURCE=*there*=*down* SOURCE=*there*=*same level*

in

      (ta) ra   bala- na-N   (cf.p.182)
           ART *belly*-C- N

in front of

      (ta) ra   luai- na-N   (cf.p.182)
           ART *front*-C- N

      (ta) ra   mata-na-N   (cf.p.182)
           ART *face*-C- N

into

      V_1 ruk   (ta)   (cf.p.182)
         go-in

      (ta) ra   bala- na-N   (cf.p.182)
           ART *belly*-C- N

near

      pire   (cf.p.185)
      near

      V_1 maravai ta
         be-near

      maravai ta   (cf.p.188)
      near

on

      a= r=   ama   (cf.p.190)
      POS=*there*=*up*

      (ta) ra   ul- a-N   (cf.p.181)
           ART *head*-C-N

onto

    V₁ kao   (cf.p.182)
       climb

    u=   r=   ama   (cf.p.190)
    GOAL=*there*=*up*

out of

    V₁ irop   ta   (cf.p.182)
       go-out

outside of

    na-taman   ta   (cf.p.189)
    C- *outside*

through

    V₁ dolo   (cf.p.182)
       go-through

till

    tuk   (cf.p.187)
    till

to

    tatar (ta)   (cf.p.185)
    to

    u= ti, u= r=   a,   u= r=   o etc. (cf.p.190)
    GOAL=*here* GOAL=*there=down* GOAL=*there=same level*

under

    na-vavai   ta   (cf.p.189)
    C- *space-underneath*

    ta   ra   vavai-   na-N   (cf.p.181)
       ART *space-underneath*-C- N

up

    V₁ kao   (cf.p.182)
       climb

    u=   r= ama   (cf.p.190)
    GOAL=*there=up*

upon

    taun   (cf.p.186)
    upon

4.9.7 Temporal adjuncts

In precolonial times the computation of time was very simple: the units of time were various times of day, the month and the seasons of various fruits and winds, e.g.

a kau	*very early morning when the kau-bird cries (about 3 a.m.)*
a potapotol	*early morning about 5 a.m.*
a malana ikilik	*the time just before sunrise, between 5.30 and 6 a.m.* (lit. *the little morning*)
a malana	*morning*
a keake	*the time after 10 a.m.* (lit. *the sun*)
a keaketur	*noon (from* a keake i tur *the sun stands)*
a keakeria	*the time after noon (from* a keake i ria *the sun changes its appearance)*
a ravien	*afternoon (from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m.)*
a talvivi	*evening dusk (from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m.)*
a marum	*night*
a mutumut	*midnight*
a gai, a vagam	*the month*
a kilala na taubar	*the two seasons of the year, namely the season of the south-east wind* (taubar) *and*
a kilala na labur	*the season of the north-west wind* (labur)
a kilala na pit	*the season of the sugarcane,* hence *a year,* because it takes one year for the sugarcane to ripen.

Temporal adjuncts indicate when or for how long an action is performed or a state of being exists. They are formed by noun phrases, prepositional phrases or adverbs. While locational adjuncts only introduce a clause, when they are contrasted with what has been said before (cf.p.191), temporal adjuncts are frequently found at the beginning of the clause for pragmatic reasons, since often the time of what is going to be told is of crucial interest.

4.9.7.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrases denoting a particular space of time during the day are used to express the point of time as well as to indicate the duration of time of the action or state of being spoken about, e.g.

(382) Ra ravien dir ga vut ...   M 240
ART *afternoon* they/DU TA *come*
They came in the afternoon ...

(383) Ma dir va ra marum   M 258
and they/DU *sleep* ART *night*
And they slept during the night.

While in (382) ra ravien *the afternoon* denotes the period of time during which the event, i.e. the arrival, happens, the temporal adjunct ra marum *the night* in (383) signifies the duration of the event, i.e. the sleeping.

If it is to be expressed that some habitual action is done every day at a certain time, the daytime term is either reduplicated or combined with the reduplicated form of bung *day*, e.g.

(384) Pa ave ga ian ta magit ra malamalana.   TT 67
not we/EXC/PL TA *eat some food* ART *morning*/RED
We never ate something in the morning.

```
(385)  A      bungbung-na-malana   i     tabar  a     ot     ma        TT 124
       ART    day/RED- C- morning  he    give   ART   horse  with

       ra     nian.
       ART    food
       Every morning he fed the horse.
```

a bungbung without specification of the time of day means *every day, day by day*, e.g.

```
(386)  ... dir      tangtangi-par          a      bungbung.        M 196
           they/PL  weep/RED- be-complete  ART    day/RED
       ... they wept every day.
```

4.9.7.2 Prepositional phrases

There are four prepositions which introduce temporal adjuncts: ta *in, at*, pa *for, during*, papa *since* and tuk *until*. ta indicates that the event happens within the period of time denoted by the following noun phrase, while pa signifies that it lasts for a space of time, e.g.

```
(387)  ave          vana ta ra  ravien                          TT 104
       we/EXC/PL  go    in ART   afternoon
       we went in the afternoon
```

```
(388)  amir         a vana ta go ra   marum  na-ta             M 138
       we/EXC/DU  TA go   in DEM ART   night  out-to-sea
       we will go out to sea tonight
```

```
(389)  I    ga  va     pa    ra   pel   raran   arama    liu,   Kl 466
       he   TA  sleep  for   ART  many  day/RED there-up high

       a     voana vagam  i   ga  va     pa     ia.
       ART   one   month  he  TA  sleep  during it
       He lived up there many days, he lived there a month.
```

The prepositional phrase ta ra ravien in (387) means the same as the noun phrase ra ravien in (382). But in contrast to absolute noun phrases, ta + NP is not used to denote the duration of an event. In other words, ta + NP is more explicit than absolute noun phrases. pa *for, during* is not used with daytime terms. Instead of

```
       *i   ga  va     pa    ra   marum
        he  TA  sleep  for   ART  night
```

one can only say

```
(390)  i   ga  va     ra   marum
       he  TA  sleep  ART  night
       he slept the night (see above).
```

papa *since* and tuk *until* are the same words as the locational prepositions papa *(starting) from* and tuk *till, up to* (cf.p.187) and are often combined, e.g.

```
(391)  Dia      papalum papa ni   ra   malana   tuk   go  ra
       they/PL  work    from DEM  ART  morning  till  DEM ART

       ravien.
       afternoon
       They worked from this morning till this afternoon.
```

4.9.7.3 Adverbs

The temporal adverbs can be classified into deictic and non-deictic adverbs. Deictic temporal adverbs relate the time of the event to the speaker's time being, e.g.

go	*now*
nam	*then*
gori	*today*
goieri	*today*
ningene	*tomorrow* (Kokopo dialect)
karagam	*tomorrow* (Northcoast dialect)
nabung	*yesterday*
oaria	*the day after tomorrow*
nari	*the day before yesterday*
na-marum	*last night, tonight*
kien	*today, just now, a very short time ago,*
	in the very near future, on the same day
amana	*some time ago*
amana lua	*once upon a time*

go and nam are identical with the demonstrative pronouns go *this* and nam *that*; adverbs denoting a space or point of time within the same day the speaker speaks do not distinguish between past and future.

amana lua	amana	nari	nabung	na-marum	kien	na-marum	ninenge	oari
					speaker's			
past					position			future
					now			
once upon a time	*some time ago*	*the day before yesterday*	*yester-day*	*last night*	*now*	*tonight*	*tomorrow*	*the day after tomorrow*

For example:

(392)   Ma   kien   iau   tar   igir-   tabar   tar   Kl 211
        and   *now*   *I*   TA   *cook-with-vegetables*   *give-food*   *give*

        ia   ma   ra   evu   kakaruk.
        him   *with*   ART   *two*   *chicken*
        But I have just cooked and given him two chickens.

(393)   Ina   ti   ian   u   kien.   Kl 117
        I+TA   TA   *eat*   *you/SG*   *now*
        I am going to eat you now.

Non-deictic temporal adverbs relate the time of the event to the time of some other event, e.g. lua *before*, namur *then, later*, mulai *again*, or they specify the duration of the event spoken about, vatikai *always, forever*, e.g.

(394)   ma   namur   i   ga   vana
        and   *then*   *he*   TA   *go*
        and then he went

(395)   i   ga   kiki   boko
        he   TA   *sit/RED*   *still*
        he was still sitting (there)

(396)· Ma nam ra mong a mong vatikai ...   M 60
     and DEM ART *shark* ART *shark forever·*
     And that shark remained a shark forever (creation myth) ...

As some locational adverbs (cf.p.188), mulai *again* and lua *before* are multi-
functional words, which are used as independent verbs, e.g. mulai *to return*,
lua *to go first*, *be first*, as modifying verbs in verbal chains and as adverbs.
When used as verbs, they are morphologically distinguished for transitivity and
intransitivity. The transitive counterpart of mulai, which means *to do again*
in verbal chains, is derived by the transitive suffix -e (cf.p.147), whereas
the transitive counterpart of lua is derived by the causative prefix va- plus
the transitive suffix *to do something* or *affect something* or *someone first*.
Both mule and value cannot form the nucleus of a verbal phrase, but only
function as a modifying verb in a verbal chain:

```
independent              lua                  mulai
verb                    (itr)                (itr)

modifying      lua               value    mulai         mule
verb          (itr)              (tr)     (itr)         (tr)

adverb                  lua                  mulai
```
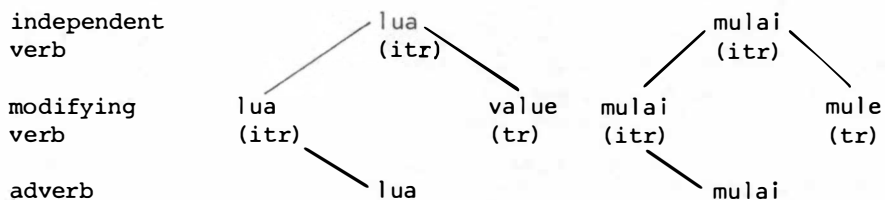
Examples:

(397) ...; dia   ga mulai.   M 250
       they/PL TA *return*
       ...; they returned.

(398) ... dia   ga varait   ma   ra Amerika mulai TT 86
       they/PL TA *come-together with* ART A.   *again*
       ... they came again together with the Americans

(399) "Ba una   ga na- mule   tama= m   M 98
       PART *you*/SG+TA TA *see-do-again*/TR *father=your*/SG

       ma   na=   m."
       and mother=your/SG
       "You will see your father and mother again."

(400) Avat   a   lua!
       you/PL TA *go-first*
       Go first!

(401) "Avet   a   malagene lua."   Kl 497
       we/EXC/PL TA *dance   first*

       "Avat namur, avet   lua."
       you/PL *later* *we*/EXC/PL *first*
       "We will dance first." "You later, we first."

(402) ma i kait   value   go ra lima tuna ...   M 24
       and she scratch affect first DEM ART *hand right*

       ma i kait   va= mur   go ra maira
       and she scratch CAUS=*follow* DEM ART *left-hand*
       *she scratched the right hand first ... then she scratched
       the left hand.*

As the last example shows, Tolai often expresses temporal relationships by means of verbal chaining where other languages such as English make use of adverbs.

If lua directly follows a verb, e.g. malagene lua, it is impossible to decide whether to classify it as an adverb or as a modifying verb. But in avet lua it is undoubtedly an adverb, for otherwise it would be preceded by the subject marker ave we/EXC/PL, and not by the independent pronoun avet. The same problem of classification arises with mulai following an intransitive verb. This shows that due to the technique of verbal chaining, verbs and adverbs do not form two disjunctive word classes, but rather a continuum.

4.9.8 Manner adjuncts

Manner adjuncts characterise the way in which the action expressed by the verb is performed. There are only very few manner adjuncts in Tolai, e.g. the adverbs bulu *correctly*, tuna *really*, damana *so, thus, in this way* and the prepositional phrase dari *like* + NP. For example:

(403) U   ti vakavakaina tuna   kador   tara   na   M 60
       you/SG TA *ruin*/RED   *really* *our*/INC/DU PL   C

       vara-gunan!
       people
       You really ruin our people!

(404) Pa   iau nunurē   bulu.   Wr 27
       not I   *know+it* *correctly*
       I don't know it correctly.

(405) ..., i ga alir   a   gap   dari   ra tava.   Kl 340
           it TA *flow* ART *blood* *like* ART *water*
       ..., the blood flowed like water.

(406) Ma   iau babali   ta=   na damana.   Kl 176
       and I *retaliate*/ITR *upon=him in-this-way*
       And I wreaked my vengeance upon him in this way.

Usually actions are characterised by means of verb serialisation (cf.p.122) or by compounding with nouns (cf.p.120), e.g.

(407) ..., i ga vana lulut.   M 96
           it TA *go be-quick*
       ..., it went quickly.

(408) Dor   a   ki-   na-gugu, ...   M 200
       we/INC/DU TA *stay-C- joy*
       We will stay (here) joyfully, ...

(409) Ma   To Kabinana i   ga tata- na-ingal, ...   M 32
       and To K.   *he* TA *speak-C- ingal-bird*
       And To Kabinana spoke like an ingal-bird, ...

4.9.9 Adjuncts denoting what the action is concerned about

Adjuncts denoting what the action is concerned about are introduced by the preposition ure *concerning*, *about*, *in respect to*. ure + NP is most frequently used with verba dicendi in order to denote what is spoken about. In some cases it has nearly the same meaning as upi *for* (cf.p.177), e.g.

<table>
<tr><td>(410)</td><td>... ma</td><td>go</td><td>ina</td><td>pirpir</td><td>ure</td><td>To Bok.</td><td>M 37</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="6">*and now I+TA tell/RED about To Bok*</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="6">... *and now I am going to tell about To Bok.*</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>(411)</td><td>... ma</td><td>pa</td><td>i</td><td>do</td><td>ra</td><td>pi</td><td>ure</td><td>ra</td><td>tarai.</td><td>Kl 72</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="9">*and not it much ART earth for ART men*</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="9">... *and the earth is not large enough for the people*</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="9">(creation myth).</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>(412)</td><td>U</td><td>vakavakaina</td><td>nin</td><td>kaugu</td><td>lubang</td><td>ure</td><td>ra</td><td>ava?</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>*you/SG*</td><td>*spoil/RED*</td><td>DEM</td><td>*my*</td><td>*garden*</td><td>*for*</td><td>ART</td><td>*what*</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="8">*Why are you spoiling my garden?*</td></tr>
</table>

4.9.10 Conclusion

Apart from the semantic and morphological classification of adjuncts given in the introduction, the adjuncts can be further classified into what might be called 'explicit' and 'implicit' adjuncts. 'Explicit adjuncts' differ from 'implicit adjuncts' in that the nature of the relationship between the adjunct and the predicate is overtly marked by prepositions other than ta, adverbs or local deictics. With 'implicit adjuncts' it is the predicate or the noun phrase forming the adjunct that carries the information of the nature of the relationship.

```
                              adjuncts
                  _____/        _____
              implicit                              explicit
          ____/      \____                        __/      \__
    information      information            non-deictic      deictic
    given by the V   given by the NP

    beneficiary                            instrument
    recipient                              concomitance
    addressee                              purpose
    cause                                  manner            manner
                                           concern
    location         location              location          location
                     time                  time              time
```
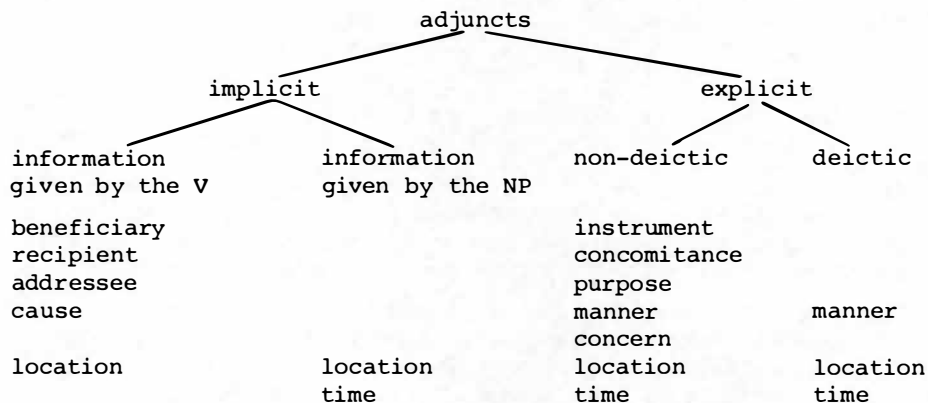
While the beneficiary, the recipient, the addressee and the cause are always expressed by ta + NP and thus the nature of the relationship between them and the verb is not made explicit, instrumental, comitative, purpose, manner and concern adjuncts require explicit means of expression. Variation between implicit and explicit means of expression is found with locational and temporal adjuncts. The nature of locational relationships does not need to be made explicit, if the verb inherently contains reference to a position, goal or source of the action expressed by the verb, and if this position, goal or

source is specified by the adjunct. Secondly, locational adjuncts do not require explicit means of expression, if they themselves denote spatial relationships, e.g. a bala-na-pal *the interior of the house.*

In contrast to locational adjuncts, the construction of temporal adjuncts is not determined by the verb, but only depends on whether they denote the point of time or the duration of an event, and on whether the adjunct contains a day-time term or some other term.

	point of time	duration
daytime term	NP or ta + NP	NP
other terms	ta + NP	pa + NP

The syntactic function of the so-called 'all-purpose' preposition ta is to connect those adjuncts to the nucleus of the clause which, due to the meaning of the predicate or the noun phrase forming the adjunct, do not need further specification.

Semantically, ta is basically an unspecific locative preposition, which is neutral in respect to position or direction. This becomes most evident when it is used without a verb as a means of introducing the predicate of locational clauses (cf.p.162) or locational adjuncts in noun phrases, e.g.

(413) A taka parika ta ra kabe= diat. Kl 205
ART *excrements all* on ART *chin+POSS.M.=their*
They had their chin full of excrements.
(lit. *excrements were all over their chins*)

(414) Ma i biti na ra tabaran ta na ra burua: ... M 96
and he say DEM ART *spirit* on DEM ART *floating-tree-trunk*
And it, that spirit on the floating tree trunk, said: ...

(415) A vu- na-tarai ta ni ra ngenge M 20
ART *tribe-C- men from* DEM ART *yellow-coconut*

diat a tia kul ra varden ta ni ra makadao, ...
they/PL TA TA *buy* ART *women from* DEM ART *green-coconut*
The tribe of men originating from this yellow coconut will buy the women originating from this green coconut.

Furthermore, the fact that proper names of places, which are inherently loca-tional, are not combined with ta suggests that the basic meaning of ta is to mark noun phrases as referring to places. The other functions of ta, namely that of marking the beneficiary, the recipient, the addressee, the point of time and the cause, are obviously derived from its basic locative function (compare Lyons 1977:718):

```
basic                          locational
functions            _____|_____
                    position        goal          source
                       |             |              |
derived          point of time   beneficiary      cause
functions                        recipient
                                 addressee
```

To conclude, the function of ta is to signify locational relationships and relationships that are notionally related to locational relationships. But the information about the nature of these relationships (i.e. position, goal, source etc.) is either inherently contained in the verb or in the noun phrase following ta, or it is indicated by additional means such as prepositions, adverbs or local deictics.

A number of words functioning as adverbs and as prepositions are multi-functional words that may also function as verbs forming the nucleus of verbal phrases or as modifying verbs in verbal chains. As has been shown in the case of maravut *to help; with* (cf.p.176), tatar *to give* (itr); *to* (cf.p.185), maravai *to be near; near* (cf.p.187), lua *to be first; first, before* (cf.p.199) and mulai *to return; again* (cf.p.199), the various functions of these multifunctional words can be arranged on scales. In other words, multifunctionality is not described in terms of multiple class membership, but by the means of continua along which the language operates. As will be seen in the next paragraph, these scales also provide a pattern according to which new prepositions are developed from verbs in modern Tolai.

4.10   INNOVATIONS IN MODERN TOLAI

4.10.1 Verbal clauses

The greatest changes in the structure of verbal clauses result from the introduction of English verbs. Young people and middle aged men frequently use English loan words as a symbol of 'good' education. Obviously because of this sociolinguistic function, the loan words are not adapted to the phonology of Tolai, but are pronounced as English as possible.

Since Tok Pisin is held in rather low esteem by the Tolai people (Mosel 1979:169), they only use very few Tok Pisin words. The phonological structure of Tok Pisin words is nearly the same as that of Tolai words (Mosel 1980:ff), so that their integration does not cause any problems and does not result in any changes of the Tolai syntax, as is the case with English loan words (see below). But as will be seen later, the morphosyntax of Tok Pisin verbs does play a role in that it serves as a model for the causativisation of English loan words.

Though English is the language of instruction even in the primary school, and consequently all young people know at least some English and those working in town speak it quite fluently, they do not care about English word classes when using English loan words in Tolai. Particularly English nouns are frequently used in the function of verbs. This can certainly be explained by the fact that it is usually the nouns that are acquired first in foreign language learning (cf. Mosel 1980:83). For example:

    (416) a   en   dat   a   breakfast ta- na   (Kapi)
           ART *fish* *we*/INC/PL TA   PREP-*it*
           the fish, let's have it for breakfast
           (the meaning of the preposition ta will be explained later)

    (417) pi   avat   a   double-pay   (Boxing)
           so-that *you*/PL TA
           so that you will get double pay

```
(418)  iau  ga  christmas  ati
       I    TA             here
       I spent Christmas here.
```

Apart from a very few English loan words that sound like Tolai words, e.g. ring *to ring*, *telephone*, there are no English loan words which function as transitive verbs. Even English transitive verbs are morphologically intransitive in Tolai. The person or object directly affected by the action is denoted by the preposition ta + NP (cf.p.202), e.g.

```
(419)  ave         use  ta  ra   generator  kai  To Robin
       we/EXC/PL        ART            of
       we used the generator of To Robin
```

```
(420)  i   ga  show  ta    nam  ra   film
       he  TA        PREP  DEM  ART
       he showed that film
```

```
(421)  ave        ga  close down  ta    nam  ra   school
       we/EXC/PL  TA              PREP  DEM  ART
       we closed that school
```

```
(422)  ina    repair  ta    ra   typewriter                    (Desi)
       I-TA           PREP  ART
       I'll repair the typewriter.
```

That the English loan words are intransitive is most clearly shown when they are constructed as the head of a verbal chain; for in this case the following verb is also intransitive according to the Tolai rule of verbal chaining. In the following example the speaker corrected himself and replaced a Tolai transitive verb by an English loan word:

```
(423)  pa   dia      tumu      vake        -  record  vakai           (Joe)
       not  they/PL  write/TR  hold-fast/TR           hold-fast/ITR

       ta    nam  ra   umana  car  nina  dia      repair  ta-  diat
       PREP  DEM  ART  PL           DEM   they/PL          PREP-them
       they did not write down - make a record of which cars
       they had repaired.
```

Whereas the transitive Tolai verb tumu *to write* must be followed by the transitive verb vake *to hold fast*, record is followed by its intransitive counterpart vakai.

The question of why English loan words are intransitive can perhaps be explained as a result of the fact that they are not phonologically adapted. Remember that all simple transitive verbs in Tolai have intransitive counterparts which are derived by partial reduplication (cf.p.141), e.g.

```
(424)  kita (tr)        to hit someone (who is obligatorily denoted
                        by a following patient noun phrase)

       kikita (itr)     to hit (someone who is not referred to by a
                        following patient NP, but whose identity is
                        understood from the context.)
```

Now, if English loan words such as record and repair were transitive in Tolai, it should be possible to derive their intransitive counterparts by reduplication. But since the English loan words in modern Tolai maintain their English phonemic structure, the native speakers of Tolai refrain from reduplicating these loan words. On the other hand, the contrast between transitive and intransitive

verbs seems to be so dominant in Tolai that it cries for being overtly marked. Hence the problem of marking the contrast between transitivity and intransitivity is solved by treating English loan words as morphologically intransitive by means of the preposition ta.

In order to understand, why ta + NP is chosen to denote the notional patient of morphologically intransitive verbs borrowed from English, let us recall the function of ta. As has been outlined in 4.9.10, the basic meaning of ta is to mark noun phrases as being locational, i.e. as locational adjuncts or locational predicates, whereas the expressions of the point of time, the recipient, the addressee, the beneficiary and the cause are derived from the locational expressions introduced by ta:

basic meaning	*derived meanings*
position	point of time
goal	recipient, addressee, beneficiary
source	cause.

Similar to the recipient of actions of giving, the recipient of mental activities denoted by intransitive verbs is expressed by ta + NP, e.g.

> (425) i ga kankan ta= gu
> *he* TA *be-angry with=me*
> *he became angry with me.*

In many cases this intransitive construction alternates with a transitive construction, whose transitive verb is derived from its intransitive counterpart by a transitive suffix (cf.p.173), e.g.

> (426) i ga kankan= uane iau
> *he* TA *be-angry*=TR *me*
> *he became angry with me.*

This shows that ta + NP denoting the recipient of mental activities is closely related to the patient noun phrase of active transitive verbs, and that this construction obviously represents the turning point (compare Seiler 1978:321) on the continuum from locative goals to patients. While in traditional Tolai the end of this continuum is still open, it is now closed by the expression of the notional patient of morphologically intransitive verbs borrowed from English:

```
locative      goal

              addressee
              beneficiary
              recipient

              'recipient'         ⎧ pat. NP of derived tr.
              of mental        = ⎨ verbs denoting mental
              activities          ⎩ activities

              notional patient    ⎧ pat. NP of simple
              of actions denoted = ⎨ transitive Tolai
patient       by English loans    ⎩ verbs

              functions of ta + NP   equivalent expressions
```
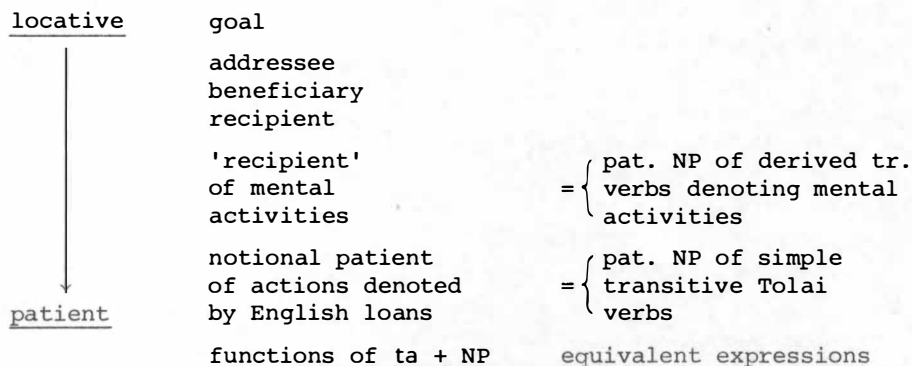
To conclude, the fact that the notional patient of verbs borrowed from English is expressed by ta + NP is not surprising, since this innovation follows a strategy which has its roots in genuine Tolai constructions.

That the semantic role of the patient is expressed by a prepositional phrase which primarily denotes location, is also found in Tok Pisin whose influence probably reinforced the development of this construction in Tolai. In Tok Pisin a number of verbs are either marked for transitivity by the transitive suffix -im, in which case they are directly followed by a patient noun phrase; or they are morphologically intransitive and are followed by the preposition long + NP, e.g. singautim or singaut long *to call for* wetim or wet long *to wait for* (Dutton 1973:115, Mihalic 1971:174, 204). In Tok Pisin the so-called transitive marker -im is not only a means of deriving transitive verbs from intransitive ones, e.g. wet *to wait*, wet=im *to wait for*, *await*, but it also functions as a causative marker and thus corresponds to Tolai va= (Mosel 1980:78, 81), e.g.

(427) raus   *to get out*   raus=im   *to remove,*
          to be out   *to expel*

       lain   *to be standing*   lain=im   *to line up*
            in a line

       bruk   *to be broken*   bruk=im   *to break*

Since English loan words in Tolai cannot be causativised by the causative prefix va-, the contrast between simple and causative verbs is marked in exactly the same way as the contrast between intransitive and transitive verbs, namely the preposition ta:

(428)   Tolai   English gloss

       transfer   *to change one's position*
       transfer ta   *to transfer someone*
       line   *to be standing in a line*
       line ta   *to line someone up*
       mix   *to be mixed*
       mix ta   *to mix something.*

For example:

(429) ami   ga   transfer   uro   Mosbi
      we/EXC/DU   TA   *there-to*   M.
      we moved to Port Moresby

(430) di   ga   transfer   ta=   mimital   uro   Madang
      IND   TA   PREP=*us*/EXC/TRI   *there-to*   M.
      we were transferred to Madang

(431) ave   ga   line
      we/EXC/PL   TA
      we were standing in a line; we were lined up;
      we lined ourselves up

(432) ami   ga   line   ta   ra   tarai
      we/EXC/PL   TA   PREP   ART   *men*
      we lined the men up

(433) ma   nam   ra   clay   i   ga   mix   ma   ra   silver   (Desi)
      and   DEM   ART   *it*   TA   *be-mixed*   *with*   ART
      and that clay had been mixed with silver

(434) di   ga   mix   ta   ra   clay   ma   ra   gold
      IND   TA   PREP   ART   *with*   ART
      they mixed the clay with silver.

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If one compares the construction of Tok Pisin bruk/brukim *to be broken/to break* and lain/lainim *to be standing in a line/the line up* with that of Tolai line/line ta and mix/mix ta, it becomes evident that the Tok Pisin causative constructions serve as a model for the causativisation of English verbs in Tolai. Consequently, the construction of English loan words in Tolai cannot be simply described as borrowing, but has to be ascribed to several linguistic and sociolinguistic factors:

1. The lexical items (e.g. mix) are borrowed from English.
2. The fact that the contrast between simple and causative verbs (e.g. mix *to be mixed*, mix ta *to mix something*) is expressed by a locative preposition which functions as a kind of transitive marker in modern Tolai (cf.p.205) can be ascribed to the influence of Tok Pisin where the contrast between simple and causative verbs is morphologically marked by the transitive marker -im.
3. The choice of the locative preposition ta as a kind of transitive and causative marker can be explained as a result of natural development from genuine Tolai constructions.
4. The knowledge of the sociocultural background enables us to understand why the English word mix was preferred to the traditional Tolai word poto or the Tok Pisin expression tanim wantaim.

The data I collected in 1978 provides only two examples of inactive clauses whose verbs are borrowed from English, e.g.

(435) i on ra fridge mulai
it ART *again*
the fridge is switched on again

(436) i off ra light
it ART
the light is switched off.

Both words are also used to construct active clauses, which shows that the distinction between inactive and active verbal clauses is at least maintained with these words, e.g.

(437) ina off ta ra light
I+TA ART
I'll switch off the light.

There is, however, one case in which the inactive construction of a genuine Tolai word is given up. While in traditional Tolai par *to be complete, to be finished* is always inactively constructed, e.g.

(438) i par kaugu papalum
it be-finished my work
my work is finished

several young speakers use it as the predicate of an active clause:

(439) iau par ta ra papalum
I be-finished PREP ART *work*
I am finished with the work

which is evidently a loan translation of Tok Pisin:

(440) mi pinis long wok
I be-finished PREP *work*
I am finished with the work.

Middle aged people prefer to say:

```
(441)  iau  ngo   ta    ra   papalum
       I    rest  from  ART  work
       I stopped working
```

or

```
(442)  iau  tar  va=  par          ra   papalum
       I    TA   CAUS=be-finished  ART  work
       I have finished the work
```

or they use the inactive clause quoted above.

    Due to loan translation from English or Tok Pisin, the impersonal expression

```
(443)  i   tale         iau  pi    ina   pait  ia
       it  be-possible  me   that  I-TA  do    it
       I can do it (lit. it is possible for me to do it)
```

is often replaced by

```
(444)  iau  tale       pi    ina   pait  ia
       I    (be-able)  that  I-TA  do    it
```

which corresponds to Tok Pisin

```
(445)  mi  inap     long  mekim
       I   be-able  to    do-it
       I can do it.
```

4.10.2 Non-verbal clauses

    One of the subjects my informants were asked to talk about was their work. I expected them to use nominal and semi-verbal clauses, but instead of the expected nominal clauses, e.g.

```
(446)  iau  a    tena- vartovo
       I    ART  expert-teaching
       I am a teacher
```

or semi-verbal clauses, e.g.

```
(447)  iau  ga  tena- vartovo        lua
       I    TA  expert-teaching  before
       I have been a teacher before
```

they constructed verbal clauses, e.g.

```
(448)  iau  papalum  dari  ra   typist                        (Nancy)
       I    work     as    ART
       I work as a typist
```

```
(449)  iau  ga  papalum  lua     dari  tika  na  tena- vartovo   (Joe)
       I    TA  work     before  as    one   C   expert-teaching
       I have worked as a teacher before
```

```
(450)  i   ga  puak   ra   papalum-na-president               (news)
       he  TA  carry  ART  work- C-
       he carried the presidency
```

```
(451)  i   ga  puak nam ra  papalum dari ra  tena-        (Joyce)
       he  TA  carry DEM ART work    as   ART expert-

       vartovo
       teaching
       he was appointed as a teacher.
```

The authors of the mission paper *A Nilai Ra Dovot* (1909-1976) prefer the construction ki-na-N *to be in the position of*, which literally means *to sit in the manner of what is denoted by N* (cf.p.121), e.g.

```
(452)  upi     na     ki- na-tena- vartovo          ND 1911
       so-that he-TA  sit-C- expert-teaching
       in order to be a teacher (there)
```

```
(453)  i    ki- na-talatala-maramaravut            ND 1911
       he   sit-C- pastor-  helping
       he has been assistant pastor.
```

These constructions are innovations in Tolai resulting from loan translations. In traditional Tolai dari *like* only expresses comparison (cf.p.200), but does not correspond to English 'as'. The same holds true for the construction of ki-na-N (cf.p.121). Puak *to carry* is only used of things.

The reason why nominal and semi-verbal clauses are not used in this context is simply that these types of clauses only express equation, e.g. iau a vavina *I am a woman* (cf.p.157), and that the Tolai people do not identify themselves with their profession as Europeans do; consequently the notions of 'I am a woman' and 'I am a teacher' are expressed differently. Since division of labour was unknown in traditional Tolai society, there was no means of expressing that somebody did the job of a teacher etc.

4.10.3 Adjuncts

As far as adjuncts are concerned, the greatest changes can be observed with temporal adjuncts, since the traditional expressions do not suffice for the European way of life. The missionaries introduced the following expressions, which are nowadays often replaced by ther English equivalents:

```
a    paka- na-bung           hour; lit. piece of the day
ART  piece-C- day

a    bung tabu               Sunday; lit. the sacred day
ART  day  sacred

a    bung kubak              Monday; lit. the day after some
                             remarkable day, as after a feast

a    bung a   urua           Tuesday; lit. day two
ART  day  ART two

a    bung a   utul           Wednesday; lit. day three
ART  day  ART three

a    bung a   ivat           Thursday; lit. day four
ART  day  ART four

a    bung a   ilima          Friday; lit. day five
ART  day  ART five
```

    a   bung-na-vaninara   *Saturday*; lit. *the day of*
    ART   *day- C- preparation*   *preparation*

The names of the months are borrowed from English or are signified by numerals, e.g.

    a   luaina gai   *January*; lit. *the first month*
    ART   *first   month*

    a   gai   tikai   *January*; lit. *month one*
    ART   *month one*

The time of the day is signified in the following way:

(454)   na   pot   nagam   ta   ra   vinun ma   a   urua   (news)
        he-TA *come eventually in* ART *ten   and* ART *two*

        paka- na-bung ningene- na-keake   ma
        piece-C- *day   tomorrow*-C- *sun during the daytime and*

        na   vana kan mulai Rabaul ta   ra   lavuvat na
        he-TA *go   off again R.   in* ART *nine   *C

        paka- na-bung ningene- na-marum
        piece-C- *day   tomorrow*-C- *night*
        he will eventually come at twelve o'clock and he will leave
        Rabaul at nine o'clock in the evening.

Go ra paka-na-bung *this hour*, nam ra paka-na-bung *that hour* and ta umana paka-na-bung *some hours* are often used metaphorically in the sense of *this time, now, nowadays; that time, then* and *sometimes* respectively.

    While in traditional Tolai temporal relationships between various events are expressed by the means of verbal chaining (cf.p.126), e.g.

(455)   pait va= lu=   e   *to do something first*
        do   CAUS=*be-first*=TR

        pait va= mur   *to do something later*
        do   CAUS=*follow*

speakers of modern Tolai prefer prepositional phrases, many of which are recently developed constructions, e.g.

(456)   lua   ta   nam iau ga vila vurvurbit   (Pauline)
        before PREP DEM *I* TA *run from-place-to-place*
        before that I travelled from place to place

(457)   namur ta   go   ra   paka- na-bung   (news)
        later PREP DEM ART *piece*-C- *day*
          after   *this hour*

        vakir da   kukutu- na-power-na-light
        not   IND *cut*/INTR-C-   C-
        from now there won't be any power cuts

(458)   ta   ra   bala= i   ra   kilala i   par   (news)
        in ART *belly*=POSS.M. ART *year it finished*
          during   *the year (which) is past*
        during last year

(459)   a   police i ga al diat   mur   tika na purpuruan (news)
        ART   *it* TA *draw them*/PL *follow* one C *uproar*
        the police arrested them after an uproar

(460) namur tai tika na kivung di ga pait ia ati Rabaul (news)
     after   one C *meeting* IND TA *make* *it here* R.

     turpaia ta ra 23 na bung ta ra gai May tuk
     from   ART C *day* in ART *month*   *till*

     ra 25 na bung
     ART   C *day*
     after a meeting which was held here in Rabaul from the 23rd
     of May till the 25th.

The preposition mur *after* has been developed from the verb mur *to follow* according to the scale by which the multifunctionality of those words has been described which function as independent verbs, as modifying verbs in verbal chains and as adverbs or prepositions (cf.p.203):

independent V	i mur (ia)	*he followed him*
mod. V (itr)	i irop mur ...	*afterwards he came* M 266
	he come-out following (ITR)	*out (of the sea)*
mod. V (tr)	dir pil mur ia	*they jumped* M 28
	they/DU jump follow him	*following him*
preposition	i pait ia mur ...	*he did it after ...*
	he do it after	

Turpaia *since*, *from* originates from the verb tur pa *to begin* followed by the pronoun ia *it* and is obviously a loan translation of the English particle *beginning*.

The other types of adjuncts do not show many innovations. As in the case of temporal adjuncts, the new constructions are more explicit than the traditional ones. Especially in the radio news comitative adjuncts are frequently introduced by varurung ma *together with* and thus are distinguished from instrumental adjuncts (cf.p.174), e.g.

(461) ra minister i tar takun ra umana vaira na (news)
     ART   *he* TA *accuse* ART PL *foreign* C

     tutana varurung ma ra umana te Papua New Guinea
     man *together with* ART PL *native* P. N. G.
     the minister has accused foreigners and (lit. *together with*)
     Papua New Guineans.

Tuk *up to*, *till*, *until*, which introduces locational as well as temporal adjuncts (cf.p.187, 197) is often followed by tar ta *towards to* (cf.p.185), e.g.

(462) tuk tar ta ra form four (Nancy)
     till   ART
     till form four (of the high school)

and the preposition pi *for* (cf.p.177) is redundantly combined with ure *in respect to*, e.g.

(463) di kul pa mule ra umana material (Joe)
     IND+TA *buy* E *again* ART PL

     pi ure ra umana car
     for in-respect-to ART PL
     they will buy spare parts for the cars.

*   It is of interest to compare the listing of Tolai dialects compiled by Laycock (on the basis of Ann Chowning's 1976 map) for map 13 in Wurm and Hattori 1981.

1.   The table below which is an abstract from Threlfall (1975:249-252) shows the date of appointment and the origin of Methodist Missionaries (wives and children not included):

1975-1880	New Zealand	1
	Australia	3
	Fiji	35
	Samoa	12
	Tonga	2
1881-1890	New Zealand	1
	Australia	2
	Fiji	46
1891-1900	New Zealand	1
	Australia	3
	Germany	1
	Fiji	22
	Samoa	16
	Tonga	1
1901-1910	New Zealand	1
	Australia	14
	Germany	5
	UK	1
1911-1920	New Zealand	2
	Australia	32
	Germany	7
	China	2
	Fiji	2
	Samoa	4
	Tonga	2

2.   Compare Mühlhäusler (1979:1-20) who shows that the technique of pairing synonyms is also applied in Tok Pisin for the very same reason. It may well be the case that the Tolai speakers borrowed this technique from Tok Pisin, all the more since all speakers in question are bilingual in Tolai and Tok Pisin.

3.   The orthography of Fijian originates in that of Tongan (Schütz 1971:XI), which had established g for /ŋ/ without problems, since Tongan lacks the phoneme /g/. Nowadays /ŋ/ is rendered by ng (Churchward 1953:13).

4. The terms 'alienable' and 'inalienable' are used to distinguish different phrase types and not to label two noun classes. For there are nouns which may enter both types of constructions, so that it is not adequate to speak of two discrete, gender-like noun classes. As has also been put forward by Pawley (1973:54) and Lynch (1973:5f), the same problem arises with other Austronesian languages, and it is hoped that writers on Austronesian languages will not speak of 'alienable' and 'inalienable' nouns any longer.

5. An exception is the verbal prefix var-, which may be prefixed to verbs beginning with a consonant. But note that it has been vara- until recently (cf. Rickard under wara-).

6. Similar hierarchies are found in many Austronesian languages. In Kusaiean, for instance, different inalienable possessive constructions are chosen according to whether the possessor is a proper or a common noun (Lee 1975: 104), whereas in Arosi it makes a difference, whether the possessor noun is a non-human noun or a human proper noun or a human common noun (Capell 1971b:60-62). The significance of these hierarchies is dealt with in Mosel 1983. See also Seiler 1983:26-27, 72.

7. Other Melanesian languages show up to four subclasses (compare Codrington 1885:128-131; Lynch 1978:80ff).

8. The Tolai KA-possessive phrases correspond to Proto-Oceanic NA-possessive phrases, and the Tolai A-possessive phrases to Proto-Oceanic KA-possessive phrases (cf. Pawley 1973:47, 49).

9. That the alienable possessive construction is used to express the agent of nominalised verbs is also found in other Austronesian languages.

10. Compare Buse's remarks on Polynesian languages (Buse 1960:131) and Lynch (1973:8): "The alienable constructions imply not only a less close relationship (than the inalienable ones – U.M.), but also a measure of control of the possessor over possessed, or a choice as to whether he has possession ... alienable constructions imply ... also some activity towards the possessed."

11. Since this function of the A-possessive construction prevails in Melanesian languages, it is called "the edible construction" by Lynch (1973:15); compare Pawley 1973:49.

12. The nature of this relationship is clearly seen by Lynch (1973:16), who states: "One quite common use of the edible construction is the possession of something to be used on the possessor, i.e. possession by a patient as opposed to possession by an actor." But since he regards the edible construction as being derived from the underlying sentence I eat X and the other alienable constructions as being derived from I have X, he fails to see that the principle determining the choice of construction is that of activeness vs. inactiveness, and that the possessive constructions are correlated to the construction of verbal clauses by this principle. Lynch did not investigate the construction of nominalised verbs.

13. Lynch (1973:17) also speaks of "degrees of inalienableness" and postulates a three-way division which is marked by the features (± control) and (± close connection):

	Regular inalienable	Extensional usages (of the edible constr.)	Regular alienable
control	–	–	+
close connection	+	–	–

14. That the expression of separated bodyparts differs from that of bodyparts which are on the body, is also found in Tigak, a Melanesian language of New Ireland (Beaumont 1979:62).

15. Compare Kleintitschen (1924:196).

16. In many Austronesian languages spatial relationships are expressed by inalienable possessive constructions (Pawley 1973:44f; Schütz 1969:52f).

17. In many Austronesian languages generic patients are expressed by object incorporation, whereby the verb is treated as an intransitive verb. Compare Churchward 1941:19, Churchward 1952:76; Hopper/Thomson 1980:257-259).

18. The local deictics, which are morphologically very complex, are thoroughly described in Mosel (1982b).

19. In Tolai the subject is defined as the only actant of intransitive clauses or the actant denoting the agent of transitive clauses.

20. The primary function of the connective particle is to join modifying phrasal constituents to their head, such as numerals, quantifiers, adjectives and subordinated nouns to the head noun in noun phrases, and incorporated objects to the nuclear verb in verbal phrases. For further information cf. the index under connective particle.

LIST OF SPEAKERS

Boxing	m, 20, works in town	Joyce	f, 22, teacher
Darusila	f, 19, works in a book shop	Kapi	f, 16
		Kepas	m, 42
Desi	f, 24, secretary	Luisa	f, 20, secretary
Doris	f, 59	Lulupa	m, 59
Eliab	m, 39, teacher	Magret	f, 18
Gabi	m, 18, student at the Malaguna Technical College	Maibe	m, 45, clan leader
		March	f, 27, secretary
		Meli	m, 18, student at the Malaguna Technical College
Goro	m, 45, teacher		
Ia Peril	f, 40, teacher		
Jennifer	f, 17, student at Keravat Senior High School	Melki	m, 50
		Nancy	f, 20, secretary
		Namaliu	m, ca. 60, clan leader
Joe	m, 50, teacher		

news	news of the National Broadcasting Commission, Rabaul	Robin	m, 47, teacher
		Seri	m, ca. 80
Paraide	f, ca. 50	Tarutia	m, ca. 40, works in town
Pauline	f, 32, works at the Dental Department, Port Moresby	Tiotam	m, ca. 60,
		To Lik	m, ca. 60, police officer in Rabaul
Rachel	f, 16, high school dropout	To Mago	m, 45, teacher
		To Vartoto	m, ca. 55, shopkeeper in Rabaul
Rangrang	m, 40, official of the Provincial Government	To Vuina	m, 40, teacher
Royal	m, 31, teacher, manager of the Community Hostel, Rabaul	Vinnie	f, 35, wife of Rangrang
		Vinnie A.	f, 20, secretary

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