NAKANAI OF NEW BRITAIN

THE GRAMMAR OF AN OCEANIC LANGUAGE

by

Raymond Leslie Johnston

Department of Linguistics

Research School of Pacific Studies

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

This work gives an account of the morphology and syntax of Nakanai, an Oceanic Austronesian language of West New Britain. The study takes the form of a reference guide to the contrastive structures and major syntactic features of Nakanai. Concomitantly, selected issues in the grammar of Oceanic languages and in syntactic theory are discussed in terms of their manifestation in Nakanai. The work constitutes a revision of my doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Linguistics in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University in February, 1978.

There is a lack in the field of Oceanic languages of a critical account of the morphology and syntax of a New Britain language. The task of attempting to provide such a description would appear best undertaken set against an understanding of previous comparative research and at least an awareness of the variable aspects of language, in terms of social and regional factors, as they bear upon Nakanai. These matters are discussed in the first chapter.

Chapters two and three deal with the semantics and syntax respectively of the Nakanai clause, attempting to demonstrate that case frames have to be defined language-specifically, with attendant separation of role and contextual factors in clause constituent analysis. Modality elements and modality contours in the clause are discussed in chapter three, along with the syntactic configurations of intransitive and transitive clauses. Chapter two deals with the definitions of nuclear and peripheral cases, the analysis of case frames, and the discussion of complex relationships such as reflexive, reciprocal and comparative.

In chapter four the influence of thematic organisation of discourse on the speaker's selection of topicalisation options in sentence encoding is considered. Two distinct kinds of topicalisation are discerned, highlighting, utilising fronting of constituents, and foregrounding, in which determiners mark thematic nouns. The former strategy introduces

new themes, while the latter focusses already introduced participants
in the discourse, thus providing coherence. Relativisation is seen to
be a foregrounding (i.e. a focussing) strategy. The role of demonstra-
tives, deictics, and pronouns in foregrounding is considered in some
detail. Partitioned and juxtaposed clauses are also discussed.

Chapters five and six deal with the basic structures, the VP and the
NP, respectively, and their constituents. The influence of context
does not significantly affect the analysis of the VP, but comes very
much into play in the NP in chapter six. In the VP discussion, matters
such as the modification of the head verb by adverbs of manner and
intensity, aspectual inflections, derivations and verbal compounds are
considered in some detail. Inflectional and derivational aspects of
reduplication are separately discussed, especially the formation of
continuative/habituative aspect and the derivation of intransitive verbs
by reduplication, the form of which is phonologically conditioned.

In chapter six the modifier NP is analysed in terms of the condi-
tioning of constituent optionality and ordering with regard to the head
noun according to contextual factors. A contextual concept of cohesion
in the NP is put forward, complementing the syntactic conditioning fac-
tor of bondedness. Also discussed in chapter six is the inalienable
possession system in Nakanai. This is seen to be a two-class 'gender'
type of system, unlike the contextually-determined multiple systems of
possession which operate in many Oceanic languages. Only 'dominant'
possession, in which the actor is operative with regard to the patient,
is encoded in Nakanai, there being no Polynesian-type 'subordinate'
possession. Noun compounding, articles (personal and common), modifiers
and deverbal nouns are also considered in some detail in this chapter.

Serial verbs, discussed in chapter seven, encode semantic notions
of range, accompaniment, location and motion. A morphologically and
syntactically distinct set of compound serial verbs are shown to encode
notions of location and motion, and are analysed according to a view
of the VP as a 'wave'. That is, particles and auxiliary elements with
some of the grammatical characteristics of verbs reflect the diachronic
development of these forms from verbs, a view which challenges the
notion of discrete clear-cut categories in syntactic analysis. Location
and motion verbs are analysed uniformly with other serial verbs, it
being argued on the basis of standard coordinated constructions in the
language that a clause chain with obligatory coreferential deletion of
the clause topics occurs in constructions in which serial verbs follow
main verbs in close-knit sequence.

In chapter eight complex interclausal relationships are considered which have to do with those constructions which are clearly of a conjoined or subordinating type as against the merged and close-knit types of construction in chapter seven. Dependent subordinate clauses are analysed as sentence topics encoding presuppositions of condition, sequence, reason or result. All types of complementation are found to be subsumed under the embedded quotative type of sentence, there being direct quotation, indirect quotation, reported thought and intentional variants of this sentence type. Coordinate sentences are shown to be of a range of varieties such as conjunctive sequence, conjunctive association, disjunction and juxtaposition, depending on semantic factors.

The concluding comments of the study are found in chapter nine, which seeks to comment briefly on the possible origins of the Nakanai language. Nakanai is regarded as innovative in the deletion, simplification and reanalysis of basic Proto-Oceanic grammatical categories, and in the light of comments of comparative linguists, it is suggested that such changes may have occurred with emigration from an intermediary homeland east of New Britain.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Abbreviations for categories and inflectional subcategories are in
upper case. Derivational morphological categories are in lower case.
Cases are capitalised. All functional morphemes are listed in the index
at the end of this book, with references to the descriptions of their
functions and applications in the body of the text.

ABL	Ablative particle
Act	Actor
ADV	Adverb
Ben	Beneficiary
Caus	Causative
Cl	Clause
Cl$_{sub}$	Subordinate Clause
Com	Comitative
CONJ	Conjunction
CONT	Continuative aspect
dat	Dative inflection
divs	Derived intransitive verb stem
dns	Derived noun stem
dtvs	Derived transitive verb stem
EXCL	Exclamation
HAB	Habituative aspect
Ins	Instrument
IRR	Irrealis
ivr	Intransitive verb root
-LOC	Bound locative root
Loc	Locative
N	Noun base
NM	Noun marker

nom	Nominaliser
NP	Noun Phrase
num	Numeraliser
Pat	Patient
PERF	Perfective
POSS	Possessive
PREP	Preposition
PROH	Prohibitive
PRON	Pronoun
QUANT	Quantifier
rec	Reciprocal
rd	Reduplication
S	Sentence
Src	Source
tvr	Transitive verb root
TAG	Tag question marker
V	Verb base
VP	Verb Phrase

Symbols

I and II	First- and second-most pragmatically-prominent position in the clause
x	The pragmatically non-prominent position in the clause
x* (superscript):	x iterates
*	ungrammatical
?	uncertain as to status

Pronoun Abbreviations

1, 2, 3p	First, second and third persons respectively
du	Dual
pl	Plural
s	Singular
in	Inclusive
ex	Exclusive
___p	alienable possession, e.g. 3psp 'third person singular alienable possession'
___i	inalienable possession, e.g. 3psi 'third person singular inalienable possession'

SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

1.0. SETTING OF THE STUDY

Nakanai is an Austronesian language spoken by some 10,403[1] people living in 45 villages in the coastal and hinterland regions of Cape Hoskins, Commodore Bay, Cape Reilnitz, Bangula Bay and Cape Koas in the West New Britain Province of Papua New Guinea. A high proportion of the populations of the neighbouring language groups of Melamela, Wasi, Mangseng, Kapore and Harua have considerable facility in Nakanai, which enjoys prestige second only to Tolai among the vernacular languages of New Britain.

The linguistic affiliations of Nakanai outside of New Britain are by no means certain, which is not surprising given the uncertainty of comparative Austronesian linguistics as to the exact nature of language groupings between eastern and western Austronesian, and within Oceania, particularly Melanesia. Goodenough (1961a) emphasised the links between Nakanai and Central Oceanic languages, however Chowning (1971, 1973) after critical evaluation of the evidence,

> has suggested a modification of Goodenough's theory,
> stressing the resemblances between the Kimbe languages
> [which include Nakanai] and those now called Eastern Oceanic,
> and still postulating that the Kimbe-speakers reached
> New Britain from the east.   (Chowning 1976a:189)

The present study seeks to give a thorough synchronic account of the syntax of Nakanai, including morphology, basic categories and phrase structures, clause grammar and complex interclausal relationships in the sentence. Chapter two deals with clause semantics and chapter three with clause structure. Chapter four deals with topicalisation, forming a link between the discussion of the clause, and the discussion of complex clause relationships in chapter eight. Chapters five and six

---

[1]This figure includes 1,365 non-resident speakers, according to the report of The Provincial Census Office, West New Britain, 4 March, 1980.

deal with the basic structures of verb and noun phrases respectively. Chapter seven, dealing with serial verbs, is devoted to the analysis of a particular grammatical highlight of Nakanai. Finally, chapter eight deals with various aspects of interclausal relationships.

1.1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN NAKANAI

1.1.1. *HISTORICAL SKETCH, 1615 TO 1908*

1.1.1.1. Voyages of Exploration

The earliest record of a New Britain area language is a short vocabulary of a dialect closely related to Raluana (Tolai), collected by Le Maire and Schouten in the course of their circumnavigation of the globe in 1915-17 (Lanyon-Orgill 1960:36).[1]

The next significant recorded voyage was that of Abel Tasman, who sighted the Willaumez Peninsula to the west of the Nakanai region, in 1643. More than half a century then elapsed, however, before New Britain and New Ireland were discovered to be separate from New Guinea by William Dampier in 1700.

Carteret in 1769 sailed the St George's Channel, thus establishing the separation of New Britain from New Ireland, completing the broad geographical picture of the Bismarck Archipelago.

1.1.1.2. Early Contact and German Colonisation

From 1840 to 1883 New Britain experienced the first regular contact and settlement (Valentine 1958:73-87). Most of this contact was in the Gazelle Peninsula, however, with the south-western areas of New Britain, including the Nakanai region, remaining virtually untouched by the European intruders.

The period of colonisation began with the annexation by Germany of northern New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago in 1884. New Britain became Neu-Pommern and the *Neu Guinea Kompagnie* established Rabaul as a major trading and administrative centre. Again, in the era of German colonisation, from 1884 to 1914, activity was confined largely to the Gazelle Peninsula.

In 1897 Father Mathaeus Rascher of the Sacred Heart Mission made a reconaissance of the Nakanai region, reporting some ethnographic details (Hees 1915-16:36). Prior to this the Englishman Powell carried out a

---

[1]The words appear under the title *Guinea Nova* and were collected at Claes Pieters Bay, later identified as being in the neighbourhood of Cape Sena on the east coast of New Ireland, in what is now recognised as the Surusurunga language area.

voyage in 1877 which skirted the Melamela, Nakanai and Bakovi language areas, the French Islands and western New Britain (Powell 1883), but his observations contributed nothing of linguistic value. Thus Hees (p.36) had to report after the close of the German colonial period that the whole of the Nakanai territory was 'terra incognita', even the charts ending shortly after Lolobau island.[1]

Parkinson (1907) had collected vocabularies in Melamela (his 'Nakanai', after the Tolai name for the general region from Open Bay westward), Tumuip, Mengen and Sulka, but it was not until Friederici's expedition of 1908 that linguistic attention was first directed to a language of the Kimbe group, which includes Nakanai and the associated languages from Melamela westward to the French Islands.

Friederici (1913) gives a quite detailed account of the grammar of Bariai, and records vocabularies in Melamela (his 'Nakanai') and several other New Britain languages, as well as comparing these with other Austronesian languages.

1.1.2. *THE EARLY PERIOD OF RESEARCH SINCE 1908*

In the seventy years which have now elapsed since Friederici's work there have been seven attempts, which I classify in four distinct periods, to analyse the linguistic affiliations of Nakanai.

The first stage involved somewhat speculative attempts, based on limited data, to align Nakanai with other New Britain languages.[2] These were basically twofold, specifically, the attempt by Friederici to link Nakanai into the 'Bariai' group of the New Britain Austronesian languages which he surveyed,[3] and the attempt by Hees and Stamm to identify Nakanai with Tolai.

Friederici (1913:12) reported that, despite its grammatical differences from Bariai, Nakanai may be a member of the Bariai group. He was working with data from the immediately neighbouring easterly language of the Kimbe group, Melamela, which is highly cognate with Nakanai, and

---

[1]Hees also noted that the Nakanai coasts were approached from time to time by recruiting boats for the plantations of the Gazelle Peninsula and Samoa, as well as by government vessels.

[2]Most early attempts at subgrouping of Austronesian languages in Melanesia were not concerned with accurate subgrouping as such, but were more concerned with perceiving wide-scale relationships. The assumptions of early workers, then, cannot be taken as agreeing with the assumptions used today, basically, the evidence of internal consistency, and the estimation of variability within a group *vis-à-vis* other groups externally.

[3]This group consists of Kilenge, Bariai and Kove (see map 1), and is related to some of the languages of the north coast of New Guinea, such as Jabim and Bukaua.

did not realise the distribution of the Nakanai dialects to the west,
nor the homogeneity of the grammar in all these dialects. Thus
Friederici was able to superficially pass off the grammatical differ-
ences between Bariai and Nakanai, attributing these to influence from
Tolai since Nakanai had much trading contact with the Gazelle Peninsula
peoples (Chowning 1976a:190).

Father Friedrich Hees was a missionary of the Sacred Heart Order
stationed at Toriu in the Coastal Baining region on the western side
of the Gazelle Peninsula. He learned Nakanai from some schoolboys who
had been brought to his school. Hees published texts, a few with in-
terlinear and many with verbatim translations, plus a short ethnography
(Hees 1915-16). In the introduction to this work, he briefly describes
the phonology, contrasts eastern (i.e. Melamela) and western dialects
of Nakanai, and compares Nakanai with Tolai and Pala of New Ireland.
Chowning (1969:24) attributes lexical items shared between Tolai and
Nakanai to borrowing, as might be expected from the history of trade
between the two groups.[1]

The day before Australian troops landed in Rabaul, Father Josef Stamm
was sent to Toriu to learn Nakanai from Father Hees' schoolboys. He
learned the language, and went on to reconnoitre the Nakanai area in
1916.[2] The war and the eruption of Mount Pago delayed the beginning of
his work, and it was not until 1924 that he was able to establish a
mission station, at Valoka on Cape Hoskins (Stamm n.d.:2ff).

Whereas Hees had noted the inevitable lexical resemblances between
Nakanai and Tolai, Stamm emphasised the grammatical similarities, the
point of view of a close relationship between the two languages having
been taken up by him as early as 1927 (Laufer 1956:996). In the ab-
sence of further grammatical comparisons with other languages to serve
as a control, the resemblances Stamm noted cannot lead to any valid
conclusion. Chowning (1969:24), while conceding that grammatical re-
semblances certainly do exist between Nakanai and Tolai, thinks that
Stamm overstates the case.

The only known grammar of Nakanai is that produced by Stamm (1961a),
a typescript work of 41 pages. Entitled 'Grammatik der Lakalai Sprache',
it is based on the language of the most densely populated area of
Nakanai, centred on the Valoka mission station, and often referred to
as the Bileki dialect.

---

[1] Hees gives a short account of the trading language used by the Nakanai in trading
with the Tolai (Hees 1915-16:49).

[2] At the time of Stamm's patrol, a few South Sea Islanders, personnel of the Methodist
Mission, were already established in parts of East and West Nakanai (Stamm n.d.:8) but
no linguistic work resulted from this early mission activity.

Stamm's grammar follows a traditional Latin model, naming various parts of speech such as articles, adjectives, pronouns, numerals and verbs and discussing each in turn. A short but substantially accurate account of the phonology, which is not inordinately complex, is also given.

There is confusion in Stamm's grammar between tense and aspect. He calls the irrealis mood *das Futurum* and treats it as best he can as a tense, but he does correctly ascertain the nature of the perfective aspect, not confusing it with a notion of past tense. Both the future and the perfective are faithfully conjugated, despite the fact that both the form of the verb and its inflections are completely regular. Stamm also passes over the continuative/habituative aspect, which is formed by reduplication of the verb (which he says is only used to indicate intensity or repetition). The uninflected verb root (Aorist aspect in the present study) is treated simply as *das Praesens*.

Despite these criticisms, the grammar is basically accurate in its categories and examples, and shows quite a penetrating awareness of some of the problems involved in such areas of the language as instrumental intransitive verbs (*Halb-transitive Verben*), coverbs (*die aus Ortsadverbien*) (sic), adverbs, and reflexives.

1.1.3. *THE PERIOD 1955-1961*

A second stage in the history of linguistic research affecting the Nakanai language covers the years from Grace's (1955) survey to Dyen's (1965) lexicostatistical classification of Austronesian languages.[1] This 'middle' period is characterised then by the first tentative attempts to place Nakanai in its context as an Austronesian language of Melanesia, on the basis of wide-scale comparisons.

Grace's (1955:337-9) report, although based on extensive research of published wordlists, is very brief and no evidence is adduced for his tentative conclusions, which divided 'Eastern Malayo-Polynesian' into 19 major subgroups. Group 11 includes New Ireland, New Hanover, Duke of York, and the northern half of New Britain. Group 12 is comprised of southwest New Britain, Kobe (Kove), French Islands (Bali-Vitu), Siassi Islands, and certain languages of the coast of New Guinea

---

[1]In this part of the discussion attention is confined strictly to lexicostatistical and associated comparative work which classifies Nakanai. I have not included those works, of varied reliability and completeness, which have simply placed Nakanai on a map or a list of New Britain languages. These have included Burger (1913:5), Meyer (1932:193), Capell (1971:255, an updated but only slightly improved version of the maps in Capell 1954 and 1962), Laufer (1966:115-24) and Valentine (1958:698). Capell and Laufer used Meyer's map as a fundamental source for their later maps.

adjacent to New Britain. Nakanai is not mentioned specifically, and
it is not clear as to which group it is supposed to belong.[1]

Chowning (1976a:191) evaluates Grace's (1955) survey in the follow-
ing terms:

> This classification, which preceded Grace's own fieldwork,
> has long been abandoned [for New Britain] by Grace himself.
> Although he is roughly correct in suggesting that there
> were ties between the Gazelle Peninsula and New Ireland, on
> the one hand, and parts of west New Britain and New Guinea,
> on the other, there is no reason to believe that the Austro-
> nesian languages of New Britain fall into only two categories.

The great diversity of the New Britain Austronesian languages, as
Chowning points out (1976a:190) was first stressed by Dyen (1965),
whose *Lexicostatistical Classification of the Austronesian Languages*
included eight wordlists for New Britain Austronesian languages of
adequate length to satisfy requirements of statistical reliability of
cognate percentages, one of which was for Nakanai. Bola and Nakanai
(and possibly Kapore, for which a short list only was available) to-
gether form the Willaumez Linkage of the Austronesian Linkage, with
one further grouping (the Uvolic Cluster) and several other isolates
accounting for the balance of Dyen's New Britain languages.[2]

The arguments of Goodenough, Milke and Capell in the period 1961-71,
surrounding Goodenough's case for grouping Nakanai with Central Oceanic
languages, have been evaluated by Chowning (1976a:188-9):

> Goodenough used some of his material to show that Lakalai
> [Nakanai] differed notably from some of the nearby Austro-
> nesian languages, and then suggested that on several grounds
> it merited inclusion in a subgroup proposed by Grace (1959),
> consisting of Fijian, Rotuman, and Polynesian .... Goodenough
> particularly stressed the ties between Lakalai and Fijian,
> and suggested that Lakalai and its relatives (later called
> the Kimbe languages) arrived in New Britain as a result of a
> back-migration from the east.

Milke (1965:331) disagrees with Goodenough, suggesting that lack of
familiarity with other Melanesian languages caused Goodenough to pro-
pose as uniquely shared features some which have a much wider distri-
bution. For example, Goodenough uses a word for *'blood'* derived from
Proto-Austronesian *ce(n)cen, and cites as evidence the development of

---

[1] Grace's 1955 subgrouping was impressionistic. Later he refined the principle of
shared innovation, viz. the common inheritance of features with concomitant absence of
those features from the other languages of the family (Grace 1969:17) enabling a more
rigorous approach to subgrouping in Austronesian studies. In a major paper in which he
proposed an eastern subgrouping of the proposed Oceanic subgroup, Pawley (1972:1-4)
summarised the main arguments for the Oceanic group, showing how Dempwolff's three
original phonological arguments were added to by Grace and Milke and lexical arguments
added.

[2] In Dyen's calculations, a cluster represents an open group of the lowest probability
of appearing to be a discrete group by chance, whereas a linkage is an open group of
the highest statistical probability of appearing to be a discrete group by chance
(Dyen 1965:19).

a consonant before words that in Proto-Austronesian begin with *a (Chowning 1976a).

In *A Survey of New Guinea Languages* Capell (1969) divided the Austronesian languages of Melanesia into two groups, one characterised mainly by SOV word order and the preposed genitive construction, the other by SVO order and the postposed genitive. This latter group he termed 'Insular Melanesian'. In Capell's scheme, Nakanai and Tolai are separated off into the insular group, while the remaining Austronesian languages of New Britain, from Bola westward to Kilenge on Cape Gloucester, are assigned to the mainland category.

Capell (1971:244) later amended this so that only Bariai remained separated off into the mainland group. Certainly, as Chowning states (1976a:187), Capell is correct in dividing Bariai from the languages such as Nakanai to the east, but on grammatical grounds Bariai cannot be divided off further from its neighbours in the western part of New Britain, specifically Kove and Kilenge.

Like Capell, Milke (1961, 1965) attempted to specify a separate subgroup of languages (New Guinea Austronesian) which included almost all of the Austronesian languages of the island of New Guinea, and some of those of the adjacent islands. For New Britain, he proposed that the Kimbe family and the Bariai languages belong to this group. Chowning (1973) however gives evidence endorsing this view for Bariai, while separating Kimbe (including Nakanai) from Bariai.

1.1.4. *THE PERIOD 1961-1969*

A third stage is characterised by more finely focussed attempts to place Nakanai in relation to the languages of eastern Oceania and New Britain in particular. Studies in this period are those by Goodenough (1961a and b), Allen and Hurd (1963), Milke (1961, 1965) and Capell (1969, 1971). In these works, Nakanai is grouped with other New Guinea Austronesian languages and languages further afield, such as Fijian, principally on the basis of lexicostatistics, but also on the evidence afforded by certain structural types such as the preposed versus the postposed genitive construction and SOV versus SVO basic word order in clauses.

Allen and Hurd (1963) grouped the languages of the Talasea subdistrict on the basis of counting of impressionistic cognates from basic wordlists (not included in the published paper), awarding greater weight to cognate pairs sharing greater phonetic similarity. Nakanai showed 37% relationship with Harua, and 46% with Melamela, both members of the Kimbe family as proposed by Chowning (1969).

1.1.5. *COMPARATIVE RESEARCH FROM 1969 TO 1978*

In the fourth and most recent stage of research, Chowning (1969, 1973, 1976b) has pursued a comparative approach to New Britain languages, including Nakanai, attempting to clarify linguistic affiliations of New Britain languages both internally and externally in the context of mainland New Guinea, New Ireland and Eastern Oceania.

One advantage of Chowning's work is that it stems from long field experience in three New Britain languages, and makes use of grammatical data wherever it is available. All published wordlists were consulted, as well as those collected by Goodenough and Dyen and used by the latter in his 1965 report. Chowning's classification does not differ substantially from Dyen's. Dyen did however classify Kapore tentatively with Nakanai, but his wordlist was too short to give reliable results and included a number of Nakanai loanwords. Additionally, Peleata (Chowning's 'Wasi') is erroneously included by Dyen among the Austronesian languages, and he had no representative of the Lamogai group in his study.

> The result [of Chowning's (1969) survey] was the postulation of eight separate 'families': Arawe (containing Dyen's Pililo); Bariai (containing his Kilenge); Blanche Bay (his Gunantuna, otherwise Tolai); Kimbe (essentially his Willaumez Linkage); Lamogai; Mengen (his Uvolic Cluster); Tomoip; and Whiteman (containing Kapore). Subsequently Chowning has followed Beaumont (1972) in assigning her "Blanche Bay" to his larger Patpatar-Tolai subgroup, and has also assigned Bariai to Hooley's (1970) Siasi family, but the actual numbers of diverse groups remains intact.
>
> (Chowning 1976a:191)

Nakanai then is included in Chowning's Kimbe family, of which the member languages (cognate percentages with Bileki quoted from Chowning 1969:39) are Melamela (64%), Harua (52%), Bola (35%), Bulu (39%), and Bali-Vitu (36-40%).

The most reliable, complete and up-to-date map of New Britain languages is Chowning's (1976b:382-3). I include it here (see Map 1) to provide a ready reference to languages mentioned. Note that Vele is shown as extending inland to cover the Loso area, which dialect Chowning does not mention in her work (see 1.2.2.3.).

MAP 1: NEW BRITAIN LANGUAGES
(after Chowning 1976b)
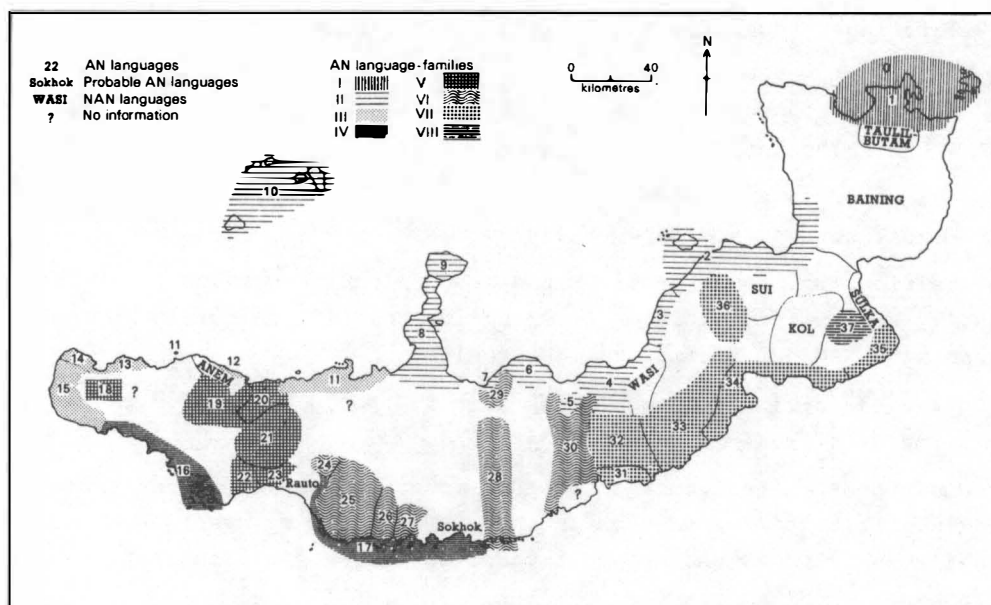
KEY TO AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS ON MAP

I. Patpatar-Tolai Sub-Group of New Ireland Languages

    1. Tolai (only member in New Britain)

II. Kimbe Family

    2. Melamela
    3. Maututu
    4. Vele
    5. Ubae
    6. Bileki
    7. Xarua
    8. Bola
    9. Bulu
    10. Bali-Vitu

III. Bariai Family

    11. Kove
    12. Kaliai
    13. Bariai
    14. Kilenge
    15. Maleu

IV. Arawe Family

    16. Arawe
    17. Moewehafen

V. Lamogai Family

    18. Longa
    19. Mok
    20. Aria
    21. Lamogai
    22. Pulie
    23. Rauto

VI. Whiteman Family

    24. Miu
    25. Kaulong
    26. Sengseng
    27. Karore
    28. Bao
    29. Kapore
    30. Mangseng

VII. Mengen Family

    31. Uvol
    32. Kakuna
    33. Mamusi
    34. Poeng
    35. Orford
    36. Longeinga

VIII. Tumuip Family

    37. Tumuip

1.2. NAKANAI AS A SPEECH COMMUNITY

1.2.1. *SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS*

1.2.1.1. Age, Education and Religious Affiliation[1]

The speech of persons under about thirty years is characterised in the Bileki dialect by greater inclination to delete h in those villages where the deletion of h has begun to occur:

    la avi / la havi   *'fire'*
    sao / saho   *'draw water'*

Additionally, young people exposed to primary education in English readily borrow lexical items from English and Pidgin, freely inflecting these with Nakanai grammatical categories:

    Eau marid-ti   *'I am already married (perfective)'*
    Eme gridi pasi   *'You are very greedy'*

Older people freely mix into their vernacular speech words from Pidgin. This is frowned upon in theory, but done by everyone in practice, even by those who are most vocal in their objections to the practice:

    Eau kama miksim la merera
    I   not   mix   NM talk
    'I do not mix the languages.'

Religious affiliation also has a bearing upon people's language. An estimated 61.74% of Nakanais are Catholics, the remainder adhering to the United Church (formerly the Methodist Overseas Mission). The United Church villages are Galilo, portion of Karapi and Kavutu, Gavuvu and the villages on the ridge inland, plus the villages of the Maututu dialect, Kaiamo village in the Vere dialect, and the Loso villages near Uasilau.

Methodism was first taught through Pidgin, with a strong emphasis on preaching and scripture reading in Kuanua (Tolai). Fathers Stamm and Schweiger of the Catholic Mission utilised the vernacular effectively, but later priests used Pidgin to communicate. Today Catholics and Protestants alike include many Pidgin terms in their everyday use of the vernacular, but the Catholics have preserved certain old Nakanai words which would have passed out of use had they not been coopted as theological terms:

    kemi   *'watch over'*
    ilogogori *'grieve (over one's sins)'*

---

[1]Sex differences are not a pertinent sociolinguistic factor in Nakanai.

In the United Church villages the loss of h is more advanced,
due to the early and prolonged exposure to Kuanua, which has no h,
when it was used as a church language. Additionally, the United Church
adherents use many Kuanua borrowings in their church life, and these
occur in everyday language too:

varukurai *'deliberation, concensus'*
La Kalou *'God'* (< Fijian via Kuanua (Tolai))

1.2.1.2. Socially-Conditioned Linguistic Choices

Address and reference are distinct. Firstly, the noun article is
obligatory in reference to a person or animal but is never stated in
address:

e tila   *'my mother'*
Tila!   *'Mother!'*
La bolo hele-ti   *'The pig fled'*
Bolo gomai!   *'Come here, pig!'*

Secondly, there are certain distinct forms of kinship terms for
address:

Reference	Address	Gloss
e tamisa-gu	lavogu	*'my cross-cousin'*
e tubu-gu	pupu	*'my grandparent'*
e iva-gu	laiva	*'my brother-in-law'*

Finally, there is the practice of not referring to someone by name,
either in reference or address. Hence a kinship term, even circumlocu-
tiously used, is preferred to the statement of a person's name:

E   Pago hari-lalai e   tao-le   tete.
NM *Pago* *visit*   NM *namesake*-3psi *father*
'Pago (a nickname) *is visiting my father's namesake.'*

Esteem is communicated by careful observance of the name avoidance
convention. It is very apparent that the speaker does not respect the
addressee if the former refers to the latter by his or her name for no
good reason. It is unthinkable for a young person to so address an
older person, and unbearable that someone should so address their in-law.
Additionally, esteem is reflected by third person reference in face-to-
face situations. The speaker pretends that the addressee is not even
present, this being the extreme of deference.

Proscribed language, which is mainly scatological and sexual, is
mainly used in abuse. In many imprecations what are presumably old
words for intimate body parts have survived in fossilised expressions

which occur in no other contexts, and which differ from the regularly used terms:

kairi magegese *anus red*	*'red anus'*
cf. la matahe-la	*'his/her anus'*

cf. also

matahe kasoso *anus bloody*	*'bloody anus'*
tiri mavulu *vulva stink*	*'stinking vulva'*
cf. la bele-la	*'her vulva'*
bele kakali *vulva sore*	*'sore vulva'*

Another type of proscribed language is the uttering of curses, a very serious offence:

Eme   ge   hugu   lupu.
you(s) IRR carry accursed
'A curse be upon your womanly work.'

Deprecatory language is neither serious nor dangerous, but nevertheless involves the utterance of mildly serious insults, depending on the social situation and the social relationship of speaker to address:

paua	*'stupid'*
pakasa	*'like the wallaby, i.e. silly'*
mahai	*'hungry for flesh'*

Other terms are regarded as mildly crude, so that euphemisms are usually found for them:

huti-a	*'impregnate her'*	=	lao-a	*'embrace her'*
vi-vigi	*'copulate'*	=	vi-la-lao	*'mutually embrace'*

1.2.1.3. Lexical Innovation

One motive for lexical innovation is the need to be able to publically discuss certain matters in vernacular without outsiders understanding certain key words:

e   maisu-mata
NM   *nose-straight*

'a white person'

la mata la   viso
NM *eye* 3psi/NM *knife*

'money' (lit. *'the hole of the knife'* referring to centre-punched coins formerly used)

```
e    luku-so-ata
NM   pick-to-up
```
'a Tolai' (lit. *'banana picker'*)

Lexical replacement has sometimes occurred for no apparent reason, to be capped off also in a number of instances by a more recent borrowing which covers items from the outside world:

```
e rauva > la hila > la pemu (from Tolai) 'axe'
e moro  > la uaga > e sipi  (from Pidgin) 'ship'
```

Borrowing often seems to be preceded by an initial stage during which the language attempts to respond creatively to a new situation:

```
la gala-muli-gauru  > la kari
   crawl-along-road              'truck, vehicle'

e pelepelekalulu > e helikopta
  dragon-fly                     'helicopter'

koko-robo           > rositi
excrete-covering                'rusted, rusty'
```

Many terms are of course borrowed directly however:

```
la sithaus  'latrine'       (Pidgin)
la malaion  'rubbish hole'  (Tolai)
la kuling   'pill'          (English quinine)
```

Yet, other terms have extended their meanings to cover new developments in the experience of the Nakanai:

```
gigi  'count' = 'read, receive education'
kaka  'ask'   = 'pray'
```

Borrowed terms are readily submitted to Nakanai morphology, e.g. igatmamak, from Pidgin *i gat mak* *'multi-coloured, dappled'*. This item has incorporated the obligatory reduplication of a colour verb root.

Some borrowings do not seem necessary at all, but have come into the language anyway. The most interesting of these are perhaps functional terms and calques:

```
oraet (Pidgin) ∿ ioge  'so, well'
ma (Tolai)     ∿ me     'and'

ubi-l-a        la merere
shoot-ABL-3ps  NM talk
'accuse' (Pidgin sutim long tok)

karutu  gegeru
shaken  badly
'be surprised' (Pidgin kirap nogut)
```

    hatamalei
    'Man!' (Pidgin olaman)

1.2.2. *THE REGIONAL DIALECTS OF NAKANAI*

1.2.2.1. Bileki in Relation to Subsidiary Dialects

Bileki is the principal dialect of Nakanai.[1] Firstly, it has the highest population, and is the most densely settled of the dialect areas.[2] Secondly, it has the longest history of intense external contact and commercial development. Thirdly, it is the dialect closest to the large centres of Kimbe and Cape Hoskins, with their port and airstrip facilities, and a connecting road. Finally, whereas most of the speakers of all the other dialects can understand Bileki, and many can in fact speak it, the reverse is rarely the case.

There are nineteen Bileki villages, grouped around the coast and hinterland region of Cape Hoskins and Commodore Bay (see Map 2). This then is the westernmost of the Nakanai dialects. I have compared the less prestigious dialects with Bileki throughout the following section, but I am not proposing that Bileki is historically prior to the other dialects. The proposed orthography (1.2.6.) is for Bileki and the present study is based on fieldwork in the Bileki dialect.

Bileki has also been known as 'Beleki', 'Mamuga', 'Muku' and 'Central Nakanai'. Naming always seems to be a problem in New Britain languages, and there have been a number of names proposed for the eastern dialects of Nakanai. Ubae has been misspelled as 'Ubai'; Vele has been spelled as 'Vere'; as well as being rendered with the noun marker joined on as 'Evere'; Loso is known also as 'Auka' which has been rendered also as 'Ouka'.[3]

The dialects of Nakanai, from Bileki eastward, are Ubae, Vele, Loso, and Maututu. East of Maututu, from Lolobau Island to Open Bay, is the Melamela language, spoken in nine villages by 1,561 people (1,154 resident). In this language, which has numerous items cognate with Nakanai, to which it bears a close relationship,[4] Bileki /g/ is often rendered as /d/, /k/ is often /ʔ/, /l/ is rendered /n/ in a number of words and /r/

---

[1] The Bileki population as at 4 March, 1980 was recorded as 6,477 total, of whom 5,550 were resident.

[2] 6,477 people speak Bileki as their native dialect, while 3,926 speak the other four dialects combined.

[3] Chowning's survey (1969, 1976b) does not recognise Loso as a separate dialect, distinct from Vele. She gives Loso's alternative name, 'Ouka', (my 'Auka'), as an alternative name for Vele. Note too that the closely-related Melamela language has also been called by other names, viz. 'Aeae', '(East) Nakanai', 'Ubili', and 'Open Bay dialect'.

[4] Melamela shares 64% cognates with Bileki, according to Chowning (1969:39).

Cape Hoskins airstrip
and Patrol Post

Kwalakessi Kassia Galeoale
Porapora
Tovosi
Porapora Gavaiva
Plantation Valoka
Valoka Kololo
Mission Kavutu
Malalia Mission
Waisissi Rikau Gule Kerapi
Makasili
Vavua Mission Galilo
Vavua
Mt Pago Rapuri
Koimumu

Bileki

Nakanai dialects boundary

.... Neighbouring languages boundary

Mauutu Dialect

Poto Lolobau Is
oga Toga

MELAMELA

Ubili Ulamona Mission
and sawmill

Cape Kaos Soi
Bubuu Gigipuna
Mautuu
Apapulu Kahei
Bialla (Baikakea) *MENGEN*
Gomu
Ewasse
Plantation
Matiliu
Mataruru

Commodore
Bay

Ubae

Gusi

Cape Reilnitz
Tarobi *Vele*
Pasusu
Bangula Bay
Lasibu
Kaiamo

Lake Hargy

Lavege

Kukula

Marapu

Bereme

Umoa Sanpantabil

Roko Kupi

Silanga

Sulu
Gogosi

Sege Sala
Korvasi

PELE-ATA
Uasilau *WASI*

Umu

Movai *Loso*

MANGSENG

Turnna

Morowana
Pita
Worali *KAKUNA* Pulopuna
Malalo

Area of map

Trafficable road
------- Intervillage Gov. Patrol tracks
----- Census division boundary

MAP 2: NAKANAI DIALECTS AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

is rendered /s/. Phonemes /ʔ/ and /n/ occur in Melamela but are missing in Bileki, while /d/, very infrequent in Bileki, occurs with regularity in Melamela. The noun markers e and la, a feature of all Nakanai dialects, are missing in Melamela.

1.2.2.2. Ubae (Population 364 Total, 349 Resident)

The Ubae dialect is spoken in Ubae and Gusi villages, east of the Kapeuru River (see Map 2). Bileki /h/ has dropped out completely, making a large number of nouns beginning with vowels in Ubae. The noun marker la has become l- preceding a vowel:

> l-ivu-la   *'his/her hair'*
> l-ase-la   *'his/her mouth'*
> l-uvi   *'yam'*
> l-ila   *'stone axe'*

The phoneme /k/ is present, but /l/ alternated with /s/ in a number of words of basic vocabulary which were elicited. The /l/ ∿ /r/ alternation observed in Vele is not found in Ubae. Lexical differences from Bileki are more numerous than in Vele, and appear to be as numerous or more numerous than in Loso and Maututu. The word for *'dog'* is voto, as found in all the eastern dialects, but has taken the Bileki noun marker la in place of e.

1.2.2.3. Vele[1] (Population 737 Total, 613 Resident)

The Vele dialect is spoken in the coastal and immediate hinterland regions of Bangula Bay, comprising the villages of Tarobi, Pasusu, Sisimi, Gaekeke, Kai and Kaiamo.[2]

In Vele, /h/ has been dropped, while Bileki /l/ is represented as /r/, and /k/ is represented as /ʔ/. The noun marker la is rendered a. The grammar is the same as Bileki and few lexical differences are found in this dialect. Those which are found tend to be characteristic of the eastern dialects:

> e voto   *'dog'*   (Bileki la paia)
> e keratu   *'sweet potato'*   (Bileki e kuruve)

---

[1] We follow Chowning (1969) in naming the dialect according to its own phonetic norms, i.e. Vele (cf. Bileki vikara vere-vere *'talk through tensed lips'*).

[2] The Ata (Wasi) speakers in Sulu, just east of Kaiamo, are reported by my three Vele informants to be adopting the Nakanai language in place of their own non-Austronesian tongue. Gaekeke has been moved to the Silanga settlement.

The villages of Kaiamo and Sulu are Methodist, with long exposure to Bileki pastors and teachers. Hence, in the dialect as spoken in these villages, the Bileki noun marker la is still used, /k/ is retained and is not replaced by /ʔ/, and there is a tendency to retain the /h/ phoneme. /l/ freely fluctuates with /r/ rather than being replaced by the latter. Bileki words like paia *dog* are often used rather than the Vele equivalents. The language of these two villages then is becoming closer to that of the Bileki dialect, by virtue of the connections with the United Church.

1.2.2.4. Loso (Population 1,513 Total, 1,355 Resident)

Loso (or Auka) is a dialect of Nakanai spoken in the Silanga region, inland of Lasibu Anchorage. The villages are Kotoo, Babata and Loa, all resettled at Silanga; Umu, Bagela, Bibisi and Sipa, all resettled at or near Uasilau; and Movai, Sabol, Saiko and a portion of Sipa, which are still situated on traditional land in the bush.

The phoneme /h/ is completely missing in this dialect, while the /l/ ∿ /r/ alternation found in Vele is represented only in Kotoo. Nevertheless a few words have /r/ instead of /l/ throughout the other villages.

Bileki /l/ corresponds to Loso /n/ in a large number of words:

e namo	*mosquito*	(Bileki la lamo)
a mimina	*salt*	(Bileki la mimila)
a nanu	*water*	(Bileki la lalu)

As can be seen from these examples, noun marker la is a in Loso, as in Vele. Bileki /k/ is not replaced by glottal stop as in Vele, nor is incomplete substitution of /s/ for /r/, as found in Ubae, present in Loso.

Lexical items are more frequently different from Bileki in this dialect and Maututu than in Ubae and Vele; lexical changes from Bileki being confined mainly to nouns, stative verbs and functors:

e voto	*dog*	(Bileki la paia)
kelila	*big*	(Bileki uru)
neineki	*good*	(Bileki taritigi)

1.2.2.5. Maututu (Population 1,312 Total, 1,171 Resident)

The villages of the Maututu dialect are Matililiu, Gomu, Apulpul, Baikakea, Bubuu, Mataururu, Kiava and Evase, all grouped on the eastern coast of the Nakanai area, between the Toiru River and Cape Koas. These are all United Church villages, and have been influenced therefore by

Tolai-speaking missionaries and Nassa shell traders, plus contact with
Melamela to the east, Bileki and Vele to the west, and the inland lan-
guages Longeinga, Wasi and Kol.

The phoneme inventory is essentially the same as for Bileki, although
Bileki /h/ is almost totally absent. The main characteristic of this
dialect is the large number of replaced nouns (only some shared with
Loso, Vele and Ubae). As with Loso, replacement has been less evident
with active verbs:

> e voto   *'dog'*   (Bileki la paia)
> la raru   *'vein'*   (Bileki la otaota)
> la puai   *'salt'*   (Bileki la mimila)

The counting system is different too, being based on a digit coun-
ting method to the base five, this system being by now almost totally
abandoned in favour of the Bileki decimal system of counting.

1.2.3.   *VIEWS OF NAKANAI AS A SPEECH COMMUNITY*

1.2.3.1.   Indigenous Views

The surrounding peoples, the Bakovi, Kapore and Harua tribes to the
west, and the Mangsing to the north-east, all used to call the Nakanai
'Muku' or 'Muu'. Stamm (1961a:1) says that 'Muku' is a derogatory word
referring to the faces the Nakanai make when speaking and eating, caused
by the heavy lip ornaments they wear. Stamm advises against using the
term. The word muku means in Nakanai *'to screw up the nose in dis-
taste'*, while muu is the humming sound made by masked men. These terms
for Nakanai are no longer current, and if used today could still be
interpreted as derogatory or patronising. They do show, however, pre-
contact recognition of the tribal distinctiveness of the Nakanai by
their neighbours.

The term 'Nakanai' came originally from the Tolai of the Gazelle
Peninsula. Chowning (1969:25) cites Burgmann (1961:930) as saying that
the term is derived from a Tolai word meaning 'dort unten zur Seite
hin'. Elias and Sherwin (1970) however, claim that the early Tolai
traders in the East Nakanai region nicknamed the people na kanai after
the fish-stealing seagull which the Tolais call by that name, because
goods were often stolen from their trading canoes. Chowning points
out that:

> The vague meaning of the word and its use by the Tolai to
> designate all the people from whom they obtain Nassa shells
> along the north coast, may explain the frequent misplacement
> of the Nakanai area on early maps, as in Parkinson (1907).

What is clear, however, is that the distinctiveness of the Nakanai area and its languages was recognised by the Tolai before the arrival of Europeans. The relationship of the languages from Melamela westward to Bileki was early recognised by the Germans, and the broad name 'Nakanai' was applied to this entire region (e.g. Hees 1915-16). Chowning (1969:25) notes, however, that after Hees' time

> the Roman Catholic priests working in New Britain extended the term to include the languages of the Willaumez Peninsula (Stamm, op.cit.[1]; Kroll, 1938:371; Burgmann 1961: 930), perhaps following the example of Powell (1883).

This use of the term means that the people of the West Nakanai Census Division, Bileki speakers, were then called 'Central Nakanai' and the term 'West Nakanai' was applied to the Nakanai-related languages further west (Harua, Bola and Bulu), thus leading to unnecessary confusion.

Goodenough (1961b) suggested that the entire family group be called 'Kimbe' after Kimbe Bay, and this solution seems to provide a welcome exit from the dilemma.

Thus 'Nakanai' can be used in the more restricted sense of referring to the closely-related dialects of Bileki, Loso, Vele, Ubae and Maututu. Melamela can also be loosely grouped in with these. This takes us back to the terminology of Hees, and the early Tolai traders. The name was applied first in fact to the Melamela language, and caught on later as being suitable to be extended to the group of related dialects to the west. Bileki has /l/ for Melamela and Tolai /n/, and so the term 'Lakalai' came into being as the Bileki applied the name to their own phonetic norms. The Nakanai have now had fifty years of literacy, however, and are familiar with the sound [n]. Whilst it may still not be differentiated phonemically, [n] is nevertheless recognised as a distinct orthographic symbol, and to avoid using it in spelling the name 'Nakanai' is regarded by many as being at once humorous and patronising.

1.2.3.2. European Names for Nakanai

The name 'Nakanai' came into use then, with the early Catholic missionaries. Working also from headquarters in Rabaul, the government and the Methodist Mission adopted the Tolai term 'Nakanai' for the entire region from Melamela to Bileki, including a number of non-Nakanai groups.

Chowning and Valentine, who were in the University of Pennsylvania expedition to New Britain in 1954, refer to the Bileki group as 'Lakalai'

---

[1] Refers here to Laufer 1956:996.

in their publications. Meanwhile, the term 'Bileki' seemed to gain
some currency in the 1950s and '60s among both mission and government
personnel, especially the Methodists, who still use it to distinguish
Bileki from Maututu.

Other terms have cropped up, but none qualify seriously as satis-
factory names for Nakanai. The term 'Zweispitzberg Sprache' (*Two-Peak
Mountain Language*) was used by Hees (1915-16) in the very early days
of investigation into the language. 'Valoka Sprache' was coined by
Stamm (1961b) from the earliest days of his work in the 1920s, Valoka
being the name of the village after which the main Catholic station in
Nakanai is named. Such a name, however, is too localised to refer
satisfactorily to a variety of dialects spread over some 75 miles.

Chowning (1969) suggested the term 'West Nakanai' to include all the
Nakanai dialects, and 'East Nakanai' to refer to Melamela. However,
since Melamela is a separate and unitary linguistic entity (notwith-
standing its close relationship to the Nakanai dialects), the various
Nakanai dialects, including Bileki, can be referred to simply and
collectively as 'Nakanai'.

Contemporary linguistic research on Nakanai involves the historical
and comparative work of Chowning (see 1.1.5.) and the author's current
synchronic research in syntax, the subject of this study.

1.2.4. *VERNACULAR LITERATURE*

Whilst there have been some duplicated materials produced by Stamm
in Bileki (Sacred Heart Mission n.d.a) and an anthropologist named
Patrick Guiness in the Maututu dialect, the list of published vernacular
literature in Nakanai is very short. Recently there have been published
a book of folk stories (in diglot English and vernacular), a book of
bird stories, the Biblical books of Mark and Genesis, and a scripture
commentary book on ancient Jewish customs (all monoglot vernacular
publications).

In 1939 a prayer book was published by the Sacred Heart Mission,
followed in 1949 by a very short book of the principal stories from the
Old Testament. A number of useful old words which are now fading out
of use are recoverable from these[1] and other typescript works.[2] On the
whole the quality of these translations is not very good, many sentences

---

[1]E.g. la karoro *'tidal wave'*, used as an approximation (or in error?) for *'flood'* in
the story of Noah.

[2]For typescript and handwritten translations by the Sacred Heart missionaries, see
Sacred Heart Mission, Valoka (1951 and n.d.b,c and d) in the bibliography.

being very difficult to understand. This is not surprising considering
that much of this work appears to have been done within two decades of
contact.

1.2.5. *DICTIONARIES*

While no technically complete dictionary has been produced, two
reliable vocabularies are available in Nakanai.

Stamm's 'Woerter Buch der Valoka Sprache' (sic) (1961b, 86pp., TS)
was produced from notes many years after his departure from Nakanai,
but is nevertheless a reliable and interesting source for many old
words as well as a check on past usage of many of the most common words.
It contains over 1,000 items classified by part of speech, giving a
gloss in German, and (in many instances) a short example.

Chowning's (n.d.) vocabulary (completed with Ward Goodenough's
assistance and arising from fieldwork on the 1956 University of
Pennsylvania Anthropological Expedition, plus subsequent fieldwork by
Chowning) comprises 284 foolscap pages of single spaced typing. This
extensive work includes no information on lexical categories, has al-
most no other grammatical information and gives few examples. It does,
however, have extensive cross-referencing, and is a rich source of
metaphorical and ceremonial language, much of which is being lost.[1]

1.2.6. *ORTHOGRAPHIES*

A scientific orthography was produced by Johnston and Johnston (1972)
and subsequently submitted to extensive testing as a practical orth-
ography in published folk story materials (see 1.2.4.). Very little
revision of the technical orthography was implemented either prior to
or subsequent to testing. The nasals [n] and [ŋ] are found only in
borrowed words, but are included in the orthography as n and ng res-
pectively, e.g. Nakanai, kivung.

The vowel preceding a stressed reduplicated syllable is written,
despite the fact that it is not uttered in normal speech. E.g.
[matat'tulu] *'sleepy'* is rendered matatutulu.

Nakanai is not phonetically complex, and the orthography as proposed
does not differ in any significant respect from that used by those who

------

[1]Marilyn Johnston is presently engaged in the production of a comprehensive Nakanai
dictionary drawing on extensive fieldwork checked against Chowning's and Stamm's
earlier work, using computer facilities of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in
Papua New Guinea.

have published texts and linguistic materials in the language (Hees 1915-16;[1] Stamm (see 1.2.4.); and Chowning, e.g. 1973).

There are five vowels, a, e, i, o, u, and consonants p, b, t, d, k, g, v, s, h, r, l, m. Consonants n and ng are included to accommodate borrowed words containing these phonemes. Details of the orthography have been summarised adequately in Chowning 1973:194, agreeing in almost every respect with our own account to be found in Appendix A.

Major features of the phonological system are:

w and y are interpreted as distinct syllabic components /u/ and /i/ respectively.

v represents a bilabial voiced fricative.

r represents a flap or trill.

/t/ is pronounced as [ts] preceding /i/.

Word-final i after t and s is often not sounded, as well as final u after m.

h, which is lenis at the best, is not articulated at all in a number of villages eastward of Valoka, especially by the younger people in these villages.

Stress occurs on the penultimate syllable of the phrase, making it possible to distinguish affixes from separate particles.

A detailed account of Nakanai segmental phonology is included in Appendix A, being the basis upon which the present orthography was formulated.

---

[1] Hees and the other Sacred Heart priests have used word breaks somewhat differently from those recommended by the Johnstons, one for example involving use of an apostrophe to mark the elided form (-le) of the 3ps inalienable possessive suffix -la preceding the personal article e, and another involving hyphenated ligation of article e with the noun.

SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN THE CLAUSE

2.0.   OUTLINE OF CLAUSE SEMANTICS

2.0.1.   *FUNDAMENTAL SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC DISTINCTIONS*

Clause structure and the syntax of case relations form a system which is the heart of the grammar, and so it is that I begin with these aspects. They cannot be considered in isolation, since it is fundamental to the study of syntax that syntactic facts reflect a more fundamental reality, namely the primary contextual and semantic relationships encoded by the language. Syntactic regularities represent a language's unique mode of organising the conceptual universe at the disposal of its speakers.

In Nakanai we have fundamentally to consider organisational facts in the syntax which concern four primary realities:

  (i) The distinction between given and new information.

 (ii) The distinction between pragmatically prominent and non-prominent NPs.

(iii) The distinction between pragmatic and relational descriptions of clause structure.

 (iv) The distinction between nuclear and peripheral roles.

The nature of the first three pragmatic distinctions is elaborated at the beginning of chapter three, while the semantic distinction between nuclear and peripheral roles is outlined at the beginning of the present chapter. The distinctions noted above affect the syntax time and again throughout the following chapters.

2.0.2. *NUCLEAR AND PERIPHERAL CASES*[1]

Nuclear cases are those which are central to the definition of the action or state or process encoded by the verb to which they relate. Peripheral cases occur only optionally, however, and are incidental to the definition of the meaning of the verb. In Nakanai the notion of the peripheral cases is characterised syntactically as referring to the semantic relationships of an NP which relates non-referentially to a verb occurring in chained sequence subsequent to an immediately preceding active verb (see 2.1.2.). The chained verb is most often a verb of location or motion, a compound form made up of bound verbal and locative elements (see 2.1.2.1.). Range is indicated by the prepositional verb kara occurring in chained sequence (2.1.2.2.) and comitative by verb base vikapopo *'together'* (2.1.2.3.).

Cross-referencing the division of cases into nuclear and peripheral types with the notion of pragmatic peaks, the following fundamental division of Nakanai cases can be made:

(i) Nuclear cases filling pragmatically salient positions in the clause:[2] Actor; Beneficiary; Patient (can be outranked by Beneficiary and Source for position II if these cases are present);

(ii) Nuclear cases filling non-salient positions in the clause: Goal; Instrument; Source (appears in position II if co-occurring with Patient);

(iii) Peripheral cases (necessarily non-prominent): Location; Range; Comitative.

2.0.3. *ON DEFINING CASES LANGUAGE-SPECIFICALLY*

A linguist faced with the task of analysing and describing the clause level of a language needs a theory of clause grammar which is, above all else, not *a priori*. The linguist's goal presumably will be to provide an analytical mechanism which will potentially generate all and only those clauses acceptable in real situations in which the language is spoken. The goal is not one of idealisation of the language, but rather of producing a synthesis of operative rules, co-occurrence restrictions and grammatical constraints which will be consistent with a

---

[1] The specifications of the cases are given in 2.1.

[2] Pragmatically salient positions in the clause are designated by the numerals I and II for most- and second most-prominent positions. See 3.0.1.2. for the introduction of the discussion of these concepts.

theory of clause level grammar which takes into account both semantic
and pragmatic factors. Consider the form which such a theory of the
clause should take, bearing in mind that the analyst desires, in terms
of the manifesto outlined above, to treat clause encoding as a communi-
cative act which fundamentally involves the speaker in terms of his
context.[1]

Three basic stages of encoding are proposed. The speaker, we as-
sume, wishes to encode a perceived state or event. The first step is
for him to choose the modality and propositional aspects of the action
of the perceived state or event.[2] This is not a new claim in the
theory of clause grammar, being implicit in Fillmore's classical S → M
+ P rewrite rule from the early days of case grammar. There is in the
speaker's lexicon a verb which he most closely associates with the per-
ceived event or state which he wishes to encode. The speaker selects
this verb, this selection implementing the propositional aspect of the
predicate. But simultaneously the speaker selects from the grammatical
repertoire available to him in the language, crucial aspectual and
temporal perspectives relating to the predicate, and this constitutes
the modality complement of the proposition, the rendering of the pred-
icate which orients the hearer to the event or state via the speaker's
perceptual and encoding grid, including of course the speaker's esti-
mate of the hearer's orientation to the event or state being spoken of.

The next step is the one which constitutes the representation of the
role structure or grammatical case system, with which matter I am con-
cerned in the present section.[3] This second stage of clause encoding
is expressed by Foley (1976a:93-4) as follows:

> The next step in the production of a clause is to match up
> the semantic roles of the verb's case frame with the par-
> ticipant roles of the event as perceived by the speaker,
> which are the roles of the nouns in the clause independent

---

[1] Such an emphasis has been evident in certain of the work arising from Charles
Fillmore's teaching at U.C.L.A., Berkeley, especially as applied and expanded by Foley
in his doctoral dissertation (Foley 1976a) and in a forthcoming book by Foley in
collaboration with Van Valin. The functionalist emphasis is not, of course, confined
to these linguists, nor is it a new approach, dating back as it does, at least to the
work of certain of the Prague School linguists such as Matheseus and Firbas.

[2] I mean to include here the possibility of creative and individual perceptions occur-
ring in terms of interaction between some external stimulus and the speaker's own
mental world.

[3] After this step the third and final stage of clause encoding occurs, wherein dis-
course, contextual and extralinguistic factors come into play to affect the syntactic
nature of the clause, in the form of prominence features, which are discussed in
chapter three.

> of any language specific constraints. Many language specific
> features influence this match up .... After the clause is
> filtered through all these language specific constraints,
> the matching of participant roles to clause frame roles is
> completed. This level of structural representation for the
> clause we will call the <u>role</u> <u>structure</u>.
>
> > (Foley 1976a:93-4)

The role structure of a language then, is to be analysed in terms
of the language-specific associations and contrasts reflected overtly
in the syntax and morphology of the language. As a first principle,
therefore (Pawley and Reid 1979:fn.16),

> It seems reasonable to assume that the number of semantic
> distinctions in the case grammar of a particular language
> equals the number of grammatical categories that are formally
> distinguished.

If, therefore, a language never overtly signals, by word order or by
morphology, a difference between two putatively universal cases, there
would appear to be no empirical basis for claiming their existence in
the case structure of that language. Transformational grammar of course
emphasises that attention in grammatical analysis should not be confined
to distinctions in the surface grammar of basic clause structure.
Transformational potential and selectional restrictions reveal covert
grammatical distinctions. As Pawley and Reid aptly put it, however,
the trouble is that "once we take these ... factors into account, there
is virtually no end to the number of role contrasts that can be
justified."[1]

Nakanai role structure operates morphologically as follows: there
are six contrastive cases, **Actor**, which appears as the immediately pre-
verbal NP; **Patient**, which appears in the unmarked instance as the
immediately post-verbal NP; **Source**, which is the NP immediately pre-
ceded by the post-verbal ablative particle le; **Beneficiary**, which is
encoded by inalienable possession suffixation of the verb; **Instrument**,
signalled by ablative particle le, but appearing discontinuously from
it, the Patient-NP obligatorily intervening; and **Goal** encoded by the
preposition te. Additionally, directional verbs in chained sequence
such as tavu *'towards'* and taro *'away from'* encode goal and source

---

[1]This point, from the same source as the preceding quotation, has to be applied with
care to the analysis of any particular language. It might readily be objected, for
example, that there is danger in de-emphasising the difference between overt and
covert grammatical categories, the latter being indicated for example by semantic co-
occurrence restrictions congruent with a particular universal case role and not with
another, and necessarily reflected overtly in at least one language. Alternatively
the overt marking of a case form in a language might signify a function of the noun
itself rather than a relationship between the noun and its predicate.

relationships respectively. Relationships of **Location**, **Range** and
Comitative are encoded by prepositionally-functioning verbs occurring
in chained sequence with coreferential topic deletion (see 2.1.2.).

2.1. THE CASE SYSTEM

2.1.1. *NUCLEAR CASES*

2.1.1.1. Actor

The Actor is the typically animate entity to whom the action is
attributed. This includes in Nakanai the agent who acts upon another
entity, the intradirective agent which acts in some sense upon itself,
and the experiencer of a caused or spontaneous process, or mental state
or event.

The Actor-NP appears in the nominal slot immediately preceding the
verb:

(1) Agent-as-source = Actor

```
    Act          VP      Pat
    E    Bubu    sapa    la    gauru.
    NP   Bubu    sweep   NM    road
```
'Bubu swept the road.'

(2) Agent-as-undergoer = Actor

```
    Act          VP
    E    Baba    tuga-ti.
    NM   Baba    walk-PERF
```
'Baba has left.'

(3) Agent-as-experiencer = Actor[1]

```
    Act          VP       Src
    E    Baba    sagege   le    Bubu.
    NM   Baba    happy    ABL   Bubu
```
'Baba is happy with Bubu.'

2.1.1.2. Patient

The Patient in Nakanai is the entity affected by the action or state
identified by the verb. This includes the entity which receives an
externally induced action (see example 4), or simply exhibits the state
identified by the verb (see example 5).

(4)
```
    Act          VP         Pat
    E    Baba    kue(-a)    e     Bubu.
    NM   Baba    strike-3ps NM    Bubu
```
'Baba struck Bubu.'

---

[1]For an explanation of the case frame for 'experiencer' verbs such as **sagege** see #2
in section 2.2.

(5) Pat   VP
    E   Baba kamakokora.
    NM   *Baba bad*

    'Baba is bad.'

In transitive clauses the Patient-NP is encoded by suffixation of
the verb by the third person singular affix -a, which process I term
'accusative' marking. Accusative marking appears optionally for NPs
representing given information (6), but must not appear for NPs rep-
resenting new information (7):

(6) E   Baba kue(-a)   la paia.
    NM   *Baba strike*-3ps NM *dog*

    'Baba struck the dog.'

(7) Egite   barautu isahari egite   Siapani.
    they(pl)   *cut*   *some*   *they*(pl)   *Japan*

    'They cut some of the Japanese soldiers.'

In (7) the Japanese soldiers represent new information, which is often
the case with non-specific NPs.

The accusative marking is not altered to agree in number or person
with the Patient-NP:

(8) Eau ge   gigi   muge-a   amuto.
    I   IRR *count* *first*-3ps *you*(pl)

    'I will count you all first of all.'

Accusative marking obligatorily occurs preceding complement sentences
(9) and Beneficiary-NPs (10):

(9) Amuto   masage-a [la lagu-lagu muto ge   kakali lahu]?
    you(pl)   *want*-3ps NM rd-*face*   2pli IRR   *sore*   *all over*

    'Do you want your faces to get cut about?'

(10) Act   Ben   Pat
     E   Baba abi-a-le   tila-la   la bua.[1]
     NM   *Baba give*-3ps-3psi/NM   *mother*-3psi   NM *areca nut*

     'Baba gave his mother areca nuts.'

When Patient occurs with Beneficiary or Source NPs the latter two (which
do not co-occur) must precede Patient in the linear ordering of the
clause, as in the previous example (10).

However, the accusative marking of Patient cannot occur even if
the more salient Source-NP has been shifted to the non-salient
clause-final position, as is an option in the encoding of the clause:

---

[1]In example (10) -la has contracted with article e to form the suffix -le.

```
(11) Act          VP    Pat           Source
     E    Baba    kaka  la  pemu   te  Bubu.
     NM   Baba    ask   NM  axe    PREP Bubu
```

'Baba asked for an axe from Bubu.'

To suffix kaka with 3ps -a would be ungrammatical:

*E Baba kakea la pemu te Bubu.

Similarly, accusative marking cannot co-occur with an Instrumental-NP filling the final position in the clause because postverbal ablative particle le must appear to mark the Instrument-NP, even though the Patient-NP appears next in linear ordering of the clause, and le supplants -a.

```
(12) Act          VP          Pat   Ins
     E    Baba    kue    le   Bubu  la  obu.
     NM   Baba    strike ABL  Bubu  NM  wood
```

'Baba struck Bubu with the/a stick.'

Barring syntactic conditioning of this sort, and barring pragmatic factors and the appearance of pragmatically prominent NPs like Source and Beneficiary NPs, Patient case appears in the nominal slot immediately following the verb, and potentially preceded by accusative suffix -a on the verb. This is the statistically most frequent occurrence of Patient, and I term it the unmarked occurrence of that case.

2.1.1.3. Beneficiary

This case represents the animate beneficiary of the action or state identified by the verb. It is encoded by means of inalienable possession marking agreeing with the beneficiary in number and person and inclusiveness.

```
(13) Act          VP                      Ben
     E    Baba    vitaho-a-la             tahalo-le.
     NM   Baba    escort-3ps-3psi/NM      man-there
```

'Baba escorted that man.'

It has already been mentioned that 3ps suffix -a obligatorily occurs marking Beneficiary-NPs, as in the above example.

Beneficiary occurs mostly in ditransitive clauses, in which clauses it must occur in the nominal slot immediately following the verb:

```
(14) Act          VP                Ben        Pat
     E    Baba    abi-a-gite    la  valua  la  bua.
     NM   Baba    give-3ps-3pli NM  men    NM  areca nut
```

'Baba gave the men areca nuts.'

2.1.1.4. Instrument

In intransitive clauses Instrument occurs representing the non-
Actor cause of the action or state identified by the verb. As such,
it may variously represent the inanimate force (15), or the independent
non-volitional cause, inanimate (16) or animate (17).

```
(15) Act         VP      Ins
     E    Baba  lea    le   bubuli.
     NM   Baba  sick   ABL  measles

     'Baba is sick with measles.'

(16) Act         VP        Ins
     E    Baba  sagege    le   loli.
     NM   Baba  happy     ABL  lollies

     'Baba is happy with the lollies.'

(17) Act         Modal  VP          Ins
     E    Baba  ge     iloburuko  le   amiteu.
     NM   Baba  IRR    worry       ABL  us(pl.ex)

     'Baba will be worried about us.'
```

In transitive clauses, Instrument is the case of the object acces-
sory or tool involved in performing the action of the verb. As such
it is always inanimate and never manifests an animate cause or force
in relation to a transitive verb. Instrument may not co-occur with
Beneficiary or Source cases (see 2.2.2.2.). Co-occurring with Actor,
Instrument appears as the last NP in the clause, marked by post-verbal
ablative particle le, although the Patient-NP intervenes between le
and the Instrument-NP (see example 18). In the absence of Actor,
Instrument may appear as the clause topic (see example 19). It is not
a plausible analysis to regard le marking Instrument-NP as signalling
Instrument outranked by another role (Patient), like English 'with',
since this alternative does not explain the invariant ordering of the
instrumental clause.

```
(18) Act         VP          Pat  Ins
     E    Baba  kue     le   eau  la   obu.[1]
     NM   Baba  strike  ABL  me   NM   wood

     'Baba struck me with the/a stick.'

(19) Ins        VP      Pat
     La   obu  kue    eau.
     NM   wood  strike  me

     'A stick struck me.'
```

---

[1]The discontinuous marking of Instrument suggests that particle le is a transitive-
like suffix (like POC *-Caki) which could have developed by reanalysis of a preposi-
tional type of marker (such as le marking Source), as a transitive suffix by post-
posing it to the verb.

Example (19) illustrates an optional encoding of Instrument according
to the accessibility hierarchy of cases to the clause topic (see
2.3.1.5.) and not an ordering option of Instrument *vis-à-vis* Patient.

2.1.1.5. Source

In construction with transitive verbs, Source represents the animate
origin of an action in which a Patient is moved away from the Source-
entity by an Actor, all of which entities must be stated if Source is
included in the clause:

```
(20) Act        VP           Src       Pat
     E     Baba abi   taro   le   Bubu  la   bua.
     NM    Baba get   away   ABL  Bubu  NM   areca nut

     'Baba took away from Bubu the areca nut.'
```

Source occurs in construction with a directional verb and marked by
the ablative particle le appearing post-verbally in the first nominal
slot.[1]

2.1.1.6. Goal

Goal is the case of the entity toward which the action is directed,
indicating a stable point of reference, be it destination, purpose,
place, extent or simply reason or topic of conversation. Goal is en-
coded by the free particle te. The prepositional NP indicating Goal
always occurs as the last NP in the clause.

```
(21) Act        VP       Goal
     E     Baba sae      te    sipi.
     NM    Baba board    PREP  ship

     'Baba boarded the/a ship.'
```

```
(22) Act        VP       Goal
     E     Baba go-muli   te    tama-la.
     NM    Baba go-east   PREP  father-NM

     'Baba went along to his father's place.'
```

```
(23) Act        VP       Goal
     E     Baba igogulu  te    gavman.
     NM    Baba work     PREP  government

     'Baba worked/works for the government.'
```

This last sentence indicates the details of Baba's indulging in paid
work, rather than specifically telling the hearer that the government
is the beneficiary of his labour. Goal in this sense then, is seman-
tically distinct from Beneficiary.

---

[1] For the intransitive encoding of Source see 2.1.1.7.

2.1.1.7. Encoding of Goal and Source by Clause Chaining

The relationship of Goal and Source can also be encoded by direc-
tional verbs such as **tavu** *'towards'* and **taro** *'away from'*, indicating
spatially the Goal or the Source towards or away from which a motion
occurs.[1] It does not include the locative notions of position or
motion (see 2.1.2.1.), but rather the idea of directional motion *per
se*. That it stands in the place of the nuclear role of Goal is evident
from the syntactic fact that the Patient of a directional verb cannot
be encoded as a Goal (i.e. with the preposition **te**). Verbs like **tavu**
and **muli** occur in sequence following intransitive motion verbs. In
this they are subject to obligatory coreferential topic deletion,[2]
since the Actor is necessarily the same in both verbs:

```
(24) [Act        VP ]  [VP     Pat     ]  = Goal
      E     Baba hari  tavu    e    Bubu.
      NM    Baba run   toward  NM   Bubu

     'Baba ran towards Bubu.'
```

```
(25) [Act        VP ]  [VP        Pat     ]  = Source
      E     Baba hele  taro       e    Bubu.
      NM    Baba flee  away from  NM   Bubu

     'Baba ran away from Bubu.'
```

2.1.1.8. Summary of Nuclear Cases

To summarise, Actor appears as the clause topic, immediately pre-
ceding the verb (except for intervening modals), whereas all other
cases appear post-verbally if Actor is present in the case frame. The
morphological marking of case must appear immediately following the
verb, with the exception of preposition **te** which adheres to the NP
which it governs. The role of the first-appearing noun after the verb,
however, is pragmatically conditioned according to the inherent saliency[3]

_____

[1] I have already discussed the non-spatial relationships encoded by Goal and Source
cases. Goal, for example, can indicate the purpose of an action (see example 23),
while Source in a ditransitive clause is encoded by ablative particle **le** indicating
the animate origin of an action in which a Patient is moved away from a Source by an
Actor (see example 20).

[2] Where clauses appear in sequence with the same referent as topic in successive
clauses, subsequent repeated topics coreferential with the topic of the initial clause
in the series may be deleted. In some syntactic environments, as when a directional
verb occurs in chained sequence to an intransitive verb of motion, such subsequent
deletion of the coreferential topic is essential, hence my use of the term 'obligatory
coreferential topic deletion'.

[3] Inherent saliency is described by Foley and Van Valin (1977) in the following terms:
>   There appears to be a universal hierarchy of inherent topic-worthiness
>   called variously the Natural Topic Hierarchy (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974),
>   Inherent Lexical Content Hierarchy (Silverstein 1977) and Referentiality
>   Hierarchy (Foley 1976b). The hierarchy in universal terms is ... speaker
>   > hearer > human proper > human common > animate > inanimate.

of the cases, so that Beneficiary and Source cases appear ahead of Patient, and Patient ahead of Instrument and Goal. The latter two cases, namely Instrument and Goal, are not principal cases, in that they expound nominal positions of no pragmatic prominence in the clause.[1]

There are other case relationships, however, which have been spoken of in universal terms, but which I have not yet accounted for in Nakanai. These might be thought of as peripheral as against nuclear cases,[2] as defined in 2.0.1.

2.1.2. *PERIPHERAL CASES*

Peripheral semantic relationships of location, range and accompaniment are encoded as nuclear cases relating to verbs which occur in chained sequences with other verbs to which they bear a prepositional type of relationship.

2.1.2.1. Location

This relationship is encoded as the prepositional referent of a morphologically distinct class of serial verbs, which occur either as main verbs or in chained sequence with other verbs. These verbs, termed coverbs, are discussed in chapter seven.[3] Coverbs encode locative relationships appertaining to notions of position, origin and destination:

```
(26)a. Act          VP   Loc
       E     Baba   pou  [o-io     (te)  la  hohoi].
       NM    Baba   sit   at-there  PREP  NM  bush

       'Baba stayed in the bush.'

    b. Act          VP   Loc
       E     Baba   sae  [so-ata   (te)  la  kari].
       NM    Baba   climb to-up    PREP  NM  truck

       'Baba climbed up onto the truck.'
```

---

[1] Note however the operation of Instrument-prominent verbs (see 2.3.1.2.) which allow Instrument to appear as the clause topic.

[2] A nuclear case is one which is predictable in occurrence from the meaning of the verb, and therefore serves by its presence to contrast or define one case frame in relation to others.

[3] As main verbs coverbs are 'hosted' by frame #7 in the case of positional coverbs o-LOC, so-LOC, lo-LOC, and frame #3 in the case of motion coverbs go-LOC, so-LOC and lo-LOC.

In these examples it can be seen that Location may be optionally encoded by preposition te in addition to the coverb encoding Locative.[1] Preposition te indicates that the embedded locative clause contains a nuclear case, viz. Goal (see case frames #3 and #7 as discussed in 2.2.1.).

There may be coreferential Actor or Patient deletion, depending on whether the verb in the matrix clause[2] is transitive or intransitive, and whether or not it involves motion. Example 27 shows a transitive clause with a subsequent locative clause requiring coreferential topic deletion of the Patient-NP, which is coreferential with the Actor in the matrix clause:

```
(27) Act       VP    Pat        Loc
     E   Baba  paha  la   uaga  [o-io       la  hohoi].
     NM  Baba  carve NM   canoe at-there    NM  bush

     'Baba carved a canoe in the bush.'
```

The next example shows a transitive clause with a subsequent motion clause requiring coreferential topic deletion of the Patient-NP:

```
(28) Act         VP       Pat        Loc
     E   Baba  tigitaro  la   lalu   [so-talo  la  magasa].
     NM  Baba  pour.out  NM   water  to-down   NM  ground

     'Baba poured out the water onto the ground.'
```

An intransitive clause with a subsequent motion clause and consequent coreferential topic deletion of the Actor-NP is illustrated in example 29:

```
(29) Act       VP    Loc
     E   Baba  hele  [so-talo  e   Hoskin].
     NM  Baba  flee  to-down   NM  Hoskins

     'Baba fled to Hoskins.'
```

In the case of motion verbs with root go- 'to proceed', coreferential topic deletion of the Actor-NP is not obligatory:

```
(30) Eia  go-ata,   (eia)  pou-ti-o.
     3ps  go-up     3ps    sit-PERF-there

     'He went up and stayed there.'
```

----

[1] In the case of the motion coverb go-LOC, te obligatorily appears preceding an NP with an animate referent (as in Eau ge gomuli te tete 'I will go along (eastward) to my father('s place)') but must not appear preceding an NP with an inanimate referent. Hence the following clauses are unacceptable *Eau ge gomuli te Rabaul ('I will go (east) to Rabaul') and *Eau ge gomuli e tete. The former clause has an inanimate referent ('Rabaul', a town), while the latter clause has an animate referent (e tete 'my father'), and should therefore take the preposition te.

[2] The matrix clause is that clause into which another clause, upon which attention presently devolves, is embedded.

2.1.2.2. Range

This relationship is encoded as the Goal of the direction verb kara *'until/as far as'*, which can appear as a main verb, or in chained sequence with another verb.[1]

Range indicates a relationship of spatial extent or temporal duration:

```
(31) Act       VP      Range
     Egite      pou    [kara   (te)  la   logo].
     they(pl)   sit    until   PREP  NM   night
```
     'They remained until nightfall.'

Obligatory coreferential topic deletion of the Actor-NP potentially appearing with kara occurs· in the embedded clause indicating Range.

2.1.2.3. Comitative

The comitative relationship in Nakanai refers to the person(s) accompanying the Actor. It is encoded in relation to the verb vikapopo *'together'* which often occurs in chained sequence subsequent to a preceding intransitive active verb.[2] Additionally, there is a prepositional marker, le, preceding the comitative-NP, homophonous with the ablative particle le which indicates nuclear cases Instrument and Source:

```
(32) Act      Modals        VP    Com
     Amite     umala   ge    pou   [vikapopo   le-gite         Siapanipani].
     we(pl)    PROH    IRR   sit    together    with-they(pl)   Janapese
```
     'We were not to stay with the Japanese.'

Compare this sentence with example 33, in which vikapopo occurs as a main verb:[3]

```
(33) Eia     vikapopo    tomi    moli-ti
     3ps     together    all     just-PERF
```
     'It was all one piece.'

---

[1] For evidence of the verbal nature of kara, see 7.1.2.1.

[2] Many younger speakers use the intensity adverb tomi *'all'* (see 5.2.2.) to indicate the comitative relationship as an alternative to using vikapopo, as in Eme ge ali tomi le amiteu *'You are to eat with us'*. Tomi is less versatile than vikapopo, however, lacking a verbal function.

[3] Note that vikapopo also functions as a manner adverb (see 5.2.1.) as in E belo tola vikapopo egiteu *'The bell called them together'*.

36

2.2. THE CASE FRAMES

A verb may host a unique combination of case frames, as detailed in its lexical entry.[1] The distinct frames, however, can be discussed as abstract notions, and are detailed and illustrated in this section accordingly. (Complex case frames are discussed in 2.3.1.)

2.2.1. INTRANSITIVE VERB FRAMES

2.2.1.1. Active Frames

#1 [___ Act] e.g. kulue *'cough'*

```
(34) Act        VP
     E    Baba  kulue.
     NM   Baba  cough
```

'Baba coughed.'

#2 [___ Act (Ins)] e.g. lege *'laugh'*

```
(35) Act        VP     Ins
     E    Baba  lege   le   Bubu.
     NM   Baba  laugh  ABL  Bubu
```

'Baba laughed at/because of Bubu.'

#3 [___ Act (Goal)] e.g. igogolu *'work'*; motion coverbs:
                              go-LOC *'go in stated direction'*
                              lo-LOC *'come from a location'*
                              so-LOC *'proceed to a location'*

```
(36) Act        VP        Goal
     E    Baba  igogolu   te   gavman.
     NM   Baba  work      PREP government
```

'Baba works for the government.' (see discussion following
                                        example 23)

#4 [___Act Goal] e.g. vikapopo *'together'*
                      kara *'until/as far as'*

(Note: the verbs in case frames #3 and #4 figure prominently in the phenomenon of clause chaining, discussed in chapter seven.)

```
(37) Act        VP        Goal
     Amite      kara      e    Makasili.
     we(pl.ex)  as.far.as NM   Makasili
```

'We went as far as Makasili.'

2.2.1.2. Stative Frames

#5 [___ Pat] e.g. ama *'bitter'*

---

[1]Lexical entries for verbs are exemplified in the sample lexicon (Appendix C) following the sample texts in Appendix B.

```
(38) Topic            Pat  VP
     La    lalu  ale, eia  ama     pasi.¹
     NM    water that 3ps  bitter  very

     'That water is very bitter.'
```

#6 [___ Pat (Goal)] e.g. taritigi 'good'

```
(39) Topic             Pat  VP        Goal
     La    ilali ale,  eia  taritigi  te-giaku.
     NM    food  that  3ps  good      PREP-1psp

     'That food seems good to me (= to my taste).'
```

#7 [___ Pat (Goal)] i.e. positional coverbs o-LOC, so-LOC, lo-LOC
                          (see chapter seven).

```
(40) Pat            VP         Goal
     E    kaku      lo-ale     la   kisu   la       luma.
     NM   fruit.bat from-west  NM   gable  3psi/NM  house

     'The fruit bat is just outside on the western gable of the house.'
```

#8 [___ Pat (Ben)] e.g. uru 'great'

```
(41) Pat       VP               Ben
     Ere  ge   uru-a     gite    tao-tolu    ele?
     who  IRR  great-3ps 3ppli   man-three   there

     'Who would be the oldest of those three men there?'
```

#9 [___ Pat Ins] e.g. sulu 'be massacred/slaughtered'²

```
(42) Pat            VP              Ins
     Egite    paipai s-ul-ulu       le   ruka.³
     they(pl) mullet nom-slaughter  ABL  barracuda

     'The mullet were slaughtered by the barracuda.'
```

#10 [___ Pat (Ins)] e.g. sala 'be shaved'

```
(43) Pat        VP     Ins
     E    Baba   sala   la      resa.
     NM   Baba   shave  ABL/NM  razor

     'Baba shaved/was shaved with a razor.'
```

2.2.1.3. Equative Frames

Equative predicates are those manifested by a NP which expresses a nominal state. The case frame is the same as for the stative intransitive verb frame, viz. [___ Pat]. The realisation of the frame, however, is quite distinct. The first NP is the topic, the second the predicate complement (example 44), and these elements are reversible, as shown in example 45.

---

[1] This kind of clause topic copying in the stative clause is discussed in 4.1.1.

[2] This frame refers to a passive class of verbs discussed in 2.3.1.1.

[3] See comments in 2.3.1.1. on the verb sulu.

(44) Simple NP predicate complement:

 Eau e tua-la
 I NM *older.sibling*-3psi

 'I am his older brother (or her older sister).'

(45) Reversal of the topic and complement NPs in example 44:

 E tua-la eau.

  Reversal of topic and complement applies equally to the focussing of equative interrogative elements, e.g. compare:

(46) La bolo bisi ele tere?
  NM *pig* *little* *here* *whose*

 'This little pig - whose is it?'

with the postposed topic in example 47:

(47) Tere la bolo bisi ele?

 'Whose is this little pig?'

  Negated equational predicates occur, as in examples 48 and 49:

(48) Ale kama e bebe.
  that *not* NM *butterfly*

 'That is not a butterfly.'

(49) Kama e bebe ale-ie.
  not NM *butterfly* *that-there*

 'As for that, it's not a butterfly.'

  Negative existential predicates also occur in equative complement clauses, as in examples 50 and 51. These cannot be rendered in their parallel positive forms, however, as shown by example 52:

(50) TOPIC COMMENT
  Egite la   ilali ouka.
  they   *food* *no*

 'They had no food.'

(51) TOPIC COMMENT
  Egite ouka la ilali.

 'They had no food.'

(52) *Egite la ilali.

 ('They had food')

  Finally, a prepositional phrase as the equative complement is illustrated in example 53:

(53) TOPIC   COMMENT
  Egite te   la kansel.
  they(pl) PREP NM *council*

 'They adhere to the Council.'

2.2.2. *TRANSITIVE VERB FRAMES*

2.2.2.1. Transitive Frames

#11 [____ Act Pat] e.g. bili *'kill'*

(54) Act   VP   Pat
      E   Baba bili(-a) la   bolo.
      NM   *Baba* *kill*-3ps NM   *pig*

      'Baba killed the pig.'

cf. *E Baba bili.

#12 [____ (Act) Pat] e.g. tavu *'towards'*
                               taro *'away from'*

(55) Act   VP   Pat
      E   Gelu tavu-tavu moli-a.
      NM   *Gelu* rd-*towards* *just*-3ps

      'Gelu kept on towards it.'

Actor is optional in frame #12 because the directional verbs hosted by
this frame most often occur in chained sequence with coreferential
deletion of the equi-clause topic, e.g.:

(56) Act   VP   VP   Pat
      [E   guliki hari] [tavu   e   tama-la].
       NM   *child* *run*   *towards* NM *father*-3psi

      'The child ran to his/her father.'

#13 [____ Act (Pat)] e.g. gilo *'swear'*

(57) Act   VP   Pat
      E   Baba gilo(-a) e   Bubu.[1]
      NM   *Baba* *swear*-3ps NM *Bubu*

      'Baba swore at Bubu.'

cf. E Baba gilo. *'Baba swore.'*

Other verbs in this frame include those whose 'objects' are defined
generically by the verb, e.g. bau *'sing'*; pigo *'bear (a child)'*; ali
'eat'; liu *'drink'*.

#14 [____ Act Pat (Goal)] e.g. tigitaro *'pour out'*

(58) Act   VP   Pat   VP   Goal
      [E   Baba tigitaro la   lalu] [so-talo te   la   magasa].
       NM   *Baba* *pour out* NM *water* *to-down* PREP NM *ground*

      'Baba tipped out the water (down onto the ground).'

---

[1] Bubu might impressionistically be thought of as Goal, but does not in this position
enter into the grammatical encoding of Goal (see 2.1.1.6.).

#15 [___ Act Pat (Ins)] e.g. tolo 'chop'
(59) Act   VP   Pat   Ins
     E   Baba tolo la   obu   la   pemu.
     NM *Baba chop ABL/NM wood NM axe*

     'Baba chopped the tree with an axe.'

Note that in the final encoding of this clause le does not appear,
being assimilated into noun marker la (see morphophonemic rules in
3.0.2.1.).

#16 [___ Act Pat Ins] e.g. va-hilo 'show'
(60) Act   VP   Pat   Ins
     E   Baba va-hilo le Bubu la   piksa.
     NM *Baba Caus-see ABL Bubu NM picture*

     'Baba showed Bubu a/the picture.'

#17 [___ Act Ben] e.g. vitaho 'escort'
(61) Act   VP   Ben
     E   Baba vitaho-a-le   Bubu.
     NM *Baba escort-3ps-3psi/NM Bubu*

     'Baba escorted Bubu.'

#18 [___ Act (Ben)] e.g. vulalai 'cut garden area'
(62) Act   Ben
     Amiteu   vulalai-a-le   Luluai.
     we(pl.ex.) cut.garden-3ps-3psi/NM village.leader

     'We cut a garden area for the village leader.'
cf. Amiteu vulalai. *'We cleared a garden area.'*

#19 [___ Ins Pat] e.g. barautu 'cut'
(63) Ins   VP   Pat
     La   viso barautu-au
     NM *knife cut-me*

     'A knife cut me.'

2.2.2.2. Ditransitive Frames

#20 [___ Act Ben Pat] e.g. abi 'give'
(64) Act   VP   Ben   Pat
     E   tila-la   abi-a-la   e   loli.[1]
     NM *mother-3ps give-3ps-3psi NM lolly*

     'His mother gave him a lolly.'

---
[1]For an example of a clause with Beneficiary represented as a NP (rather than as just
a pronominal suffix, as in the present example) see example 14 in 2.1.1.3.

#21 [___ Act (Src) Pat] e.g. abi-taro *'take away'*

```
(65) Act          VP                Src   Pat
     E    Baba    abi-taro    le    Bubu  la   viso.
     NM   Baba    take-away   ABL   Bubu  NM   knife
```

'Baba took away the knife from Bubu.'

#22 [___ Act (Ben) Pat] e.g. ubi *'shoot'*

```
(66) Act          VP                    Ben   Pat
     E    Baba    ubi-a-le              Bubu  la   malu.
     NM   Baba    shoot-3ps-3psi/NM     Bubu  NM   bird
```

'Baba shot Bubu a bird.'

Cf. *E Baba ubi le Bubu la malu.

   *E Baba ubi la malu te Bubu.

   *E Baba ubi te Bubu la malu.[1]

However, this clause (66) with Beneficiary-NP removed (67) is accept-
able:

```
(67) Act          VP    Pat
     E    Baba    ubi   la   malu.
     NM   Baba    shoot NM   bird
```

'Baba shot a/the bird.'

---

[1] There are, for each of these sentences, particular contextual interpretations under which they are grammatical. E.g. the first can be interpreted as *'Baba shot Bubu with a bird'*. For the interpretation *'Baba shot Bubu a bird'*, however, all three sentences are unacceptable.

TABLE 1

Summary of Case Frames

Case Frame Number	Case Frame	Example Verbs
#1	[___ Act]	kulue *'cough'*
#2	[___ Act (Ins)]	lege *'laugh'*
#3	[___ Act (Goal)]	igogolu *'work'* Motion coverbs: go-LOC, so-LOC, lo-LOC
#4	[___ Act Goal]	Prepositional verbs: kara *'until/as far as'* vikapopo *'together'*
#5	[___ Pat]	ama *'bitter'*
#6	[___ Pat (Goal)]	taritigi *'good'*
#7	[___ Pat (Goal)]	Location and Motion verbs: o-LOC, so-LOC, lo-LOC
#8	[___ Pat (Ben)]	uru *'great'*
#9	[___ Pat Ins]	sulu *'be massacred/slaughtered'*
#10	[___ Pat (Ins)]	sala *'be shaved'*
#11	[___ Act Pat]	bili *'kill'*
#12	[___ (Act) Pat]	Directional verbs: tavu *'towards'* taro *'away from'*
#13	[___ Act (Pat)]	gilo *'swear'*
#14	[___ Act Pat (Goal)]	tigitaro *'pour out'*
#15	[___ Act Pat (Ins)]	tolo *'chop'*
#16	[___ Act Pat Ins]	va-hilo *'show'*
#17	[___ Act Ben]	vitaho *'escort'*
#18	[___ Act (Ben)]	vulalai *'cut garden area'*
#19	[___ Ins Pat]	barautu *'cut'*
#20	[___ Act Ben Pat]	abi *'give'*
#21	[___ Act (Src) Pat]	abi-taro *'take away'*
#22	[___ Act (Ben) Pat]	ubi *'shoot'*

2.3. COMPLEX CASE RELATIONS

2.3.1. *VERBS WITH COMPLEX CASE FRAMES*

Of particular interest are the case frame combinations of particular verbs which host more than one case frame by combining or deleting options in the choice of cases.

2.3.1.1. Patient-Prominent Verbs

This group is exemplified by sala *'shave'*:

[___ Act Pat (Ins)],[___ Pat (Ins)]:

```
(68) Act          VP          Pat                Ins
     E    Baba   sala   le    tubu-la            la   resa.
     NM   Baba   shave  ABL/NM grandfather-3psi  NM   razor
```
    'Baba shaved his grandfather with a razor.'

```
(69) Pat                    VP    Ins
     E    tubu-gu           sala  la     resa.
     NM   grandfather-1si   shave ABL/NM razor
```
    'Grandfather (was) shaved with a razor.'

Other verbs in this limited group are sipa *'cut hair/have a hair-cut'*, ubi *'give an injection/get an injection'* (cf. ubi *'shoot'*) kope *'open something/be(come) open(ed)'*; kapi *'close something/be(come) shut'*; uasi *'treat a sore/have a sore treated'* (Pidgin wasim); vi-mari *'teach/learn'*.[1]

There is another group of these verbs, however, for which the Actor again becomes, within the terms of the categories of the language, the instrumental cause of the action when the Patient is topicalised, although Instrument, Actor and Patient cannot all co-occur in a single clause:

```
(70) Pat           VP            Ins
     E    paipai   s-ulu-lu      le     ruka.
     NM   mullet   nom-slaughter ABL/NM barracuda
```
    'The mullet were slaughtered by the barracuda.'

```
(71) Pat                           VP         Ins
     Egite      ur-uru    usu      t-il-olo   la     bolo.
     they(pl)   rd-great  many     nom-bite   ABL/NM pig
```
    'Many of the older men have been bitten by pigs.'

The verbs sulu and tolo, illustrated above, show marking (unique in Nakanai) of the passive-like relationship by means of the nominalising infix in the verb. The case frames supported by sulu and tolo are [___ Act Pat], [___ Pat Ins].

---

[1]This set, then, represents a passive-type class of verb somewhat comparable to the Fijian stative class of P-verbs and Polynesian Goal Subject transitive verbs (cf. Hohepa 1969). However, I am indebted to Andrew Pawley for pointing out to me the limitations of this comparison, mainly that the Nakanai class is very small, while the Fijian and Polynesian verbs mentioned are in the majority. Also the loss of the transitive suffix makes it hard to compare Nakanai verb classes with Fijian.

2.3.1.2. Instrument-Prominent Verbs

Verbs in this group are those which combine case frames #15 and #22 to get [___ Act (Ben|Ins) Pat], but also have the added option of placing the Instrument as the topic of the clause (as a pseudo-actor) and ignoring the Actor role altogether, hence the further shared case frame #19: [___ Ins Pat]. Note that Patient is obligatory (see example 73). Verbs in this group are such as ubi *'shoot'*, tolo *'chop'*, kue *'strike'* and barautu *'cut'*. This last verb is unique in the set in that it also shares frame #10 for patient-as-topic verbs (cf. example 69 above and also example 74):

(72) Ins   VP   Pat
    La   viso   barautu-au
    NM   *knife   cut-me*

    'The/a knife cut me.'

(73) *La viso barautu.

(74) Pat   VP   Ins
    Eau   barautu-la   la   viso.
    I   cut-ABL/3ps NM   *knife*

    'I have been cut with a knife.'

It should be recalled that -la is a complex morpheme in this last example, representing le + eia, and does not represent the nominalising suffix -la.

2.3.1.3. Benefactive Verbs

I list separately now the group of verbs mentioned in the previous section, which combined frames #15 and #22 into the combination frame [___ Act (Ben|Ins) Pat].

(75) Act   VP   Ben   Pat
    E   Baba ubi-a-le   Bubu la   malu.
    NM   *Baba shoot*-3ps-3psi *Bubu* NM   *bird*

    'Baba shot Bubu a bird.'

(76) Act   VP   Pat   Ins
    E   Baba ubi   la   malu la   gan.
    NM   *Baba shoot*   NM   *bird* NM   *gun*

    'Baba shot a/the bird with a/the gun.'

(77) *E Baba ubi-a-le Bubu la malu la gan.[1]

---

[1]Two university-educated native speakers have separately advised me that one can state both Beneficiary and Instrument in the one clause, but gave different renderings. One gave example 77, the other made the Instrument-NP into a unique prepositional phrase using conjunction me as a preposition. Neither of these renderings has been encountered in text or in conversation in the village environment. Both are denied to be grammatical by other speakers. These two men therefore have perhaps been overly influenced linguistically by their advanced education in English.

Verbs in this group include ubi *'shoot'*, katu *'pound'*, sile *'tear'*, kekesi *'write'*, kisi *'tie up'*, kaso *'scrape'*. In such verbs, which form a very large component of the transitive group, the affected entity, the Patient, can also be thought of in universal semantic terms as a goal of the action, and the instrument is cogent to the carrying out of the act.

2.3.1.4. Dative Verbs

Only one verb of this type has been found, viz. kaka *'ask'*:
[___ Act (Src)/Goal Pat]. This frame combines frames #21 and #14.

(78) Act   VP   Src   Pat
     E   Baba kaka le   Bubu la   bua.
     NM   *Baba* *ask* ABL *Bubu* NM *areca.nut*

     'Baba asked Bubu for areca nuts.'[1]

(79) Act   VP   Pat
     E   Baba kaka la   bua.
     NM   *Baba* *ask* NM *areca.nut*

     'Baba asked for areca nuts.'

(80) Act   VP   Pat   Goal
     E   Baba kaka la   bua   te   Bubu.
     NM   *Baba* *ask* NM *areca.nut* PREP *Bubu*

     'Baba asked for areca nuts from Bubu.'

Other verbs achieve the same effect with lexical derivations, e.g.:

(81) Act   VP   Pat Goal
     E   Kansel vi-mavulaha eau te   la iruru tegeaku.
     NM   *Council* caus-*light* *I* PREP NM *error* 1sp

     'The Councillor forgave me for my wrongdoing.'

(82) Act   VP   Src   Pat
     E   Kansel vi-mavulaha-taro le Bubu la iruru tetala.
     NM   *Council* caus-*light-away* ABL *Bubu* NM *error* 3ps

     'The Councillor absolved Bubu of his wrongdoing.'

2.3.1.5. Rights of Accession to Pragmatic Peaks

The syntactic structure of the Nakanai clause can be represented as
I V (II) (X), as outlined in 3.0.1.0., where I and II represent peaks
of relative pragmatic prominence and X the non-prominent nominal

---

[1] In both examples 78 and 80, Bubu might be thought of as semantically ambiguous between Source and Goal – the action is directed towards Bubu, but the purpose of the action is to elicit a response from Bubu. Since it is unclear, and since I wish to avoid a judgement based on the semantics of English, I identify the NP in question as 'Source' in accordance with the clear encoding of Bubu by the preceding ablative particle le in both instances (see 2.1.1.4.).

position (see 3.0.1.2.). Position I is accessible to cases hierarchi-
cally as follows: Actor > Instrument > Patient. Position II is acces-
sible to cases hierarchically as follows: Beneficiary/Source > Patient.
Patient has access to X ahead of Instrument if Beneficiary/Source has
already filled II. Beneficiary, Source and Instrument do not co-occur.
Instrument, Goal and Source fill X. Cases having equal access to the
one position do not co-occur, hence, for example, Patient cannot occur
in Position II if Beneficiary or Source cases are represented in the
same clause.

2.3.2. CLAUSE-LEVEL ENCODING OF COMPLEX RELATIONSHIPS

In this section I shall deal with reflexive, reciprocal, comparative
and complementary relationships, which are grouped under the rubric of
semantically complex notions, requiring distinct syntactic encodings on
the clause level rather than encoding by means of subordination or
chaining on the sentence level. Nakanai largely exploits such devices
as verbal inflection and verb modification to achieve succinct encoding
of complex case relationships on the clause level.

2.3.2.1. Spontaneous and Reflexive

Reflexive clauses are those with coreferential roles within the one
case frame. Consider the frame:
   [___ Act_i Pat_i]. This is realised as in example 83:

(83) Eau barautu-ti   lou.
     I   cut-PERF   *again*
     'I have cut myself.'

A less favoured rendering is the transitive clause shown in 84:

(84) Eau barautu   lou-au.
     I   cut   again-me
     'I cut myself.'[1]

For the frame as stated ideally above, then, the most acceptable rendering
is the perfective inflection with verbal modifier lou. The next example
is intransitive in both potentiality of the case frame [___ Act_i Src_i]
and in the rendering of the sentence. This type of reflexive shows a
strong link between notions of reflexive and spontaneous action, as
will be explained:

---

[1]The use of lou in this construction does not preempt use of lou with contrastive em-
phasis, as in the clause *'I cut myself again'*: Eau lou barautu-ti lou.

(85) Eia lege-ti lou.
    3ps *laugh* *again*
    'He laughed (for reasons arising from within himself).'

(86) *Eia lou lege.

    The clause in example 85 contrasts with clauses such as Eia legelege *'he laughs'* and Eia lege le-me *'he laughs because of you'*. The notion expressed is that of laughing for reasons arising from within oneself. A person confronted with another laughing in his presence will often quickly exclaim Eme legeti lou, as if to clarify the potentially embarrassing situation which might be interpreted otherwise as that of being laughed at.

    Now in Maori anoo *'again'* also serves as the reflexive marker. This suggests that the cognate Nakanai lou follows other Eastern Austronesian languages in doubling as a reflexive marker as well as a verbal modifier. But the Nakanai reflexive includes the clearly spontaneous cases of intransitive verbs which seem to take emphasis away from the volition or intention of the actor. Additionally, in clear cases of irreversible action, intention is in fact signalled by three syntactic variations of the normal reflexive:

(87) Eia hou rivu lou eia.
    3ps *hang* *back* *again* 3ps
    'He hanged himself.'

(88) Eia bili rivu lou eia.
    3ps *kill* *back* *again* 3ps
    'He killed himself.'

In these instances, it can be seen that perfective aspect -ti is not included, rivu is inserted, and the Patient-NP, although coreferential with the clause topic, is also included. This highly morphologically marked type of clause then, should perhaps be recognised as encoding an **intentional reflexive** notion, with the former encoding (as in Eau baraututi lou) being recognised as encoding a notion of **spontaneous unintended** action affecting oneself. The verb cannot take **both** reflexive encoding options.

2.3.2.2. Reciprocal

    In reciprocal clauses there are two mutually affected identical underlying semantic predicates, in which the actor of one predicate serves as a coreferential entity in another role with regard to the other, and vice versa. The form of a reciprocal clause represents therefore a necessary reduction of two underlying semantic predicates, being manifested, for example, as follows:

(89) Egira   vi-tou   baololi   la ilali tegirua.
     they(du) rec-*reject* rd-*mutually* NM *food* *their*(du)

     'They each rejected the other's food.'

The syntax of reciprocal clauses has some distinct characteristics.
The reciprocal prefix ({vi-}) must mark the verb. The feature of redup-
lication (to agree with the non-singular actor) should also be marked
appropriately in the VP.[1] The adverbial element baoli is optional. If
it occurs it must of course take the reduplicative concord feature for
agreement with the clause topic, which is non-singular.[2] Thus the
following variations of example 89 are all acceptable:

(90) Egira vi-tou la ilali tegirua.

(91) Egira vi-to-tou la ilali tegirua.

(92) Egira vi-tou baoli la ilali tegirua.

Finally, the Patient is often either **omitted** because it is already
expressed with the Actor-NP (see example 93), or **re-encoded** as a com-
itative relationship (see example 94):

(93) Egira vi-kue/vi-ko-kue.

     'The two of them fought each other.'

(94) E   kiapu   va-igo-sisigi   le-gite   tavivile.
     NM *officer* rec-*make-smile* ABL-*them*(pl) *women*

     'The government officer likes to laugh it up with the women.'

2.3.2.3. Comparative

Superlative comparison tends only to be expressed in relation to
the verb uru *'great'*, and is encoded in the benefactive case by means
of inalienable possession morphology:

(95) Ere ge   uru-a   giteu tao-tolu   ele?
     who IRR *great*-3ps 3pli *man-three* *there*

     'Who would be the oldest out of those three men there?'

Whereas superlative was encoded by inalienable possessive morphology,
ordinary comparison is encoded by alienable possessive marking, i.e. by
preposition te marking Goal, e.g.:

(96) E   tamisa-la   ge   uru   tetala.
     NM *cross.cousin*-3psi IRR *great* 3psp

     'His/her cross-cousin would be older than him/her.'

---

[1]This is a clitic feature, which occurs on the verb, or on the following adverb of
manner if one occurs (see 5.0. and 5.2.1.) (see also footnote 2 below).

[2]Many speakers younger than about 25 years do not observe the marking of concord.

This relationship is usually only encoded with verbs uru *'great'* and bisi *'small'*. A more generally-used way of encoding the same thing would be to use two semantically opposed juxtaposed clauses, saying: *'He is old - she is young'*. Comparisons of verbal states are usually expressed in this way, e.g.:

(97) E   loli   taku malama pasi. Taume malama moli bakisi.
     NM *lolly my   sweet   very   3psp   sweet   only a.little*

     'My lolly is very sweet, but yours is only a bit sweet' (= *my
     lolly is sweeter than yours*).

   Parallel comparison (*'as good as'*, etc.) however, is encoded as a complex chained sequence of clauses utilising the direction verb tavu as follows:

(98) Mave, [la pulou   tamutou o-io-le   taritigi] [tavu
     how   situation your   at-there   good   towards

     ale   o-mai].
     that at-here

     'Well, is your situation there as good as ours here?' (or, *good
     like ours here*).

2.3.2.4. Patient as Sentential Complement

   There are clauses in which the Patient is realised as an embedded complement sentence rather than as a NP:[1]

(99) E   Baba vei-a   [la valalua   sibitala-ti].
     NM *Baba say-3ps   NM men   arrive-PERF*

     'Baba said that the men had arrived.' (or, *thought that the
     men had arrived*).

Most often, such clauses are encoded as the latter of a pair of close-knit coreferential-topic clauses in chained sequence:

(100) E   Baba lolo-a   [(vei-a)   la valalua   sibitala-ti].
      NM *Baba hear-3ps   think-3ps   NM men   arrive*

     'Baba heard that the men had arrived.'

   The matter raised here is accounted for in the discussion of quotative sentences (8.1.2.). There are direct and indirect quotative sentences in Nakanai. The latter include reported thought and evaluative reported thought, which constructions subsume complementary Patient clauses.

---

[1] The issue of the role of a sentential complement *vis-à-vis* the semantic role of a nominal case applies only to Patients, because all complementary clauses occur as the Patient of the quotative verb vei *'say, think'*. For a full discussion see 8.1.2.

This concludes the discussion of semantic relationships in the clause. The next chapter takes up the syntax of the Nakanai clause as it reflects both semantic and pragmatic factors.

SYNTACTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN THE CLAUSE

3.0.   OUTLINE OF CLAUSE SYNTAX

3.0.1.   *OVERVIEW OF CLAUSE STRUCTURE*

3.0.1.0.   Introduction

There are two syntactically contrastive clause configurations (see 3.0.2.), varying by transitive markings on the verb and the number of nominal slots of high pragmatic salience. Both configurations can be subsumed under the following general clause configuration:

CLAUSE = I:NP (Mode$_{1-5}$) VP (Mode$_6$) (II:NP) (X:NP)

In this configuration I, II and X represent, in order, primary, secondary and non-pragmatic positions of prominence in the clause expounded by nominals which implement specifically defined semantic roles (as outlined in 2.1.) which are essential to the definition of the predicate. Modalities occur optionally, in order, as follows: Time (Mode$_1$), Dubitation (Mode$_2$), Duration (Mode$_3$), Negation (Mode$_4$), Irrealis (Mode$_5$), and Incidence (Mode$_6$). Modality elements are outlined in 3.1.1. Time is expounded by a temporal adverb or a prepositional phrase, but all other modalities are expounded by adverbials. There are in addition modality contours expressing indicative, interrogative and imperative illocutionary forces (see 3.1.2.). Syntactic arguments for the existence of pragmatic peaks in Nakanai and the differentiation of two peaks, are adduced in 3.2.

As foreshadowed in 2.0.1., this chapter begins by reviewing three fundamental pragmatic considerations basic to understanding syntactic

relationships in the structure of the Nakanai clause. These are, specifically, given versus new information status as it bears upon clause encoding, referentiality and the notion of relational structure.

3.0.1.1. Given and New Information

Given information is information which is assumed by the speaker to be already in the hearer's consciousness at the time he speaks (Chafe 1976:30). Conversely, new information is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he says.

The operative word is **consciousness**, since the point is not that the speaker **knows** the information being introduced, but whether he is aware of it at the moment. Givenness is established by prior proximate mention in the linguistic context, by the presence of the referent in the non-linguistic context, or by the high salience of items such as the speaker, addressee, time, or place of an utterance (Chafe 1974:123-4).[1]

The closest **grammatical** reflex of givenness is the marking of an item as definite. In Nakanai definiteness is indicated by proper noun status, by the presence of limiting modifiers, or by pronominal substitution. Syntactic reflexes of the given-new contrast as they appear in clause syntax and topicalisation, discussed in this chapter and the next, are briefly outlined as follows:

Suffixation of the verb by 3ps pronominal marking -a, indicating a patient-NP, is potentially present for NPs representing given information but not for those representing new information. Patient-NPs may be topicalised only if their referents represent given information. (see 2.1.1.2., 3.2.2.2., 4.1.2.).

Topicalised NPs on the sentence level must refer to given information and the clause topic must also refer to given information. Relativisation is a topicalisation process, applying only to given information (see 4.2.1.3.).

3.0.1.2. Pragmatic Structure

Pragmatic structure refers to the structural encoding in the clause of NPs according to pragmatic salience. Salience is a result of basic role and the degree of proximity of the referent in both the linguistic

---

[1]Additionally, certain generic information can be 'given', as indicated in this quotation from Chafe (1974:125):

> [W]hen an instance of something is introduced into the addressee's con-
> sciousness, the larger concept of which it is an instance is simultan-
> eously introduced .... [Also] ... the introduction of a generic con-
> cept simultaneously introduces into the addressee's consciousness the
> entire range of particular instances of that concept.

and non-linguistic contexts. In Nakanai there is a syntactic test of
saliency: NPs in salient positions in the clause are topicalised by
direct pronoun copying, whereas NPs in non-salient positions are top-
icalised by indirect pronoun copying with the general anaphoric ele-
ment vola tracing the topicalised item when that item is not inherently
salient - i.e. if it refers to a non-human entity.

Certain cases, if occurring, must be in pragmatic positions in the
clause. These are actor and beneficiary. Patient is normally prag-
matic, but may be outranked pragmatically by beneficiary and source
cases, there being only two pragmatic peaks in a transitive clause.
The instrument, goal, and comitative cases never fill pragmatic posi-
tions. Location, range and comitative are all peripheral roles, which
cannot fill positions of prominence. Rights of accession of cases
to salient positions give three positions of relative prominence in
the clause, specifically pragmatic peak I, pragmatic peak II, and X,
the pragmatically non-prominent position. Peripheral cases are encoded
by coreferential-topic clause chaining and are therefore pragmatically
accounted in their own right as separate clauses.

Relational structure is consistently definable for Nakanai in terms
of the conflation of role and pragmatic factors. So, language-
specifically for Nakanai, one can still analyse the clause in terms of
traditional notions of subject and object. Consider for example the
'subject' of a Nakanai clause: the basic obligatory clause order is
NP VP NP, where the preverbal NP is the nominal entity of greatest
pragmatic prominence, and the postverbal NP the nominal entity of
second greatest salience, giving a pragmatic order I VP II. Now actor,
if present, must appear in the position of greatest pragmatic prom-
inence in the clause. The NP filling this position is also the entity
upon which most of the pragmatic properties of the clause devolve.

The NP filling I then, is language-specifically for Nakanai, the
entity traditionally termed 'subject'. Thus the immediately preverbal
nominal slot is the subject slot, and the subject always expresses
the actor if that case is present in the case frame.

Consider now the 'object' of a Nakanai clause: the immediately post-
verbal NP in the transitive clause I have termed II. The right of
accession of cases to II is predictable, in that source and beneficiary
cases do not co-occur, and both have precedence of access to II over
patient. This conflation of factors, namely the consistent access of
certain roles to a particular clausal position otherwise noted for its
pragmatic prominence gives a language-specific notion of 'object' for
Nakanai.

3.0.2. *CLAUSE CONFIGURATIONS*

3.0.2.1. Transitive Clause Configurations

The transitive clause (ignoring modality elements) has the following configuration:

CLAUSE$_{trans}$ = I:NP VP (-a)/-dat/#le II:NP (X:NP)

It can readily be seen that the complex part is the post-verbal morphology. Suffix -a potentially occurs in two-place predicates:

```
(101) I:Act          VP            II:Pat
      E       Baba   kue(-a)       la       paia.
      NM      Baba   strike-3ps    NM       dog
      'Baba struck a/the dog.'
```

I term the -a suffix accusative marking. It is optional for NPs representing given information (*'the dog'*) (which correlates with definite or specific indefinite pragmatic status) but must not occur for NPs representing new information (*'a dog'*), which category is represented pragmatically as an NP with indefinite non-specific status (see 2.1.1.2.).

Dative marking (-dat) occurs for the beneficiary NP, consisting of suffixation of the verb for inalienable possessive pronominal marking, agreeing in number, person and inclusiveness with the beneficiary:

```
(102) I:Act          VP               II:Ben  X:Pat
      E       Baba   abi-a-le         Bubu    la      bua.
      NM      Baba   give-3ps-3psi/NM  Bubu    NM      areca.nut
      'Baba gave Bubu areca nuts.'
```

Accusative -a obligatorily occurs preceding dative marking. Bubu, the beneficiary, is singular, so the 3ps inalienable possession suffix -la is used, contracting with the personal noun marker e preceding Bubu to become -le.[1]

The next example shows the post-verbal ablative particle le (which elsewhere marks instrument and comitative cases) marking the source of the action encoded by the verb:

```
(103) I:Act          VP              II:Src     X:Pat
      E       Baba   abi-taro   le   latu-la    la      bua.
      NM      Baba   take-away  ABL  child-3psi  NM      areca.nut
      'Baba took from his child the areca nut.'
```

In this example the particle le has assimilated the noun marker e preceding the proper name Bubu.

---

[1] The contracted suffix -le is not to be confused with the ablative particle le which is sometimes phonologically interpreted as suffixed to the verb. The contraction -le is represented as such in further examples in which it occurs, and is not morphologically 'unpackaged' in the examples given. Note that -la and the common noun marker la also contract to become la, as in: E Baba abi-a la tahalo la bua. *'Baba gave the man areca nuts.'*

Now if an instrument-NP appears in a clause with an actor, the
morphological signal of instrument, ablative particle le, replaces 3ps
suffix -a in the clause. The instrument case is not pragmatically
prominent (see 2.2.2.5.) and in transitive clauses invariably represents
an inanimate entity, of low inherent referentiality, so it appears
last in the clause, with the patient-NP intervening between le[1] and
the NP which it signals as instrument:

```
(104)a. I:Act         VP              II:Pat      X:Ins
        E      Baba   kue     le      amiteu      la    obu.
        NM     Baba   strike  ABL     us(pl.ex)   NM    wood
        'Baba hit us with a stick.'

     b. I:Act   VP              II:Pat      X:Ins
        Egiteu ·kue    le       maura       la    obu.
        they    strike ABL/NM   poor.thing  NM    wood
        'They hit the poor thing with sticks.'

     c. I:Act         VP      II:Pat       X:Ins
        E      Baba   kue     la    paia   la    obu.
        NM     Baba   strike  ABL/NM dog   NM    wood
        'Baba hit the dog with a stick.'
```

Now the reason that ablative le cannot be observed in (c) is that it
has been totally assimilated into the noun marker preceding the noun
paia. Thus le + la results in la.[2]

3.0.2.2. Intransitive Clause Configuration

Intransitive clauses have the format:

$$CLAUSE_{intrans} = I:NP \ VP \ (X:NP).$$

---

[1] The morpheme le is the ablative particle encoding instrument, source, and comitative
cases, and occurring immediately postposed to the verb (see 2.2.2.). It is of a differ-
ent structural class to preposition te which is a free morpheme immediately preceding
the noun to which it relates syntactically. Thus le cannot be separated from the
post-verbal position while te cannot be separated from the pre-nominal position.

[2] This fact, together with the information in footnote 1 on p.54, and with the inform-
ation following example (102) in the text, gives four morphophonological rules as
follows:

    la is a contraction of -la + la, glossed as NM
    or, a contraction of le + la, glossed as NM
    or, simply represents noun marker la, glossed as NM
    le is a contraction of le + e, glossed as ABL
    -le is a contraction of la + e, glossed as 3psi

Up until this point I have attempted to assist the reader by rendering these merged
morphemes with a double gloss, e.g. ABL/NM or 3psi/NM, but from here on in the text
I shall discontinue this form of gloss in favour of those explained above.

The NP in X optionally appears, obligatorily preceded[1] by a case-marking morpheme, ablative particle **le** for source, and preposition **te** for goal.

Whereas the transitive clause encodes verbs which are semantically action-processes (following Chafe 1970:ch.9) in which the actor is never the undergoer of the event, the intransitive clause in Nakanai encodes processes, actions and states. Processes are events in which the actor is also the experiencer of the action:

```
(105) I:Act        VP          X:Src
      E      Bubu   sagege  le  tete.
      NM     Bubu   happy   ABL father
      'Bubu is happy with father.'
```

Now this sentence is not transformable into the 'progressive' (i.e. habituative/continuative) aspect (see 5.1.3.) and so 'fails' one of the tests of agent or actor, namely that the verb co-occurring with the agent should be so transformable (Ross 1972). However the verb **sagege** is inherently progressive, the reduplication feature which marks habituative/continuative aspect being lexicalised in the base form (see 5.5.3.). There is no verb root ***sage** since it only makes sense in Nakanai to speak of 'being' happy.

Further to the matter of agentivity, the equivalent of Ross' *'do'* predicates would appear to be verbs modified by the irrealis mode (see 3.1.1.5.), and example (105) can readily be rendered in the irrealis: **E Bubu ge sagege le tete** *'Bubu will be pleased with father'*. Finally, according to Ross (1972), an actor is normally voluntary, a fact which is conceptually encompassed by Nakanai morphology, since **le** marks a source or cause of an action or process, but it is specifically excluded from occurring when the clause refers to a spontaneous, reflexive or involuntary act (see 2.3.2.1.), e.g. **E Pago sagege-ti lou.** *'Pago is spontaneously happy'*. From this it would seem reasonable to conclude that the experiencer in relation to a process verb like **sagege** is ordinarily meant to be regarded as a voluntary actor.

Returning now to the other semantic types of intransitive verbs, let us consider actions and states. In an intransitive action, the actor is also the undergoer of the action:

```
(106) I:Act       VP       X:Goal
      Egirua       mavuta   te      la  hohoi.
      they(du)     sleep    PREP    NM  bush
      'They slept in the bush.'
```

---

[1]Note however that following a verb of motion preposition **te** is often omitted but is recoverable; also the referent of motion verb go-LOC is not case-marked by **te** if animate. (See 3.2.2.4. and p.34, fn.1.)

In a stative intransitive clause, however, the most prominent NP is
the patient and there is no actor:

```
(107) TOPIC                  I:Pat  VP
      E     pusi  tetala,    eia    parakukuru.¹
      NM    cat   3psp       3ps    black

      'Her/his cat is black.'
```

3.1. MODALITY[2]

3.1.1. *MODALITY ELEMENTS IN THE CLAUSE*

Modality elements in the Nakanai clause are grammatically of two
kinds, those appearing before the VP but separated from it by more
verbally close-knit modalities, and those appearing contiguous with
the VP. The former are less verbal in character, since they cannot,
when appearing as modals, be inflected for verbal aspect. The latter
group, however, share some of the grammatical characteristics of verbs.[3]

Group 1	Group 2 (close-knit)
Time	Negative (pre-verbal)
Dubitative	Irrealis (pre-verbal)
Durative	Incidence (post-verbal)

While I do not further separate the modalities for the purposes of
discussing their syntactic behaviour, co-occurrence restrictions show-
ing the interaction of close-knit modals with the various verbal as-
pects and the other modals have been listed separately in Tables 2,
3, and 4 in the ensuing discussion of mode.

---

[1]Copying from I is discussed in 4.1.1.

[2]I am referring here to verbal modifiers affecting the entire sentence, assuming a
fundamental clause structure of the generalised type S = Modality + Proposition. I
persevere with the term modality not only because of its established use (cf., e.g.
Speyer 1886) but also because competing suggested terms (cf. Lehmann 1973:48-9) are
used in other contexts, causing confusion if reused with reference to sentential
modifiers. E.g. 'type' in typological studies refers to the entire language, and
'Qualifier' can apply equally to modifiers with a semantic scope applicable to either
the noun or the verb phrase. If 'modality' is kept distinct from the kinds of verbal
categories referred to as modes or moods (cf. my 'verbal aspects' - see 5.1.) there
would appear to be no reason why the term should not be applicable to the denotation
of sentential modifiers.

[3]See discussions of negative (3.1.1.4.), irrealis (3.1.1.5.) and incidence (3.1.1.6.).
Negative elements kama and umala can be inflected for perfective aspect. Irrealis
and incidence elements appear sometimes to stand as main verbs interposed between an
actor and a patient-NP.

3.1.1.1. Time

Time may occur in the clause in three positions, preposed (before I), interposed between I (immediately following the NP) and the VP, and postposed. Temporal elements may not be interposed between a verb and a following NP:

(108)a. Te la kavikoki eau sae la kari.
   PREP NM *morning* I *board* NM *truck*

   'In the morning I boarded a truck.'

  b. Eau te la kavikoki sae la kari.

  c. Eau sae la kari te la kavikoki.

  d. *Eau sae te la kavikoki la kari.

Preposed time occurs when time is emphasised:

(109) Alalavi eau go-rivo, eau hilo la bolo.
   yesterday I *go-gardens* I *see* NM *pig*

   'Yesterday when I went to the gardens I saw a pig.'

Postposed time occurs when the time factor is presupposed, as in answering a question:

(110) Gaisa etatou ge bau? Etatou ge bau galogo.
   when *we*(pl.in) IRR *sing* *we*(pl.in) IRR *sing* *tonight*

   'When are we going to sing?' *'We are going to sing tonight.'*

Interposed time occurs when time is neither presupposed nor emphasised, but is merely ancilliary to the meaning expressed by the predicate:

(111) Eau igoie kama go-rivo, la hura puu.
   I *today* *not* *go-gardens* NM *rain* *fall*

   'I didn't go to the gardens today, because it rained.'

Further modality elements may be interposed between time and the VP, as can be seen from example (111) with kama *'not'*.

Temporal elements may not be interposed between clauses in chained sequence, since these are close-knit constructions:

(112)a. Amite go-io sibitala lou o-mai te la maulavi.
   we *go-there* *arrive* *again* *at-here* PREP NM *afternoon*

   'We arrived back here again in the afternoon.'

  b. ?*Amite go-io sibitala lou te la maulavi o-mai.[1]

---

[1]Certainly, however, some speakers find this to be an acceptable sentence. It is not a case of degrees of grammatical acceptability however, but more a matter of diverging opinion as to acceptability.

True temporals (see below) are not to be confused with modal adverbs
with a temporal meaning such as mulimuli *'later'* and pala *'previously/
before'* which can be interposed between the verb and a following NP:

(113)a. Eau sae   mulimuli te   la kari.
       I   board after   PREP NM truck

       'I later boarded a truck.'

   b. ?*Eau sae alalavi te la kari.[1]

Time is expounded by temporal adverbs (see example 111) or prep-
ositional phrases (see example 112). Temporal adverbs are usually
either past or future compound stems, with a few uncompounded bases in
addition.

Future compound stems:

ga-i	*'later today'*
ga-logo	*'tonight'*
ga-ligeli	*'tomorrow'*
ga-isa	*'when?'*
ga-geia	*'immediately'*

Past compound stems:

ala-logo	*'last night'*
ala-ura	*'long ago'*
ala-lavi	*'yesterday'*
al(a)-isa	*'when?'*
ala-ura-ti	*'very long ago'* (-ti perfective aspect)
ala-lavi-o	*'the day before yesterday'* (-o *'over there'*, deictic suffix)

The last two are derivations from other past compound stems. Further
extensions on the phrase level can occur:

   ala-lavi   o-vola
   yesterday at-PRON
   'the day before the day before yesterday'

   ga-ligeli te la kavikoki
   'tomorrow morning'

The latter of these two extensions, viz. the prepositional phrase, is
productive in combination with most of the compound stems listed above.
   There are a few uncompounded time adverbs, e.g.:

---

[1]See footnote 1, p.58.

     igoie   *'earlier today'* (comparison with ga-geie suggests that
               this stem may have earlier been identifiable as a compound)

     uaisa   *'the day after tomorrow'* (this stem too seems to share a
               bound morpheme -isa with compound stems al(a)-isa and ga-isa).

3.1.1.2. Dubitative

    The notion of dubitation is expressed by the sentential adverb
so(io)ge *'perhaps/maybe'* which may appear at the beginning of the clause
or interposed between I and the predicate, following optional element
time and preceding the optional duration constituent. This latter,
interposed, position is the position in which dubitative normally occurs,
i.e. it is most frequently found interposed, rather than preposed, and
in this position it does not emphatically deflect the meaning of the
verb in the predicate of the clause:

(114) Egite   soioge   isu-a.
      they(pl) *perhaps* *like*
      'They probably like it.'

    The former, preposed, position however, is the position for con-
trastive emphasis on the dubitative meaning:

(115) Soige   la sade,   la made,   amite   ge   hiliti   ge
      perhaps NM *Sunday* NM *Monday* *we*(pl.ex) IRR *arise*   IRR

      beu-rivu-a.
      return

      'Perhaps on Sunday or Monday we will get up and go back.'

Soioge may co-occur with all verbal aspects (5.1.) but may not co-occur
with the imminent irrealis mode marker ga (see 3.1.1.5.):

(116) *Eia soioge   ga   igo-a.
      3ps *perhaps* IRR *do*-3ps

3.1.1.3. Durative

    The durative modality is expressed by the sentential adverb so(lo)
which occurs only in one position in the clause, following I and time
and dubitative constituents if present, and preceding negative and VP:

(117)a. Eia so   gu-guvi   moli.
        3ps *still* rd-*arrive* *just*

        'He has just arrived/He is just arriving.'

Example (a) can be contrasted with the perfective non-durative mood:

    b. Eia guvi-ti
       3ps *arrive*-PERF

       'He has already arrived.'

It can be seen then, that the durative adverb occurs with the continuative aspect (indicated by reduplication of the verb) and in fact can only occur with this aspect, indicating the notion of recency:

(118)a. *Eme so guvi-ti? (perfective aspect - see 5.1.2.)

    b. *Eme so guvi? (aorist aspect - see 5.1.1.)

    c. *Eme so gu-guvi-ti? (imperfective aspect - see 5.1.4.)

An exception is found when durative and negative adverbs contract to form the compound adverb souka *'not yet'*, which may occur in all but the perfective aspect:

(119) E   Tulagola   souka   go-mai   ge   basimuli etalua.
      NM *Tulagola not.yet go-here IRR chase   us*(du.in)
         'Tulagola might come and chase us.'

(In this example the combination of irrealis mode and adverb souka encodes the notion of an imminent undesirable event which has to be avoided.)

With stative and locative verbs the durative adverb occurs only in the aorist aspect, and does not encode the notion of recency but rather the notion of duration as such. In addition, with these verbs the durative adverb may not contract with negative adverb kama.

(120) La iligiligi bakisi   solo-io
      NM *pain   a.bit   still-there*
         'It's still hurting a bit.'

TABLE 2

Co-occurrence of Durative Modality with the Marking
of Aspect in the Stative and Active VP

		Perfective	Imperfective	Cont/Hab	Aorist
Active Verb	Dur + Ø	−	−	+	−
	Dur + Neg	−	+	+	+
Stative Verb	Dur + Ø	−	−	−	+
	Dur + Neg	−	−	−	−

3.1.1.4. Negative

This modality is expressed by the modal adverb[1] kama *'not'* in the declarative and interrogative modes, and by the modal adverb umala *'do not'* in the imperative mode. The verb co-occurring in the clause with umala must be in the continuative aspect, unless it is in the irrealis mood, in which case it may appear in the aorist aspect (example (e)). This yields fine grades of imperative meaning as follows:

(121)a. Umala ko-kue-a! *'Don't hit him!'*

   b. Umala-ti ko-kue-a! *'Stop hitting him!'*

   c. Eme umala ge ko-kue-a! *'You must not hit him!'*

   d. Eme umala-ti ge ko-kue-a! *'You must stop hitting him!'*

   e. Eme umala ge kue-a! *'You are not to hit him!'*

Notice that the perfective aspect marking goes on the adverb umala rather than on the verb. Note too that with the addition of irrealis ge, the addressee must also be included.

The adverb kama *'not'* may also be inflected for perfective aspect and can readily occur in the non-imminent irrealis mode.

(122)a. Amite   kama ge sala bakisi.
       we(pl.ex) *not* IRR *shave a.bit*
       'We will not shave.'

   b. Amite   kama-ti gabu ag-agi   la maigi.
       we(pl.ex) *not*-PERF *feel* rd-*too.much* NM *cold*
       'We were no longer feeling the cold as much.'

Kama must take the perfective aspect marker -ti if it occurs, rather than the verb. Also, kama cannot co-occur with imminent irrealis mode ga. The former point can be illustrated with clause (b) above: *Amite kama gabu agagi-ti la maigi.

The last-mentioned co-occurrence restrictions, plus the others mentioned above, are summarised in Table 3:

---

[1]Modal adverbs have semantic scope affecting the entire clause. They are not to be confused with verbal modifier elements in the VP, indicating such notions as the relative manner, intensity and importance of the action or state encoded by the verb (see 5.2.). Such modifiers affect in their semantic scope only the VP into which they are morphologically bound (see 5.0.). Negative elements kama and ouka cannot profitably be analysed as verbs (rather than adverbs) since they never appear as main verbs in isolation. Certainly they do take the verbal perfective suffix -ti, but to simply call them 'special verbs' on this ground alone is begging the question. The shading of syntactic characteristics from verb to adverb should not unduly surprise linguists.

TABLE 3

Co-occurrence of Negative Modalities,[1] Irrealis,
and the Markings of Aspect in the VP

	Perfective	Imperfective	Cont/Hab	Aorist
kama	+	+	+	+
kama + ge	+	+	+	+
kama + ga	–	–	–	–
umala	–	+	+	+
umala + ge	+	–	+	+
umala + ga	–	–	–	–

3.1.1.5. Irrealis

Distinct markers separately encode irrealis modal notions of non-imminent irrealis (ge) and imminent irrealis (ga). These expound the one positional function in the clause configuration. These then, of all the modalities I have discussed so far, can be said to fulfill a grammatical function of mode in a formal sense. That is, we can refer to the formal function of ge and ga together under the rubric **mode**. Mode typically expresses the speaker's attitude to the action or state expressed by the predicate.

All verbal aspects may occur with both modes. I illustrate this fact firstly with regard to ge:

(123)a. Eia ge tuga. (aorist; irrealis)
   '*He will depart/might depart/could depart/should depart.*'

   b. Eia ge ta-tuga. (continuative/habituative; irrealis)
   '*He will/would depart/walk.*'

   c. Eia ge tuga-ti. (perfective; irrealis)
   '*He will have/would have/could have/might have departed.*'

   d. Eia ge ta-tuga-ti. (imperfective; irrealis)
   '*He will be/would be/should be/could be/might be walking.*'

From these examples it can be seen that ge indicates an attitude that the action or state referred to is seen by the speaker as a matter of potential or unconfirmable fact, being in the realm of doubt, desire,

---

[1]Negative modalities are grammatically distinct in that the perfective aspect marker -ti is suffixed to the negative element rather than the VP.

64

intention, probability, the recalled past or the predicted future.
That is, ge marks the non-imminent irrealis mode as understood and ex-
pressed by the speaker.[1]

Co-occurrence of ga with the four verbal aspects is now illustrated
showing something of the range of meaning of ga, which encodes the
notion of imminent or frustrated action:

(124)a. Eau ga   tuga so-io,   ouka. (aorist; imminent)
        I   IRR *walk* *to-there* *no*

    'I was about to proceed on, but didn't.' (i.e. *because some-
    thing prevented me*).

    b. Eau ga   ta-tuga so-io,   ouka.
       I   IRR *rd-walk* *to-there* *no*

    'I was just (in the act of) proceeding on, but didn't (proceed
    any further).'

    c. Eau ga   tuga-ti   so-io,   iala moli e   taive.
       I   IRR *walk*-PERF *to-there* *but*   NM *snake*
                                            (perfective; imminent)

    'I had almost proceeded on, but there was a snake (in the way,
    so I didn't go on).'

    d. Eau ga   ta-tuga-ti   so-io,   iala moli e   taive.
       I   IRR *rd-walk*-PERF *to-there* *but*   NM *snake*
                                              (imperfective; imminent)

    'I had already begun to proceed on but there was a snake (in
    the way, so I didn't).'

Notice that these sentences necessarily include some stated resolution
of the imminent action. The more highly inflected forms require fuller
specification to be overtly included (see c and d). A notion of frus-
trated or uncompleted activity is always present in the imminent mode.
With certain stative predicates, a notion of approximation is encoded:

(125) La paga   taume   ele,   eia ga   magegese.
      NM *thing* *your(s)* *there* 3ps IRR *red*

    'That thing of yours there is pink (i.e. *almost red*).'

With certain process verbs in the continuative aspect, an inchoative
sense is imparted by ga:

(126) Eau ga   la-lea.
      I   IRR *rd-sick*

    'I am getting sick.'

---

[1]Non-imminent irrealis ge then, cannot adequately be analysed as a future tense marker
as was done superficially for comparable aspect markers in some traditionally-oriented
grammars in Melanesia. Nor can it satisfactorily be confined simply to a notion of
intended action, as suggested in Chowning 1973:217, 222, for Nakanai.

Note however that use of ga to modify a verb encoding an action of inherently long duration is not readily permissable, since imminence is the essential element of meaning encoded by ga:

(127) ?*Egira   ga   mou   o-io   e   Mosbi,   ouka.
       they(du) IRR *dwell* *at-there* NM   *Moresby* *no*

However, speakers vary as to the degree of temporal imminence encoded by ga, so that for many, (127) is acceptable. The more usual way of encoding intention, however, is by a reported thought sentence with non-imminent irrealis aspect ge (see 8.1.2.).

Similarly ga cannot be used in the contexts of dubitative, durative or future time modalities:

(128)a. *Eia   soioge   ga   igo-a,   ouka. (dubitative)
         3ps   *perhaps* IRR   *do*-3ps   *no*

    b. *Eia   solo   ga   igo-a,   ouka. (durative)
        3ps   *still* IRR   *do*-3ps   *no*

    c. *Eia   galigeli   ga   igo-a,   ouka. (future time)
        3ps   *tomorrow* IRR   *do*-3ps   *no*

    d. `Eia   alalavi   ga   igo-a,   ouka. (past time)
        3ps   *yesterday* IRR   *do*-3ps   *no*

    'He was about to do it yesterday, but didn't.'

TABLE 4

Co-occurrence of Irrealis, Dubitative and the
Marking of Aspect in the VP

	Perfective	Imperfective	Cont/Hab	Aorist
Dubitative + Ø	+	+	+	+
Dubitative + ga	−	−	−	−
Irrealis ge or ga (±Dubitative)	+	+	+	+

3.1.1.6. Incidence

Incidence is expounded by adverbs of two kinds, firstly a closed class of adverbs of incidence, the semantic scope of which extends over the whole clause and secondly, derived numeral stems. Incidence occurs immediately following the predicate, and preceding the post-predicate nominals.

Defined morphemically and semantically, incidence belongs with the broad group of adverbs of modality. There is a descriptive problem involved at this point concerning the ordering of adverbs of incidence

after the verb. The implications would appear to be significant, since Lehmann's placement principle (Lehmann 1973:47ff) states that "sentence qualifier markers, like those indicating interrogation and negation, are placed before verbs in consistent VO languages, after verbs in consistent OV languages." Nakanai is consistently VO and, except for adverbs of incidence, behaves accordingly. That is, in accordance with Lehmann's prediction, adverbs of modality are placed for the most part before the verb.

I view incidence here as the scope, range or extent of an action. Adverbs of incidence help specify the speaker's assessment of the scope of an event, including perhaps how he views it in terms of importance, respect, emotional involvement, and temporal perspective of a non-specific sort:

bakisi	*'a little/a bit/slightly'* (indicates modesty)
kaluvu	*'completed'*
mulimuli	*'later/afterwards'*
pala	*'previously/before'*
mai + NP	*'as/like/after the manner of ...'*

It is emphasised that these adverbs appear after the VP.[1] Other modal adverbs appear before the VP, while verbal modifier adverbs appear bound into the VP.

(129)a. Eia igo-ti-a   mai ale-le   la uaga.
        3ps *make*-PERF-3ps *like* *that-there* NM *canoe*

        'He made in this manner a canoe.'

   b. Egite   tau-a   kaluvu   la golautu.
      they(pl) *put*-3ps *completed* NM *top.plate*

      'They put in the top plate absolutely.'

There are four kinds of derived numeral stems (see 6.4.2.), all of which function as adverbs of incidence. The derived distributive numeral stem is illustrated here:

(130) O,   egite   ab-abi-a   i-sa-sasa, o   egite   ale
      well *they*(pl) rd-*get*-3ps num-rd-*one* *well* *they*(pl) *that*

      la mani   i-lua   o-io   tegiteu,   egite   abi-a
      NM *money* num-*two* *at-there* PREP.*they*(pl) *they*(pl) *get*-3ps

      i-la-lua.
      num-rd-*two*

      'So they gave one (dollar) each, and those who were better off gave a couple each.'

---

[1]Note however that kaluvu can occur as part of the VP, i.e. right-bounded by postverbal clitic particles, thus doubling as an adverb of manner, e.g. cf. (b) above – Egite tau kaluvu-a la golautu. One sentence in text even had kaluvu encoded by both strategies.

3.1.2. *MODALITY CONTOURS IN THE CLAUSE*

3.1.2.0. Intonation Contours

Indicative, interrogative and imperative moods in Nakanai are not syntactically encoded, but rather are encoded by intonation contours and certain semantic restrictions. On the phonological level, the phonological phrase or pause group parallels the syntactic unit of the clause. The pause group consists of an intonation contour over a sequence of stress groups (phonological words) marked at the beginning and end by pauses relatively shorter than those marking breath segment boundaries.

Intonation and accompanying prosodies such as amplitude, laryngeal-isation and breathiness convey the attitude of the speaker, distinguishing such attitudes as astonishment, distress and hesitancy. Intonation, however, is also a vehicle for the expression of grammatical meaning. Grammatically, indicative, interrogative and imperative modalities are encoded principally by intonation contours.

For descriptive purposes, the intonation contour, which is really a continuum with no clearly-defined internal boundaries, is described in terms of prenuclear slope, nucleus, and post-nuclear slope. The external margins, however, being the initial and final syllables res-pectively of the pause group, are distinct boundaries.

The prenuclear margin is characterised by crescendo, the post-nuclear margin usually by decrescendo.

The prenuclear slope is optional, and is characterised by rising intonation. The nucleus is characterised by the syllable of highest stress in the pause group, which (with one or two exceptions such as hesitation and calling) is the penultimate syllable of the last word in the phrase. The peak of the intonation contour coincides with this stressed syllable. The distinguishing characteristic of the nuclear syllable is primary pitch.

The post-nuclear slope is optional, and is characterised by falling intonation and decrescendo. The post-nuclear slope and the post-nuclear margin are often one and the same.

For purposes of description, the terms high, mid and low are used appertaining to the level of the pitch. These are relative levels, and it is by the differing patterns of these rather than by the absolute levels, that contrastive modality contours are identifiable.

68

3.1.2.1. Indicative

The indicative mood contour encodes statements of fact and opinion.
As such it is the most frequently occurring contour, and the least pre-
supposed modality of the clause, being regarded here therefore as the
unmarked mood.

The prenuclear contour is even, mid, then sharply rises to the
nucleus on the penultimate syllable. The nucleus is high pitch, and
the post-nuclear slope descends sharply, acting also as post-nuclear
margin. The general level of the contour may be varied depending on
the attitude of the speaker, upward for excitement or emotional in-
volvement in general, and downward for gravity. These factors can be
seen in the mingograph trace representation included here as example
(131). The dotted line in the traces represents the intensity contour.
The unbroken line represents the intonation contour.[1] In the repres-
entations shown on this and the following pages, the boundaries between
stress groups have been clarified to appear as a sharp break in the
lines of the contours.

(131)

E	Pakasa	Uru	ele	lo-io	sibitala.
NM	*wallaby*	*big*	*there*	*come*	*arrive*

'Big wallaby then arrived.'
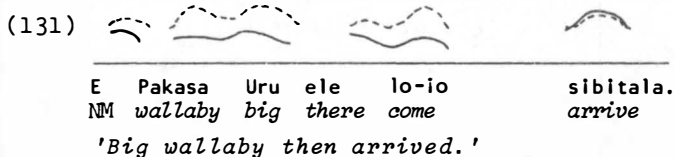
It can be seen from this example that intonation peaks simultaneously
with intensity in the nuclear syllable of the indicative clause
(sibitala) to define it in contrast to the nuclear syllables of the
individual stress groups (e, ele, loio) which are characterised by
primary intensity alone.

3.1.2.2. Interrogative

Interrogative clauses are of three kinds, information questions,
yes/no questions, and tag questions. For information and yes/no ques-
tions the intonation contours are the same, peaking on the nuclear
syllable of the clause then sloping downward on the post-nuclear slope,
as can be seen from example (132):

---

[1] There is no intention of implying an absolute scalar relationship between the two
contours. The inclusion of the two together on one graph is for ease of comparison
of the relative levels of the two contours.

(132)

Amutou	va-ubi-l-a	lava?
you(pl)	rec-*shoot*-ABL-3ps	*what*

'*What did you fight with?*'

This trace contrasts with the indicative mood trace in example (131)
with respect to the downward trend of intonation prior to the last
stress group, high intensity onset to the nuclear syllable, and low-
falling intensity on the post-nuclear slope.

The tag question is distinct in that the nucleus of stress is on
the tag question marker appearing finally, with sharply rising inton-
ation, as in example (133):

(133)

Amutou	moli	o-mai	lago-lago,	ia?
you(pl)	*only*	*at-here*	*wait*-red	TAG

'*You are just here waiting, huh?*'

The question tag is the particle (i)a/e which serves to indicate the
speaker's intention to elicit from the hearer a response confirming the
answer which has already been suggested in the preceding part of the
clause.

Example (134) shows an interrogative clause with tag question en-
ding -e.

(134)

La	valua me	hatavivile	go-ve-e?
ART	*men and women*		*go-where*-TAG

'*Where have all the adults gone?*'

Note the similar interactions of intensity and intonation in exam-
ples (133) and (134). In both clauses intensity peaks several times
while the intonation contour tends to be smooth. On the tag question
marker intonation rises sharply while intensity falls away.

Information questions are distinct from yes/no questions in syntax
and semantics if not in intonation. Information questions contain an
interrogative pronominal element, the antecedent of which refers to an
item about which information is being sought by the questioner. This
pronominal element is the bound morpheme -ve '*where*' in the above
example (134), but an example of the free pronoun lava '*what*' was given
in example (132).

The speaker has the option of encoding the information question as a tag question with high rising intonation on the tag question marker, which appears last. This was shown in example (134). Such encoding is especially preferred by women and appears to indicate a more incisive and surprised form of information questioning.

Questions frequently encode indirect requests for assistance. In this sense they are often cast in the negated form which indicates politeness:

```
(135) Eia    soioge   vagari  taume      vei-a    eme      ge
      3ps     perphaps strong  to.you(s)  say-3ps  you(s)   IRR

      vi-sae-au        ia?
      caus-climb-me    TAG
      'It's probably not convenient for you to give me a lift, eh?'
```

This sentence is perhaps imperative in force, suggesting very politely that the addressee should give the speaker a ride.

Information questions, as has been noted, are distinctly characterised by interrogative pronominal elements. These encode the interrogation of nuclear, peripheral and modal nominal elements in the clause:

Nuclear:

> ere   'who'
>
> la(ro)va   'what'
>
> tere   'whose' (te preposition + ere 'who')

Peripheral:

> Motion verb -ve 'where'

Modal:

> gaisa   'when'   (future)
>
> al(a)isa   'when'   (past)

Interrogative elements such as these can be variously focussed positionally in the clause to appear in any topicalised position appropriate to their pragmatic status in the clause. This is illustrated in the following examples.

Firstly, I illustrate various kinds of interrogation of nuclear elements in the clause:

i) Topic of Complementary Clause

In (136) the topic of the complementary clause is not topicalised.

```
(136) Amutou    vei-a    ere   guvi-ti-o?
      you(pl)   say-3ps  who   arrive-PERF-there
      'Who did you say arrived?'
```

However in (137) the topic of the complementary clause is topicalised:

(137) Ere   amutou   vei-a   eia   guvi-ti-o?
      who *you*(pl) *say*-3ps *3ps* *arrive*-PERF-*there*

      '<u>Who</u> did you say arrived?'

ii) Possessive Actor

   The following examples illustrate the possessive actor untopicalised
(a) and topicalised (b):

(138)a. La   bolo bisi   ele   tere?
        NM   *pig* *little* *there*   *whose*

        'Whose is that little pig there?'

     b. Tere   la   bolo bisi   ele?
        whose   NM   *pig* *little* *there*

        '<u>Whose</u> is that little pig there?'

iii) Nominal Complements: the interrogation of the patient-NP as the equative topic

   Once again, these are illustrated with (a) and without (b) topic-
alisation:

(139)a. Ale   larova-ie/le?
        that   *what-there*

        'What's that there?'

     b. Larova ale(ie/le)?

        '<u>What</u> is that?'

iv) Interrogation of Patient-NP

   Example (140) shows the patient-NP untopicalised:

(140) Eme   masaga larova?
      you(s)   *like*   *what*

      'What do you want?'

The next example shows the patient-NP interrogated in the primary top-
icalised position:

(141) Larova eme   masage-a?
      what   *you*(s)   *want*-3ps

      '<u>What</u> do you want?'

   But the following topicalisation is not permitted, because of the
constraint discussed in 4.1.3. (the multiple topicalisation constraint)
which says (in part) that an NP should not be interposed between the
actor and the verb in topicalisation:

(142) *Eme larova masagea.

It can be seen that larova in (142) has been unacceptably interposed between the actor eme and the verb masagea.

Secondly, the interrogation of peripheral (locative) elements in the clause is illustrated:

(143)a. Eia   o-io-ve   la   viso   taume?
         3ps   *at-there-where* NM   *knife* *your*(s)
         '*Where is your knife?*'

    b. La   viso   taume   (eia)   o-io-ve?
        NM   *knife* *your*(s) 3ps   *at-there-where*
        '*As for your knife - where is it?*'

In (c) the locative verb o-io with -ve suffixed has been transferred to the front of the clause where it appears without a clause topic, which is unacceptable.

    c. *O-io-ve la viso taume?

Thirdly, and finally, I illustrate the interrogation of time modality elements in the clause using gaisa which queries time in the future. In example (144a) gaisa is not topicalised.

(144)a. Eme   ge   abi-a   giteu   e   Luveliveli   la   kari
         you(s)   IRR *give*-3ps 3pli   NM   *Tolais*   NM   *truck*

         taume   gaisa?
         your(s)   *when*
         '*When are you going to give the Tolais your truck?*'

In (b) however, gaisa is topicalised to the front of the clause:

    b. Gaisa   eme   ge   abi-a   giteu   e   Luveliveli   la
        when   *you*(s)   IRR *give*-3ps 3pli   NM   *Tolais*   NM

        kari   taume?
        truck *your*(s)
        '<u>*When*</u> *are you going to give the Tolais your truck?*'

Preceded by irrealis ge, gaisa can be interposed between actor and verb:

    c. Eme   ge   gaisa   ge   abi-a   giteu   e   Luveliveli
        you(s)   IRR *when*   *give*-3ps 3pli   NM   *Tolais*

        (gaisa)   la   kari.
                  NM   *truck*
        '*You are going to give the Tolais your truck - just exactly when now?*'

The second occurrence of gaisa in (c) shows a position for the occurrence of the interrogative pronoun alternative to the other positions illustrated. Certain preverbal (a) and postverbal (b) interpositions of gaisa are dubious:

(145)a. ?Eme gaisa ge abi-a giteu e Luveliveli la kari taume?

    b. ?*Eme ge abi-a giteu gaisa (egiteu) e Luveliveli la kari taume?

For other interrogative pronouns and pronominal phrases, however, the scope of the question covers more than one nominal element in the clause, and requires a sentential response (which may be reduced by ellipsis) which may be active or stative:

Manner:
    mave *'how'*

Reason:
    igo mave / igo lava / ilava *'why'*

Stative-response questions:

iriva	*'how many'*
ere(se)/ale mave	*'which'*
tau-rova	*'which sib-group'*
ta-riva	*'what sex'*
e-rova(-mu)	*'which relative (of yours)'*

Firstly, the interrogation of **manner** is illustrated: In (146a) manner is not topicalised:

(146)a. Eme ge igo-a mave?
     'How will you do it?'

In (b) manner has been topicalised to the front of the clause:

    b. Mave eme ge igo-a? (with contrastive intensity on mave)
      '<u>How</u> will you do it?'

But the interposition of mave between actor and verb in topicalisation (see 4.1.3.) is unacceptable:

    c. *Eme mave ge igo-a?

The last example (d) is unacceptable because of the insertion of mave, a modal adverb (the semantic scope of which is the entire clause) into the VP, where only manner and intensity adverbs, their scope being the VP, may be inserted.

    d. *Eme ge igo mave-a?

Secondly, I illustrate the interrogation of **reason**. Example (147a) shows reason untopicalised:

(147)a. Eme   ge go-talo e Hoskin ge igo lava?
      you(s) IRR *go-down* NM *Hoskins* IRR *do* *what*
      'What are you going down to Hoskins for?'

(147)b. Igo lava eme ge go-talo e Hoskin?
        '*Why* *are you going down to Hoskins?*'

    c. Eme ge igo lava go-talo e Hoskin (e)?
       [angry] '*What do you think you're going down to Hoskins for?*'

Finally, modal interrogatives requiring a stative response are illustrated in the next set of examples. The interrogative element ere(se) is illustrated first, untopicalised in (148a) and topicalised in (148b).

(148)a. Eme   pou (o-io)   ere   mautu?
        you(s) *sit* *at-there* *which* *village*
        '*At which village do you live?*'

    b. Ere mautu eme pou o-io vola?
       '*At* *which* *village do you live?*'

The interrogative element iriva is now illustrated, untopicalised (149a) and topicalised (149b).

(149)a. Eme   loto la bret   iriva?
        you(s) *buy* *NM* *bread* *how.many*
        '*How much bread did you buy (= how many loaves)?*'

    b. La bret iriva eme loto-a?
       '*How* *much* *bread did you buy?*'

Consider next the interrogative phrase ale mave '*which*'. This is untopicalised in (150a):

(150)a. Eme   pou o-io   la mautu   ale   mave?
        you(s) *sit* *at-there* *NM* *village* *that* *how*
        '*At which village did you stay/do you live?*'

But in (150b) ale mave has been topicalised.

    b. La mautu ale mave eme pou o-io vola?
       '*At* *which* *village did you stay/do you live?*'

However, topicalisation of interrogative elements does not readily apply to the movement of elements out of embedded clauses, but the matter of acceptability is not clear-cut in such cases:

(151)a. Eme   vei larova taume   kokovu-ti lou   ele?
        you(s) *say* *what*   *your*(s) *lost*   *again* *there*
        '*Now what was it of yours you said had become lost?*'

    b. ?*Larova eme vei-a kokovu-ti ele.

I have already mentioned that the interrogative pronoun may appear in any topicalised position appropriate to its pragmatic status. Some

illustrative examples of this in combination with various patterns of
multiple topicalisation will serve to illustrate something of the range
of possibilities. Consider, for example, the modal interrogative
element gaisa in relation to two clause topics:

(152) TOP 1
```
      E    tama-le     Ugo,  la  pau  kapisi, T  (eia)  ge   kue
      NM   father-3psi Hugo  NM  bush a.bit      3ps    IRR  strike

      pasi-a      gaisa?
      very-3ps    when
```
'Well as for Hugo's father, that little bit of remaining bush
in the garden - when is he going to cut it?'

[T shows the optional point of appearance for gaisa].

Other interrogative pronouns as well can be interposed between two
topics, as with ilava in (153a and b).

(153)a. La ia-le,   ilava eme   abi-a-le   Luk?
        NM fish-there why   you(s)   give-3ps-3psi Luke
        'That fish there - why did you give it to Luke?'

     b. (ilava) Eme (ilava) abi-a-le Luk (ilava) la ia-le (ilava).

In (b) ilava is shown bracketed in all of its individual optional
positions of appearance. It must, of course, only appear once in the
clause.

3.1.2.3. Imperative

Imperative intonation consists of a pattern of low-mid, or high-low
intonation over the last three syllables of the clause. The penulti-
mate syllable, the nucleus of the pause group, takes the high or mid
pitch. The intonation contour and the intensity level can be raised
to indicate intensity of feeling, as in the distinction between a
polite imperative and a brusque order. Intensity and intonation traces
can be seen in the representation of a mingograph trace in (154):

(154)


```
Tola      egite       so-ma!
call      they(pl)    to-here
'Call them here!'
```

In imperatives the clause topic is optionally elliptically omitted,
but is always understood as being in the second person, as in example
(154).

The irrealis (155) and postposed emphatic (156) particles option-
ally occur in imperatives. These are homophonously realised as ge.

(155) Amutou   ge   lolo-a!
      you(pl) IRR *hear*-3ps

      'You are to listen!'

(156) Abi-a-la   ge!
      give-3ps-3psi   EMPH

      'Give it to him!'

Topicalisation of the patient-NP can be expressed in the imperative
mood, as shown in (157):

(157) La   merera taku ale eau vei-ti-a-mu   ele,   eme
      NM   *talk* *my* *that* *I*   *say*-PERF-3ps-2psi *there* *you*(s)

      ge   lolo moli-a.
      IRR *hear* *just*-3ps

      *'These words which I have spoken to you - you are to respond
      to them.'*

All of these examples illustrate the positive imperative mood, which
indicates a direct positive command or request. There is in addition
the **prohibitive imperative** which encodes a command to refrain from
committing a stated action.[1] These imperatives follow basically the
same intonation and intensity trace pattern, but are grammatically
distinct in the appearance of the prohibitive negative mood marker umala
which takes the place of the negative marker kama:

(158)

      Umala-ti   va-ubibi   amutou!
      PROH-PERF   *rec-rd.shoot*   *you*(pl)

      'Don't fight!'

Note that the intonation contour in (158) does not rise as high on
the nuclear syllable as does the equivalent contour in (154). The
intensity trace, however, follows a very similar configuration in both
(158) and (154).

The imperative mood can also express a notion of desire or intent:

(159) La   hura valibure-a!
      NM   *rain* *scatter*-3ps

      'Rain clouds be dispersed!'

---

[1]See also the discussion of prohibitive imperatives, under negative modality in
3.1.1.4.

3.2. PRAGMATIC STRUCTURE

3.2.0. *EVIDENCE FOR PRAGMATIC PEAKS*

3.2.0.1. Copying Strategies

The third step in clause encoding[1] concerns aspects of the functional sentence perspective such as notions of reference, topic and thematic organisation:

> The final stage in the production of a clause is the mapping of the role structure onto the referential structure. This process is called by us systemization, and there are both language specific and language universal strategies employed .... Which nouns occupy [pragmatically salient positions] I and II depends on a combination of their basic role and degree of referentiality or pragmatic salience. When sys-temization is completed, we have the spoken form of the clause.
>
>   Foley 1976a:96-7)

Accordingly, the remainder of this chapter deals with the 'system-isation' of the Nakanai clause, that is the interaction of pragmatic and role factors in the syntactic structure of the clause. I begin by considering an instrumental clause to observe something of its structure:

```
(160) I:Act        VP            II:Pat   X:Ins
      E      Baba  kue    le     Bubu    la     obu.
      NM     Baba  strike ABL    Bubu    NM     wood

      'Baba struck Bubu with a stick.'
```

Consider three facts about this clause: Firstly, the order of elements is invariable. That is, Baba, the actor, must appear first, Bubu, the patient, must appear second, immediately following the verb, and the instrument NP, already signalled by ablative particle le following the verb, must appear last.

Secondly, if an instrument is not present, ablative morpheme le is replaced by the optionally-appearing pronominal suffix -a, representing third person singular reference, this being the unmarked encoding of the patient case:[2]

```
(161) I:Act        VP            II:Pat
      E      Baba  kue(-a)       e      Bubu.
      NM     Baba  strike-3ps    NM     Bubu

      'Baba struck Bubu.'
```

---

[1] See 2.0.3. for a description of the first two steps, which concerned firstly the choice of propositional and modal aspects of the predicate, and secondly the matching of participant roles to clause frame roles.

[2] The discussion in 2.1.1.2. shows that accusative marking optionally occurs for NPs in II which encode given information, but is obligatorily absent for NPs which encode new information.

78

Thirdly, note that if the instrument is topicalised, its position in the matrix clause must be copied by the general pronoun vola. This copying strategy is a major syntactic test of non-pragmatic status in the clause, i.e. all pragmatically salient NPs are topicalised (and hence also relativised) by direct pronominal copying, whereas non-salient NPs are topicalised by indirect pronominal copying with the particle vola when referring to non-human entities:[1]

(162)a. TOP   Act V   Ins
        La   tahalo ale eau tali le-ia.
        NM   man   that I   cry ABL-3ps
        'The man that I am crying about.'

    b. TOP   Act   VP   Pat   Ins
        La   obu   ale   e   Baba   kue   le   Bubu   o-vola.
        NM   wood that NM Baba   strike ABL   Bubu   at-PRON
        'The stick with which Baba struck Bubu.'

Our task is to give a pragmatic account of these and related facts about the Nakanai clause. The notion of pragmatic prominence was originally introduced into the study of grammar by certain linguists, especially of the Prague School, who were interested in the idea of the functional sentence perspective (FSP). Matheseus introduced this idea, dividing the clause into 'old' and 'new' information, the theme and the rheme respectively. The theme is not necessarily the subject of the sentence, but it does usually precede the rheme.[2]

In the Nakanai clause, nominal elements appear around the predicate according to crucial regularities of word order and morphological marking, conditioned by prominence or salience factors, which are of two general types.

Firstly, there is inherent semantic salience. The notion of role prominence, for example, involves, among other things, that actors are accorded more salience in the clause than are other roles. The notion of natural topic, on the other hand, reflects the tendency of languages to encode human entities in positions of greater prominence in the clause than non-human entities.

---

[1]Time phrases may appear fronted and therefore highlighted, but are adverbial in character, being analysed as modalities of the clause (see 3.1.1.1.). Time elements do not represent nominal cases, and do not qualify therefore as non-pragmatic NPs. Accordingly, time elements are fronted without pronominal tracing.

[2]Kilham (1977:16-31) gives a useful evaluative summary of the development of the idea of FSP.

Secondly, there is contextual salience, consisting of notions of **discourse prominence**, where given or emphasised elements may be marked and ordered for salience over elements representing new or unfocussed information, and **local salience**, where elements prominent in the non-linguistic environment in which a clause is uttered may be accorded greater salience than other elements.

Clause encoding then, involves the marking of nominal elements for prominence, and provision of strategies for resolving clashes between the different criteria of pragmaticality.

(163)a.

TOP 1			TOP 2		CLAUSE	
La	raesi	ele,	e	latu-mu,	eia	abi-a-le
NM	*rice*	*there*	NM	*child*-2psi	3psi	*give*-3ps-3psi

tete.
father

'*That rice there, your child gave it to my father.*'

b. *E latu-mu, e tete, eia abi-a-la la raesi ele.

The clause topic however, is the most frequently topicalised entity in the clause. This is consistent with Keenan's (1976) proposition that "if a language has specific topic or old information markers, they will most naturally be used on subjects".

I am claiming then that the clause topic-NP will on occasions possess contextual salience which requires its marking as sentence topic, with even greater pragmaticality than that which it already enjoys as the clause topic.[1]

(164)

La	valalua	isahari,	egite	maraerae.
NM	*men*	*some*	*they*(pl)	*fishing*

'*Some men were fishing.*'

This example comes from the beginning of a long traditional narrative, while the speaker is still setting the scene and the participants for his story. This is the first mention of the fisherman, of whom we learn more in the story. They represent therefore, highly pragmatic information.

Only the clause topic may be topicalised in a complement sentence:[2]

(165)a.

Eau	lolo-a	vei-a	la	lalu	uru	eia	guvi	tal
I	*hear*-3ps	*say*-3ps	NM	*water*	*great*	3ps	*arrive*	*too*

te | la | mautu.
PREP | NM | *village*

'*I heard that a great flood had come to the village.*'

---

[1]Some but not all examples of the topicalised clause topic are due to contrastive status (see 4.1.1.). Such is not the case in example (164) however, since the NP is indefinite and non-specific. The matter is one of the pragmatic distinction between contextual salience in the linguistic and non-linguistic environments.

[2]This restriction does not apply if the topicalised entity is animate. E.g. Eau lolo-a vei-a la paia tetala-le, egite ubi-ti-a. '*I heard that, as for his dog, they have shot it.*' Cf. (165(b)).

(165)b. *Eau lolo-a vei-a la mautu, la lalu uru eia guvi tai o-vola.
'I heard that concerning the village, a great flood had come
to it.'

3.2.0.2. Launching of Floating Quantifiers

The 'launching' of floating quantifiers[1] has been cited as a poten-
tial test of pragmatic peak I (Foley and Van Valin 1977), and of top-
icality status of a NP within the clause (Schachter 1976). This test
is applicable to Nakanai, as shown by the following contrastive examples
from text:

(166) E   hatavivile, la valalua go-rivo   tomi.
      NM *women*   NM *men*   *go-gardens all*
      'The women and the menfolk went to the gardens - every one of
      them.'

(167) Egite   tomi sibitala, go-io   pou.
      they(pl) *all   arrive   go-there sit*
      'They all arrived and went and sat down.'

In (166) tomi modifies the verb, whereas it modifies the NP egite
in (167). The position could be reversed without any change of meaning.
The same can happen with nuclear roles other than the actor. Quanti-
fier floating indicates therefore the existence of pragmatic peaks in
the clause, positions from which salient NPs optionally 'launch' quan-
tifiers like tomi into the post-verbal position.[2]

3.2.1. *EVIDENCE FOR PRAGMATIC PEAK I*

The clause topic is the NP expounding the point of highest pragmatic
prominence in the clause. I adduce here six syntactic arguments for
the existence of pragmatic peak I in the Nakanai clause.

---

[1]A floating quantifier is an adverbial element like *'all'* which modifies a NP to
which it is normally constituently adjoined, but which can potentially 'float' into
a different constituent relationship in the clause (Keenan 1976:320). Subjects are
claimed to preferentially launch quantifiers, then direct and indirect objects in
that order, in an implicational hierarchy.

[2]The value of this test is, however, reduced by the fact that a quantifier may also
be similarly floated towards the NP expounding II. This is demonstrated by an example
from text showing the co-occurrence of the quantifier for emphasis in both nominal
and verbal contexts:
      Egite   abi tomi la golu-golu tomi usu.
      they(pl) *get all   NM thing*-rd *all   many*
      'They got all their many things all together.'
In terms of 'floating' tests, however, II is distinct in that the NP expounding it
may in fact control floating modal adverbs as well as the quantifier tomi, modals
such as bakisi a little, something which the NP expounding I cannot do.

3.2.1.1. Leftmost Nominal Position

The leftmost nominal position in the clause is the point of highest pragmatic prominence, and is accessible to the following cases hierarchically as shown:

Actor > Instrument > Patient

this hierarchy reflecting inherent semantic salience of an entity by virtue of its degree of involvement in implementing an event.

```
(168)a. Act           VP            Pat   Ins
        E     Baba    barautu  le   Bubu  la    viso.
        NM    Baba    cut      ABL  Bubu  NM    knife

        'Baba cut Bubu with a knife.'

     b. Ins           VP       Pat
        La    viso    barautu  e    Bubu.
        'The knife cut Bubu.'

     c. Pat           VP
        E     Bubu    barautu.
        NM    Bubu    cut

        'Bubu is cut.'

     d. *E Bubu barautu (le) la viso.
```

3.2.1.2. Topicalisation

I is the position which has to be filled when other NPs are not represented in the case frame of the verb. The NP in I then, can be thought of as having inherent topicality, and is termed therefore the clause **topic**.

The clause topic, however, can be further topicalised to become the sentence topic, in which case it will be focussed by an immediately-following pronoun copy in the third person, agreeing with its antecedent in number and inclusiveness, except in the case of indefinite plurals, which may be referenced in the singular.

The NP so topicalised must refer to specific information (including generic referents), i.e. information already assumed by the speaker to be given in the context in which the utterance occurs.

```
(169)a. 0,    la vareki,  eia  go-io      voro.
        well  NM goanna   3ps  go-there   crack.nuts
        'Well, the goanna, he just cracked nuts.'
```

La vareki is a definite NP, appears as the sentence topic, and is focussed by the 3ps pronoun eia.

Specific indefinite referent:

```
(169)b. TOP                   CLAUSE
        La    luma-luma  usu,  eia   kama-kokora.
        NM    house-rd   many  3ps   not-good

        'Many of the houses were spoiled.'
```

Generic referent:

```
     c. TOP                   CLAUSE
        La    golu-golu  usu,  eia   kama  sibitala  bulahu.
        NM    thing-rd   many  3ps   not   arrive    for.no.reason

        'Prosperity does not come out of nowhere.'
```

3.2.1.3. Indispensability

The NP of highest pragmatic prominence is the one which cannot be deleted. This indispensability criterion is illustrated by the following paraphrase sentence in which the patient-NP is deleted in the second (amplificatory) clause:

```
(170) E   Baba  ali  la  raes,  eia  ali  pepeho.
      NM  Baba  eat  NM  rice   3ps  eat  very.much

      'Baba ate the rice - he ate enormously.'
```

The NP which is the clause topic necessarily designates an indispensable entity whereas other NPs need not, cf. then:

```
(171)a. E   Baba  sae    la  obu.
        NM  Baba  climb  NM  tree

        'Baba climbed a/the tree.'
```

```
     b. E   Baba  sae.
        NM  Baba  climb

        'Baba climbed.'
```

```
     c. *Sae la obu.
```

The clause topic must be expressed as a NP which refers to a real entity. That is, an entity thought of as imaginary cannot be the topic of an active clause (b):

```
(172)a. Ale   bisi   ali  mai   e   buata.
        that  small  eat  like  NM  monster

        'That little child eats like a monster.'
```

```
     b. *E buata ali mai ale bisi.
```

In a similar vein, weather expressions require a clause topic to be either found in the context, or manufactured:

```
(173)a. La  hura  puhu.
        NM  rain  fall

        'It rained.'
```

(173)b. La paga tivura pasi.
       NM *thing hot very*

       'It's very hot (weather).'

Similarly, many complement-taking intransitive verbs like koramuli *'sufficient'* and taritigi *'good, appropriate'* have a tendency to take a dummy NP, viz. the third person singular pronoun eia, in the clause topic position:

(174) Eia kama koramuli-a vei-a eau ge tola e tete.
      3ps *not sufficient*-3ps *say*-3ps *I* IRR *call* NM *father*

      'It is simply not sufficient for me to call my father.'

Only the clause topic may be replaced by morphologically independent demonstrative pronouns:

(175)a. Ale la-rova?
        that NM-*what*

        'What is that?'

    b. Ale la malia-gu.
       that NM *smell*-1psi

       'That's my body-smell.'

Demonstrative ale is especially favoured for use as a substitute for its real-world referent under circumstances of feigned or real disapproval:

(176) Ale ge igo la-va?
      that IRR *do* NM-*what*

      'What's he think he's trying to do?'

or to ascribe a serial progression of a repeated action to succeeding individuals:

(177)a. Ale tutu-a, ale tutu-a, ale tutu-a.
        that thrust-3ps (repeated)

        'One thrust in his spear, then another, and another.'

    b. Ale boru so-io, ale boru so-io.
       that fall to-there that fall to-there

       'One of them fell here and another fell there.'

Always, however, it is the clause topic-NP which is substituted.

3.2.1.4. Coreferential Topic Deletion

In sequence sentences, optional coreferential deletion of the clause topic across clause boundaries occurs:

(178)a. E Magurei go-io abi la havi, isu-a.
        NM *Magurei go-there get* NM *fire light*-3ps

        'Magurei went and got an ember and blew it alight.'

(178)b. *E   Magurei   go-io   abi   la havi, eia   isu.
        NM   *Magurei* *go-there* *get* NM *fire* 3ps   *light*

   c. *Egite   baha   e   Magurei,   go-io   abi   la havi.[1]
       they(pl) *send* NM *Magurei* *go-there* *get* NM *fire*

Examples (b) and (c) show that the coreferentially deleted NP refers
only to the NP in the clause topic.

Coreferential topic deletion occurs also across clause boundaries
in clauses encoding co-ordinated events:

(179) Eau igo isa e   belo, tola vikapopo   egite   la valalua.
      I   *do* *one* NM *bell* *call* *together* *they*(pl) NM *men*

      'I rang a bell, calling together the men.'

3.2.1.5. Addressee of Imperatives

While the NP in I may be deleted in imperatives, it is nonetheless
always recoverable and invariably expresses the addressee, and thus
forms another argument for the indispensability of the notion of clause
topic:

(180) (Eme) pou   ele.
       2ps   *sit* *there*

      'You sit there.'

3.2.1.6. Imperviousness to Incorporation into Lexical Phrases

In certain metaphorical idioms the patient-NP groups in a close-knit
fashion with the verb to make a lexical phrase. The NP in the clause
topic however, is impervious to such lexicalisations:

(181) La   tavile   uru   pigi   la   tilali.
      NM   *woman*   *old* *throw* NM   *crying*

      'The old woman commenced to mourn.'

Example (181) shows the lexical incorporation of la tilali into the
VP pigi. Certain verbs are prone to host this kind of incorporation,
e.g. other incorporations exist involving pigi, such as pigi la merera
'talk straight at someone'.

It would seem then, in the light of the six syntactic arguments
reviewed here, that there is a position of supreme pragmatic prominence,
which I have termed I, existing as a real and demonstrable function in
the Nakanai clause, being the clause topic. This kind of functional
relationship has been referred to variously as the nominative case or
the sentence subject in traditional grammar.

---

[1]This is acceptable if goio abi la havi is regarded as a quote, or if Magurei is not
interpreted as the topic of the embedded clause.

3.2.2. EVIDENCE FOR PRAGMATIC PEAK II

3.2.2.1. Constraints on Patient Topicalisation

The first factor delineating the pragmatic salience of a second point of prominence in the clause is pronominal copying of the NP following the verb in a transitive clause. This is illustrated in (182) in which example the noun la bauba is preceded by the pronoun object suffix on the verb:

(182) Egite   ge   tau-a   la bauba   te   la baa-le-io.
      they(pl) IRR *put*-3ps NM *pig.net* PREP NM *area-that-there*
      'They will place the pig-net in that space.'

Nouns in the immediately post-verbal position can be topicalised if representing given information. The topicalised NP most often represents definite information, and as such it is frequently focussed by a limiting modifier such as the demonstrative, ale:

(183) La tavile ale, eme   abi-a   oio-ve?
      NM *woman* *that* *you*(s) *get*-3ps *at-where*
      'That woman - where did you get her?'

This is basically the same strategy as for relativisation:

(184) La leta   kapisi   ale eau kekesi-a   igoie.
      NM *letter* *a.little* *that* *I* *write*-3ps *today*
      'This little letter that I have written today.'

With such a relationship between given information and pronoun copying evident then for II as for I, it is likely that the occurrence of optional pronoun copying for the untopicalised NP in II will be similarly conditioned. This is in fact so, and it is found in Nakanai that third person singular 'object' pronoun copying can occur for NPs in II which represent given information, but cannot occur for NPs in II representing new information. An exception occurs in the marking of dative and complementary objects, in which cases 3ps pronoun copying is obligatory rather than optional. The distinction between given and new information is fairly subtle, since pragmatic qualities such as definiteness can be established transiently in the immediate linguistic context of the utterance. Hence, *'fish'* in the following example is non-specific and indefinite in the first clause, but definite in the second:[1]

---

[1] Reference to the context of (185) in the taped narrative discourse from which it is taken precludes interpretation of la ia in the first clause as a specific indefinite NP.

```
(185) La   ia    isa   ge    tetepolo,  eia  tahi-a.
      NM   fish  one   IRR   go.past    3ps  ask
```

   'When a fish would go past, he would ask it.'

3.2.2.2. Topicalisation and Accusative Marking

   The filler of the nominal slot following a transitive verb, then,
is optionally marked by pronominal suffixation on the verb for highly
salient information. Under topicalisation, the pronoun marking is
obligatory, and serves as a 'stranded' pronoun copying the topicalised
NP. All NPs in this position are relativised by direct copying and
not by indirect copying. Indirect copying replaces a non-human NP in
a non-pragmatic position in the clause with the general pronoun vola,
whilst preserving direct copying for human non-pragmatic NPs:

```
(186)a. TOP           I:Act        VP        X:Src
        E    Baba,    e    Bubu    sagege    le    eia.
        NM   Baba     NM   Bubu    happy     ABL   3ps
```

   'As for Baba, Bubu is happy with him.'

```
     b. TOP           I:Act        VP        X:Src
        La   kapa,    e    Bubu    sagege    oio    vola.
        NM   iron     NM   Bubu    happy     at     PRON
```

   'As for the galvanised iron, Bubu is happy with it.'

```
(187)a. TOP                   I:Act              VP      X:Goal
        La   leavala  ale     e    tila-la      peho    oio      vola.
        NM   season   that    NM   mother-3psi  die     at       PRON
```

   'The year that his mother died.'

```
     b. TOP                   I:Act  VP        X:Goal
        La   tahalo   ale     eau    igogolu   tetala.
        NM   man      that    I      work      for.him
```

   'The man who I worked for.'

   In topicalising an NP in II however, direct copying occurs, regard-
less of whether the referent is human or non-human.

3.2.2.3. Role Prominence

   I have already shown (see 2.3.1.5.) that the immediately post-verbal
nominal slot is filled by roles according to an hierarchy of case
access, i.e. pragmatically prominent roles source and beneficiary have
access to this position ahead of patient. Other roles do not appear
in this slot at all. So this position in the clause, which I have
termed II, is the special position of highly prominent roles when they
are included in the clause.

Some transitive predicates are formed with causative prefix vi-/va- as shown in the next two examples. In such instances the NP in II would normally be the NP in I in relation to the underived verb root, and so is likely to be highly pragmatic. Consider the position of tete in (188a), where it is the clause topic, and (188b), where it is the NP filling II:

```
(188)a. I:Act          VP        II:Pat
        E      tete     hilo(-a)  la      obu.
        NM     father   see-3ps   NM      tree
        'Father saw the tree.'

     b. I:Act          VP              II:Pat  X:Ins
        E      Baba     va-hilo  le     tete    la    obu.
        NM     Baba     caus-see ABL    father  NM    tree
        'Baba showed father the tree.'
```

Now it might readily be suggested that tete is the goal of va-hilo in (188b), and that obu is the patient rather than the instrument. We have to beware of attempting to make objective judgements of case identity outside of the Nakanai data and case system as described in 2.1.1. The cases as noted in (188b) are defined in terms of the language-specific encoding of Nakanai cases. Thus while it may be true that le is disconnected from la obu because the patient, tete has outranked it in pragmaticality in referring to a human entity, this nevertheless still leaves us to explain why the le marking is used to signify that fact.

Now the manner of marking instrument further coidentifies the notion of cause with the source case, encoded by ablative particle le. In the case of verbs encoding directly source as cause then, there is the added advantage that an inanimate cause, viz. an instrumental 'force' (rather than a 'tool') need never appear in I (where it would be ungrammatical) since a non-human entity should not take a highly pragmatic position except under some special interpretation, such as imputed agency, e.g.:

```
(189) I:Act
      E      Bubu  lea  le   bubuli.
      NM     Bubu  sick ABL  measles
      'Bubu is sick with the measles.'
```

But under no derivation may bubuli fill I, e.g. *E bubuli igo lea e Bubu. Compare this fact with the derivation of the instrumental clause in (188b).

Now in certain three-place predicates, that is predicates with three nuclear cases appearing in the one simple clause (not in a chained

sequence of clauses), the non-pragmatic NP may be 'dative-shifted' (I use the term only metaphorically) into II, displacing the NP formerly filling II into the non-salient position, which is marked in these instances by preposition te, and appears last in the clause (see 2.3.1.4.).

(190)a. E   Baba kaka le   Bubu la viso.
       NM   *Baba* *ask* ABL *Bubu* NM *knife*

       'Baba asked Bubu for a/the knife.'

   b. E   Baba kaka la viso te   Bubu.
       NM   *Baba* *ask* NM *knife* PREP *Bubu*

       'Baba asked for a knife from Bubu.'

The cases beneficiary, goal and source in three-place predicates have clear prior right of accession to II ahead of patient. The functional basis of this strategy is quite evident, for these are the roles most likely to be highly pragmatic in terms of second person reference and humanness.

3.2.2.4. Goal of a Motion

Consider goal, which is marked by preposition te, and usually indicates a destination, rarely referring to a human entity. Goal never occurs in II. The importance of the human/non-human pragmatic distinction is however preserved by manipulation of the prepositional marking:

(191)a. E   Baba ge   go-muli e   Makasili. (non-human referent)
       NM   *Baba* IRR *go-east* NM *Makasili*

       'Baba is going to go to Makasili village.'

   b. E   Baba ge   go-muli te   tama-la.   (human referent)
       NM   *Baba* IRR *go-east* PREP *father*-3psi

       'Baba is going to go along to his father's house.'

3.2.2.5. Morphological Marking

In marking language-specific distinctions according to case in Nakanai, morphological marking is seen to be prominent for II. For the beneficiary case, II is morphologically marked by inalienable possession morphology. For source there is the ablative particle le following the verb. For patient there is the accusative marking on the verb. All these apply for three-place predicates. In two-place predicates in which it is not crucial to distinguish a second from a lesser position of prominence in the clause, the case markings are freed to mark directly semantic values for non-pragmatic NPs, hence le marks instrument and te marks goal.

For the five reasons outlined in 3.2.2. then, I accept the analysis of the Nakanai clause as having a second point of pragmatic prominence, which I have symbolised as II. NPs not meeting the criteria of I and II are pragmatically non-prominent in the clause. In Nakanai, however, there are distinct options for indicating pragmatic prominence beyond those I have described for the clause. These further options operate on sentence level, being concerned with topicalisation strategies and functions which are implemented to maintain cohesion in the discourse. That is, sentence topicalisation reflects contextual factors which are expressed in the syntax as foregrounding and prominence options.

TOPICALISATION STRATEGIES AND FUNCTIONS

4.0. OVERVIEW OF TOPICALISATION

4.0.1. *CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS*

The present chapter forms a conceptual link between the discussion of clause semantics and syntax in chapters II and III, and the discussion of clause chaining and sentence formations in chapters VII and VIII. Before reaching these later chapters basic structures of the NP and VP are to be discussed, but prior to that the purpose of the present chapter is to relate the clause to the context, both linguistic and non-linguistic, in which it is uttered, since the context affects the matter of topicalisation and so affects the syntactic nature of the sentence.

That topicalisation is a sentence-level factor needs perhaps to be demonstrated before going on to a preliminary discussion of functional sentence theory and proposed solutions for the topic-sentence in Austronesian languages. Consider the following complex sentence with a subordinate clause:

(192)a. La iri tagu-au, e Malalia kama abi-taro sesele-a.
NM *thorn spike*-3ps NM *Malalia not get-away truly*-3ps

'*I had a thorn stuck in my skin and Malalia did not take it out properly.*'

For our present demonstration it is interesting to note that Malalia can be topicalised from the second clause in example (a) to become the topic of the entire complex sentence:

(192)b. E   Malalia,   la   iri   tagu-au,   eia kama abi-taro
       NM   *Malalia*   NM   *thorn* spike-3ps   3ps *not* *get-away*

       sesele-a.
       truly

       'As for Malalia, when I had a thorn stuck in me, she didn't
       take it out properly.'

This is the topicalised form of (192a), but we cannot know the
reason for the speaker's choice of it without referring to the context.
The background to the linguistic context is that I had approached a
man with a swollen arm, sitting disconsolately under his house, and
asked him what happened to his arm. The non-linguistic context is that
he was still nursing considerable resentment against his daughter whose
lack of skill at removing thorns had left him, so he thought, with a
swollen arm. Hence the sentence in (192b) was uttered (in a loud voice
to be sure that the offender would hear) in reply to my question. All
of which raises the question of how far nonsyntactic factors should be
taken into account in the analysis of syntax.

Linguistic interest in the 1970s in functional analyses and explan-
ations is perhaps best understood in relation to its immediate ante-
cedents. Dissatisfaction in the mid-1960s with the transformational
paradigm led to demands for reconsidering the place of semantics and,
more recently, pragmatics, in linguistics (Grosu 1975:170; Yngve 1975:
541). Research arising from these developments was reported at the
1975 meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society in the parasession on
functionalism (Grossman, San and Vance 1975). Morgan (1975:433) del-
ivered a paper in which he complained of a distortion which he sees as
the root of many potential difficulties in semantic analysis: "This
distortion is the view of sentences as abstract formal objects that
exists independently of speaker, time, and context - sentences as
things."

This is termed by Morgan the 'object' view, which he sees as merely
a convenient metaphor leading often to pseudo-problems and pseudo-
solutions. If the analyst ignores the fact that language is a communi-
cation system, the stage is set for a system of rules to be devised
which characterise certain syntactic patterns discernable in the lan-
guage under study, so that a return to the old orthodoxy of distribu-
tionalism occurs.

Yngve (1975:541) joins this criticism, attributing certain current
theoretical emphases to over-dependence on our philosophical heritage:

        A conceptual structure springing from the Stoic theory of
        knowledge, with its emphasis on propositional speech and

on how to say it, seems particularly inappropriate in a discipline moving swiftly into a consideration of pragmatic factors and the many functions of language.

What are these 'pragmatic' factors, and how central are they to the problems confronting the 'ordinary working grammarian'? Pragmatism concerns perspectives of functionalism, discourse analysis, and the point of view (or empathy) of the speaker (Kuno 1975). Kuno shows with regard to the functional sentence perspective that syntactic phenomena to do with pronominalisation, backward subject deletion, relativisation, gapping and VP deletion cannot be accounted for on purely syntactic grounds. Rather, he presents a strong case that

> concepts such as 'theme', 'exhaustive listing', 'old, predictable information' and 'new unpredictable information' play major roles in determining the degree of grammaticality or acceptability of sentences in wide varieties of so-called syntactic phenomena.

> Given a linguistic phenomenon that involves deletion, reduction ..., or word order changes, it is safer to assume that controlling factors are nonsyntactic than to assume that they are syntactic. (p.308)

Kuno also considers the perspective or direct discourse analysis. He discusses phenomena involving pronominalisation, reflexivisation, and pronominal deletion, showing that they can only be adequately accounted for in terms of the 'direct' discourse.[1]

Finally, Kuno explains that the speaker, in describing an event or state, can express his attitude towards the participants in numerous ways. His example is of a situation where John and Mary are husband and wife, and John hit Mary. In describing this event, the speaker might say one of the following sentences:

'John hit Mary.'
'John hit his wife.'
'Mary's husband hit her.'

The difference between these sentences is that of the speaker's attitude toward John and Mary. The first is the most neutral, while in the second the speaker sides with John, and in the third the speaker sides with Mary. Kuno calls this point of view 'empathy' and claims that it

---

[1]This is Kuno's term. To cite one of his examples, a sentence such as *'John claimed that he was the best boxer in the world'* has a direct discourse complement as in *'John claimed, [I am the best boxer in the world]'*.

affects syntax, in principles such as the 'Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy'.[1]

Kilham (1977) surveyed discourse factors and the approach taken to sentence topicalisation by a number of linguists, among them workers in Western Austronesian languages of the Philippines type. According to Longacre (1968), prior to 1968 published analyses of Philippine languages handled sentence topic as a clause level feature, either as an emphasis tagmeme within the clause, or an emphasis transformation of the clause (Kilham 1977:26). More recent analyses have treated sentence topic as a sentence peripheral tagmeme along with exclamations, vocatives and responses (e.g. Reid 1970:21; Elkins 1971:224). In Reid's work, setting topics have a different set of grammatical markers to situational role topics. These distinct kinds of topic can co-occur, and pronominal cross-reference to the sentence topic may occur within the clause, being in fact obligatory for actors and possessors. In Elkin's analysis (1971:224-7) a distinction is drawn between discourse and paragraph topics occurring in the 'outer periphery' of the sentence, and sentence topics, occurring in the 'inner periphery'. The sentence topic is cross-referenced in the matrix clause by a pronoun when there is a substantive referent.

In unpublished manuscripts by Ballard and Ruch (cited by Kilham 1977:26), dealing with topic in Philippines languages, the sentence topic is relegated to the sentence periphery, but not without some discussion of its syntactic and functional significance:

> Ballard, for instance, states that sentence topic has either an emphatic function, or else it relieves the nucleus of the sentence of an overcrowding of contiguous noun phrases. Ruch describes the function of the sentence topic as highlighting a clause-level tagmeme for the purpose of contrast, emphasis, or to introduce new characters.
>
> (Kilham 1977:26)

Prentice (1971) discusses clauses which have a preposed topic, labelling them thematic, and describing them in terms of transformations from another clause type. Thus a definite relationship is shown between the preposed topic and the cross-referenced element in the clause.

------

[1]The Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy states that
> 'It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the subject; it is next easiest for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the object; .... It is next to impossible for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the by-agentive.
> Subject > Object > .... > By-agentive'. (Kuno 1975:322)

Sneddon (1975) treats theme as part of the nucleus of the sentence rather than the periphery, thus attributing to this concept a signif- icance which appeals intuitively as being closer to the importance which seems to be attached to the meaning of 'theme'. Sneddon posits thematic sentences consisting of two tagmemes, them and base. The theme announces someone or something, while the base makes a statement about that person or thing.

While Nakanai does not share in the focus and voice-marking system of the Philippines-type languages there are distinct strategies of thematisation and topicalisation, indicated respectively by nominal inflection and copying of nominal elements to the front of the sentence. While functionalist accounts of syntax are not yet sufficiently dev- eloped for these phenomena to be described in formal terms, I have attempted to approach such factors at least along lines of rigorous analysis. In this, Grimes' (1975) study of the 'thread' of discourse proved helpful by providing a conceptual superstructure as a basis for approaching a mass of data, the analysis of which at first sight appeared to be a daunting task. Especially helpful is Grimes' concept of the distinction between foregrounding (thematisation) and high- lighting (topicalisation).

4.0.2. INTRODUCTION TO THEME AND TOPIC IN NAKANAI

Nominal and modal constituents of the clause may be thematic in the linguistic context of the discourse. This pragmatic factor is reflec- ted in syntactic features of topicalisation. There are two kinds of topicalisation in Nakanai:

i) Topicalisation by **inflection** is applicable to nominals, serving to focus known themes in the discourse, thus promoting cohesion. I shall term this 'foregrounding'.

ii) Topicalisation by **fronting**, which left-dislocates given information in the form of nominals and modals to the front of the sentence, high- lights this information to serve as a new theme; for nominals this occurs with pronominal tracing in the matrix clause. I shall use the term 'highlighting' to refer to topicalisation by fronting.

Semantic components subject to thematisation are the **setting**, the **scene**, and the **participants**. These are differently highlighted in Nakanai. Setting is expressed by modals, and is topicalised simply by fronting:

(193) Alalavi,   eau kama go-rivo,   la hura puhu.
      yesterday I   not   go-garden NM *rain fall*

      'Yesterday I didn't go to the gardens, because it rained.'

In this example, setting is focal because the sentence was uttered in
response to an enquiry about a person's activities on the previous day,
hence **alalavi** *'yesterday'* appears first.

The scene is expressed in motion and location clauses appearing in
chained sequence to the main clause. Scene is topicalised by fronting
the thematic NP, leaving the indirect pronominal trace **vola**:

(194) La mautu   ale   mave eme   pou o-io   vola?
      NM *village that how   you*(s) *sit at-there* PRON

      'At which village did you stay?'

In this example the goal of the locative verb **o-io** has been topical-
ised to the front of the sentence, with the trace morpheme **vola** re-
maining in its place.

If a NP in a non-pragmatic position in the clause is animate, its
animacy qualifies it as inherently pragmatic despite its non-pragmatic
position in the clause. Such NPs are therefore highlighted by direct
rather than indirect copying. In indirect copying the topicalised
element is moved to the front of the sentence with the general pro-
nominal trace element **vola** remaining behond in its place, as is the
case for non-pragmatic NPs (see 3.2.0.1.). Contrastive examples are
given here:

(195)a. E   Rabaul, eau ge   go-muli o-vola.
        NM *Rabaul   I   IRR go-east at-*PRON

        'As for Rabaul, I'm going there.'

Compare (a) with the untopicalised form of the clause in (b):

      b. Eau ge go-muli e Rabaul.

The examples above are contrasted with the topicalisation of an anim-
ate referent in example (196a):

(196)a. E   Kansel,   eau ge   go-muli tetala.
        NM *Councillor I   IRR go-east to.him*

        'As for the Councillor, I'm going along to see him.'

      b. Eau ge   go-muli te Kansel.
         I   IRR go-east   Councillor

         'I'm going along to see the Councillor.'

Now the latter strategy, used here for an animate goal-NP, is the
strategy used for NPs expressing pragmatic position in the clause, i.e.

actors, patients, beneficiaries, and so on. **Participants**, then, are topicalised by fronting with a full pronominal trace left behind:

(197) La paia taume, eau kama hilo-a.
      NM *dog* *your*(s) *I*   *not* *see*-3ps
      '*As for your dog, I haven't seen it.*'

But inanimate instrument, goal and source entities are encoded in Nakanai as part of the scene, rather than as participants, along with location and range relationships (which are encoded in chained clause sequences).

Turning now to the matter of **foregrounding**, which is implemented syntactically by inflection, I distinguish three kinds:

  i) demonstrative focus
 ii) deictic focus
iii) topic chaining

Of these three, demonstrative focus has three manifestations:

  i) primary demonstrative inflection, yielding a NP format:
    $[_{NP} \; N + ale \; _{NP}]$;
 ii) relativisation, my account of which follows Schachter's (1973) NP-over-S analysis, yielding a format as follows:
    $[_{S} \; [N + ale] \; S \; _{S}]$; and
iii) partitioning, or pseudo-clefting, yielding a format as follows:
    $[_{S} \; [ale + S] \; N \; _{S}]$.

I have outlined the semantic and syntactic definitions to be used in this chapter. This is important since terms like 'theme' and 'topic' have been usef by various writers for the same or similar phenomena (see Kilham 1977). I have followed Grimes (1975:ch.22) which treats 'theme' on the semantic level and regards 'topic' as the syntactic manifestation of it. Nakanai topicalisation consists of focussing or **foregrounding** for preserving discourse cohesion among introduced themes, and **highlighting** by fronting of various kinds for identifying new themes which in turn are subjected to further focussing throughout the discourse. This is an important aspect of the grammar which is just not encompassed by devices such as categories and sequences and domination. Whilst it is not proposed to account for facts of focus and topicalisation by postulating unverifiable underlying structures, some light can be shed on their operation by a careful delineation of the manifestation of their operation in Nakanai syntax.

4.1. HIGHLIGHTING

4.1.0. *INTRODUCTION: COPYING OF NPs*

Copying, or left-displacement with pronominal tracing, is an option for all nuclear NPs, as well as for highly pragmatic (i.e. animate) NPs filling non-pragmatic nominal slots in the clause. Inanimate non-pragmatic NPs are traced indirectly by the general pronominal element **vola**. Copying enables an NP to be highlighted, thus giving it a focus beyond that with which it is endowed by the case frame of the verb. The NP so highlighted serves as a new theme until supplanted by another highlighted NP.

I have already noted that such highlighting applies to pragmatic NPs, i.e. those filling the pragmatic peaks in the clause. This means that the clause topic can itself be topicalised to become the sentence topic. I begin by considering this fact in some detail.

4.1.1. *COPYING FROM PRAGMATIC PEAK I*

The NP expounding I must represent given information (i.e. information which is definite, specific or generic). A survey was undertaken of the occurrences of topicalisation of the clause topic when traced by the 3ps pronoun **eia**. In 100 pages of text 103 examples were found. Of these, 79 (or 77%) were morphologically marked to indicate definite-NP status, while 24 (or 23%) were not morphologically marked.

An example of the former kind of topicalised NP is:

(198) La tahalo ale, eia igo-ti-a   mai   ale-le   la   uaga.
      NM *man*   *that* 3ps *do*-PERF-3ps *like* *that-there* NM *canoe*

'*That man, he made the canoe exactly as instructed.*'

In (198) a definite NP, signalled by demonstrative **ale**, has been copied from the position of clause topic to that of sentence topic. The pronominal trace **eia** marks its original position in the clause.

The next example shows an anaphoric NP, i.e. an NP already established as referring to an introduced entity in the discourse.

(199) 0,   la vareki, eia go-io   voro.
      so NM *goanna* 3ps *go-there* *crack.nuts*

'*So the goanna went and cracked nuts.*'

Since **la vareki** is an introduced or thematic participant from earlier in the discourse, the NP is anaphoric and definite in nature because of this reference, thus demonstrating that overt morphological marking of definiteness is not necessarily required.

Consider then, the results of the survey of 103 sentences with top-
icalised NPs traced by 3ps pronoun eia:

Those morphologically marked were as follows:

Deictics/demonstrative marking:	10
Modifiers/restrictive relative clause:	40
Proper noun (i.e. noun marker e referring to a named entity):	29
total	79

A categorisation of non-morphologically marked clause-topic NPs top-
icalised as sentence topics was also made:

Anaphoric nouns:	9
Specific, indefinite NP:	11
Generic-information NP:	4
total	24

It remains then to illustrate all of these variants. I have illus-
trated above (examples 198 and 199) demonstrative marking and anaphoric
nouns. The next two examples show definite NPs signalled by a limiting
and a descriptive (i.e. relative clause) modifier respectively:

(200)a. Tio,   la vikarara tegiaku, eia kara   mai o-mai-e.
        well NM *talk*   *my*   3ps *until* *like* *at-here-there*
        '*Well, my story goes only this far.*'

    b. La baa   ale   o-mai   te   la Hailans, eia ligi sesele.
       NM *area* *that* *at-here* PREP NM *H'lands* 3ps *pain* *truly*
       '*This here Highlands area is really tough (to live in).*'

For certain semantic groups of nouns such as kin terms, noun marker
e is predictable in occurrence (6.1.) and reference is in such cases
automatically to a definite entity, e.g.:

(201) Iala moli e   tahalo-la-uaga, eia igo-ti   la ilali uru.
      but   NM *man-NM-canoe*   3ps *make*-PERF NM *food* *great*
      '*But the canoe-owner, he has already prepared a great feast.*'

Considering next non-morphologically marked NPs, we observe that
anaphoric nouns are in fact infrequently encountered in topicalisation.
Also fairly infrequent is the specific, indefinite type of NP:

(202) La luma-luma   usu,   eia kama-kokora.
      NM rd-*house*   *many* 3ps *not-good*
      '*Many houses were spoiled.*'

This sentence was taken from a letter written following a great earth-
quake. The reader was not to know which houses were damaged, but the
writer had specific houses in mind. In the case of inanimate refer-
ences like this, number agreement between the topic and the pronoun
copy is not required. Such would appear to be a typically Oceanic
Austronesian feature. Clark (1973:564), commenting on pronominal sub-
ject and object agreement marked in the PEO verb phrase notes that
"inanimate subjects and objects ... apparently co-occurred only with
third person singular pronouns".

 This feature is illustrated again in the final example of topic-
alisation of the clause topic, which shows generic information in the
NP:

(203) La golu-golu usu, eia kama sibitala bulahu.
      NM rd-*thing* *many* 3ps *not* *arrive* *for.no.reason*
      'Prosperity does not come from nowhere.'

 The sentence topic, as we have seen illustrated in examples (198)
through to (203) must represent definite, specific or generic inform-
ation. This is information which the speaker can assume to be already
in the consciousness of the hearer, i.e. **given** information. In fact,
then, the NP in the sentence topic cannot represent new information.

 The survey reported here covered only those sentence topics marked
by 3ps pronoun copying. With the exception of inanimate generic and
indefinite specific referents the pronoun copy of a topicalised NP
will necessarily agree in number with the topic:[1]

(204)a. Singular

     La vareki, eia goio   voro.
     NM *goanna* 3ps *go-there* *crack.nuts*
     'The goanna, he went and cracked nuts.'

  b. Dual

     E Pagara me   Peau, egira   gogo   pepeho-a.
     NM *Pagara* *and* *Peau* *they*(du) *sorry* *very.much*.3ps
     'Pagara and Peau are very sorry for him.'

  c. Plural

     Egite   la valua, egite   hele.
     they(pl) NM *men*   *they*(pl) *flee*
     'The men fled.'

---

[1]The marking of non-singular topics has ramifications for the marking of plurality
in general, and raises the issue of juxtaposed NPs in particular, discussed in
6.5.1.

It remains to demonstrate a specific but indefinite **animate** NP, marked for plurality by the pronoun copy, as a contrast with the non-agreeing copying for specific indefinite, or generic, inanimate NPs mentioned earlier:

(205) La maututula isahari, egite hiliti te la bisnis.
     NM *villages* *some* *they*(pl) *arise* PREP NM *business*
     '*Some villages are already progressing in business.*'

The reference is to certain village populaces, and is therefore animate. The villages are known to the speaker in general terms, but are not defined by him. The example is taken from a tape-recorded narrative text (see Appendix B, text 3).

4.1.2. *COPYING FROM PRAGMATIC PEAK II*

4.1.2.1. Patient Topicalisation

The discussion above of topicalisation of the NP in I, i.e. the clause topic, covers the matter of actor-NP topicalisation, since actor, if present, must fill I. Consider now the matter of patient-topical-isation, which is subsumed under the heading of copying of the NP filling II. Recall that in a transitive clause, patient fills II:

(206) La uaga tetala, eau hilo-ti-a.
     NM *canoe* 3ps *I* *see*-PERF-3ps
     '*As for his canoe, I've already seen it.*'

Now the patient can be copied even in a ditransitive clause:

(207) La raesi ele, e latu-mu abi-a-le tete.
     NM *rice* *there* NM *child*-3psi *give*-3ps-3psi/NM *father*
     '*As for that rice there, your child gave it to my father.*'

Recall also that in a ditransitive clause, source/beneficiary roles fill II ahead of patient (see 2.3.1.5.). NPs in these roles are sim-ilarly topicalised, so we are talking about copying from II rather than copying of any particular role:

(208) E latu-gu, e tama-mu abi-a-la la raesi ele.
     NM *child*-1si NM *father*-2si *give*-3ps-3psi NM *rice* *there*
     '*As for my child, your father gave him/her that rice.*'

Now that the discussion has come far enough to encompass copying from II, I should like to consider a further aspect of patient topic-alisation, namely that involved in agentless sentences.

4.1.2.2. Agentless Sentences

Consider firstly patient-as-topic **clauses**, which are encoded on the basis of case frames for patient-prominent verbs (see 2.3.1.1.):

(209) E   tete   sala.
     NM *father shave*

     'Father shaved/was shaved.'

Recall also patient topicalisation, just discussed above, which allowed that an NP in II could be left-copied to the front of the sentence, with a pronominal trace left in its place:

(210) La mavo taume,   eau kama ali-a.
     NM *taro your*(s) *I   not   eat*-3ps

     'As for your taro, I did not eat it.'

I have reviewed these two operations (illustrated in examples 209 and 210) in order to demonstrate that the patient can be topicalised without copying (see 209) and that, alternatively, it can also be topicalised with the actor co-occurring. Now there is in Nakanai an **agentless** sentence which would be open to misinterpretation if we do not keep these two factors in mind. It is a rarely-occurring passive-like construction:

(211) La bolo ubi-a,   la paia ubi-a.
     NM *pig shoot*-3ps NM *dog shoot*-3ps

     'Pigs were shot and dogs were shot.'[1]

The agentless sentence must occur in the third person. The actor must represent definite information, given earlier in the discourse. The actor is deleted after the patient has been topicalised in order to further highlight it. This explanation is to be preferred to treating -a as a passive marker, since ubi freely occurs as an exponent of the case frame which has patient as the clause topic, so there is no need for special passive marking, and as we have seen, patient topicalisation is a normal option in sentence encoding. To cite another example:

(212) La vaha-gu ka   koro-a.
     NM *leg*-1si *not cut*-3ps

     'My legs are not cut off.'

A limited set of spontaneous motion verbs in Nakanai have -a as a petrified morpheme:

---

[1] It was the occurrence of such sentences that lead Chowning to identify one function of the suffix -a as a 'passive formative' in her unpublished Bileki Vocabulary. She cites the example eia ubia *'he was speared'*.

abi-a	*'continue on'*
sele-a	*'go straight'*
beu-a	*'go back'*
vali-bure-a	*'scatter, as a flock of birds'*

It is possible that -a is to be identified with the POC adjective-deriving suffix *-a which was suffixed to transitive verbs to derive participles. But rather than just trying to identify possible origins of the agentless sentence marking in this way, it seems preferable to have a **syntactic explanation**. Such an explanation can be furnished for the Nakanai data in terms of copying and deletion, as above, utilising regular processes available in the syntax.[1]

The sentence in (211) was in fact encountered in a discourse concerning events in World War II, and is taken from a list of animals which were shot by the Japanese. The speaker, therefore, had the option of including 'the Japanese' as the topic but chose the patient-focussed option instead, increasing the focus by deleting the actor. He could have said, for example:

(213)a. Egite   Siapan   ubi   la bolo, ubi   la paia.
    they(pl) *Japanese* *shoot* NM *pig*   *shoot* NM *dog*
    'The Japanese shot pigs and shot dogs.'

Instead of (213a) however, the speaker encoded the meaning with co-ordinated agentless sentences (cf. 211):

   b. La bolo ubi-a,   la paia ubi-a.
      NM *pig* *shoot*-3ps NM *dog* *shoot*-3ps
      'Pigs, (they) shot them, dogs (they) shot them.'

Before leaving agentless sentences, it should be mentioned that there is in fact an instrumental type of passive, associated with just two particular verbs (see 2.3.1.1.):

(214) Egite   ur-uru   usu   t-il-olo   la   bolo.
     they(pl) rd-*great* *many* nom-*bite* ABL/NM *pig*
     'Many of the old men have been bitten by pigs.'

In this example, nominalising infix -il- has been used to indicate a passive sense, and the actor **appears** to have been tagged on the end of the clause. However, consider the other verb with which such a construction occurs:

_____

[1] In addition, it is possible that the Nakanai analysis itself could throw light on the origin of the Polynesian 'passive' construction, rather than the reverse (see 2.3.1.1.).

(215) E   paipai s-ul-ulu   le   ruka.
      NM *mullet* nom-*slaughter* ABL *barracuda*

      '*The mullet were slaughtered by the barracuda.*'

The noun ruka takes noun marker e, and this allows the instrument
marker, ablative le (elided with noun marker la in (214)) to appear.

4.1.3. *MULTIPLE COPYING*

Any two NPs in a transitive clause may be copied in the same sen-
tence, but the actor must not be separated from its pronoun trace. It
is less preferred, however, for such separation to occur for an inan-
imate patient, which could not be confused with the actor because of
its inanimate nature.

Consider the matrix clause (216):

(216)a. Act   VP   Ben   Pat
        E   tila   gutu-a-le   tete   la   mavo.
        NM *mother* cook-3ps-3psi *father* NM *taro*

        '*Mother cooked taro for father.*'

The following single and multiple topicalisations by left copying
within (216a) were found to be acceptable:

   b. Ben   Act   VP   Pat
      E   tete,   e   tila   (eia) gutu-a-la   la   mavo.
      NM *father* NM *mother* 3ps cook-3ps-3psi   NM *taro*

      '*As for father, mother cooked taro for him.*'

   c. Pat   Act   VP   Ben
      La   mavo,   e   tila   (eia) gutu-a-le   tete.
      NM *taro*   NM *mother* 3ps cook-3ps-3psi   *father*

      '*As for the taro, mother cooked it for father.*'

   d. Act   VP   Ben   Pat
      E   tila,   eia gutu-a-le tete   la   mavo.
      NM *mother* 3ps cook-3ps-3psi *father* NM *taro*

      '*As for mother, she cooked taro for father.*'

All possible multiple topicalisation combinations of actor, patient
and beneficiary roles were checked with both old and young informants,
but only those such as (e) which did **not** involve separation of the
actor from the verb, were found to be definitely acceptable.

   e. Ben   Pat   Act   VP
      E   tete,   la   mavo, e   tila   gutu-a-la.
      NM *father* NM *taro* NM *mother* cook-3ps-3psi

      '*As for father, mother cooked <u>the taro</u> for him.*'

Definitely **unacceptable** were those sentences such as (f) which in-
volved separation of the actor from the verb by an NP referring to an
animate entity.

```
f.  Act            Ben           VP              Pat
    *E    tila,    e    tete,   eia  gutu-a-la    la   mavo.
    NM   mother   NM   father   3ps  cook-3ps-3psi  NM   taro
```

('As for mother, for father she cooked taro').

Somewhat more acceptable, however, was the separation of actor from pronominal trace by an inanimate NP:

```
g.  Act           Pat            VP              Ben
    E    tila     la   mavo,    eia  gutu-a-le    tete.
    NM   mother   NM   taro     3ps  cook-3ps-3psi/NM  father
```

'As for mother, she cooked the taro for father.'

This syntactic variation yields a fully-acceptable sentence, however, when the NP intervening between the actor and the pronominal trace is long (i.e. highly qualified), e.g.:

```
h.  La  valalua,   la   moto   isa   bisi    ale   koramuli   egiteu
    NM  men        NM   motor  one   little  that  sufficient they(pl)

    te     la   go-lau-la,  mulimuli  egiteu     soioge    ge   loto-a.
    PREP   NM   go-sea-nom   later     they(pl)   perhaps   IRR  buy-3ps
```

'As for the men, a little outboard motor that would be good enough to go out to sea with, later on they will probably buy one.'

Copying of **two** NPs past the actor as sentence topic was somewhat less acceptable:

```
i.  Pat              Ben           Act          VP
    La   mavo-le,    e    tete,   e    tila    eia  gutu-a-la.
    NM   taro-there  NM   father  NM   mother  3ps  cook-3ps-3psi
```

'As for that taro, mother cooked it for father.'

```
j.  Ben                Pat           Act          VP
    E    tete,         la   mavo,   e    tila    eia  gutu-a-la.
    NM   father-there  NM   taro    NM   mother  3ps  cook-3ps-3psi
```

'As for father, mother cooked the taro for him.'

Therefore, except where very clear from context and where uttered with clear contrastive emphasis, copying should not normally apply to three NPs at once, and should not interpose a NP between the actor and the verb. I term this the **multiple topicalisation constraint**. It is noted that multiple topicalisation did not occur in a corpus of one hundred pages of text, although it is heard in conversation, and is easily elicited from and discussed with informants.

4.1.4. COPYING OF NON-PRAGMATIC NPs

Non-pragmatic NPs are indirectly copied by tracing with the general pronoun **vola**. Multiple copying of elements from both II and non-pragmatic positions does not occur.

Non-pragmatic NPs are of two kinds:

i) Those which are peripheral to the matrix clause, being in a nuclear
relationship to a clause chained in succession to it, indicating loca-
tive, comitative and range relationships.

ii) Minor nuclear NPs, those roles in the matrix clause which do not
fill pragmatic positions, i.e. instrument in the case of transitive
clauses, and goal and source in the case of intransitive clauses.

I illustrate firstly topicalisation of roles peripheral to the
matrix clause, all of which take the goal role in the chained motion
clauses which separately encode them.[1]

(217)a. Location

```
      Goal            Act        VP    Pat   VP
      ?E     Sege, [ [e    tila   pigo-au] [o-vola] ].
      NM     Sege      NM   mother bear-me    at-PRON
      'At Sege my mother gave birth to me.'
```

   b. Direction

```
        Goal            Act       VP     VP
      (?)La   hohoi, [ [eia   ge   hari] [so-io  vola] ].
        NM     bush       3ps  IRR  run    to-at  PRON
      'The bush - he'll run away to there.'
```

   c. Range

```
      Goal               Act            VP       VP      VP
      La     baa-le    [ [amutou     ge  hari] [ [kara] [o-vola]].
      NM     area-there  you(pl.ex)  IRR run       until  at-PRON
      'That area there - you run to there.'
```

In the above examples the outer sets of square brackets enclose the
entire complex clause sequence.

Next I illustrate minor nuclear roles in topicalisation:

(218)a. Instrument

```
      Ins              Act       VP               Pat
      La     viso-le      e    Tubu  barautu  le   tari-la
      NM     knife-there  NM   Tubu  cut       ABL  younger.sibling-3psi

      o-vola.
      at-PRON

      'As for that knife, Tubu cut his younger brother with it.'
```

---

[1]This matter is not a simple one to investigate, as evidenced by the equivocality
indicated by question marks in (217a and b). One informant gave me these as accept-
able sentences but rejected them as quite doubtful when asked about them over twelve
months later.

```
(218)b. Goal
        Goal            Act       VP
        E       Rabaul, eau  ge   go-muli  o-vola.
        NM      Rabaul  I    IRR  go-east  at-PRON
        'Rabaul - I'll go there.'

     c. Source
        Src                         Act       VP
        La   kari  halaba  tetala,  e    kansel       sagege  sesele
        NM   truck new     3psp     NM   Councillor   happy   truly
        o-vola.
        at-PRON
        'As for his new truck, the Councillor is very happy with it.'
```

In each case above, the minor role has necessarily been indirectly
traced by the generalised bound pronominal root -vola. In the case of
animate referents, however, a full rather than a generalised pronominal
trace would occur, e.g.:

```
     d. Goal
        Goal            Act       VP
        E       tete,   eau  ge   go-muli  tetala.
        NM      father  I    IRR  go-east  PREP-3ps
        'As for father, I'll go along and see him.'
```

4.1.5. COPYING OF INTERROGATIVE PHRASES

   This process reflects again the syntactic distinction of pragmatic
from non-pragmatic NPs, i.e. the topicalised interrogative pronoun is
traced directly in the case of pragmatic NPs, and indirectly by -vola
in the case of non-pragmatic NPs:

```
(219)a. Pat           Act       VP
        Ere    ia      eme       masage-a?
        which  fish    you(s)    like-3ps
        'Which fish do you want?'

     b. Goal                  Act    VP     VP
        Ere    mautu   [ [eme    pou]  [o-io     vola?] ]
        which  village    you(s) sit    at-there  PRON
        'Which village did you stay at?'
```

4.1.6. DISPLACEMENT OF MODALS CONTRASTED WITH COPYING

   Modals may be highlighted by the speaker, who can choose options
which focus them in various positions in the clause (see discussion of
time, dubitative and negation in 3.1.1.). Displacement differs from
copying on four major counts. **Firstly**, the elements displaced are all
modals, and not NPs. **Secondly**, as a consequence, there is no tracing,

not even with the general pronoun **vola**. (I will demonstrate in 4.2.3. however, that **vola** copies time modality in topic chaining.) **Thirdly**, copying is only to the position left of the verb phrase or left of the actor, whereas displacement gives the option of several positions in the clause in the case of time modality, which can even be interposed between copied nominals. Dubitative and prohibitive modals can only be fronted, and differ from time in being realised only as adverbs, never as NPs. **Fourthly**, as noted at the outset, displacement is a **clause-level** encoding option, whereas copying occurs at **sentence-level**.

The following example shows all of the distinct positions for the appearance of time (T) manifested as the sentential temporal adverb **alalavi** *'yesterday'*, in a sentence with multiple-topicalisation.

(220) Ben   Pat   Act
   T E   tete, T la raesi ele, T e latu-mu, T eia T
    NM *father* NM *rice* *there* NM *child*-3ps1 3ps

   VP
   abi-a-la T.
   give-3ps-3ps1

   'As for father, your child gave him <u>that</u> <u>rice</u> (yesterday).'

4.2. FOREGROUNDING

Having been **highlighted** in the course of being newly introduced, themes can be subjected further to **foregrounding** by means of demonstrative (4.2.1.1.) and deictic (4.2.2.) focus and anaphoric tracing (4.2.3.2.), in order to maintain **cohesion** in the discourse. Nearer and farther, active and less active, new and older participants, therefore, are kept in conceptual order by the syntactic **focussing** processes to be described in this section. Foregrounding amounts therefore to the maintenance of 'given' status in introduced participants throughout the discourse (Chafe 1974:129).

4.2.1. *DEMONSTRATIVE FOCUS*

4.2.1.1. Primary Demonstrative Focus

The constituent demonstrative is manifested by the unbound morpheme[1] **ale**, the demonstrative marker, glossed as *'that'*. The category

---

[1]In addition to **ale** there is an emphatic demonstrative suffix -la, which is usually only affixed to third person pronouns, and is usually followed by a deictic, e.g. **egiteu-la-e** *'them, even those ones there'*. Further nominal modifiers do not co-occur with -la, which is not, however, to be confused with other semantic values of the homophonous function morpheme -la.

Demonstrative precedes the category Deictic in the definite NP, but is not represented in indefinite NPs, whereas Deictic may so appear (see 4.2.2. for a discussion of Deictic).

Where demonstrative and deictic co-occur, these elements merge to form compounds as follows:

    ale-(i-e)le   *that one there*
    ale-i-e   *this one here*
    ale-i-o   *that one over there*

The -i- insert is simply an epenthetic vowel, comparable to that occurring in the focal pronoun e-i-au *I*, and before a deictic following a vowel, as in eme-i-e *you*(s) *there*.

(221) Abi-a-gu   la vugi   ale-le   e   Luk   kekesi   o-vola.
      give-3ps-2psi   NM *banana* *that-there* NM *Luke* *write*   *at*-PRON
      'Give me that banana there that Luke marked.'

There is a focal emphatic category of exclamations, represented by ge and go, optionally appearing following deictic. These exclamations do not co-occur with demonstrative ale, but are not to be identified with that category. Examples are:

(222)a. E   tila   giteu-e   ge!
        NM *mother* *their-there*   EXCL

        'That's their mother there!'

     b. La sima-e   ge!
        NM *lightning-there*   EXCL

        'That's lightning!'

     c. Eia-le   ge!
        3ps-*there*   EXCL

        'There it is!'

     d. Hilake ge!

        'Well look at that!' (hilake is a contraction of hilo-a
                                'see-3ps' and exclamation ge)

Primary demonstrative focus serves to make definite a non-specific NP in discourse, for immediate reference:

(223) Io,   eia kamu   tavu   e   pito la tahalo ale,   eia tau
      well 3ps *grasp* *toward* NM *ear* NM *man*   *that* 3ps *put*

      tigi   lou-a.
      well *again*-3ps

      'Well, he grasped that man's (severed) ear and placed it back

      again, restoring it.'

In (223) if **la tahalo** had not been limited by demonstrative focus, it would have sounded as if any man in the group was being restored, and not just the one with a severed ear.

Note too that the demonstrative **ale** can substitute for a definite NP already present in the context.

(224) **Egite   go-io   tahi-ti-a   so-ilo,   'Harua-mu**
       they(pl) *go-there* *ask-PERF-3ps* *to-in*   *husband-2ps*

       tie?'   Mago   'Ouka.   Harua-gu   o-io.   Ale-le
       this.one   *say*   *no*   *husband-1psi* *at-there* *that-there*

       o-io-le   malau pasi'.
       at-there-there *tall* *very*

       'They called in to her, "Is this one your husband?" She said,
       "No, my husband's still out there. That one is too tall".'

In (224) **ale-le** substitutes for full reference to the man that is being shown to the woman at the time. The point to remember is that demonstrative focus makes non-specific NPs in discourse definite for a transient purpose in the development of the discourse. This function can be seen very clearly when the demonstrative is used to focus the referent from a generic down to a specific noun in an equative sentence:

(225) **La gale ale,   (la gale) e   Pomio.**
       NM *area* *there* NM *area* NM *Pomio*

       'That area there is the Pomio area.'

Another instance is that of contrastively emphasising the distinctive action of one or more individuals, as against the behaviour of a group:

(226) **Amutou   po-pou ele,   eau ale   ge   tuga.**[1]
       you(pl) *rd-sit* *there* *I* *that* IRR *walk*

       'You all stay there - as for me, I'm leaving.'

Demonstrative need not reference a definite entity, however, as is shown by the case of referencing specific indefinite individuals in a repeated sequence:

(227) **Ale   boru so-io,   ale   boru so-io.**
       that *fall* *to-there* *that* *fall* *to-there*

       'One fell here, another fell there.'

_____

[1] In a comparable sentence, non-singular pronouns would have to be number-specified, e.g. **amila ale ilua** *'we who are two'*, **amiteu ale itolu** *'we who are three'*.

4.2.1.2. Partitioning Focus

By this term is meant the speaker's option of definitely delineating an indefinite specific NP, which is in turn encoded as the complement of an equative clause:

(228)a. Eau abi-a-le   Kansel   la mani moli.
        I   give-3ps-3psi *Councillor* NM *money only*
        'I gave only money to the Councillor.'

   b. Ale   eau abi-a-le   Kansel,   la mani moli.
      *that I   give-3ps-3psi *Councillor* NM *money only*
      'That which I gave to the Councillor was only money.'

Example (228a) shows a ditransitive clause with a specific indefinite patient-NP, namely some money which changed hands. In (228b) that which changed hands is definitely specified as being just money and nothing more. The clause is rendered into equative form, with the defined NP as the **comment** and the rest of the clause appearing (as a topicalised sentence) as the topic.

That the topic is sentential in character is indicated by the fact that the comment stands as the answer to the interrogative clause **eme abiale Kansel larova?** *'what did you give to the Councillor?'*. This clause then is the equivalent of **ale eau abiale Kansel**, which is a patient-topicalised sentence. In it, **ale** stands for *'something which was given to someone'*, and the pronominal suffix -a traces its appearance in the clause.

The delineating function of the partitioning option is shown very clearly by the selective use of the third person pronoun in the topic complement sentence of example (229):

(229) [Topic:S   ]
      Ale   e sista ge ubi   egiteu   gageie,
      that   NM *sister* IRR *inject *they*(pl) *today*
      [COMMENT:NP]
      amutou   moli!
      you(pl) *only*
      'The ones whom Sister is going to give injections today are
      you people!'

Partitioning applies equally to minor as well as key nuclear roles, as indicated by the following examples of a delineated instrument-NP:

(230)a. Ale   etala   ge va-ali   la bolo o-vola   larova?
        that we(du.in) IRR CAUS-*eat* NM *pig at*-PRON *what*
        'What will we feed the pigs with?'

(230)b. Ale   etala   ge va-ali   la bolo o-vola   e
       that we(du.in) IRR CAUS-*eat* NM *pig   at*-PRON NM

       kuruve   moli.
       sweet.potato   only

       'What we're going to feed the pigs with is sweet potato.'

Also, partitioning is found to apply to peripheral roles of location, comitative, and range, as shown in example (231), in which a locative NP is specified:

(231) La mautu   ale eau poga   e   Gela o-vola   e   Sydney.
      NM *village   that I   meet* NM *Gela   at*-PRON NM *Sydney*

      'The place at which I met Gela was Sydney.'

A clause topic as much as any of the other elements in the clause can be specified by partitioning:

(232) Ale   tahola la vele ale kara   pepeho, e   tua-la.
      that   own   NM *adze   that sharp   very*   NM *brother*-3psi

      'The one who owns a really sharp adze is his brother.'

Partitioning applies to time modality as well as participant roles in the clause:

(233) La mata la haro ale amila   vi-poga   o-vola,   te
      NM *eye* NM *sun* *that we*(pl.ex) rec-*meet   at*-PRON PREP

      ivitu.
      seven

      'The hour that we met was seven o'clock.'

The analysis of alienable possession NPs as possessive clauses is confirmed by partitioning, since a construction like (234a) can be expanded and partitioned as an equative clause in two ways, as shown in (b) and (c):

(234)a. Ale   te   Karapi, la savol ale-le.
        that PREP Karapi   NM *spade that-there*

        'That's Karapi's, that spade there.'

     b. La savol ale-le,   (eia) te   Karapi.
        NM *spade that-there* 3ps PREP *Karapi*

        'That spade there is Karapi's.'

     c. Te   Karapi, la savol ale-le.
        PREP *Karapi* NM *spade that-there*

        'Karapi owns that spade.'

Note too that partitioning can occur by specification of an element in an embedded clause:

(235)a. Egite   vei-a   [la tilaliala ale-le   kama kokora.]
    they(pl) *say*-3ps NM *dance*   *that-there* *not* *good*
    'They say that that dance is not good.'

With partitioned optional encoding specifying tilaliala, the sentence in (235a) would be as follows:

    b. Ale egite   vei-a   kama kokora, la tilaliala
      that *they*(pl) *say*-3ps *not* *good* NM *dance*

      ale-le.
      that-there

      'That which they say was not good is that particular dance.'

The parallel encoding of partitioned equative clauses and information questions has been noted. It is not acceptable, however, to negatively question a non-specific item in a clause, whereas to negatively partition is perfectly acceptable. Compare the following two sentences:

(236)a. Ale eia abi-a-le   Tubu kama la mani.
    that 3ps *give*-3ps-3psi *Tubu* *not* NM *money*
    'That which he gave to Tubu was not money.'

    b. *Ale eia abi-a-le   Tubu kama larova?
      that 3ps *give*-3ps-3psi *Tubu* *not* *what*

The reason for this is that one cannot define everything outside of the specific entity under question, as shown in (b), but one can leave it negatively specified, as in (a); i.e. it may have been a number of things which were given to Tubu, but one of them was not money.

    Now a relative clause can be partitioned also:

(237)a. Relative clause unpartitioned:

    E kuruve   ale pulo-a
    NM *sweet.potato* *that* *stew*-3ps
    'Sweet potato stewed in coconut liquid'

    b. Partitioned relative clause:

    Ale pulo-a, e kuruve!
    that *stew*-3ps NM *sweet.potato*
    '<u>Stewed</u> sweet potato!'

The cooking process of stewing in liquid made from squeezing out the shredded flesh of the coconut renders dry root vegetables succulent indeed, so (b) is a cry of delight, first the announcement that this is a stew, and then the specification that it is sweet potato stew. Such a partitioning follows exactly the pattern of partitioning a sentence, except that the demonstrative focus marker ale is already present in the relative clause construction. This is not a random

fact, and it serves in fact to introduce the discussion of relativi-
sation as focus. Relativisation is like a reverse partitioning, in
which the demonstrative focus still modifies the partitioned topic part
of the clause, but the comment-NP is fronted, so that instead of Ale
eau abiale Tubu la mani *('That which I gave to Tubu was money')*, we
have La mani ale eau abiale Tubu *('The money that I gave to Tubu')*.
For ale to modify mani alone, there would have to be phonological stress
on the last syllable of ale, followed by pause: La mani alé, eau abiale
Tubu *('As for that money, I gave it to Tubu')*.

4.2.1.3. Relativisation as Focus

a) Conditions of Relativisation

Relativisation is functionally and morphologically akin to part-
itioning. **Morphologically**, the demonstrative focus marker ale which
prefaces the topic complement of a partitioned clause is the same marker
which appears prefacing relative clauses. **Functionally**, a restrictive
relative clause serves to specify or restrict the meaning of a definite
or generic NP, whereas in partitioning the meaning of a specific NP,
be it definite or indefinite, is delineated by the nominalised topic
complement.

Relative clauses in Nakanai are potentially preceded by demonstra-
tive marker ale, subject to conditions which I shall specify. The
reason for this marking is that the head of a definite NP marked by
ale has been subjected to focussing. Such co-identification of the
processes of relativisation and focus has been suggested by Schachter
(1973) and discussed by Pawley (1976:1) as the 'NP-over-S' hypothesis,
which he describes as follows:

> ... [T]here is no external head NP for the relative clause
> to modify and no deletion rule. Instead, the NP to be rel-
> ativised has S as its only constituent. A head NP is
> created within this S by focusing one nominal, which is
> then promoted to the matrix sentence, and stands as topic
> in relation to the rest of the relative clause.

Relativisation can occur for any definite or generic nominal element
in the clause, be it actor, patient, beneficiary, goal, source, instru-
ment, location, comitative, range or time. It can occur on a NP which
is in the matrix clause, is the object of a preposition, or is in a
chained sequence of clauses:

(238)a. Egira   ge va-hari   la kari ilua tegite   memba
        they(du) IRR caus-*run* NM *truck* *two* PREP.*they* *members*

        ale   egite   la mulugaluga lotoa.
        that *they*(pl) NM *leader*   *buy*.3ps

        '*They are going to bring the two trucks for the members which
        the directors bought.*'

    b. Egite   ge sae   te   la kari ilua tegite
       they(pl) IRR *board* PREP NM *truck* *two* PREP.*they*

       memba   ale   egite   la mulugaluga lotoa.
       members *that* *they*(pl) NM *leader*   *buy*.3ps

       '*They will board/travel on the two members' trucks that the
       directors bought.*'

    c. La kari ilua tegite   memba   ale   egite   la
       NM *truck* *two* *they*(pl) *member* *that* *they*(pl) NM

       mulugaluga loto-a, ge va-hari   egiteu.
       leader   *buy*-3ps IRR caus-*run* *they*(pl)

       '*The two members' trucks that the directors bought will take
       them.*'

In the above set of examples, (a) represents relativisation of the
patient, (b) relativisation of the goal and (c) represents relativisa-
tion of the actor and clause topic.

Consider now the conditions of relativisation in Nakanai:

Condition 1: Demonstrative ale must occur marking the first restrictive
relative clause in a series of relative clauses:

(239)a. La vugi   ale   tarigigi ele,   e Baba kekesi
        NM *banana*   *that* *good*   *there* NM *Baba* *write*

        o-vola-le
        at-PRON-*there*

        '*The good bananas there that Baba marked*'

    b. La vugi   ale   e Baba kekesi o-vola-le
       NM *banana*   *that* NM *Baba* *write*   *at*-PRON-*there*
       '*The bananas that Baba marked.*'

Where active relative clauses follow stative relative clauses (as in
(239a)) these are not marked by ale (see under condition 3).

Condition 2: Stative relative clauses must precede active. A stative
relative clause is one which has as its predicate a verb which takes
a patient-NP as clause topic:

(240)a. La vugi   ale   taritigi, e Baba kekesi o-vola-le
        NM *banana*   *that* *good*   NM *Baba* *write*   *at*-PRON-*there*
        '*The good banana that Baba marked*'

    b. *La vugi ale e Baba kekesi ovala, ale tarigigi

The latter sentence is unacceptable because the stative relative clause does not precede the active relative clause.

Consider now the case of generic NPs which are indefinite and non-specific. These are accorded definite status and, accordingly, are potentially marked by ale in relativisation:

(241) La   vugi   ale   taritigi (*ele), egite   vovokakea
       NM   *banana* *that* *good*   *there*   *they*(pl) *whites*

       isu-a.
       like-3ps

       '*As for good quality bananas, white people really like them.*'

If ele were to be included in (241) the meaning would perforce become that of (239a), namely the definite reading '*Those good bananas there*'.

Condition 3: Demonstrative ale must not precede further relative clauses modifying a definite NP, if the preceding relative clause is stative. This, together with #3, has the effect of potentially marking with ale all stative relative clauses,[1] while leaving succeeding active relative clauses obligatorily unmarked.

(242) La   kari   ale   halaba (*ale) e   Pater   loto-a
       NM   *truck* *that* *new*   *that* NM   *priest* *buy*-3ps
       '*The new truck that the priest bought*'

At the beginning of this section on relativisation I stated that relative clauses are potentially preceded by ale. By this I mean that ale is either optional, or obligatorily suppressed, under certain syntactic and contextual conditions. I shall now attempt to specify those conditions.

Already we have seen that with regard to accusative marking (3.2.2.2.) and the positioning of NPs in the clause and the sentence (3.0.1.2.), apparent optionality is in fact conditioned contextually. In the former case, new information in II is never marked accusatively (by 3ps pronominal suffix -a); in the latter case new information cannot appear as the clause or the sentence topic. I considered it likely therefore that restrictions or relative clause marking by ale might be similarly conditioned.

My hypothesis was that since new information cannot appear in the clause or sentence topic, relative clause marking is only omissible when the relativised entity is not the clause topic. Furthermore,

---

[1] A limited set of stative verbs, notably bisi '*small*' and uru '*great*' rarely occur with ale however, and appear to represent a nascent class of adjectives.

such omission is not entirely random, but **necessarily** occurs when the head noun represents **new information.** So **no new information is marked for focus by** a le **when relativised, but all given information is option-ally so marked.**

Texts and elicited sentences were exampled on the above basis, and the hypothesis was confirmed. Examples arising from this research have already been discussed in this section. The principle underlined above then becomes **Condition 4,** the final condition bearing upon rel-ativisation.

b) Syntactic Strategies Complementary to Relativisation

i) Paratactic Clauses

Paratactic clauses are juxtaposed clauses occurring subsequent to another clause, adding information to a nominal element therein. They do not further specify a nominal, but serve rather to augment inform-ation already given in the context of the discourse.

The distinctive syntactic feature of paratactic relative clauses is that the juxtaposed NP does appear anaphorically but the demonstra-tive pronoun a le does not appear. (The reverse situation applies in the case of restrictive relative clauses.)

(243)a. Eau lolo la rere-le malugulugu, eia guvi o-io
    *I   hear NM news-*3psi *earthquake   3ps arrive at-there*

    e   Hoskins.
    NM   *Hoskins*

    '*I heard news of an earthquake - it hit Hoskins.*'

   b. La vigilemulile Pakasa Uru lou,   eia mera-taro la
      NM *story.of   Wallaby Big again* 3ps *talk-away* NM

      ia, iala moli ele.
      fish that only there

      '*Another story of Big Wallaby - how he warned off the fish - that's it then.*'

It can readily be seen that parataxis serves to give an amplifi-catory paraphrase of nominal information as it occurs.

Paratactic clauses, we have noted, are not marked by a le. This is especially evident with stative paratactic clauses:

(244) Amite   pagi-tala la lalu e Markham, la lalu isa,
      we(pl.ex) *emerge*   NM *water* NM *Markham* NM *water* *one*

      eia uru pepeho, eia malau tililika.
      3ps *great very*   3ps *long extremely*

      '*We came out (over) the Markham River, a unique river, very big, extremely long.*'

The final example contrasts restrictive relative and paratactic active clauses in sequence in the same sentence:

(245) [TOPIC   [Restr.Rel.Cl.   ] [Paratactic Cl.
     Isahari   ale   egite   kou-ta-tama   tegiteu,   egiteu
     some   *that*   *they*(pl) *inlaws*-rd   *their*(pl) *they*(pl)

                                    ] balance of sentence]
     souka   tau la mapa la tavile, egite   boko-a
     not.yet *put* *NM* *pay* *NM* *woman* *they*(pl) *carry*-3ps

     so-vola.
     to-PRON

     'Some, specifically the beholden married-in men - those who
     have not fully paid for their wives - carry forth the bride
     wealth.'

ii) Propensity Specification

Where it is desired to specify a generic NP in terms of a state which expresses a personality trait (which I call a propensity) this relationship is necessarily expressed as third person inalienable possession, as if encoding a part of a whole:[1]

(246)a. **La tahalo la   mutele-la**
        NM *man*   3psi/*NM* *kind*-nom

        'A kind man'

    b. **La tahalo la   igototolo-la**
        NM *man*   3psi/*NM* *angry*-nom

        'A man of anger'

    c. **La tahalo la   mahela-la**
        NM *man*   3psi/*NM* *shame*-nom

        'A man of shame'

(Recall that the 3psi suffix -la is elided into the noun marker la.)

The NPs formed as shown above are always generic rather than specific. Hence:

(247)a. **E   tete,   eia mutele.** i.e. Definite
        NM *father* 3ps *kind*

        'My father is kind.'

    b. **La tahalo isa   ale   mutele** i.e. Specific, indefinite
        NM *man*   *one* *that* *kind*

        'A (particular) kind man'

    c. ***Isa la tahalo (ale) mu(te)tele.** i.e. Generic
        one *NM* *man*   *that*   *kind*

---

[1]Certain of the social implications of the relationships so expressed have been discussed in Valentine 1963.

---

iii) Component Specification

A patient-topicalised sentence with actor removed is an agentless sentence (cf. discussion in 4.1.2.2.), e.g.:

(248) La gaho-la   tau-a.
      NM *head*-3psi *put*-3ps
      'It is possessed of a head.'

Now the actor of an agentless sentence can be stated, if displaced leftward of the topicalised patient-NP. If the actor is definite, the remainder of the sentence will be relativised by the demonstrative pronoun ale focussing that element:

(249)a. La lili, e   heti tau-a
        NM *nail* NM   *hat* *put*-3ps
        'A roofing nail' (i.e. *one with a hat = some/one/any of a given set of roofing nails*)

     b. La lili ale   la gaho-la   tau-a
        NM *nail* *that* NM *head*-3psi *put*-3ps
        'A <u>roofing</u> nail' (i.e. *not <u>any</u> nail, but a <u>roofing</u> nail*)

I term this kind of double focussing 'component specification',[1] noting it to be a rare construction which I have only observed (or been able to elicit) with the verb tau, as illustrated. Since this verb is being used in a possessive sense (i.e. *'to be possessed of'*) it is here exhibiting syntactic idiosyncracies which can be specified in the lexicon.

4.2.2. DEICTIC

The constituent Deictic occurs as the final limiting modifier in all variants of the modifier-NP (see 6.0.). There are three positional contrasts represented within the deictic category:

ele *'there'* *(nearer to you than me)*
-e   *'here'* *(near to me than you, or equally near both of us)*
-o   *'over there'* *(at a distance from both of us)*

Emphatic forms are tiele, tie and tio, matching ele, -e and -o above:

(250)a. E   tua-mu-e
        NM *older-sibling*-2psi-*here*
        'Your older sibling here'

---

[1]Non-focussed component specification in possession is encoded by inalienable possession (see 6.2.1.1.).

(250)b. E   harua-mu   tie!
     NM *husband*-2psi *here*
     'Here is your husband!'

Deictics -e and ele also serve interchangeably to mark the first participant in a sentence who has already been introduced in the discourse (i.e. given information). Deictic -o serves under the same system to mark a further already introduced participant, that is, after ele or -e has already been used in the sentence. I term this 'given prior' information.

(251)a. E   tua-mu   ele (Positional deictic function)
     NM *older.sibling*-2si *there*
     'Your older sibling there'

   b. La vitolo-la-e   (Given information, i.e. thematic deictic
     NM *hungry*-nom-*here*   function)
     'The famine (that we've been talking about)'

   c. E   tubula-o   (Given prior information, i.e. thematic
     NM *grandparent*-3psi-*there*   deictic function)
     'His/her grandparent (previously mentioned)'

   d. La harepalala-o   (Positional deictic function)
     NM *clam*-*there*
     'The clam over there'

Deictics also serve to conclude a series of actions in sequence:

(252)a. Eia hari, hari, hari, go-ata-e.
     3ps *run*   *run*   *run*   *go-up-here*
     'It travelled on and on, climbing.'

   b. Tio   la baharu ele   gali-ti   so-gala-o,   egira
     well NM *widow* *there* *emerge*-PERF *to-out-there* *they*(du)
     tuga-ti-o.
     walk-PERF-*there*
     'Well, the widow came outside and so the two of them then
     departed together.' (i.e. *the widow and the male protagonist*)

In example (b) the perfective ending together with deictic -o encodes the completion of a sequence in the development of the story. These two features in combination suggest that the subsequent action in a sequence was made possible by the completion of the previous action(s). So the inflection tuga-o contrasts with tuga-ti-o as found in (b), the latter giving a sense of necessary or causal sequence, the former simply encoding temporal succession. The ending on tuga in (b) then is in fact -ti-o and not -tio (the emphatic suffix). Indeed, the emphatic forms tiele, tie and tio are not used to encode the conclusion of a series of actions in sequence as are the ordinary deictic forms.

Deictic ele (but not demonstrative ale) becomes part of the pre-
ceding item, undergoing phonological reduction of the first vowel if
the final phoneme of the preceding item is a mid or low vowel:

(253)a. La paga-le
       'The thing there' (not *'that thing'*, which would be la paga
                              ale)

   b. E pote-le
      'The willy-wagtail there'

   c. La basi ele
      'The bandicoot there'

   d. La mavo-le
      'The taro there'

   e. La mautu ele
      'The village there'

That is, after a high vowel, the full form of the deictic, ele, is
retained. It is important to note that a word like pagale (see (a))
is not noun + demonstrative but rather noun + deictic. Proof of this
is found in the full form for noun + demonstrative + deictic, which
will be, for example, La paga ale-(i-e)le *'that thing there'*. Note
however that it is not necessary in most cases to state both demonstra-
tive and deictic unless contrastive emphasis is intended, or in very
embellished speech.

   Relative clauses appear after deictic modification of the head noun
of a modifier-NP, this being illustrated as follows:

(254) Abi-a-gu   la vugi   ilua-le   ale   egite   kekesi
      give-3ps-3psi NM *banana* *two-there* *that* *they*(pl) *write*

      o-vola.
      at-PRON

      'Give me those two bananas there that they have marked.'

4.2.3. *TOPIC CHAINING AND ANAPHORIC REFERENCING OF FOCAL NPs*

4.2.3.0. Introduction

   Few linguists have addressed the problem of discourse coherence as
encoded by topic chaining. Dixon (1972:71) describes this important
discourse structuring phenomenon:

> We can consider any text in Dyirbal to be underlain by a
> sequence of simple sentences. If a number of consecutive
> sentences in such a sequence have a common NP, with a common
> referent, then they will form a topic chain: this entails

each sentence being transformed into a form in which the
common NP is topic NP (i.e. is in the nominative case).
This NP may only be stated once, at the beginning of the
topic chain; optionally all or part of it may be repeated
later in the chain. (Commonly, just the noun marker may
be repeated).

For Grimes (1975:ch.21) **staging** is the semantic process of main-
taining a theme, or point of departure, for an extended period in dis-
course. So far in this section I have examined demonstrative and
deictic forms of focussing given information.

Languages have varied ways of utilising syntax to stage the dis-
course, that is, of threading topics together in a chain. Grimes points
out that quite a few languages use sentence-initial adjunct clauses as
part of their staging (p.328). This is **linkage**, wherein a clause which
describes an event is repeated to provide the point of departure for
the next event. The repetition may be verbatim, or it may take a re-
duced or dependent form. The lack of a linking clause in Nakanai
signals a thematic shift (see 8.2.1.1.).

Now as well as linkage, there is in Nakanai **topic chaining** by clause
juxtaposition, with a topic NP mentioned in the first clause being
traced anaphorically by the general pronoun *vola* in succeeding clauses.
This is typically the case for, and applies only to, minor (i.e. non-
pragmatic) nuclear NPs (those fulfilling semantic roles of instrument,
source and goal) when these are introduced as focal topics. This means
that attention is drawn especially to them for some communicative
purpose in the discourse, but they are not being set up as new topics.

4.2.3.1. Linkage

Linkage is the distinctive syntactic feature of Nakanai narrative
discourse.[1] The discourse is broken up into semantic segments by the
conjunction *tio* '*so/then/well*', within which segments there are one or
more phonological sentences linked by recapitulation. Such recapitu-
lation will reveal the overall or unmarked topic, whereas each phono-
logical sentence may have a syntactically marked topic which differs
from the overall topic. One might think of these cohesive segments
joined internally by recapitulative linkage as paragraphs. Syntactic-
ally these paragraphs are concatenated or conjoined sentences. Orth-
ographically however, they are rendered as several sentences, the

---

[1] Linkage (or recapitulation) as a syntactic feature of the sequence sentence, char-
acterising narrative discourse, is discussed in some detail in 8.1.1.(a) and 8.2.1.

period marks coinciding with juncture features of pause and lowered intonation which mark the phonological sentence break:

(255) Tio, eau go-io   gigi-a   la mani ele.   Eau
      so   *I*   *go-there* *count*-3ps NM *money* *there*. *I*

      go-io   gigi-a   la mani ele,   eia koramuli   la
      go-there *count*-3ps NM *money* *there* 3ps *sufficient* NM

      salatu   isa.
      hundred *one*

      'Well I went and counted that money, and having counted it (I
      saw that it amounted to) over one hundred (dollars).'

Now the topic in the previous paragraph of the taped narrative from which (255) is taken was the individual contributions of money which the people gave. In this paragraph it becomes the sum total of that money. Immediately after paragraph (255) there occurs another tio introducing a paragraph which reintroduces the overall topic of the discourse, namely the copra business which is being set up by public subscription.

Notice that the motion verb go-io is used in (255) in an auxiliary-like function, giving a sense of sequential action to the main verb. Another function for go-io is as a stand-in for recapitulation of preceding clauses to provide linkage.[1] Use of 'auxiliary' motion verbs in the latter function is illustrated in the next example:

(256) E   pakasa   vei-a-le   vareki mai-e   'Eme   umala
      NM *wallaby* *say*-3ps-3psi *goanna* *like-there* *you*(s) PROH

      vikara ag-agi.'   Goio   la vareki vei-a-le   pakasa
      talk   rd-*too.much* *then* NM *goanna* *say*-3ps-3psi/NM *wallaby*

      'Eme   ta-taga?'
      you(s) rd-*afraid*

      'The wallaby said to the goanna, "Don't talk too loudly."
      Upon which the goanna replied, "Are you afraid?"'

The short dialogue in (256) illustrates the conditioning factor of recapitulation by use of an 'auxiliary' motion verb.[2] Recapitulation occurs in this particular form following the intervention of an embedded complement sentence. This is functionally viable, since embedded material blocks the continuity which gives recapitulation its linking function. However, use of the auxiliary verb as a kind of sequencing conjunction, neatly solves the problem of broken continuity.

---

[1] See further discussion also in 8.1.

[2] For other 'auxiliary' functions of motion verbs goio/gomai see 7.0.2.

Now paragraphs can be linked together embedded in a larger para-
graph by consistency of participant references, be it by use of NPs,
focussed NPs, or anaphoric pronouns. I term this larger linkage a
macro-paragraph. Where there is a change of person, accompanied by
the usual features of phonological juncture and absence of tio, the
macro-paragraph ends at that point.

4.2.3.2. Anaphora

Anaphoric focussing is achieved by referring directly to the topic
of a succeeding clause in the first clause of a sequence of clauses:

(257) Instrument focus:

```
E    Kansel,  eia  go-ilo  te    Kiapu,    eia  abi  isa  la
NM   Council  3ps  go-in   PREP  officer   3ps  get  one  NM

pulolou,  eia  (go-io)  pou-la/    o-vola.
chair     3ps  go-there  sit-there  at-PRON
```

'The Councillor went in to the government officer, took a chair
and sat down on it.'

Now it need not be the case that the instrument in a sentence like
(257) should be focussed. The example represents a semantically highly
focussed notion, since it used not to be common for a PNG citizen to
take a seat in a district officer's office. The line drawn under (257)
shows the linkage of pronoun back to antecedent.

Compare now the following, in which an instrument is encoded in the
preceding clause as a patient (just as in (257)) in construction with
a general verb, specifically abi *'get'*:

(258) E   kiapu,   eia go-ilo te   masta   isasa, eia abi la
      NM   officer   3ps go-in   PREP whiteman one   3ps get NM

```
obu,  kue-a.
wood  hit-3ps
```

'The officer went in to one whiteman, took a stick and struck
him.'

This is the encoding option which is chosen if the newly-introduced
instrument is to be focal (rather than incidental) in the discourse.

The next example illustrates a goal-NP focussed as a locative in
the succeeding clause:

(259) E   polisboi,   eia go-ilo la bar, eia abi la kanda
      NM   policeman   3ps go-in   NM bar   3ps get NM cane

```
tetala,  eia  kue     egiteu      ale   o-ilo   vola-o.
3psp     3ps  strike  they(pl)    that  at-in   PRON-there
```

'The native constable went into the bar, and, taking his baton,
he struck with it those who were in there.'

Sentence (259) can be patient-topicalised, as in (260):

(260) Egite   ale   liu,   e   polisboi, eia ge   kue   legiteu
      they(pl) *that* *drink* NM *policeman* 3ps IRR *strike* ABL.*they*

      la kanda tetala.
      NM *cane* 3psp

      'As for the drinkers, the native constable will strike them
      with his baton.'

Note the reappearance of ablative particle le to mark the instrument
NP in (260), which element is no longer topicalised. That is, in con-
trast to (258), if the instrument is incidental to the plot and not
focal, it can be encoded directly as the instrument-NP with ablative
le — it is encoded as a non-pragmatic nuclear NP in the matrix clause
rather than as an anaphorically focussed topic in a chained sequence
of clauses.

  Instrument NPs are in fact unique in that they can be marked either
by topic chaining or by case marking at the same time as appearing
placed in focus as the patient of a general verb like abi *'get'*. In
such cases ablative le and pronoun vola are redundant except where
extreme semantic emphasis on the instrument is intended:

(261) E   Vitata,   eia abi   isa la obu,   eia kue   (le)   e
      NM *Vitata* 3ps *get* *one* NM *wood* 3ps *strike* ABL   NM

      tua-la   (o-vola).
      older.sibling-3psi   *at*-PRON

      'Vitata took a stick and struck his older brother with it.'

  Focussing by anaphoric tracing with vola cannot be applied to the
locative relationship:

(262) E   Bitai,   eia go-muli   e   Rabaul,   eia hilo   e
      NM *Bitai* 3ps *go-east* NM *Rabaul* 3ps *see* NM

      tua-la   (*o-vola).
      older.sibling-3psi   *at*-PRON

      'Bitai went up to Rabaul and met his older brother there.'

For Rabaul acceptably to be encoded as a new setting, it would have
to be repeated in the succeeding clause, e.g.:

(263) E Bitai,   eia go-muli   e Rabaul, eia hilo e tua-la.

      Egira   go-io   pou o-io   e   Rabaul la taio   isasa.
      they(pl) *go-there* *sit* *at-there* NM *Rabaul* NM *moon* *one*

      'Bitai went up to Rabaul and met his older brother there. The
      two of them stayed in Rabaul for one month.'

  Topic chaining with vola, it appears then, occurs only with non-
pragmatic nuclear roles, and never with peripheral roles. We have

already seen that the latter cannot be topicalised by fronting, except
as the patient of the entire chained clause to which they relate as a
nuclear role:

(264) O-mai   e   Karapi,   la valalua ge   hilo isa la paga.
      at-here NM   *Karapi*   NM *men*   IRR *see* *one* NM *thing*

      'Here in Karapi, the people are really going to see something
      (remarkable).'

The locative topic **Karapi** cannot be acceptably placed in any other
topicalised position, but may only alternatively occur in its unmarked
position, i.e. in construction with a locative verb, subsequent to the
matrix clause. Now because the locative noun is in the non-pragmatic
nuclear role of goal with regard to the locative verb o-mai, it can be
topic chained in relativisation:

(265) La   mautu   [ale   eme   poge-a   o-io   vola.]
      NM   *village* *that* *you*(s) *meet*-3ps *at-there*   PRON

      'The place where you met him/her.'

   Note too that topic chaining occurs in embedded clauses:

(266)a. Te   la leavala [ale   e   tila-la   peho o-io
        PREP   NM *year*   *that*   NM   *mother*-3psi *die* *at-there*

        vola.]
        PRON

        'In the year in which his/her mother died.'

     b. La   obu   [ale   e   tari-la   kue   lou
        NM   *wood*   *that* NM   *younger.sibling*-3psi *strike* *again*

        leia   o-io   vola].
        ABL.3ps   *at-there* PRON

        'The stick that his younger brother struck himself with.'

   There is more to be said about topic chaining, but it concerns more
centrally the syntax of coreferential topic deletion in sequential
sentences, the discussion of which begins in chapter VII with the dis-
cussion of clause chaining. The discussion continues for the present,
however, with an analysis of the basic categories NP and VP and their
constituents in the next two chapters, before launching out into the
deeper waters of interclausal relationships.

VERB PHRASES AND THEIR CONSTITUENTS

5.0. THE STRUCTURE OF THE VERB PHRASE

The following configuration gives the linear constituent format of
the VP:

VP = Verb(Modifier$_1$)(Aspect$_1$)(Modifier$_2$)(Aspect$_2$)(-a)(Deictic)

In this configuration, Modifier$_1$ refers to a distributionally and
functionally distinct class of adverbs indicating **manner**. Modifier$_2$
represents a class of adverbs which indicate the intensity of an event
or state. Aspect$_1$ refers to the continuative/habituative aspect, which
is encoded by reduplication on the verb or on Modifier$_1$ if it occurs.
Aspect$_2$ refers to the perfective aspect marked by the suffix -ti.
Suffix -a is the 3ps pronominal marker (see 2.1.1.2.). Deictic refers
to the deictic markers ele, -e and -o which occur as post clitics at
the end of the VP (see 4.2.2.).

Manner and intensity subcategories of the adverb, expounding con-
stituents Modifier$_1$ and Modifier$_2$ respectively, are structurally and
distributionally defined, as well as semantically defined by the
homogeneity of their respective sets of meanings (see 5.2.). The head
of the VP is manifested by a verb root or stem (see 5.3. and 5.4.), the
meaning of which is potentially inflected by both modifiers and aspects
in linear order as shown in the formula above. Modifier$_1$ is the right-
most constituent on which the reduplicative feature manifesting Aspect$_1$
can occur. Modifier$_2$ is the right-most constituent to which suffix
-ti, manifesting Aspect$_2$, may be attached (see 5.1.). The remaining
optional post-clitic suffixes occur to the right of Modifier$_2$ and
Aspect$_2$.

To illustrate, I take the basic VP igo tigi moli-a *'just do it well'* and expand it from the verb root igo adding aspects and modifiers in correct and incorrect orderings, according to the outline in the preceding paragraph:

(267)a. igo-a   *'do it'*

    b. igo-tigi-a   *'do it well'*

    c. igo ti-tigi-a   *'doing it well'*

    d. igo ti-tigi moli-a   *'just doing it well'*

    e. igo tigi moli-ti-a   *'already having done it well'*

    f. *igo tigi-a (mo-)moli

    g. *igo tigi mo-moli-a

    h. igo-ti-a   *'did it/has done it'*

    i. igo tigi moli-ti-a   *'already has done it well'*

    j. *igo-ti (tigi) moli-a

    k. *igo-a (tigi) moli-ti-a

Before continuing, it should be noted that preverbal grammatical particles indicating dubitative, durative, negative and irrealis notions are analysed as modalities of the clause (see 3.1.1.). In this aspect then, the constituent analysis is semantically based, backed however by the morphological limits of clitic movement and the occurrence of pause before the postverbal NP is uttered.

The comments thus far have been intended to give a quick introduction to the VP. The only remaining constituent of the VP to be explained in this preview is the deictic. Optionally suffixed to the VP, it indicates a spatial meaning in the case of intransitives (268) and an index to the thematic status of the NP referred to by 3ps suffix -a, in the case of transitive verbs (269):

(268) Intransitive VPs with deictics

    Eau ge   pou ele,   eia ge   pou-o.
    I   IRR *sit* *there* 3ps IRR *sit-over.there*
    'I will sit there and he will sit over there.'

(269) Transitive VP with deictic

    E   rutu-la   tuga moli go-io   ov-ovi-a   la mavo,
    NM *wife*-3psi *walk* *just* *go-there* rd-*dig*-3ps NM *taro*

    su-suvi-a-e,   umu-a.
    rd-*dig*-3ps-*here* *roast*-3ps

    'His wife then departed and went and dug taro, then scraped
    that taro and roasted it.'

Example (269) shows that -e suffixed to -a in the verb susuviae is referencing the fact that the referent of -a, namely the taro, has already been introduced as a significant factor in this section of the discourse.

5.1. VERBAL ASPECTS

Aspect encodes the speaker's psychological approach to an event or state, and this involves incorporation of facts concerning the temporal status of the event or state. That is not to say, however, that aspect is coextensive with tense. Nakanai has two affixes encoding aspect, reduplication and -ti, yielding four aspects of the following structures:

Aorist	#-V-#
Perfective	#-V-ti
Continuative/Habituative	rd-V-#
Imperfective	rd-V-ti

These four aspects are illustrated in order by the following expansions of the verb root tuga *'to walk, walk away'*:

(270)a. Egite tuga *'they (now) walk/(then) walked/(will, would) walk'*

    b. Egite tuga-ti *'They left/have left.'*

    c. Egite ta-tuga.[1] *'They walk, are walking.'*

    d. Egite ta-tuga-ti. *'They are already leaving.'*

Each of the four aspects are now discussed in turn.

5.1.1. *AORIST*

The aorist aspect is the unmarked aspect in both the morphological and the semantic sense. It is encoded by the absence of affixation, i.e. #-V-#. That is, it is the form of aspectual encoding of a verb for all situations other than those in which the speaker estimates that the hearer may be thinking of the event under discussion in one of the following ways:

  i) The event is totally completed,[2] in which case the perfective aspect is used (see 5.1.2.).

---

[1]Tuga is in examples (c) and (d) reduplicated according to the phonological pattern described in 5.5.1.6.

[2]In the case of a state rather than an event, imperfective aspect indicates that the state now totally applies to the patient noun (see 5.1.2.).

ii) The event is continuing or repeating, in which case the contin-
uative/habituative aspect would be used (see 5.1.3.).

iii) The event has already begun, in which case then the imperfective
aspect is used (see 5.1.4.).

That is, the aspect - the way the action is thought of or looked at
by the speaker - is normally left to context and adverbial encoding,
the unmarked form of the verb indicating **aorist** aspect, in which the
nature of the process of the action is not of material significance.
Any departure from such expectation indicates a marked semantic use,
and must be appropriately encoded.

5.1.2. *PERFECTIVE*

Perfective aspect is encoded by the verbal suffix -ti. On an
action verb, perfective aspect encodes the notion of an event having
been entirely, or unexpectedly, accomplished, or completed in a way
which involved the total consummation of its effect upon the patient
(Milner 1973), e.g.

> ali-ti-a   *'ate it all up'*
> tuga-ti   *'has already left'*

On a process verb, perfective aspect encodes the notion of resul-
tative (see 5.3.2.), i.e. the idea of the utter completion of a change
of state, e.g.

> peho-ti *'dead'*
> mate-ti *'extinguished'*

On a stative verb, perfective aspect indicates that the patient
has undergone a process and is now totally affected, e.g.

> halaba-ti *'cleaned'*
> mumugu-ti *'dirtied'*
> kea-ti   *'whitened'*
> taulai-ti *'married'*

The binding idea behind all these variations is that an event or
process has been totally accomplished, in the face of lack of knowledge
on the hearer's part of the perfected status of that event, e.g.

(271) Eia kora-le,   eia taulai-ti!
      3ps *leave-that* 3ps *marry*-PERF
      'Forget her, she's already married!'

5.1.3. *CONTINUATIVE/HABITUATIVE*

This aspect is encoded by reduplication of the verb (see 5.5.4.1.). The distinction between the two senses of this aspect is ascertained from context:

(272)a. **Eia   o-io   sa-sapa.**
       3ps *at-there* rd.*sweep*

   'She is there sweeping.'

   b. **Eia sa-sapa   te   la kavikoki.**
      3ps rd-*sweep* PREP NM *morning*

   'She sweeps in the mornings.'

Example (a) indicates continuative aspect, example (b) habituative.

There is a sense in which reduplication can indicate that the actor is reacting intensely to a situation:

(273) **Eau hilo e   taive, eau tataga.**
      I   see NM *snake   I   rd.afraid*

   'I saw a snake and I reacted in fright.'

In (273) the reduplicated form of **taga** encodes the fact that the person jumped violently in shock at the sight of the snake.

Continuative/habituative aspect marking by reduplication is not to be confused with the marking of non-singular number agreement on the verb, which is also marked by reduplication (see 5.5.2.). Sometimes aspect and agreement are marked coextensively, however:

(274) **Egite   hatavivile sa-sapa   te   la kavikoki tomi.**
      they(pl) *women*   rd-*sweep* PREP NM *morning   all*

   'The women sweep every morning.'

Continuative/habituative aspect also encodes derivation of an intransitive from a transitive verb (see 5.3.3. and 5.5.4.2.).

5.1.4. *IMPERFECTIVE*

The imperfective aspect encodes that aspect of the verb which indicates that an event is or was not completed, but is (or was) in progress. Morphologically it is encoded in Nakanai by reduplication, giving the continuative sense, and by perfective suffix -ti, indicating that the event has already begun to occur:

(275)a. **Amite   ta-tuga-ti.**
       we(pl.ex) rd-*walk*-PERF

   'We are already leaving.'

(275)b. Eia   po-pou,   eia   tai-tali   moli-ti.
     3ps   rd-*sit*   3ps   rd-*cry*   *just*-PERF
     'She simply sat crying.'

However, the chance co-occurrence of perfective and continuative/ habituative need not necessarily indicate imperfective aspect, e.g.

(276) La   tahalo   la   ilau   igo   harari   moli-ti.
     NM   *man*   NM   *steering*   *do*   rd.*hurry*   *just*-PERF
     'The driver simply sped.'

In (276) reduplication indicates that the action was continuous, while perfective suffix -ti encodes the utterness of the action, in this example, speeding. The combination rd-V-ti is not in this case then, encoding imperfective aspect.

5.2. VERBAL MODIFIERS

5.2.1. *ADVERBS OF MANNER*

Adverbs of manner expound the constituent Modifier$_1$ in the VP. They occur modifying both transitive and intransitive verbs, indicating the manner of accomplishment or nature of the action or state indicated by the verb which they modify.

Adverbs of manner are distributionally distinct in that, if appearing, the manner adverb (rather than the verb) takes the feature of reduplication if the verb is so inflected.

Adverbs of manner which specifically modify **stative** verbs are usually lexically reduplicated (see 5.5.3.1.) and are often bound in a tight co-occurrence relationship with the verb, as I shall shortly illustrate (see example 277).

Adverbs of manner which specifically modify **active** verbs are usually lexically unreduplicated, being either members of a closed class of specialist adverbs, e.g.

    agi   *'too much'*
    bara   *'badly'*
    bulahu *'aimlessly'*
    tomi   *'all, completely'*
    golo   *'deceivingly, temporarily'*
    tigi   *'well'*
    gabuto *'experimentally'*

or adverbial readings of a bifunctional verb base, e.g.

    hari   *'quickly/run'*
    sesele *'truly/true'*

```
gurusi    'angrily/speak angrily'
hagavi    'nearly/near'
```

Reduplicated manner adverbs, as already noted, usually modify stative verbs, indicating the intensity of the state. Each of these tends to occur with only one or two specific stative verbs, however. The following examples illustrate this point.

(277)a. tataho

E   rutu-la   marasa   tataho.
NM   *wife*-3psi *good.looking* *very*

'His wife is very good looking.'

b. tililika

La   mota   tetala   malau   tililika.
NM   *vine* 3ps   *long*   *very*

'His rope is very long.'

c. kokori

La   paia   tetala   bisi   kokori.
NM   *dog*   3ps   *little* *very*

'His dog is very small.'

d. makapipila

E   harua-la   uru   makapipila.
NM   *husband*-3psi *great* *very*

'Her husband is very big/old.'

e. mimika

E   loli   taku   malama   mimika.
NM   *lolly* *my*   *sweet* *very*

'My lolly is very sweet.'

It is unacceptable to modify, say, tililika with makapipila or marasa with mimika. However, the general intensity modifier pepeho *'very'* is a lexically reduplicated manner adverb which can modify not only many stative verbs, but many active verbs as well. So reduplicated manner adverbs are not all confined to modifying specific stative verbs in terms of extent of the state, although even the exceptions are confined mainly to modifying intransitive active verbs. Further examples of these more flexible modifiers are bibibi *'continually'*, galolo *'loudly'* and gegeru *'badly'*, e.g.

(278) Egite   bau   gegeru   pasi.
      they(pl) *sing* *badly*   *very*

'They sang very badly.'

Gegeru, in fact, only modifies active intransitive verbs.

Consider also bububu *'pointlessly'*, which also only modifies intrans-
itive active verbs:

(279) E   maura   tali   bububu.
      NM   *poor.thing*   *cry*   *pointlessly*

      'The poor thing cried for no reason at all.'

A further example is found in the adverb lalai *'trying out'*, which
only occurs in transitive VPs:

(280)a. Egite   hari   lalai   e   tete.
        they(pl) *run*   ADV   NM   *father*

        'They visited father.'

   b. Egite   tovo   lalai   la   viliti.
      they(pl) *try*   ADV   NM   *fishing*

      'They tried fishing.'

   c. Egite   abi   lalai-a-la   la   bolo.
      they(pl) *give* ADV-3ps-3psi   NM   *pig*

      'They gave him some pork to taste.'

   d. Egite   ova   lalai-a-gu   la   bret   tegite.
      they(pl) *share* ADV-3ps-1st   NM   *bread*   *their*(pl)

      'They broke off some of their bread and shared it with me.'

   e. Eau   ge   hilo   lalai   la   boi   tamula.
      I   IRR *see*   ADV-3ps   NM   *parcel*   *your*(du)

      'I'll have a look at your parcel of cooked meat.'

As was the case with unreduplicated manner adverbs, some redupli-
cated manner adverbs are also adverbial readings of a bifunctional
verb base, some examples being as follows:

       kokovu   *'hidden/lost'*
       kekeke   *'stealthily/creep up'*
       susuku   *'urgingly/shove along'*
       vikapopo   *'together/together'*

I have outlined here mainly just the generalities concerning adverbs
of manner. The foregoing discussion should demonstrate that consider-
able semantic detail, especially details of co-occurrence restrictions,
needs to be included in the lexical entry for each manner adverb rather
than being included in the grammar.

5.2.2. ADVERBS OF INTENSITY

Adverbs of intensity expound the constituent Modifier$_2$ in the VP.
They must occur right of manner adverbs, and, if co-occurring with the

perfective aspect marker -ti, the intensity adverb must take the aspect
marker. The broad but nevertheless discernible semantic field covered
by these adverbs, which I have termed 'intensity' is illustrated by
the full set with their glosses as follows:

pasi	*'extremely/very'*
lahu	*'everywhere/all over/completely'*
moli	*'just/only/simply'*
muga	*'immediately/now/firstly'*
tai	*'also'*
lou	*'again'*
kaluvu	*'completely'*

Examples which show manner and intensity adverbs co-occurring are
perhaps the most instructive:

(281)a. E   latu-la   ali   pepeho pasi.
      NM *child*-3psi *eat*   *very*   *extremely*

      'His/her child really eats a lot.'

   b. La lima-gu   malaputu gegeru lahu.
      NM *hand*-1si *blistered* *badly*   *all.over*

      'My hands are all blistered.'

   c. Eau vei-tataho sesele pasi-me.
      I   *say-well*   *truly*   *very-you*(s)

      'I congratulate you indeed.'

   d. E   hala-gu peho sesele moli-ti.
      NM *cousin* *die*   *truly* *just*-PERF

      'My cross-cousin has indeed died.'

   e. Egite   tuga golo-golo   muga so-io.
      they(pl) *walk* rd-*deceivingly* *first* *to-there*

      'They just departed a little way off as a deception.'

Note however, that the last three intensity adverbs listed above
can occur also as adverbs of incidence, that is, expounding the clausal
mode of incidence as described in 3.1.1.6., e.g.

(282)a. Amite   kue-a   kaluvu, ...
      we(pl.ex) *strike*-3ps *completely*

      'Having beaten him up, ...'

   b. Amite   kue   kaluvu-a.
      we(pl.ex) *strike* *completely*-3ps

      'We completely beat him up.'

It can be seen from the translation of example (a) that the adverb of
incidence indicates by its positioning external to the VP that it
modifies the entire clause.

5.3. VERB STEMS: DERIVATIONS[1]

5.3.1. *RECIPROCAL AND CAUSATIVE*

The verb root can be affixed to give causative and reciprocal deri-
vations. These are mutually exclusive derivations, the former apply-
ing mainly to derivations from intransitive verbs, the latter to deri-
vations from transitive verbs, by the same marking, i.e. by affixing
the morph {vi-}.[2]

Reciprocal examples are as follows:

> kue-a   *'strike him/her/it'*
> vi-kue   *'fight each other/fight with fists'*
> ubi-a   *'shoot him/her/it'*
> va-ubi   *'shoot each other/fight with weapons'*

Manner adverbs may be required to complete the encoding of a recip-
rocal VP:

> hilo-a   *'see him/her/it'*
> va-hilo   ba-ol-oli   *'see each other/meet'*
> rec-*see*   rd-*mutually*
> mate-a   *'look towards him/her/it'*
> vi-mata   ta-tavu   *'face towards each other/be opposite'*
> rec-*look* rd *towards*

Only adverbs baoli and tavu appear in this capacity, and both are
obligatorily reduplicated to agree with the non-singular number of the
clause topic.

Causative examples are as follows:

> pou   *'sit'*
> vi-pou-a   *'place/create'* (lit. *cause to sit*)
> sae   *'climb up'*

---

[1] In this section I confine the discussion to morphological derivations, their seman-
tic functions and their syntactic operation, rather than entering into a discussion
of possible abstract semantic derivations.

[2] Morph {vi-} represents allomorphs va- and vi-. Allomorph va- precedes verb roots
beginning with a vowel, consonants h or l, or bound motion and location verb roots.
Allomorph vi- precedes all other verb roots; e.g. va-ubi *'shoot each other'*, va-hilo
'see each other', va-lolo *'cause to hear'* (i.e. *preach*), va-go-ate-a *'cause to go
up'*, va-so-ilo-a *'cause to be put inside'*, vi-tuge-a *'cause to walk'*. Note that the
allomorph va- is rendered as vai- for the causative in the Mututu dialect, lending
weight to Pawley's suggestion (personal communication) that the merger of reciprocal
and causative prefixes into the one form has been facilitated by the loss of *k and
*R from POC *paka- and *paRi.

       vi-sae-a   *'load something onto a vehicle/help s.o. up into a raised position'*
       sivo   *'climb down'*
       vi-sivo-a   *'unload something off a vehicle/help someone down from a raised position'*

For most process and stative verbs, causative is derived by a verbal compound igo *'do'* + V, as for example:

       igo mate-a   *'extinguish' (as a lamp or a fire)*
       igo mumugu-a *'make something dirty'*

But {vi-} occurs with some stative and process verbs to derive the causative, as the following examples show:

       va-uru-a   *'enlarge something'* (uru *'great'*)
but not:
       *igo uru-a

       vi-mahuli-a *'heal someone'* (mahuli *'alive'*)
but not:
       *igo mahuli-a

Some **action** verbs however, take igo to make the causative sense, rather than {vi-}, as for example:

       igo boru-a *'cause someone to fall down'*

There is therefore no consistent basis for causative formation by either of the two methods outlined above, such information being listed therefore in the lexical entry for each intransitive verb.

5.3.2. *RESULTATIVE*

A **process** is an event in which an entity passes from one state to another, e.g.

       peho   *'die/pass out'*
       vilua   *'become hurt/perish'*
       putua   *'break'*
       mapola   *'smash/crack'*
       mate   *'become extinguished, as a light'*

There are two distinguishing distributional facts about this semantic subgroup, all of the member verbs of which are intransitive.

Firstly, process verbs may be causativised (see 5.3.1.) but they cannot be reflexivised (see 2.3.3.1.).

Secondly, and pertinent to the present section, process verbs host a derivational process whereby a stative verb can be derived by simply suffixing the perfective aspect marker -ti to the verb root. This I term the 'resultative' derivation, for example:

peho	*'die'*	peho-ti	*'dead'*
mapola	*'smash/crack'*	mapola-ti	*'smashed/cracked'*

The resulting state so formed is a non-experiential verb. That is, in the unsuffixed form these verbs indicate a change-of-state, i.e. a process, which applies to an experiencer and in their suffixed form they indicate the final state or end result of such a process, which applies to a patient (i.e. non-experiencer).

5.3.3. INTRANSITIVE

An intransitive verb can be derived from a transitive verb by re-duplication (see 5.5.4.2.), that is, a derived intransitive verb stem in the continuative/habituative aspect is produced, indicating an action, whereas the root form had indicated an action-process. Neither the 3ps suffix or a patient-NP may appear with the derived verb, in accordance with its intransitive nature. Examples are as follows:

hugu-a	*'carry something on the head'*
hugugu	*'carrying on the head'*
aso-a	*'smell something'*
asaso	*'sniffing'*
bili-a	*'kill someone'*
bilibili	*'habitually kills'*

An example in a complete sentence will serve to clarify further the nature of this derivation:

(283)a. sapa *'sweep'* – transitive verb root

    Eia   riva-riva,   sape-a   la liba-le   Mugure.
    3ps   rd-*dance*   *sweep*-3ps NM *grave*-3psi *Mugure*

    'He danced, sweeping Mugure's grave as he did so.'

    b. sasapa *'sweeping'* – derived intransitive verb stem

    Eia   gua   so-io   te   la liba-la-o,
    3ps   *go.early* *to-there* PREP NM *grave*-3psi-*there*

    sa-sapa-ti-o.
    rd-*sweep*-PERF-*there*

    'He arose early and went to the grave, then began sweeping.'

Transitive verbs cannot be rendered intransitively in aspects other than the continuative/habituative:

> *sapa   (aorist)
> *sapa-ti   (perfective)
> *sa-sapa-ti   (imperfective)

indicating that derivation of the intransitive sense by reduplication occurs only in the continuative/habituative aspect (see 5.5.4.1.).

5.3.4. *PETRIFIED AFFIXES*[1]

Nakanai preserves two of the several common PEO affixes listed by Pawley (1972), in unproductive form, in the lexical entries of certain verbs. Since this is not a grammatical matter I shall simply list the verbs affected:

The 'stative verb derivative' ma-

> sile   *'tear/shred'*   ma-sile   *'torn/tattered'*
> lugu   *'shake something'*   ma-lugu-lugu   *'shaky/shaking'*

The 'spontaneity affix' ta-

> lube   *'loosen/undo/unravel'*   ta-lube   *'loose'*
> suku   *'move/change position'*   ta-suku   *'be moved'*

These examples conclude the discussion of derived verb stems. Of perhaps greater interest syntactically are the compound verb stems, which are discussed next.

5.4. VERB STEMS: COMPOUNDS

5.4.1. *COMPOUND VERBS*

There are two kinds of idiomatic or compound verbs, namely verb-prominent compounds, with a verb first, and noun-prominent compounds, with a noun first.

5.4.1.1. Verb-Prominent Compounds

a) Verb root plus noun produces an intransitive compound verb stem, for example:

> mata   *'look'*   logo   *'night'*
> mata-logo   *'to night-watch in mourning'*

---

[1] These have been discussed by Chowning (1973:217), from which source the first three examples are taken, with slight amendments to the glosses.

igo *'do'*   golu *'thing'*
igo-golu *'work/do things/engage in activity'*

The separate parts of the compound may be lexicalised to the point where they no longer are to be found in isolation in the language, e.g.

pala *'hang'*   va-vai *'by the side'*
(neither of these may appear in isolation);
pala-va-vai *'to hang by the side, as a basket'*

The compounding process seems to be one of incorporating a goal- or locative-NP rather than a patient-NP.

b) Verb root plus intransitive verb root produces a compound verb stem, for example:

tali *'sound/cry'*   paga *'become evident'*
tali-paga *'sound forth with a crack or a pop'*

mata *'look'*   sa-sae *'climbing'*
mata-sa-sae *'eye someone all over'*

Note in this last example that when the second verb of the compound can take a goal or patient, then a clearly intransitive form of it is often derived by reduplication in order for the intransitivity condition of the compounding to be satisfied.

Another example of the same phenomenon is:

mata *'look'*   pa-paa *'seeking'*

(284) Eau mata-pa-paa   la viso   taku.
      I   look-rd—seek NM knife   my
      'I am looking for my knife.'

Verb roots mata and tali figure very prominently in these compounds, while other verb roots figure less prominently and more idiosyncratically. None of the compounds are completely predictable in form or meaning. Accordingly, all forms have to be listed in the lexicon. Two further examples follow:

lolo *'mass'*   hugu *'carry on head'*
lolo-hugu *'proceed in a group to a funeral wake, carrying sleeping mats on head (of women)'*

tutu *'emerge/spurt'*   pusi *'burst'*
tutu-pusi *'to burst forth, as liquid under pressure'*

Comparing the compound verb stem tutupusi, the meaning of which is predictable directly from its parts, with matalogo, lolohugu, and so on,

which compounds have idiomatic meanings, it can be seen that this type of compounding allows considerable variation of idiomatic extension of meaning. Note too that the separate parts of the compound may be frozen morphemes or morphemes of very low productivity, as *tutu* in the last example, and **poo** *'to go bang'* in combinations such as **tali-poo** *'explode'* and **utu-poo** *'burst'*.

5.4.1.2. Noun-Prominent Compounds

These consist of a body-part noun, plus a noun or a verb, producing an intransitive verb which is, in most cases, stative.

(a) Body-part noun plus verb produces an intransitive compound verb stem. In such compounds, the verbal component, if present, is usually a morpheme of very restricted productivity, and cannot, in most cases, combine with other body parts:

hare *'mouth'*   palala *'revealing'*
hare-palala *'open mouth(ed)'*

hare *'mouth'*   buu *'shut'*
hare-buu *'close moth(ed)'*

mata *'eye'*   palala *'revealing'*
mata-palala *'open-eyed'*

mata *'eye'*   buu *'shut'*
mata-buu *'to have one's eyes shut'*

mata *'eye'*   kea *'white'*
mata-kea *'blind'* (lit. *white-eyed*)

mata *'eye'*   tutulu *'drooping/dripping'*
mata-tutulu *'sleepy-eyed'*

Often such compounds express emotional states or propensities:

tuha *'bone'*   malulu *'warming'*
tuha-malulu *'lazy'*

mata *'eye'*   kaseka *'fresh'*
mata-kaseka *'alert/lively/brisk'*

mata *'eye'*   ve-vei *'sidewards'*
mata-ve-vei *'wild/panicky'*

ilo *'stomach'*   buruko *'in turmoil'*
ilo-buruko *'worried'*

      vovo *'skin'*   pariri *'shaking/shivering'*
      vovo-pariri *'excitable'*

      maisu *'nose'*   totolo *'angry'*
      maisu-totolo *'brooding/sulking'*

      hate *'liver'*   tuu (? cf. POC *tuqu(d) *'stand'*)
      hate-tuu *'selfish'*

      hate *'liver'*   mamasi *'salty/burning'*
      hate-mamasi *'angry'*

Sometimes such compounds are used as insults:

      mago *'mucus'*   perese *'flowing'*
      mago-perese *'snotty-nosed'*

      tia *'stomach'*   sogo *'swollen'*
      tia-sogo *'swollen-stomached'*

      buru *'buttocks'*   kakali *'to have sores on'*
      buru-kakali *'sore-bottomed'*

(b) Body-part noun plus noun produces an intransitive stative compound verb stem. These compounds also encode propensities and physical characteristics, as did the noun + verb compounds discussed above, e.g.

      mata *'eye'*   to-toku *'variety of bird'* (reduplicated)
      mata-to-toku *'staring-eyed'*, i.e. *'disobedient, unresponsive'*

      maisu *'nose'*   pere *'frog'*
      maisu-pere *'frog-nosed'*, i.e. *'flat, squashed nose'* (i.e. ugly,
              an insult)

      mata *'eye'*   baka *'rape'*
      mata-b-ul-aka-laka *'raping-eyed'*, i.e. *'lustful'* (baka has been
                    nominalised and reduplicated)

5.4.1.3. Frozen Compounds

There are in addition to the compounds discussed so far some entirely frozen compounds, in which the compounding process is unique in terms of the elements compounded, and is not productive of other similar forms, e.g.

      va-(ha)re-agi   N + ADV (idiomatic) form a stative verb.
      caus-*mouth-too.much*
      'To be a nuisance/naughty'

pigi-maliki *throw-funny* *'funny/to be funny'*	Action verb plus frozen manner adverb form an idiomatic compound verb.
tuha-toro *bone-strong* *'take refreshments'*	Noun plus verb form an active intransitive verb.
tari-tigi *? -well* *'good'*	Frozen stative (?) verb plus adverb form compound stative verb.
kama-kokora *not-good*.rd *'bad'*	Adverb plus nominal state verb form a stative verb.

Since these examples do not represent productive compounding processes the discussion is confined just to the above listing.

5.4.1.4.   Inchoative Compounds

Intransitive verbs indicating a state can be rendered as process verbs by being placed in a close-knit phrase with the verbs **vulo** *'turn'* or **sibitala** *'arrive/become'*, e.g.

(285)a. La   pepe   vulo   magegese.
      NM *watermelon turn   red*
      'The watermelon turned red.'

   b. Eia ge   sibitala halaba lou.
      3ps IRR *arrive   clean   again*
      'It will look like new.'

5.4.1.5.   Directional Verb Compounds

Directional verb compounds are lexical phrases, that is, the separate elements making up the compound are not found to behave syntactically as separate elements, taking inflections and modifiers, or appearing individually as main verbs. This is in direct contrast to directional verbs which appear either as main verbs or in chained sequences subsequent to a motion verb (see 7.1.2.2.). The compounds, which are formed of a motion verb root plus a directional modifier, have in many cases both transitive and intransitive senses. The addition of the direction modifier does not change the subcategory of the root verb. The motion verb part of the compound is in most cases not a productive lexical item, and no distinct meaning is directly assignable to it. Some examples will help clarify these points:

```
        sibi-tala  'appear/arrive'  (tala 'emerging/appearing')
```

(286) La marapa-la   eia sibitala te   la tahalo alei-e.
      NM *confused*-nom 3ps *arrive* PREP NM *man* *that-there*

      'Madness came upon that man.'

```
        roro-muli  'obey'  (muli 'following/after')
```

(287) Egite   bisisi   roromuli-a e   tubu   gite.
      they(pl) *children* *obey*-3ps NM *grandparent* 3pli

      'The children obeyed their grandfather.'

Other compound verbs in this group are as follows:

```
    kiki-tale-a   'dig something out with the feet' (tala 'emerging/
                    appearing')

    tili-muli-a   'follow after someone' (muli 'after/following')

    saga-polo-a   'cross over' (polo 'across')

    utu-polo-a    'cut in two pieces'

    hara-lili(a)¹ 'proceed around' (galili 'around')

    polo-galili(a) 'go around'

    raga-utu(a)   'jump across something' (utu 'separately')

    bara-utu(a)   'cut flesh without severing'

    tau-pose-a    'place in the middle' (tau 'place/put', posa 'in
                    the middle')

    pou-posa      'sit in the middle' (pou 'sit')

    magiri-robo-a 'forbid' (magiri 'stand', robo 'covering')

    pigi-robo(a)  'cover with something' (pigi 'throw')
```

5.4.2. CLOSE-KNIT MODIFIER SEQUENCES

5.4.2.1. Preposed-Modifier Construction

Stative verbs prefixed by the frozen morpheme para *'habitually'* are true compounds on the stem level because the second part of the compound does not ordinarily occur separately, except in ellipsis, e.g.

```
    para-muraha 'habitually stingy'
    para-kiava  'always dirty'
    para-lahu   'appearing in great numbers'
```

---

[1]Parentheses around the 3ps suffix -a indicate not optionality, but rather the dual transitive and intransitive nature of the derived verbal compound.

An example of the use of the preposed modifier construction is given in (288), but further discussion of this non-productive compounded construction is not warranted:

(288) E   Karapi bili la laet, eia para-murahai
      NM   *Karapi* *kill* NM *light* 3ps *stingy*

      'Karapi has turned off the lights on us, the mean thing!'

5.4.2.2. Postposed Nominal State Construction

Nominal states are normally indicated by a stative verb following the noun, with optional relative pronoun marking (see 3.2.1.3.). A few postposed nominal states however have two distinctive character-istics marking them off:

 i) they occur with only a few lexically-restricted nouns;

ii) they are never morphologically marked for relativisation.

As already mentioned, these are very few in number, and apply only to a few animals which are normally domestic, or are to describe some familiar types of people:

Familiar animals:

e pusi hou	*'wild cat'* [hou *'wild'*]	
la paia hou	*'wild dog'*	
la bolo hou	*'wild pig'*; appears to be synonymous with:	
la bolo vuhu	*'undomesticated pig'* [vuhu *'unaltered/original'*]	
e polo-hulu	*'pig for men to eat'* [hulu *'men's house'*]	
la bolo lo-luma	*'domesticated pig'* [-luma *'the village'*]	

Familiar types of people:

la tau lo-luma   *'human being'* in contrast to:

la tau lo-rivo   *'spirit-man'* (i.e. man from the edge of cultured living: -rivo *'the gardens'*);

la tau Luveli   *'a Tolai person'* (i.e. from the Gazelle Peninsula, to the NE of Nakanai, some 125 miles);

la tau Biso   *'a man of the Biso subgroup'*;

e Pakasa Uru   *'Big Wallaby'* [uru *'great'*, i.e. *'esteemed'*; often used in names and kinship terms, e.g. harua-gu uru *'my esteemed husband'*]. (Big Wallaby is a noted personality in Nakanai folklore.)

Postposed nominal states such as hou and vuhu can be thought of as members of a small closed class of adjectives which can be accounted adequately (and economically) in the lexicon, due to the close semantic connection between noun and modifier. They are interpretable as either

affixed or separate elements phonologically, and there are no morpho-
logical tests of their degree of distinctness in this regard. I have
adopted the convention of representing them orthographically as dis-
tinct words, i.e. e pusi hou rather than e pusi-hou.

5.5. VERB STEMS: REDUPLICATIVE FUNCTIONS

I have examined thus far the inflectional, derivational and com-
pounding morphology of the verb. The process of reduplication of the
verb base in Nakanai affects inflectional, derivational and syntactic
aspects of the VP. Since it is a pervasive feature affecting the verb,
I conclude the present chapter with a discussion of the phonological
conditioning and resultant forms, as well as the various functions, of
reduplication.

5.5.0. *THE FUNCTIONAL POTENTIAL OF REDUPLICATION*

Reduplication is a morphological process that consists of the rep-
etition of all or part of a word base in order to fulfill a specific
semantic or syntactic function. It differs from repetition according
to three features (Mühlhäusler 1975:199): **firstly**, reduplication occurs
at the word level, at which level the same element is repeated only
once,[1] whereas at higher levels multiple repetition is possible;
secondly, repetition occurs at the phrase and sentence levels, with
often just a stylistic function, whereas reduplication has predictable
lexical implications; **thirdly**, whereas the rules underlying redupli-
cation are likely largely to be language-specific, repetition tends to
be a stylistic feature across a wide variety of languages. For example
Nakanai, in common with a number of languages, iterates verbs to indi-
cate repeated or enduring activity.

Further to this last point, reduplication can be examined in its
formal morphological and phonological manifestation, or alternatively,
in relation to its functional potential, both semantic and syntactic.[2]
Where the form of reduplication (e.g. whole versus partial reduplica-
tion) varies by function, reduplication can be studied in terms of that
interaction. In Nakanai there is complex phonological conditioning of
reduplicative form, but form does not vary by function (see 5.5.1.).

---

[1] Triplicate reduplication occurs, however, in some Micronesian languages (Harrison 1973).

[2] I confine attention here to the productive process of reduplication, deleting there-
fore from consideration repetition and lexicalised forms of reduplication.

Some manifestations of reduplication are associated with purely syntactic functions. This is the case in Nakanai with the marking of agreement with a non-singular clause topic on the verb by reduplication (see 5.5.2.).

Semantic functions of reduplication are of two kinds, being either lexicalised (see 5.5.3.1.) or productive. Some productive functions of reduplication in Nakanai are purely **derivational**, as with the derivation of collective and concrete nouns and distributive numerals (see 5.5.3.2.). This last is the only instance in Nakanai of a derivation by reduplication which changes the category of the affected element.

Other productive functions are **aspectual** (see 5.5.4.1.), or combine derivational and aspectual effects, as in the case of the intransitive continuative derivation (see 5.5.4.2.), which is an example of the sub-category of the affected element being changed by reduplication.

5.5.1. *PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF REDUPLICATIVE FORM*

5.5.1.0. Introduction

The syllable pattern of Nakanai is (C)V. Phonological rules of reduplication are sensitive only to the final two syllables, which I symbolise as $C_1V_1C_2V_2$, of the base. For example, in the verb root hiliti *'stand up, arise'* the final two syllables of the root are li (C_1V_1) and ti (C_2V_2) and only these are considered in determining the form of reduplication. Similarly, if a word base is inflected, as in tuga-ti *'departed'*, the final two syllables of the base are tu and ga, so that the perfective suffix -ti does not enter into the determination of the form of reduplication.

Reduplication of the last two syllables of the base is either complete or partial. Partial reduplication represents a decrement from the norm of complete reduplication of the final two syllables of the root or stem, i.e. the word base. That is, under certain varying phonological conditions the 'norm' of complete reduplication (see 5.5.1.1.) is expressed in five partial reduplication patterns, predictable from the nature of the last two syllables of the base, and not differentially conditioned by syntactic or semantic factors. Where partial reduplication occurs, a portion only of the base is repeated, to the left of the last two syllables of the base (e.g. ololi *'digging'*),[1]

----

[1] In all of the examples of reduplicated forms in this section (5.5.1.) I have underlined that part of the base which has been repeated in reduplication, thus attempting to make a little easier the reader's task of separating the reduplication from the reduplicative base.

being infixed if necessary (e.g. bi**la**lau *'songs'*). That is, partial
reduplications to the left of the final two syllables of the base
(like **sa**sapa, **pa**pita and **goe**gove) do occur, but partial reduplications
to the right of the base (like *sapa**pa***) do not occur.

5.5.1.1. Complete Reduplication

Complete reduplication occurs when the last two syllables of the
base are of the form CV, and are not identical, either C_1 or C_2 (but
not both) being the phonemes l or r:[1]

ligiligi	*'hurting'*
legelege	*'laughing'*
ragaraga	*'jumping'*
vorovoro	*'pounding'*
ruturutu	*'gathering food for feast'*
palopalo	*'wakening/baskets'*
milamila	*'salty'*
rovirovi	*'knowing'*
a**biri**biri	*'washing'*
ka**rusurusu**	*'ribs/battens'*
se**kelakela**	*'one at a time'*
ku**ruveruve**	*'many sweet potatoes'*

Complete reduplication also occurs when the last two syllables of
the base are V.CV and C_2 is a stop or fricative:

ba**ubauba**	*'pig nets/netting pigs'*
osaosa	*'flirting'*
otaota	*'veins'*

5.5.1.2. Loss of V_2

Loss of V_2 involves reduplication of C_1 or C_2, and V_2 of the last
two syllables of the base, this occurring when there are not two Cs
in the last two syllables:

ababi	*'getting'*
ololi	*'digging'*
babaa	*'spaces'*

---

[1] Roots of the form (-)CVV may optionally reduplicate this way rather than by the loss
of V_2 as in 5.5.1.2. Also, rare roots of the form ((-)V)VV reduplicate completely
the last two syllables, e.g. a**uau** *'steering'*, pa**iai**a *'many dogs'*.

bilalau	'songs'
gogoo	'smouldering'
gigiu	'peeling'
popou	'sitting'
bebeu-a	'returning'
kaiamamo	'residents of Kaiamo village'

5.5.1.3. Loss of C_1 and V_2

Loss of C_1 and V_2 involves the reduplication of C_1 from the base following complete reduplication, with accompanying loss of V_2 from the reduplicated part. Hence a root like haro *'day'* fully reduplicated would be haroaro, and with the further reduction of V_2 the final reduplicated form is obtained, viz. hararo. This, the most complexly conditioned pattern of reduplication, occurs only where both of the final two syllables of the base are of the form CV and the following conditions apply: V_1 is not a back vowel (i.e. it is i, e or a); C_1 is not a stop; C_2 is neither a stop nor a fricative, i.e. it is one of the continuants r, l or m:

hararo	'days'
harari	'running'
velelo	'bubbling forth'
hililo	'seeing'
bahararu	'widows'

5.5.1.4. Loss of C_2 and V_2

Loss of C_2 and V_2 involves reduplication of just C_1 and V_1 of the last two syllables of the base, occurring when these are both of the form CV and are of identical form:

lololo	'hearing'
bebebe	'butterflies'
mamapa	'payments'
sususu	'drinking from breast'
burulelele	'sliding on buttocks'

5.5.1.5. Loss of C_2

Loss of C_2 involves reduplication of C_1, V_1 and V_2 of the last two syllables of the base. This only occurs when the last two syllables of the base are of the form CV, and V_1 and V_2 are dissimilar, V_1 being

a mid or low vowel (i.e. e, a or o). Both Cs must be either stops or fricatives rather than continuants r, l or m:

<u>pai</u>pati	*'floating'*
<u>kau</u>kavu	*'wearing lime on face'*
<u>gau</u>gapu	*'beads'*
<u>kei</u>kedi	*'being careful'*
<u>pao</u>pago	*'spirit residents of Mount Pago'*
<u>soe</u>sobe	*'young women'*
<u>goe</u>gove	*'mountains'*

5.5.1.6. Loss of V_1 and C_2

Loss of V_1 and C_2 involves reduplication of C_1 and V_2 of the last two syllables of the base, this occurring where the last two syllables of the base are of the form CV, and where V_1 and V_2 are dissimilar, V_1 being a high or mid vowel (i.e. i, e, o or u) and V_2 a low or mid vowel (i.e. a, o or e).

<u>pap</u>ita	*'muddy'*
<u>bab</u>eta	*'wet'*
<u>mam</u>ota	*'vines'*
<u>kak</u>usa	*'shouting'*
<u>sos</u>io	*'carrying on ceremonial litter'*
<u>tat</u>oa	*'treading/kicking'*
i<u>la</u>lua	*'two by two'*
<u>ses</u>ile	*'tearing'*
<u>bob</u>iso	*'members of the Biso subgroup'*

5.5.2. MARKING OF NON-SINGULAR AGREEMENT

The verb is reduplicated in agreement with the presence of a non-singular clause topic:

(289)a. Egira   al-ali la uele.
      they(du) *rd–eat* NM *canarium.nut*
      'They ate the canarium nuts.'

Compare (a) with its singular topic equivalent in (b):

  b. Eia ali la uele.
      3ps *eat* NM *canarium.nut*
      'He ate the canarium nuts.'

Agreement marking is, however, optional in most cases:

(290) E   tama-la   me   tila-la   go-io   pou gabutatala.
      NM   *father*-3ps *and* *mother*-3ps *go-there* *sit* *think*
      'Her mother and father then sat and thought.'

(Gabutatala is not a reduplicated root, notwithstanding the occurrence
of a reduplicated syllable within it.)

Reduplication is, however, in this and its aspectual function, a
clitic feature, moving to the manner adverb in the verb phrase:

(291) Eia la taua   sesele,   egite   mera ta-taro amite
      3ps NM *spirit*   *truly*   *they*(pl) *talk* rd-*away* *us*(pl)

      o-io   vola.
      at-there   PRON
      'He is truly a spirit, and they warned us about him.'

In (291) reduplication occurs on the manner adverb taro rather than on
the verb root mera.

Sometimes the agreement and aspectual functions will simultaneously
motivate reduplication. Such is the case in fact in (291), since
parents habitually warn children of dangers, and the habitual aspect
on the verb would be expressed by reduplication.

When a non-singular clause topic is obligatory, as with the topic
of a clause with a reciprocal verb stem in the predicate, reduplication
of the verb root to indicate concord with the plural topic is oblig-
atory if the clause is transitive:

(292) Egira   vi-gabu   baololi   egirua.
      they(du) rec-*think*   *mutually*.rd *they*(du)
      'They thought about each other.'

The clause topic can be understood rather than overtly manifested.

(293) Umala   vi-kokue   tegiteu.
      don't rec-*fight*.rd *with.them*(pl)
      'Don't fight with them.'

Younger speakers of the language often omit reduplicational agree-
ment in reciprocal verbs, or 'misplace' it on the root in a head-
modifier verb phrase rather than on the manner adverb in the phrase
(see also 2.3.2.2.):

(294)a. Egira   vi-kai   baoli   la siot   tegirua.
        they(du) rec-*don*   *mutually* NM *shirt* *their*(du)

        'They put on each other's shirt.'

     b. Egira   vi-gugutu   baoli   la ilali.
        they(du) rec-rd.*cook*   *mutually* NM *food*

        'They cooked their food together.'

In the former example of this pair reduplication has been omitted, and in the latter example reduplication has been placed on the verb root rather than on the adverb.

Marking of non-singular agreement on the verb by reduplication is not implemented for active intransitive verbs, but plural agreement marking is obligatory for stative intransitive verbs in construction with plural subjects. This is illustrated in (295) with conjoined NPs with stative relative clauses:

(295) Egite   tavivile ururu,   egite   la valalua ururu.
      they(pl) *women*   rd.*great* *they*(pl) NM *men*   rd.*big*
      '*The old women and the old men.*'

Mass nouns in the clause topic may be associated with plural-marked verbs in the predicate, even though referenced by a singular pronoun:

(296) La ilali tegite,   eia kama ururu.
      NM *food*   *their*(pl) 3ps *not*   rd.*big*
      '*Their food is not plentiful.*'

Such agreement need not be marked, as is shown from the following example with a non-specific plural topic (cf. comments on inanimate indefinite NPs on p.100):

(297) La lumaluma usu, eia kama kokora.[1]
      NM *house*.rd *many* 3ps *not*   *nice*
      '*Many houses were spoiled.*'

5.5.3. *LEXICAL FUNCTIONS*

5.5.3.1. Lexicalised Functions

Lexicalised functions are reduplications rendered in the lexical entry of the root. They are not productive in deriving a stem of another category or subcategory nor in inflecting the basic meaning of the root, but rather are to be regarded as fossilised or frozen states attributable possibly to some historical cause in the diachrony of the language. This form of reduplication is seen to exist when a reduplicated root does not occur in unreduplicated form elsewhere in the language. For most reduplicated verbs, lexical reduplication blocks further reduplication.

There is a group of collective nouns not readily derivable from singular nouns:

---

[1] In (297) kokora is lexically rather than grammatically reduplicated (see 5.5.3.1.).

```
la valalua        'men' (la tahalo 'man')
e (ha)tavivile    'women' (la tavile 'woman')
e kekle           'starling' (*e kle)
e doudou          'borers' (*e dou)
e makirikiri      'sandflies' (*e makiri)
```

Onomatopaeia appears to be responsible for the lexicalisation of a number of verbs:

```
kaboiboi          'bark, as a dog'
tagogoro          'rumble'
```

All colour state verbs are lexically reduplicated:

```
magegese          'red'
kurukuru          'black'
kakea             'white'
ialalo            'yellow'
kakesa            'green, ultramarine, turquoise'
kakisa            'blue'
sabeleututua      'dappled/chequered/pied'
```

There are root forms for some of these, taken from the names of plants or birds of the appropriate colour, e.g.

```
la kea            'cockatoo'
```

Lexical reduplication also appears to be a feature of a large variety of stative verbs other than colours:

```
pepepea           'narrow'
bolabola          'wide, flat'
taitavi           'thin'
boboi             'loud'
sagege            'happy'
kokora            'desirable'
sesele            'true'
kokovu            'lost'
```

Additionally, reduplication is characteristic of the group of adverbs indicating extreme states (see 5.2.1., example 277):

```
mimika            'very (sweet)'
tililika          'very (long)'
tataho            'very (pleasant)'
pepeho            'very (general term)'
```

Certain active verbs seem to draw some inherent continuative func-
tion from the natural manner of occurrence, hence reduplication is
lexicalised in the root form of these verbs:

mimisi	*'urinate'*
vivigi	*'copulate'*
kalalua	*'vomit'*
gabutatala	*'think'*
kadedele	*'stroll along'*
kavovou	*'stroll around'*

5.5.3.2. Productive Functions

Productive lexical functions of reduplication in Nakanai can be
viewed as aspectual and non-aspectual. Aspectual functions apply only
to active verbs, to signify the continuative habituative mood and
within this mood, to derive an intransitive from a transitive verb.
I mention firstly non-aspectual nominal functions which are discussed
elsewhere. These consist of inflection by reduplication of nouns to
obtain the **collective** plural (6.2.1.2.), and the derivation of **concrete**
nouns by reduplication of a derived abstract noun stem (6.2.2.). The
derivation of **distributive** numeral adverbs from compound numeral stems
is a verbal function and is discussed here accordingly.

The numeral root in Nakanai is in fact a compound combining the
bound numeral prefix i- with a bound numeral root (see 6.4.2.). Dis-
tributive adverbs are derived from compound numeral stems by redupli-
cation:

isasasa	*'one by one'*	(-sasa *'one'*)
ilalua	*'two by two'*	(-lua *'two'*)
itoutolu	*'three by three'*	(-tolu *'three'*)
ivavaa	*'four by four'*	(-vaa *'four'*)
ilimalima	*'five by five'*	(-lima *'five'*)

(298) Egite   go-io   abi-a-gu   i-sa-sasa   i-sa-sasa,
      they(pl) *go-there* *give-3ps-to.me* num-rd-*one* num-rd-*one*

      isahari i-la-lua.
      some   num-rd-*two*

      'They gave me one (dollar) each, one by one (and) some (gave)
      two each.'

Higher numbers theoretically can be distributed, but are not normally
encountered in real speech situations.

5.5.4. *ASPECTUAL FUNCTIONS*

5.5.4.1. Continuative/Habituative Aspect

The modality constituent in semantic models such as Fillmore's
'The Case for Case' (1968) is most appropriately filled by the aspect
category in Nakanai. It would seem that tense and aspect must be
separately accounted for in the analysis of languages, since they can
combine independently in languages possessing both categories. Nakanai
has no category of tense, the temporal perspective being included in
the realm of aspect. Tchekhoff (1973:608) distinguished tense and
aspect in the following terms:

> Just as grammatical tenses set the time of a verb, from the
> point of view of the speaker, grammatical aspects can be
> said to express the way the meaning of the verb will unfold
> in this universe of time and/or space. ... (T)he meaning
> of the verb ... could be expressed as something that is
> accomplished, realized, a fact. ... This aspect is some-
> times called perfective, as opposed to imperfective.

As has already been shown (see 5.1.2.), Nakanai has a perfective
aspect, encoded by the verbal suffix -ti. There are only two aspect
markers, and both may occur in combination affixed to the verb (i.e.
as the imperfective aspect - see 5.1.4.). The other aspect marker is
reduplication encoding continuative or habituative action (see 5.1.3.):

(299)a. Continuative sense:

E   pakasa   ta-taga,   iala moli la vareki kama ta-taga.
NM *wallaby* rd-*afraid* *but*   NM *goanna* *not*   rd-*afraid*

   '*The wallaby was feeling frightened but the goanna was not.*'

   b. Habituative sense:

Egite   mai   la soe-sobe ge   bau-bau.
they(pl) *like* NM rd-*girls* IRR rd-*sing*

   '*Groups such as the young women would sing.*'

5.5.4.2. The Intransitive Continuative Verb Derivation

Aspects figure largely in verbal subcategory derivations, e.g. a
stative verb can be derived from a process verb such as peho '*die*' by
suffixation of the perfective aspect, giving peho-ti '*dead*'. Similarly,
an intransitive verb can be derived from a transitive verb by redupli-
cation of the root.

(300)a. La sobe hugu la obu.
       NM *girl* *carry* NM *wood*

   '*The young woman carried the wood (on her head).*'

(300)b. La   sobe   hugugu.
     NM   *giry*   carry.rd

     'The young woman is carrying (something on her head).'

The intransitive is not obligatorily derived by reduplication, i.e.
the transitive verb can still be inflected for continuative/habituative
aspect.   The point is that reduplication is obligatory to derive both
the intransitive sense and form.   Hence La sobe hugugu la obu is
acceptable as the continuative of (300a) but *La sobe hugu is not
acceptable, being ungrammatical by virtue of failing to derive the
intransitive form by reduplication.

    The intransitive derivation occurs by reduplication because the
meaning of a transitive verb must be held within a continuative frame
of reference in order to make sense without the patient element pres-
ent, hence:

(301)a. E   tete   avu   la   ia.
     NM   *father*   wrap   NM   *fish*

     'Father wrapped the fish.'

   b. E   tete   avavu   la   ia.
      NM   *father*   rd.wrap   NM   *fish*

      'Father is/was wrapping the fish.'

   c. E   tete   avavu.
      NM   *father*   rd.wrap

      'Father is wrapping.'

   d. *E tete avu.

Evidence for the reality of this constraint is found in the fact that
the imperfective aspect, i.e. the aspect of the form rd-V-ti (see
5.1.4.) cannot be formed with derived stems such as avavu.   Hence *E
tete avavuti is not acceptable.   However, the perfective sense of the
transitive form of the verb is acceptable, as in (302):

(302) E   tete   avavu-ti-a.
     NM   *father*   rd.wrap-PERF-3ps

     'Father has already begun to wrap it.'

    It would seem then, that the derivation of an intransitive from a
transitive verb in Nakanai occurs only with so-called 'telic' verbs,
those transitive verbs which are not conceivable without reference to
a patient-entity.[1]   This derivation is achieved, as I have outlined

---

[1]The term 'telic', which is established in the theoretical literature (see, e.g.
Comrie 1976:44-8) has been used in the specific sense mentioned here, by Harrison
(1973:428-32).   Transitive verbs in Nakanai which can readily be conceived without
                                   (cont'd opposite)

above, by reduplication of the root, since the action occurs only within a continuative frame of reference.

This concludes the analysis of the Nakanai VP, its constituents, and derivations, compounds and inflections of the verb base. The next chapter completes the discussion of basic structures with the analysis of the NP and its constituents.

(footnote 1, cont'd from opposite page)

reference to a patient-entity would be, in Harrison's definition, 'atelic'. These are such verbs as ali *'eat'* and bau *'sing'* (see case frame #13). 'Telic' verbs as already noted in the text are those which are not conceivable without reference to a patient-entity, e.g. sapa *'sweep'*, avu *'wrap'* and kaso *'sharpen'*.

NOUN PHRASES AND THEIR CONSTITUENTS

This chapter discusses the Nakanai NP and its constituents, including noun markers (see 6.1.), inflections, derivations and compoundings applicable to the base (see 6.2.), personal pronouns, which are compounds of the personal noun marker and a pronominal root (see 6.3.), modifiers of the basic NP (see 6.4.) and noun phrase expansions such as juxtaposed, coordinate, serial and prepositional NPs (see 6.5.). An analysis of the modifier-NP is presented in terms of two factors which have not been extensively recognised as operative on the phrase level, namely 'bondedness', which is syntactic, and 'cohesion', which is contextual. These two factors are reflected in variant linear orderings of modifier constituents.

6.0. STRUCTURE, BONDEDNESS AND COHESION OF THE MODIFIER-NP

6.0.1. *STRUCTURAL VARIATIONS*

There are three variants of the modifier NP, the speaker having the option of three linear formats of constituents depending on contextual factors. I take the structure of the indefinite specific NP as the basic configuration of the modifier-NP, for two reasons. Firstly, it is not as highly presupposed as the definite NP which refers to a particular entity. Secondly, the indefinite specific NP must represent indefinite non-generic information whereas the indefinite non-specific NP often refers to generic information which is necessarily highly marked semantically.

The structure of the indefinite specific NP is as follows:

$$NP_{indef\ spec} = [[NM\ N]\ (POSS)\ (QUANT)]\ (DEIC)$$

159

This linear configuration of the NP changes according to whether the entity referred to by the NP is definite or non-specific. Such variations occur as follows:

The constituent Quantifier is positioned following the head noun when referring to a specific referent, but precedes the head noun when referring to a non-specific entity.

The demonstrative constituent, represented by ale *'that'* can only occur modifying a NP with a definite referent.

The constituent Possessive precedes Quantifier when referring to an indefinite specific entity, but follows Quantifier when the head noun refers to a definite referent.

Finally, the indefinite non-specific NP cannot appear filling the clause topic position, which is for the expression of given information. However, the specific-referent variations of NP may appear as exponents of either pragmatic peaks I or II, or the position of non-pragmatic prominence (see 3.0.1.2.).

There are, then, two variations from the indefinite specific NP which I have treated above as the 'unmarked' form of the modifier-NP. The first variant is the definite NP, the linear configuration of which is as follows:

$$NP_{def} = [[NM\ N]\ (QUANT)\ (POSS)\ (DEM)]\ (DEIC)$$

Definiteness of course is included within the notion of specific information, so there is therefore no reasonable notion of definite non-specific information (Chafe 1976:28).

The indefinite non-specific NP has few presuppositions as to its possible referents, but as a signifier of what is often generic information, it represents a semantically highly marked construction. The linear configuration of this variant is:

$$NP_{indef\ non-spec} = [(QUANT)\ [NM\ N]\ (POSS)]\ (DEIC)$$

In all three configurations, the modifiers of the nominal head are all optional, and can be subsumed under the general rubric of **limiting** modifiers. There is, however, no **adjective** category in Nakanai (see 2.2.1.2. and 5.4.2.3.) to express the notion of **descriptive** modification. In many languages this notion is expressed with adjectival elements and restrictive relative clauses. In Nakanai all adjectival-type meanings are expressed by stative verbs which occur in a relative-clause type of relationship to a head noun. A relative clause has been analysed as consisting of a sentence with a topicalised demonstrative-focussed NP which is the relativised entity (see 4.2.1.3.).

All modifiers restrict the possible semantic range covered by the head noun.[1] It is with the limiting modifiers, however, that key pragmatic distinctions in the NP are drawn. As we have seen, the quantifier constituent, by its positioning, indicates specific information in the referent, while the determiner category, by its presence or absence signifies respectively definite or indefinite referents.

In the indefinite specific NP, the referent is known to the speaker, and assumed by the speaker to be unknown to the hearer. The speaker may, however, be a story-teller who assumes prior knowledge of entities in the story which are purely fictional and not concretely in his experience. The following examples illustrate the **indefinite specific** NP:

(303)a. La   mautu   tegirua   isa bisi
     NM   *village their*(du) *one little*

     'Their little village'

   b. La   luma   te   masta   isasa
     NM   *house* PREP   *whiteman* *one*

     'A white-man's house'

   c. La   kaliala tegala   isa
     NM   *flesh*   *our*(du.in) *one*

     'Some meat for us.'

   d. La   bolo   tegatou   isa
     NM   *pig*   *our*(pl.in)   *one*

     'A pig (which will be) for us (to eat).'

In the definite NP, the referent is known to both speaker and hearer (or at least the speaker assumes that the referent is known to the hearer). Generic information which the speaker assumes the hearer understands in general terms is included under definite information. The suggested determiner category in Oceanic grammar (Pawley 1973:112) is a pronoun preceding the head noun and noun marker, indicating person, number and **definiteness**. In Nakanai, a determiner construction is represented in these terms, but is more appropriately analysed as a juxtaposed NP of the form pronoun + noun (for this analysis see 6.5.1.). The following examples illustrate the **definite** NP:

(304)a. La   bua   ilua taume   ele
     NM   *areca.nut*   *two*   *your*(s)   *there*

     'Your two areca nuts there'

---

[1] Paratactic clauses, which simply add information to the head noun, remain an analytical problem in linguistics. See 4.2.1.3. (section (b)i) for a discussion of Nakanai paratactic clauses.

(304)b. **La vugi ale isasa, eau tau-gale-ti-a-le**
     NM *banana that one I put-aside*-PERF-3ps-*there*

     'The banana that I put aside there'

    c. **La obu itolu ale malalau, ale pepepea, ale vagari,**
       NM *wood three that long that thin that strong*

       ale matata tataho
       that straight pleasingly

       'Three long thin nicely straight strong timbers'

In the **indefinite non-specific** NP, the referent is either unknown to the speaker, or else is not concretely in the speaker's immediate experience, nor is it known to the hearer in particular terms, so that certain generic concepts are included within the rubric of this phrase variant, examples of which are as follows:

(305)a. **Ilua la bolo**
     two NM *pig*

     'A few (=some/any) pigs'

    b. **Isa la tahalo**
      one NM *man*

      'A man (= any man)'

    c. **Usu la liu**
      many NM *coconut*

      'Lots of coconuts'

    d. **Usu la paia te Pelis**
      many NP *dog* PREP *Apelis*

      'Many of Apelis' dogs'

Now this phrase variant represents completely new information, and as such it is precluded from expounding the clause topic (I) which is reserved for the expression of given information (see 3.0.1.1.). In the following two examples, the indefinite non-specific NP fills the second point of pragmatic prominence (II) in example (a), and the non-pragmatically prominent position in example (b):

(306)a. **Eme kama rovi-a isa la paga.**
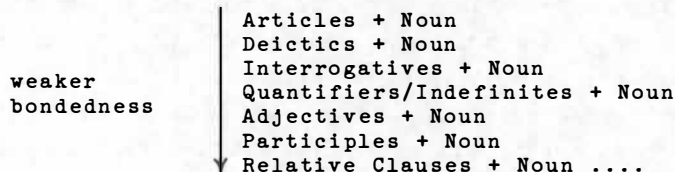   2ps *not know*-3ps *one* NM *thing*

     'You don't know anything.'

    b. **Abi-a-gu ilua la bua taume ele.**
      give-3ps-1psi *two* NM *areca.nut your*(s) *there*

      'Give me a couple of your areca nuts there.'

6.0.2. *BONDEDNESS AND COHESION*

Thus far the three variants of the modifier-NP have been discussed and illustrated. Consider now some further implications for the structure of the NP which a detailed examination of these constructions reveals, specifically principles of bondedness and cohesion which reflect in the form of the NP semantic and pragmatic influences respectively.

Bondedness of the NP in Austronesian languages has been examined in some detail by Foley (1976a). His research considered the implications of the presence of morphological ligatures indicating syntactic bondedness in the NP. Elements in the NP were found to be arranged in an implicational hierarchy which reflects the strength of syntactic bonding within the phrase.

> In Palauan, el [the subordinator in many Adjunct + Noun constructions] is used with deictics, interrogatives, quantifiers, adjectives, participles and relative clauses, but not with the article. Many other Austronesian languages have ligatures like el in Palauan, but their distribution is not always parallel to it. If we look at Adjunct + Noun constructions in other languages we find that a hierarchy predicts the distribution of ligatures. This hierarchy is:
>
> | | Articles + Noun |
> | --- | --- |
> | | Deictics + Noun |
> | | Interrogatives + Noun |
> | weaker | Quantifiers/Indefinites + Noun |
> | bondedness | Adjectives + Noun |
> | | Participles + Noun |
> | | Relative Clauses + Noun .... |
>
> This hierarchy represents a potential maximum expansion of possibly distinct Adjunct + Noun constructions.
>
> (Foley 1976a:17-18)

Now this proposed hierarchy is implicational, so that if a category in any language employs a ligature, then all categories in the Bondedness Hierarchy below that category will use a ligature in that language.

> It is claimed that this hierarchy represents universal tendencies in the strength of bonds between adjuncts and their head nouns. The bond between an article and its head noun is much stronger than that between a relative clause and its head noun. (Foley 1976a:20)

We are dealing here, then, with a notion of strength of syntactic bonding. The higher a construction is on the hierarchy, the more tightly bound the adjunct is to the head noun, and "to some extent the strength of the bond varies inversely with the degree of full sentential properties of the subordinated element", so that "relative clauses

are more weakly bound than particles, which in turn are more weakly bound than adjectives."

In Nakanai the ligature of the Bondedness Hierarchy is represented as the demonstrative **ale**, which only predictably occurs marking relative clauses (i.e. constructions of the form NP + **ale** Cl). Now the relative clause is the least close-knit element in the Nakanai NP, and is in fact analysed as a form of focussing in the clause (see 4.2.1.3.) rather than as an element within the NP. Foley's morphological bondedness thesis then, is confirmed by the Nakanai data. However we have to consider the further matter of **cohesion** within the NP.

Cohesion is indicated by square brackets in the three NP configurations at the beginning of this chapter. It is a covert relationship, indicated by the freedom of modifiers to vary positionally around the noun head and in relation to each other. Such variation, as we have seen, is contextually controlled by such factors as the definite or specific nature of nominal referents. Such data is therefore harder to obtain, requiring for its discernment and analysis a knowledge of all possible NP variations and ability to understand the meaning of an NP in relation to its context.

In all three NP configurations there is a nucleus, contained by the innermost set of square brackets, made up of the noun marker (see 6.1.) and the noun root. Next in closeness of cohesion to the nucleus are the elements Possessor and Quantifier, which are contained within the next-to-innermost set of square brackets. Now the constituent Possessor represents a nominal element and is therefore not included within the Bondedness Hierarchy, being included rather under the noun + noun type of construction in Foley's characterisation of Austronesian NPs. As well as this, both POSS and QUANT vary in position depending on the definiteness and specificness of the NP, and so cannot readily be considered in any estimate of the cohesion and bondedness of the NP.[1]

The next most closely bound element found in the NP is demonstrative, occurring only in the definite NP. The least closely bound element is deictic, potentially occurring with all three contextual variants of the NP. This gives a cohesion hierarchy for Nakanai as follows:

---

[1]In the definite NP categories Quantifier and Possessive are optionally marked by Demonstrative **ale**, perhaps by analogy with the marking of relative clauses by focussing of the nominal head.

```
  | Article + Noun
  | Demonstrative + Noun
  ↓ Deictic + Noun
```

What principle is at work then in the structure of the Nakanai NP?
Deictic appears less cohesive than demonstrative, yet we have already
seen that the syntactic ligature bonding the NP is reflected in Nakanai
as demonstrative ale, which binds all other elements of the NP, inclu-
ding deictic, more tightly into the NP. This suggests then that the
cohesiveness of the Nakanai deictic, reflecting contextual factors, is
weaker than the bondedness relationship of the demonstrative to its
head noun. The bondedness relationship is semantic and acontextual,
the equivalent of role in clause analysis. The cohesion relationship,
however, is a pragmatic factor relating to the context of the NP in
the clause. The Nakanai data therefore shows that the operation of
pragmatic factors on the clause level can reach right down into the
phrase level to affect structural options. With further research this
could be a fruitful observation, bearing in mind that linguists have
often been unwilling to allow the relevance of pragmatics to grammatical
analysis, even at clause level, and certainly the phrase level has
mostly been assumed in the past to be a context-free realm of language.

6.1. NOUN MARKERS

Nakanai has two noun markers, e and la, which are not entirely pre-
dictable on any semantic basis, and are analysed therefore as neutral
noun markers. A degree of semantic consistency lies behind the use of
the two noun markers however, e approximating the signification of a
personal or proper category of nouns, and la a common category. The
noun markers represent an example of grammatical change in progress,
in the form of the merging of categories.

The category Noun Marker must be represented in the NP, except where
the NP is used in a vocative sense, in which instance the noun marker
is obligatorily absent, e.g. compare example (a) with example (b)
below:

(307)a. Pragmatic use of tila 'mother'

      E   tila   ge   go-mai.
      NM *mother* IRR *go-here*

      'My mother will be coming.'

  b. Address (vocative) use of tila 'mother'

      Tila,   go-mai!
      mother *go-here*

      'Mother, come here!'

Noun marker **e** marks proper nouns plus certain other animate[1] and foreign entities. It is presumably descended from the POC proper noun marker *(q)a. I term **e** the 'personal' noun marker, symbolised (uniformly with **la**) as NM.

Noun marker **la** is clearly the reflex of POC *na, and approximates signification of a class of common nouns, marking mainly inanimate and domestic entities.

While more needs to be said about **e**, it is emphasised again that for purposes of description both **e** and **la** must be treated as being simply noun markers, to be listed accordingly with their nouns in the lexicon, despite the very near approach to predictability of the use of **e** in certain semantic groups.

As already noted, personal noun marker **e** marks proper nouns:

e Tomas	*'Thomas'*	
e Mosbi	*'Port Moresby'*	
e tama-la	*'his/her father'*	
e kiapu	*'government officer'*	(Pidgin: kiap)

Noun marker **e** also marks personal pronouns, being phonologically bound into the pronoun stem, which is a compound (see 6.3.):

e-ia	3ps
e-giteu	*'they*(pl)*'*

The personal noun marker also marks a majority of borrowed nouns:

e loli	*'lolly'*	
e helikopta	*'helicopter'*	
e bau	*'tapioca'*	(from the Bau region of New Britain)
e podo	*'pumpkin'*	(introduced from Pondo plantation in northeast New Britain)
e balus	*'aeroplane'*	(Pidgin: balus)

Sometimes a borrowed noun is marked by **la** to give a contrast with another borrowed noun, hence **la sip** *'sheep'* compared with **e sipi** *'ship'*. Yet other borrowed nouns have an alternation of **la** and **e** noun markers:

e/la dola	*'dollar'*
e/la Uru	*'God'*

but sometimes such alternation is found with nouns which are not borrowed, as for example:

---

[1] These other animate entities are not specifically predictable on the basis of any semantic criterion, as the following discussion shows.

```
e/la kukureko    'domestic fowl'
e/la kuruve      'sweet potato'
```

In addition to named entities and borrowed nouns, the personal noun marker **e** also occurs marking approximately 70% of the names of species of birds, fish and insects. For example, an examination of the first 100 names of varieties of fish, produced by an informant from Munro's (1967) *The Fishes of New Guinea*, gave 70% with noun marker **e** and 30% with **la**. An examination of 31 randomly-elicited names of animals yielded 61% with noun marker **e**. Thirty seven bird names were found to be distributed as 70% with noun marker **e**, the remainder with **la**. A check of 17 names of shell types yielded very similar figures, there being 69% of shell names with noun marker **e**.

Noun marker **la**, on the other hand, most often marks inanimate and domestic entities, and so is referred to by me as the common noun marker:

```
la luma      'house'
la viso      'knife'
la havi      'fire'
la tahalo    'man'
la tavile    'woman'
la mahuma    'garden'
la huvi      'yam'
la mavo      'taro'
```

There are of course, exceptions such as implements with **e** rather than **la**, such as **e poke** *'pig spear'*, and animate entities with **la** rather than **e**, such as **la malu** *'bird'*.

6.2. NOUNS

6.2.1. *INFLECTIONS*

6.2.1.0. Introduction

Three inflections occur on the noun root or stem:

i) **Suffixation** for inalienable possession, e.g. **la lima-gu** *'my hand'*; this is discussed in 6.2.1.1.

ii) **Reduplication** for the formation of the collective plural, e.g. **la bolo-bolo** *'many pigs'*; this is discussed in 6.2.1.2.

iii) **Post-clitic suffixes** demonstrative -la,[1] and deictics -e and -o, e.g. egiteu-la-e *'those ones there'*. These have already been discussed in 4.2.2.

6.2.1.1. Inalienable Possession

The following pair of examples demonstrate the contrast, familiar in OC languages, of alienable (a) and inalienable (b) possession:

(308)a. La luma taku   *'My house'*

   b. La lima-gu   *'My hand'*

Inalienable possession applies to body parts, kin, and, in the third person singular only, to animal and human propensities, natural physical attributes, products, and material of construction. I begin by illustrating the first two aspects, which are the most common uses:

(309)a. La lima-la   *'His/her/its hand/arm'*

   b. E tila-la   *'His/her/its mother'*

   c. La bautu-la   *'A/the part of it'*

Suffix -la followed by noun marker e contracts to -le:

(310) La lima-le tete   *'My father's arm/hand'* (e tete *'my father'*)

However suffix -la followed by noun marker la merges into the noun marker:

(311) La bautu la obu   *'A piece of wood'* (la obu *'wood'*)

Such morphophonemic changes have already been outlined in footnotes to section 3.0.2.1.

In the singular, inalienable possession is indicated by the following suffixes:

   -gu   *'my'*
   -mu   *'your'*
   -la   *'his/her/its'*

Dual and plural semantic values are encoded by the appropriate bound pronominal root suffixed to the noun,[2] e.g.

---

[1]There is, in addition, a limited emphatic suffix, used only following second person pronouns, and not co-occurring with other suffixes, the pronoun so inflected constituting an entire exclamatory utterance, e.g. Eme-to! *'Even you!'* (= *it's your decision*).

[2]See section 6.3. for a list of the bound pronominal roots. The inalienable suffix is distinct from the personal pronoun also in that the latter is prefixed by the personal noun marker in the bound form e- while the inalienable suffix is not. As an orthographic convention I render the non-singular inalienable possessive suffix with a word-break between noun and suffix.

(312)a. La vaha gite(u) *'Their legs'* (plural)

   b. La vaha mul(u)a *'Your legs'* (dual)

Inclusive pronoun suffixes, however, change as follows in the inalienable possession function:

   -tal(u)a → -gal(u)a *'our*(du.in)'
   -tato(u) → -gato(u) *'our*(pl.in)'

(313)a. La vaha gal(u)a *'Our legs'* (du.in)

   b. La vaha gato(u) *'Our legs'* (pl.in)

The possessive suffixes in (a) and (b) in the above sets of examples have been rendered orthographically as separate words, in accordance with the convention mentioned in the footnote.

   The inalienable possession relationship then, is indicated by noun inflection and is not herein analysed as a separate modifying element in the NP, not being subject to variation for indefinite and non-specific semantic values, as is the case with alienable possession:

(314)a. *Itolu   la   kuku-gu
         three   NM   *digit-my*

   b. *La kuku-itolu-gu

   The question remains, however, as to how to characterise nouns as alienably or inalienably possessed. Is this a matter for the lexicon or the grammar?

   Lynch (1973), in his survey of possession in Aroma, Suau, Lenakel and Fijian, points out that:

> Since a considerable number of nouns have the potentiality
> of overlap - i.e., since they may be possessed both alien-
> ably and inalienably - it is logical to assume that the
> nature of the possessive construction in which a noun appears
> cannot always be determined solely by the lexical features
> of that noun. This in turn suggests that it is inappropriate
> to put forward the view - as has been usual in the past - that
> in Melanesian languages the gender of the possessed noun
> determines the nature of the possessive construction in which
> it appears.
>   (Lynch 1973:84)

   Pawley (1972:33) posited a three-gender system for PEO, and Capell (1969:45) attests the widespread occurrence of a gender system based on possession in the New Guinea region. Chowning (1973:216) endorses the analysis of Nakanai possession as a gender system, noting that it is anomalous.

   Overlap of the kind described by Lynch is rare in Nakanai. There are however some anomalous nouns which have two meanings, one appropriate to inalienable possession, the other to alienable possession:

	Inalienable meaning	Alienable meaning
la susu	*'breast'*	*'milk'*
la luma	*'shell of turtle'*	*'house'*
la mapa	*'cost/fruit'*	*'pay/wages'*
la paga	*'component'*	*'thing'*

Although the senses of the alienable and inalienable classes in these instances are clearly related to each other, such anomalies (in which an overlap of basic and subsidiary semantic readings requires contextual interpretation external to the lexical specification of the noun) are not numerous, and can be separately listed in the lexicon. The overall rationale is a 'gender' system, with inalienably and alienably possessed classes of nouns.

Pawley (1973), commenting on some recent studies in Melanesian and Polynesian languages, and altering his previous position on PEO possessives as gender systems, states the following:

> In these languages we are not dealing with a true gender system, but with a system which marks several kinds of possessive relationships, and which allows a noun to occur as head with as many different kinds of possessive markers as makes sense to the speakers of the language. The system is thus more comparable to that governing verb-object relationships than to a gender system.
>
> (Pawley 1973:167)

This suggestion of Pawley's does not hold for Nakanai. I have found it useful in connection with the Nakanai data however, to examine further Pawley's elaboration of the notion of inalienable possession.

Under **inalienable** Pawley classifies body parts, natural parts of a whole, positional relationships, kinsfolk, and natural physical attributes. Contrasting with this are 'dominant' possession and 'edible and subordinate' possession, which are both basically alienable, since an agent, owner or controller exercises initiative in the relationship between possessed and possessor.[1] Consistent with this, Lynch (1973:84) asserts that the semantic basis of the alienable/inalienable distinction is a matter of whether the possessive relationships is exercised obligatorily (i.e. inalienable possession) or optionally (i.e. alienable possession).

---

[1] Possession, as Lynch points out (1973:97), is not the most felicitous way of referring to such relationships as are expressed in the phrases *'my father'*, *'my head'*, *'my accident'*, and so on. The term 'possession' however is by now part of the standard terminology with which students of syntax discuss such relationships as these, and others. I persist therefore with the use of the term, with enlargement and explanation as appropriate.

In Nakanai we find that obligatory possession occurs consistent with Pawley's list of possessive relationships, with the exception of locative relationships, which are encoded by coverbs (see 2.1.2. and 7.2.). We can, however, categorise the relationships in Nakanai more specifically than Pawley does for POC. In Nakanai there is the potential to encode a wide range of inalienable possessive associations, as the following examples show:[1]

Propensity, e.g.

    La tahalo la   mutele-la.
    NM *man*   3psi/NM *generous*-nom
    'A man of generosity.'

Natural Physical Attribute, e.g.

    La vagagari-mu.
    NM *strong*.rd-2si
    'Your strength.'

Integral Part, e.g.

    La sosole la   luma.
    NM *post*   3psi/NM *house*
    'A post of the house.'

Product, e.g.

    La tatahe la   bolo.
    NM *excreta* 3psi/NM *pig*
    'Pig excreta.'

Material, e.g.

    La luma la   kapa.
    NM *house* 3psi/NM *corrugated.iron*
    'A house made of corrugated iron.'

Intimate, e.g.

    La gama la   tahalo. i.e. body part
    NM *head* 3psi/NM *man*
    'The/a man's head.'

    E   tama-le   Dala. i.e. kinsman
    NM   *father*-3psi/NM *Dala*
    'Dala's father.'

Over against these obligatory possession relationships are the optional possession relationships, in which the possessed is able to be alienated from the possessor at will. Certain distinctly specifiable

---

[1]The categorisation given is only a convenient and somewhat arbitrary etic classification of possessive relationships.

syntactic correlates accompany these separate semantic systems of pos-
session. Consider, e.g. topicalisation: Alienably possessed phrases
do not readily allow topicalisation of the possessor, whereas inalien-
ably possessed phrases do, as shown in these examples:

(315)a. La luma   ale   taku taritigi.
        NM *house* *that* *my*   *good*

        'My house is a good one.'

     b. ?*Eau, la luma   ale   taku taritigi.
         I   NM *house* *that* *my*   *good*

These two examples show topicalisation not permitted for the possessor
of an alienably possessed NP. The next two examples, however, show
topicalisation occurring with the possessor of an inalienably possessed
NP:

(316)a. La lima-gu   taritigi-ti.
        NM *hand*-3psi *good*-PERF

        'My (injured) hand is fine now.'

     b. Eau, la lima-gu   taritigi-ti.
        I   NM *hand*-3psi *good*-PERF

        'As for me, my injured hand is fine now.'

Syntactically, alienable possession is rendered in the separate
constituent Possessive (see 6.0.), manifested by prepositional phrases
of the form **te** + NP, or by derived possessive pronoun stems made up of
the preposition **te** plus a derived pronoun stem (see 6.3.).

Contrasting with the above, the inalienable possession NP in (a)
represents a stative clause with a nominal predicate, **eau**. The speaker
has the option of focussing the nominal predicate as in (b), **Eau, la
limagu taritigiti.**

Inalienably possessed entities can be multiply embedded in the case
of **integral part** relationships in the third person:

(317) La tiroro   la mata la bigomu la mautu   ale   uru.
      NM *entrance* NM *eye* NM *fence* NM *village* *that* *big*

      'The way in through the gap in the fence around the town.'

The relationships alienable and inalienable then, are always, as
analysed, thus:

 i) the alienable possessive construction is an active clause with the
    patient in the clause topic, and the actor in II, e.g.

(318) Pat   Predicate Actor
      La   luma   te   Baba.
      NM   *house*   PREP   *Baba*

      'Baba's house.'

ii) the inalienable possessive construction however, is a stative
equational clause with the patient in the clause topic and no actor
present. The inalienable possessive suffix is the equational (i.e.
nominal) predicate, e.g.

(319) Pat   Predicate
      La   lima-gu.
      NM   *hand*-1si
      '*My hand.*'

So in the former example of the preceding pair the predicate is man-
ifested by preposition *te*, and in the latter, inalienable, example
predicate is manifested by a nominal element, the pronoun suffix, con-
stituting therefore an equative predicate (see 2.2.1.3.).

In Polynesian languages noun + noun constructions show uniformity of
encoding between possessives and nominalisation. In these, a distinc-
tion is made between actor and other roles such as patient, goal, loca-
tive and so on. The former is marked by **agentive** possession, which is
the dominant form, while the latter is marked by **objective** possession,
the subordinate form. This distinction is illustrated by pairs of
contrastive phrases in Tongan from Churchward (1953) cited by Foley
(1976a:75). The agentive possession relation in Tongan is marked by
'a ∿ 'e, while the objective possession relation is marked by 'o ∿ ho:

(320)a. ko   e   taki   'a   e   tu'i
        topic definite *guidance* agt.poss def *king*
        '*The guidance of (given by) the king.*'

    b. ko   e   taki   'o   e   fonua
        topic definite *guidance* obj.poss def *country*
        '*The guidance of (given to) the country.*'

(321)a. ko   e   pa'anga 'a   Sione
        topic definite *money*   agt.poss *John*
        '*John's money*'

    b. ko   e   fale   'o   Sione
        topic definite *house* obj.poss *John*
        '*John's house*'

Foley (1976a:75-6) states the distinction in Churchward's terms as
follows:

> Churchward (1953) summarizes the distinction in usage be-
> tween agentive ('a) and objective possession ('o) by stating
> that 'a implies that the possessor is active, influential,
> or formative toward the possessor. Other writers have
> termed 'a 'dominant' possession and 'o 'subordinate' posses-
> sion.

In Nakanai, however, it is simply not possible to encode alienable possession in relation to a possessor other than an actor-NP. This is because the patient-NP, as we have seen, always appears first, in the clause topic position usually reserved for the actor, and actor and patient are mainly signalled in Nakanai by position relative to the verb. So none of the Polynesian apparatus is available in Nakanai to encode a 'dominant' versus a 'subordinate' type of opposition in relation to the possessive. Hence,

(322)a. La vi-suli taku
     'My help'

can only mean *'the help which I give to someone'*. To say *'the help which I receive from you'*, for example, is not really possible, and can only be rendered circumlocutiously as follows:

    b. La vi-suli taume   tavu-au.
       NM *help*   *your*(s) *towards-me*
       'The help which you give to me.'

Similarly,

(323)a. La va-abi-la taume.
       NM *gift*   *your*(s)
       'Your present'

can only mean *'the present you gave to someone'*, and not *'the present for you'*. Only by explicit means can the patient be put in the topical position, i.e. by changing to another case frame altogether:

    b. La va-abi-la ale   eme   abi-a   tegiaku.
       NM *gift*   *that* *you*(s) *get*-3ps *from.me*
       'The gift which you received from me.'

(Note: abi is a verb of case frame #14 (see example (58) in section 2.2.2.1.) and as such is optionally accompanied by a goal-NP.)

So the distinction of dominant and subordinate possession (or agentive and objective possession, to use Foley's terms), is not drawn in Nakanai grammar, only **dominant** possession, implying that the possessor is active, influential or formative towards the thing possessed, being directly encoded by possessive morphology.

6.2.1.2. Collective Plural

The collective plural (see 5.5.3.2.) applies firstly to natural groups, and then to unpredictable or *ad hoc* groups. Natural groups consist of villages, sibs, tribes, and nationalities, as in the following examples:

Egite Ubaebae	*'The Ubae villagers'* (Singular: la tau Ubae *'an Ubae man'*);
Egite Bobiso	*'The Biso sib-members'* (Singular: la tau Biso *'a Biso man'*);
Egite Luveliveli	*'The Tolai people'* (Singular: la tau Luveli *'a Tolai man'*);
Egite Siapanipani	*'The Japanese'* (Singular: la tau Siapan *'a Japanese man'*).

It is ungrammatical to say Egite Ubae, Egite Biso, etc. whereas with non-collective nouns this would be the normal manner of indicating plurality.

Some *ad hoc* groups occurring in everyday life may be as follows:

La bolobolo	*'many pigs (in a herd)'*
La malumalu	*'many birds (in a flock)'*

Unless there is intention of special emphasis on plurality, either by virtue of the very large number, or the novelty of an unexpected grouping of individual entities, or else for some external reason requiring plural focus, it is sufficient for plurality to be indicated by the plural pronoun egite, as mentioned above:

Egite la bolo	*'(They) the pigs.'*
Egite la malu	*'(They) the birds.'*

By this method plurality is established at the same time as definiteness, as for example in the following sentence from text:

(324) Tio, egiteu e tama-la-vele ge go-io ge pou-ti
so *they*(pl) NM *father-of-adze* IRR *go-there* IRR *sit*-PERF

o-vola, egiteu ge vave-a la uaga te la
at-thereon *they*(pl) IRR *carve*-3ps NM *canoe* PREP NM

tahalo-le.
man-there

'Then those who own the adzes will stay on that (task), they will carve that man's canoe.'

Normally then, there is a principle of multiple and non-redundant encoding in operation in plural NPs in Nakanai, plurality and definiteness being encoded by the pronoun, with plurality not normally being additionally encoded by reduplication on the noun root. Such reduplication is held over for highly focussed functions, such as that of indicating the collective plural. In every case the unreduplicated root can be heard in the language. Formation of the collective plural represents therefore a productive rather than a lexicalised function of reduplication.

6.2.2. DEVERBAL NOUNS

Two morphological processes in sequence derive a noun stem from a verb root, namely **nominalisation**, by affixation, and the formation of a **concrete** noun, by reduplication of a derived noun stem.

Nominalisation occurs by the insertion of nominalising affix {(-)il-} in disyllabic roots or stems (i.e. those of the form (C)V(C)V) and suffix -la on longer roots or stems, i.e. those of form (C)VCV((C)V)*.[1]

For non-concrete nouns the process of nominalisation is completed by such affixation, e.g.

ivr:	taga	*'afraid'*
dns:	la t-il-aga	*'fear'*
dtvs:	vi-sae	*'cause to embark, load'*
dns:	la vi-sae-la	*'loading, embarkation'*
ivr:	mutele	*'generous'*
dns:	la mutele-la	*'generosity'*

Frequently the nouns so derived perform gerundive or participial-like functions (see 4.2.1.3.c), e.g.

(325)a. La p-ul-ou   tamiteu o-vola   kama taritigi. (Gerundive)
     NM -nom-*sit* *our*(pl) *at-there* *not* *good*

    'Our stay in that place wasn't enjoyable.'

   b. Eia la tahalo la g-il-ogo. (Participial)
     3ps NM *man*   NM -nom-*sympathy*

    'He is a sympathetic man.'

Nominalisation, however, does not inevitably result in the formation of such abstract nominal functions, e.g.

vago	*'pole a canoe'*
la v-il-ago	*'pole for poling a canoe'* (but not *'poling'*)

To further derive a concrete noun from the derived noun stem, reduplication is applied, e.g.

ivr:	pou	*'sit, remain, be'*
dns$_1$:	la pul-ou	*'residence, experience in a place'*
dns$_2$:	la pu-lo-lou	*'chair'*
ivr:	muga	*'to be first'*
dns$_1$:	la m-ul-uga	*'the first (one)'*
dns$_2$:	la mu-luga-luga	*'the leader'*

---

[1] The conditioning and manner of occurrence of the two nominalising affixes are given under (326).

```
ivr:    peho              'die, pass into unconsciousness'
dns₁:   la p-il-eho       'death'
dns₂:   la pi-le-leho     'corpse'

ivr:    tuga (iv)         'walk, depart, travel'
dns₁:   la t-ul-uga       'trip'
dns₂:   la tu-luga-luga   'sandal, shoe, foot binding'
```

In each of the above examples, the former derived noun stem is non-concrete and the latter is concrete in the sense of denoting a real entity, such as a chair, a leader, a corpse or a sandal, rather than denoting a nominalised event, such as residing, coming first, dying or travelling, as in the above examples.

For some verb roots there is no abstract nominal derivation, or else the form with the abstract meaning is coextensive with the form for concrete meaning, e.g.

```
sapa (tvr)      'sweep'
la silapa (n)   'broom, sweeping'
```

Similarly, for some verb roots there is no abstract noun derivation allowed on the lexical level, although there is still a valid concrete noun derivation by reduplication of the underlying nominalised root, e.g.

```
sau                'grasp'
*la s-il-au¹
la si-la-lau (n)   'handle'
```

Concrete nouns derived by reduplication must not be further affixed for inalienable possession:

```
*la mu-luga-luga-la
la mu-luga-luga tetala   'his/her leader'
```

Most compound verbs are nominalised as multisyllabic roots, e.g.

```
la ilo-buruko-la   'sorrow, worry'
la pigi-robo-la    'blanket, covering'
```

But there are a few exceptions for which nominalising affixation appropriate to both disyllabic and multisyllabic roots are used:

```
la  i-raga-tavu-la
NM  nom-jump-towards-nom

'jumping' (noun)
```

---

[1] There is an associated concrete meaning for la silau however, viz. 'perching place for birds and flying foxes in a tree'.

la il-igo-robo-la
NM nom-*do-over*-nom

'*covering*' (noun)

There is phonological conditioning of the affixation processes in nominalisation. Nominalising affix {(-)il-} occurs with disyllabic roots. It is prefixed to roots beginning with a vowel, and infixed in roots beginning with a consonant. The affix is modified according to the nature of the first vowel in the verb root, and/or the first consonant. The rules for the nominalisation process (excluding reduplication (see 5.5.1.)) are specified and formalised as follows:

(326)a. nom → nom-   /V(C)V

　　　　　　　-nom- /CVCV

　　　　　　　-nom   /CVCV((C)V)*

　　b.i) (-)nom → il-   except that
　　　ii) il-   → i-   /l/rVCV   or
　　　iii)   → (-)ul   /(C) V CV and/or
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[BACK]
　　　iv)   → (-)ir   /(C)Vr̥V

　　c. -nom → -la

Examples of these nominalisation rules in action are as follows:

Verb Root		Derived Noun Stem		
au	'*steer*'	la i̠lau	'*steering*'	(see rule bi)
loso	'*dive*'	la i̠loso	'*diving*'	(see rule bii)
raga	'*jump*'	la i̠raga	'*jumping*'	(see rule bii)
ubi	'*shoot*'	la u̠lubi	'*injection*'	(see rule biii)
pou	'*sit/stay*'	la pu̠lou	'*residence*'	(see rule biii)
vore	'*paddle*'	la vu̠rore	'*paddling*'	(see rules biii & vi)
(h)ari	'*run*'	la (h)i̠rari	'*running*'	(see rule biv)
veru	'*distribute food*'	la vi̠reru	'*ceremonial feast*'	(see rule biv)
sagege	'*happy*'	la sagege̠la	'*happiness*'	(see rule c)

Derivation operates on derived and compound verb stems as well as verb roots, as demonstrated in the following examples:

Verbal Form		Derived Noun Stem	
vi-gile-muli	'*tell a story*'	la vigilemulimuli-la	'*story*'
caus-*sift-after*			
vi-kue	'*fight*'	la vikue-la	'*fight*'
rec-*strike*			
go-ilo	'*go in*'	la goilo-la	'*entrance, entering*'
go-inside			

Verbal Form		Derived Noun Stem	
ilo-buruko *inside-upset*	*'worried'*	la iloburuko-la	*'worry'*
tuha-toro *bone-strong*	*'take refreshment'*	la tuhatoro-la	*'refreshments'*

Finally, it is noted that some word bases in Nakanai do not require derivational morphology to be interpreted as nouns, e.g.

vimari *'teach/learn'* la vimari *'teaching/knowledge'*

Details such as this, pertaining unpredictably to certain items only, are a matter for lexical listing.

6.2.3. *COMPOUND NOUNS*

6.2.3.1. Verb Plus Noun Compounds

An active verb (or verb chain) plus a noun combine to make a compound noun (usually with noun marker e):

e ali-tahalo
NM *eat-man*
'a kind of man-eating monster'

e tali-muli-tama-la
NM *cry-after-father*-3psi
'a kind of stunt with mask'

The noun is included in the compound minus its accompanying noun marker, and minus all inflections except inalienable possession marking. Note that some verb roots are lexically reduplicated before being used in such compounds:

e bilibili-togo-la
NM *kill*.rd-*tooth*-3psi
'kingfisher' (i.e. *the one who kills with his beak*)

e ligiligi-bolo
NM *pain*.rd-*pig*
'centipede' (i.e. *the one who inflicts pain upon pigs*)

6.2.3.2. Noun Plus Verb Compounds

A body-part noun plus a stative intransitive verb combine to make a compound noun, e.g.

e pou-bubu
NM *sit-aimlessly*
'a variety of clam'

    la   hate-kuru
    NM   *liver-black*

    'liver'

    e   huti-boto
    NM   *penis-short*

    'variety of shell with short extensions'

    e   kehu-gologolo
    NM   *cassowary-deceive*.rd

    'a spider's web stretched between two trees'

Often these compounds are nicknames or insulting names:

    tia-sogo[1]
    stomach-swollen

    'swollen stomach'

    e   vo-kakea
    NM   *white-skin*.rd

    'whiteman'

    mago-perese
    mucus-flow

    'snotty-nose'

    kali-sogomu
    flesh-swallow

    'flesh-swallower'

6.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Another kind of nominal compounding is found in personal pronouns. These are compound stems formed of two bound roots,[2] one being the personal pronoun root, the other the personal noun marker e- which I regard as part of the pronoun stem by virtue of the stress pattern. (Stress consists mainly of increased intensity on the penultimate syllable of each separate word. On the nuclear syllable of a pause group intensity and intonation peak simultaneously on the penultimate syllable of the final word (see 3.1.2.0.). Noun markers preceding nouns show increased intensity appropriate to the definition of a phonological word. Preceding a pronominal root however, e does not show increased intensity to distinguish it as a distinct word.)

The personal pronoun roots are as follows:

---

[1]Insults are used as terms of address only, and hence are rendered in the vocative, i.e. without the personal noun marker e. cf. also 5.4.1.2.(a).

[2]In singular object marking the pronoun root is simply suffixed to the verb, e.g. hilo-me *'see you'*, igo-a *'do it'*, rovi-au *'knows me'*.

```
-au          1st person singular      Focal: -iau
-me          2nd person singular      Focal: -mei
-a           3rd person singular      Focal: -ia
-tal(u)a¹    1st person dual inclusive
-tato(u)     1st person plural inclusive
-mil(u)a     1st person dual exclusive
-mite(u)     1st person plural exclusive
-mul(u)a     2nd person dual
-muto(u)     2nd person plural
-gir(u)a     3rd person dual
-gite(u)     3rd person plural
```

6.4. MODIFIERS

6.4.1. *POSSESSIVES*

The possessive constituent is manifested by either a prepositional phrase of the form **te** + NP (see 6.5.3.) or a compound possessive pronoun stem of the basic form **te** + personal pronoun. The surface forms as indicated by this paradigm are however irregular, requiring therefore lexical listing of the possessive pronoun as follows:

```
te + eau → tegeaku/tegiaku/taku    1st person singular poss
te + eme → taume/taime             2nd person singular poss
te + eia → tetala                  3rd person singular poss
te + amil(u)a → tamil(u)a          1st pers. dual excl. poss
te + amite(u) → tamite(u)          1st pers. plur.excl. poss
te + etal(u)a → tegal(u)a          1st pers. dual incl. poss
te + etato(u) → tegato(u)          1st pers. plur.incl. poss
te + amul(u)a → tamul(u)a          2nd person dual poss
te + amuto(u) → tamuto(u)          2nd person plural poss
te + egir(u)a → tegir(u)a          3rd person dual poss
te + egite(u) → tegite(u)          3rd person plural poss
```

The ordering of the possessive constituent, relative to the noun head and quantifier, as influenced by contextual factors of definiteness and specificity, has been described in 6.0. These factors are illustrated again here by the following expansions of a basic NP:

```
(327)a. La   bua
        NM   areca.nut      NM NOUN
        'The/an areca nut'
```

---

[1] Dual and plural focal forms are realised by inclusion of the optional phonemes in each non-singular form.

(327)b. La   bua   te   Pasi
         NM   *areca.nut* PREP *Pasi*   NM NOUN POSS

         'Pasi's areca nut'

     c. La   bua   ilua te   Pasi
         NM   *areca.nut* *two* PREP *Pasi*   NM NOUN QUANT POSS

         'The two areca nuts belonging to Pasi'

     d. La   bua   te   Pasi ilua
         NM   *areca.nut* PREP *Pasi* *two*   NM NOUN POSS QUANT

         'Two of Pasi's areca nuts'

     e. Ilua la   bua   te   Pasi
         two NM   *areca.nut* PREP *Pasi*   QUANT NM NOUN POSS

         'A couple of Pasi's areca nuts'

Examples (a) and (b) can be definite or indefinite. Example (c) is
definite and specific, while (d) is indefinite and specific, the ref-
erent being known to the speaker but not to the hearer. Example (e)
is indefinite and non-specific, there being no particular areca nuts
in the speaker's frame of reference, nor in the hearer's.

The possessive constituent can occur with multiple embedding, as
shown in the following example, which occurred in text:

(328) La   mulugaluga tegiteu   e   pasta   tegite   la   valua
      NM   *leader*   *of.they*(pl) NM   *pastor* *of.they*(pl) NM   *men*

      te   la   gale   ale-le,   la   gale   e   Kukula.
      PREP NM   *region* *that-there* NM   *region* NM   *Kukula*

      'The leader of the pastors of the people of that region, the
      Kukula region.'

6.4.2. QUANTIFIERS

The above examples serve also to illustrate the relationship of the
quantifier constituent to the head noun and the possessive constituent,
as influenced, once again, by contextual factors of definiteness and
specificity.

The quantifier constituent is realised by a class of quantifiers
including the ordinal and cardinal numerals. Quantifiers other than
numerals form a small closed class as follows:

tomi	*'all'*
isahari	*'some'*
usu	*'many'*
mapaiti	*'very many'*

Quantifier follows both the nominal head and possessive (if present)
in the indefinite specific NP, but is preposed to possessive following
the head in the definite NP. In the indefinite non-specific NP however,

the quantifier, if present, is immediately preposed to the nominal
head. Examples of these variations were given under (304), (305) and
(306) in the introduction to this chapter.

Cardinal numbers are compound stems consisting of the bound numer-
aliser root i- and a bound numeral root, which will be one of the
following:[1]

-sasa	*'one'*	-vaa	*'four'*	-vitu	*'seven'*
-lua	*'two'*	-lima	*'five'*	-ualu	*'eight'*[2]
-tolu	*'three'*	-uolo	*'six'*		

Numbers from ten onwards do not have the numeraliser root i- :

savulu-sa(sa)	*'ten'*
savulu-lua	*'twenty'*
savulu-sa-gete-tolu	*'thirteen'*
savulu-lua-gete-tolu	*'twenty three'*
salutu-sasa	*'one hundred'*
salatu-lua	*'two hundred'*
salatu-sa i-lua	*'one hundred and two'*
salatu-lua savulu-lua	*'two hundred and twenty'*
salatu-lua savulu-lua gete-lua	*'two hundred and twenty one'*
salatu-savulu-lua	*'two thousand'*

Cardinal numbers behave somewhat like verbs in that they can be
inflected for perfective aspect, e.g. E latu-la i-tolu-ti *'he/she has
three children already'*.

Ordinal numbers are formed by formation of a close-knit NP of the
pattern noun + noun, hence:

ilua	*'two'*
la ilua-la	*'the second one'*
la ilua la taio[3]	*'the second month'*

There are two further derivational processes with numeral roots.
Distributive numerals are formed by reduplication and are classified
as adverbs of intensity, e.g. ilua → ilalua *'two by two'*, ivaa → ivavaa
'four by four' (see 5.2.2. and 5.5.3.2.).

---

[1]The Maututu dialect has a quinary-based system using the fingers. This is now being
abandoned in favour of the Bileki decimal system, described here. The Maututu system
has kuku-sa *'one digit'*, i.e. *'one'*, kuku-lua *'two'*, and so on.

[2]*'Nine'* in Nakanai is irregular in that it is prefixed by u- rather than i-, hence
Bileki u-alasiu, but note that *'nine'* in Melamela has the form i-alasue.

[3]Nominalising suffix -la contracts into noun marker la.

Frequency numerals are formed by prefixing the synonymous elements vaka- or tagara- to the numeral root (including interrogative numeral root -riva *'how many?'*), e.g. vaka-lua, tagara-lua *'twice'*, vaka-lima, tagara-lima *'five times'*. These are also classified as adverbs of intensity, e.g. Eia boru vakalua *'he/she fell over twice'*.

A substantive can be formed from the nominalised ordinal numeral to give two different forms and senses; with causative prefix is derived an ordinal substantive such as la va-ilua-la *'the second one'*, and with frequency prefix is derived a frequency substantive such as la vaka-lua-la *'the second time'*.

6.4.3. *DEMONSTRATIVES AND DEICTICS*

The remaining limiting modifiers, i.e. demonstratives and deictics, have already been discussed in some detail in sections 4.2.1.1. and 4.2.2. respectively.

6.5. NOUN PHRASE EXPANSIONS

6.5.1. *JUXTAPOSED NP AND PLURALISATION*

The Apposite NP is an NP of format noun + noun, the second noun further specifying the referent of the first noun, e.g.

(329)a. La tahalo uru, e tama gatou.
      NM *man* *old* NM *father* *our*(pl.in)

      'The old man, our father.'

   b. E maura, e tubu gatou.
      NM *poor.thing* NM *grandparent* *our*(pl.in)

      'The poor thing, our grandmother/father.'

Usually, however, juxtaposed phrases take the form pronoun + noun. By this means number, person and definiteness/specificness are simultaneously encoded in the NP, e.g.

(330) Egite la paia.
     they(pl) NM *dog*

     'The dogs.'

Pawley (1973:112) gives a format for POC NP as Det_1 Det_2 Head, in which Det_1 is manifested as a pronoun to indicate person, number and definiteness, and Det_2 is manifested as either *na (common article) or *i (proper article). The latter distinction, as we saw in 6.1., is by now somewhat unpredictable in Nakanai, hence exploitation of the juxtaposed pronoun device has become important to indicate the features of nouns.

There are, however, three conditions which lessen the strength of the pressure to encode person and number and definiteness specificness by juxtaposed pronouns preceding the noun:

Firstly, NPs appearing as sentence topics are marked by pronoun copying before the verb phrase (see 4.1.1.), thus signalling person, number and definiteness/specificness in this way, and only definite NPs may be subjected to topicalisation, e.g.

(331) La paia te   Pui, egite   kaboiboi.
      NM *dog* PREP *Pui* *they*(pl) *bark*.red

'*Pui's dogs - they are barking.*'

Secondly, certain NPs which appear with high frequency as clause topics, are lexicalised with plural meaning (yet the juxtaposed construction can nevertheless be used redundantly with these), e.g.

(332)a. Egite   la valalua.
        they(pl) NM *men*

'*The men.*'

Thirdly, collective plural (as contrasted with simple pluralisation) is encoded by reduplication of the noun root (see 6.2.1.2.), or, in some cases, by lexical reduplication. In these instances the juxtaposed NP construction pronoun + noun is redundant, but may nevertheless redundantly occur, e.g.

  b. Egiteu   e   kekie.
     they(pl) NM *starlings*

'*The starlings.*'

6.5.2. *CO-ORDINATE AND SERIAL NP*[1]

The co-ordinate NP has the form NP CONJ NP, where NP may be realised as a dual or plural pronoun.

The conjunction is optionally deleted when the NP is not in the clause-topic position, e.g.

(333)a. La bolo me   la paia ogala-le. CLAUSE TOPIC (I)
        NM *pig* *and* NM *dog* *at.outside-there*

'*The/a pig and the/a dog are outside there.*'

  b. E   Marisa (me) e   latu-la,   egira   goata e
     NM *Marisa* *and* NM *child*-3psi *they*(du) *go.up* NM

     Malalia.   SENTENCE TOPIC
     Malalia

'*Marisa and her child - they've gone up to Malalia.*'

  c. Eau alalavi   hilo egira   (me) e   harua-la.   II
     I   *yesterday* *see* *they*(du) *and* NM *husband*-3psi

'*I saw her and her husband yesterday.*'

---
[1] See also discussion in 8.2.3.

In examples (b) and (c), if me is present, noun marker e is assimilated into the conjunction. Note too that in (c) the dual third person pronoun has been used. It is not grammatical to encode (c) as *Eia me haruala, i.e. using the third person singular pronoun. The same condition applies to co-ordinate NPs in which the conjunction is manifested as dual or plural pronoun phrases of the form mira/mite + me (mira and mite are contractions of me + Pronoun), e.g.

(334) E   Tubu, mira   me   e   rutu-la.
      NM *Tubu and.they*(du) *and* NM *wife*-3psi
      'Tubu together with his wife.'

When the pronominal phrase conjunction is used, the second NP may optionally be deleted if the referent is ascertainable from the linguistic or environmental context, or is simply irrelevant, e.g.

(335)a. E   Tubu   mira.
        NM *Tubu and.they*(du)
        'Tubu and the other fellow.'

   b. E   Tubu   mite.
      NM *Tubu and.they*(pl)
      'Tubu and the rest.'

Conjunction me also appears in compound expressions referring succinctly to common kin pairs, e.g.

(336)a. E   tau-me-rutu   ilua
        NM *man-and-wife   two*
        'A man and his wife'

   b. E   tau-me-tari
      NM *man-and-younger.sibling*
      'A man and his brother'

   c. Egite   vi-tau-me-tai-tari
      they(pl) rec-*man-and*-rd-*younger.sibling*
      'The brothers'

The serial NP is simply a concatenation of the co-ordinate NP, having the form therefore, of NP^{n-1} CONJ NP, with CONJ again optionally deletable when the NP is not in the clause-topic position, e.g.

(337)a. Sentence Topic

        La   bolobolo, la   baibasi   (me) e   taiveive,   egiteu
        NM   *pigs*   NM   *bandicoots* *and* NM *snakes*   *they*(pl)

        tomi   hele.
        all   flee

        'The pigs, small game and snakes, they all fled.'

(337)b. Object of Clause

    Eau hilo la bolobolo, la baibasi, (me) e taiveive.
    I   *see* NM *pigs*   NM *bandicoots* *and* NM *snakes*

    'I saw pigs, small game and snakes.'

   c. Clause Topic

    La bolobolo, la baibasi   me   taiveive hele.
    NM *pigs*   NM *bandicoots* *and* *snakes*   *flee*

    'The pigs, small game and snakes fled.'

6.5.3. *PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE*

The prepositional phrase in Nakanai has the form PREP + NP, the constituent Preposition being manifested by te, indicating a stable volitional positional or possession relationship (cf. Pawley 1973: sect.2.54, especially discussion of POC preposition *(q)i).

(338)a. Eia pou te   la luma   tetala.
    3ps *sit* PREP NM *house*   3ps

    'He is (staying) at his house.'

   b. Eau te   la kansel.
    I   PREP NM *Council*

    'I am loyal to the Council.'

   c. E   tete   sae   te   la uaga   tegite   Galilo.
    NM *father* *climb* PREP NM *canoe* *their*(pl) *Galilo*

    'Father got on board the Galilo canoe.'

The prepositional phrase expounds the position of non-pragmatic prominence in the clause, indicating the case relationship of goal (see 2.1.1.6.).

Other preposition-like relationships in Nakanai are encoded by prepositional and directional verbs and the post-verbal ablative particle le, all of which were discussed in section 2.1. which dealt with the Nakanai case marking system. I reintroduce them now with regard to the topic of coverbs, which encode location and motion, and which share with such entities various verb-like characteristics in different combinations. Prepositional, directional, locative and motion verbs all have in common the fact that they may occur either as main verbs or as verbs in chained sequence following another main verb, thus serving a prepositional-like function. It is to this important facet of Nakanai grammar that we now turn our attention.

CLAUSE CHAINING AND VERB SERIALISATION

7.0. INTRODUCTION

7.0.1. *VERB SERIALISATION IN NAKANAI*

There are in Nakanai complex constructions composed of a main verb
followed by other verbs serving auxiliary-like functions *vis-à-vis* the
first verb. These auxiliary-like verbs indicate semantic notions of
location and motion (i.e. 'coverbs' - see 7.0.2.), direction (i.e.
'directional' verbs), and range and accompaniment (i.e. 'prepositional'
verbs) (see 7.1.2.). These subcategories are all closed classes, the
members of which can all occur also as main verbs. I term verbs spec-
ifically occurring in such sequences 'serial' verbs.

Other verbs can occur in series but differ from serial verbs on a
number of counts:

  i) they do not represent a semantically homogenous group;
 ii) they do not serve an auxiliary-like function in relation to the
     first verb in the series;
iii) they do not form a closed class on distributional or any other
     criteria;
 iv) they do not possess unique morphology, as do 'coverbs'.

A morphologically unique and syntactically flexible class of serial
verbs which I term 'coverbs' expresses location and motion. The dis-
cussion of these verbs forms the major part of this chapter. A clause
chaining solution is presented and supported for all serial verbs,
including coverbs.

The examples in (339) illustrate, in order, a coverb, a directional
verb and a prepositional verb:

(339)a. Egite   tie   so-ata (te) la gove.   (Coverb)
        they(pl) *climb* *to-up* PREP NM *mountain*

        'They climbed a/the mountain.'

   b. E   latu-gu   hele taro(-a) la paia. (Directional Verb)
      NM *child*-1s1 *flee* *away*-3ps NM *dog*

      'My child fled from the dog.'

   c. Amiteu   pou   kara (te) la maulavi. (Prepositional Verb)
      we(pl.ex) *sit* *until* PREP NM *afternoon*

      'We stayed until the afternoon.'

All of the verbs illustrated in (339) are serial verbs. Serial
verbs may also occur in isolation, that is, as main verbs:

(340)a. Amite   so-muli.
        we(pl.ex) *to-east*

        'We went all the way east.'

   b. E   latu-la   e Gelu tavu-tavu   moli-a.
      NM *child*-3ps1 NM *Gelu* *towards*-rd *just*-3ps

      'His child Gelu just kept on towards it.'

   c. Amiteu   kara   e Hoskins.
      we(pl.ex) *as.far.as* NM *Hoskins*

      'We went as far as Hoskins.'

Other constructions composed of concatenated series of VPs occur in
Nakanai, indicating co-ordinated sequential or consecutive events:

(341) E   rutu-rutu gite tuga go-rivo   luku-luku.
      NM rd-*wife* 3pli *walk* *go-garden* rd-*dig.taro*

      'Their wives went off to the gardens and dug taro.'

Such sequences are quite distinct, however, in that a transitive verb
can appear in either or both conjoined clauses with the same topic,
whereas serial verbs always succeed **intransitive** verbs when the clause
topic is the same for both:

(342)a. Eau mata tavu(-a)   la paia.
        I *look* *towards*-3ps NM *dog*

        'I looked at the dog.'

   b. *Eau hilo(-a) tavu   la paia.
      I *see*-3ps *towards* NM *dog*

Example (b) is unacceptable because tavu is chained to a transitive
verb (hilo-a *'see'*) rather than an intransitive verb, as in example (a).
My aim in this chapter is to ascertain the categorial nature of
serial verbs and establish an appropriate syntactic analysis for their
description, especially highlighting the functions of the morphologic-
ally distinct set of locative and motion verbs which I term 'coverbs'.

7.0.2. *COVERBS IN THEIR VARIOUS SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS*

Coverbs in Nakanai are compound stems consisting of a bound verbal root and a bound locative root.

o-   *'be proximately situated at the location stated'*
so-   *'proceed to/be distantly situated at the location stated'*
lo-   *'come from/be adjacently situated at the location stated'*
go-   *'go in stated direction'*

One of a closed class of bound locative morphemes occurs suffixed to the verbal root. These are elements such as:[1]

-ata   *'up'*
-talo   *'down'*
-ilo   *'inside'*
-gala   *'outside'*

The combinations so formed furnish a closed set of coverbs of the form:

o-ata   *'be situated up there'*
so-talo   *'proceed to a place situated downwards/be distantly situated downwards'*
lo-ilo   *'come from inside/be adjacently situated inside something'*
go-gala   *'go outside'*

Coverbs in different ways seem to function variously in verbal, adverbial, prepositional and participial types of syntactic relationships in the clause and sentence. It is necessary therefore to examine the verbal characteristics of these categories and compare them with the syntactic nature of coverbs and the other serial verbs. By this means it should be possible to establish in a controlled manner the appropriate grammatical and syntactic characterisation of the coverb.

From the glosses of the verbal roots above it can be seen that the Nakanai coverbs fall into two broad semantic groups, one involving the signification of motion, the other of location:[2]

	Motion			Location
go-LOC	*'go to LOC'*		o-LOC	*'be proximately situated at LOC'*
so-LOC	*'proceed to LOC'*		so-LOC	*'be distantly situated at LOC'*
lo-LOC	*'come from LOC'*		lo-LOC	*'be adjacently situated at LOC'*

---

[1]The full list of bound locative roots, a closed class of 16 items, is given in 7.3.3. together with a discussion of the locative meanings which they indicate.

[2]-LOC signifies any location identified by one of the set of bound locative roots such as -ata *'up'* and -ilo *'inside'* given in 7.3.3.

Among the verbal roots then, lo- and so- are polysemous, while o- only indicates location and go- only motion.

Coverbs can occur as main verbs either singly or in a chained sequence with deletion under identity of the clause topic:

(343)a. Coverb as main verb appearing singly:

  E tete o-ata.
  NM *father* *at-up*

  'Father is up in the house.'

  b. Coverb as first verb in a chained sequence:

   [E tete o-gala] [po-pou.]
    NM *father* *at-outside* *rd-sit*

   'Father is outside, just sitting.'

The next example shows a coverb in the adverbial type of function, the exact specification of which we have yet to ascertain:

(344) Egite hele so-muli.
    they(pl) *flee* *to-east*

   'They fled away toward the east.'

Related to the function just illustrated, there is the prepositional type of function, in which a NP appears after the coverb:

(345) E Bereme so-ata la goe-gove.
   NM *Bereme* *to-up* NM *rd-mountain*

   'Bereme is (situated distantly) up in the mountains.'

This kind of function can also occur with a coverb in sequence:

(346) [E tete pou] [o-ata la luma].
    NM *father* *sit* *at-up* NM *house*

   'Father sat up in the house.'

Further, the preposition type of function can occur with a coverb occurring first in a sequence of two clauses with the same topic:

(347) [Amite guvi o-lau e Lae] [mavuta].
    we(pl) *arrive* *at-sea* NM *Lae* *sleep*

   'We arrived at Lae and slept there.'

Finally, there is the participial type of function, in which certain motion coverbs serve to link clauses and/or sequences of clauses following the interposition of embedded material (see 8.1.1.):

(348) Eia go-io puli-a, go-luma la luma. Go-luma la
    3ps *go-there* *take-3ps* *go-village* NM *house* *go-village* NM

   luma, egite pou-tio. Go-io, e tua-la   tahi-a,
   house *they*(pl) *sit-there* *go-there* NM *sibling-3psi* *ask-3ps*

   mago: La tavile ale, eme   abi-a o-io-ve?
   say NM *woman* *that* *you*(s) *get-3ps* *at-there-where*

> '*He went and took her back to the village, to his house. Then*
> *his older brother asked him: that girl, where did you find her?'*

In this example the motion verb goio at the beginning of the third
sentence can be seen to fulfill a participial type of function as a
generalised form of recapitulation following the intervention of the
sequence-breaking clause egite poutio.[1] Only goio *'go there'* and gomai
'come here' can perform this generalised recapitulative role. Their
use in this context indicates a sequential relationship (see 8.1.1. -
examples (398) and (399) and accompanying discussion), which is vari-
ously encoded by sequencing conjunction tio, by recapitulation, or by
the sequence-restoring general form of recapitulation achieved by
interposing goio or gomai between sentences.

The motion coverbs goio and gomai can also appear as auxiliary-like
particles preceding main verbs. This function is analysed in 7.2.1.
as verb chaining, however it is shown in 8.2.1. that this particular
type of chaining serves to embed sequence sentences into superordinate
groups of sequence sentences forming a semantic 'episode' of sequen-
tially-related sentences in a narrative. For the present I shall
concentrate on the main verb versus the adverbial-cum-prepositional
type of function of the coverb, ignoring the syntactically limited
participial type of use, which is discussed in 8.2.1.

### 7.0.3. *ALTERNATIVE SYNTACTIC ANALYSES OF SERIAL VERBS*

As has already been discussed in 7.0.1., coverbs are just one man-
ifestation of the phenomenon of serial verbs in Nakanai. There would
appear to be at least three possible syntactic analyses which could
account for the serial verb construction as I have described it so far.
I will symbolise the serial construction by the linear constituent
ordering NP VP 'VP', in which 'VP' represents the serial verb.

The first proposed analysis is that of a concatenation of VPs (e.g.
Schachter 1974):[2]

---

[1] Goluma la luma in the second sentence recapitulates the identical VP from the end of
the first sentence. This is clearly the fully repetitive type of recapitulation oper-
ating with regard to a coverb appearing as a main verb. It is not therefore the gen-
eralised type of recapitulation which, as I have already mentioned, is restricted to
goio and gomai.

[2] Schachter (1974) deals with West African languages in which serial verbs can poten-
tially occur in long series. See also Pike 1967. This occurs with Nakanai motion
verbs but not with serial verbs as we have discussed them above. In Nakanai a maximum
of two serial verbs can occur postposed to a main verb, e.g.

    Egite   sae   so-ata tavu-a.
    they(pl) *climb* *to-up* *towards*-3ps
    'They climbed up towards it.'

```
                        Cl
          ┌──────┬─────┴──────┬────────┐
         NP     VP    'VP'    ('VP')    (NP)
```
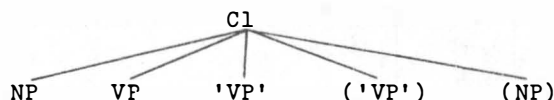
The second analysis is that of a sequence consisting of VP + Adverbs,
all under the VP node in the clause (e.g. Stahlke 1974):

```
                  Cl
          ┌────────┴─────────┐
         NP                  VP
                     ┌────┬───┴───┬──────┐
                    VP   ADV    (ADV)    (NP)
```
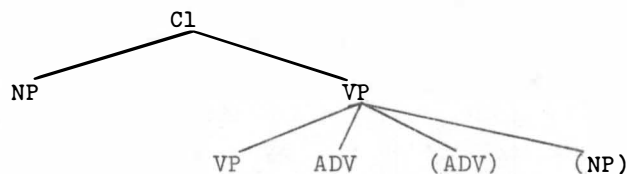
The third proposed analysis is that of clause chaining with deletion
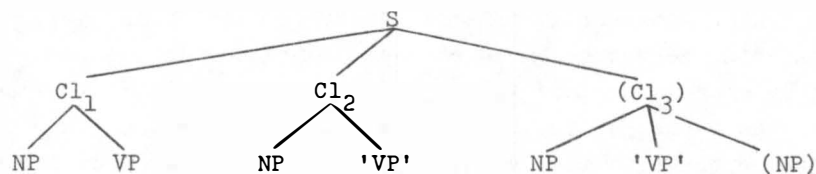under identity of the clause topic in the chained clauses, yielding a
conjoined clause analysis (e.g. Li and Thompson 1973:100):

```
                              S
            ┌─────────────────┼──────────────────┐
          Cl₁               Cl₂                (Cl₃)
         ┌──┴──┐          ┌──┴──┐           ┌────┴────┐
        NP    VP         NP    'VP'        NP   'VP'  (NP)
```

The alternatives presented above also appear adequately to cover
certain further proposed structuralist analyses such as the postulating
of so-called dependent or merged sentences. I shall argue that the
clause chaining solution is the most appropriate analysis for Nakanai,
but this matter cannot be satisfactorily addressed until the matter of
category membership of serial verbs has been resolved.

7.1. VERBS OF MOTION, LOCATION AND DIRECTION

7.1.1. A DYNAMIC VIEW OF SERIAL VERBS

Serial verbs have raised considerable interest in recent linguistic
research, as evidenced by the discussion which surrounded Ross' proposal
for the analysis of English modals as main verbs (Ross 1967). There
has been considerable interest among typologically-oriented linguistics
as well. For example, Smeall (1975) analysed 'grammaticalised' verbs
in Lolo-Burmese. These are a set of verbs, which, in his words,
"Concatenate with each other and with full verbs" thus forming complex
predicates "which themselves function as unitary predicates in simple
sentences". Smeall relates his analysis to the recent resurgence of
interest in questions of category membership and categorial change,
particularly among verbs.

Work on serial verbs in Chinese (e.g. Li and Thompson 1973) and in West African languages (e.g. Schachter 1974) has led to proposals that verbs have undergone categorial change into prepositions or particles (e.g. Givón 1971). The problem of correctly determining category membership is an aspect of grammar writing which, in Smeall's words (1975: 273):

> has always been complicated by the dynamic processes of language change, through which elements become relexicalised and regroupings take place among the form-classes of the lexicon.

This assessment of the dynamic and problematical nature of auxiliary verbal elements has been endorsed by Clark (1978) whose study of coverbs in Vietnamese includes a section (pp.267-83) which argues for an historical derivational relationship between prepositions and verbs in which prepositions derive from verbs, with coverbs representing an intermediate step in this process.[1]

Pike (1967:12) has suggested that grammatical constructions such as the verb phrase may be viewed as waves which capture in synchronic form aspects of diachronic development of elements. This process of development occurs in the sequence **clause cluster formation** leading to **auxiliary element formation,** leading ultimately to the **development of verb-associated particles.**[2]

I propose to follow up this idea of Pike's of dynamic category analysis according to a view of language as a wave. The method is to compare the syntactic and grammatical potentials of verbal elements.

7.1.2. *GRAMMATICAL AND SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISATION OF SERIAL VERBS*

7.1.2.0. Overview

For the sake of convenient reference and also brevity I have summarised in Table 5 the major grammatical and syntactic potentials of the

---

[1] The term 'coverb' was introduced by teachers of Chinese to denote a verb which occurs as a secondary verb preceding the main verb in a sentence, is followed by a NP with which it forms a constituent, and can be translated as a preposition in English (Clark 1978:110). The term 'preposition' is, however, more commonly used for such secondary verbs in literature on Chinese language. In her dissertation, however, Clark confined her attention to those coverbs in Vietnamese which have corresponding verbs, considering these only in their non-main-verb function (Clark 1978:114-15). This approach is consistent with the approach taken herein, in that the non-main-verb functions of Nakanai serial verbs is seen to be the problematical area. However it is likely to be less than informative if such functions of serial verbs are not compared with each other and with the syntactic functions of other verb-associated entities.

[2] Lee (1974) has suggested that directional suffixes in Micronesian and Polynesian languages may have been verbs historically.

whole range of verb-associated entities, including serial verbs. The
basis of comparison is the set of grammatical characteristics of the
intransitive verb of motion (represented by hari *'run'*) marked consis-
tently positive in the left-most column. Aspects of the comparison
are compared in the subsections which follow, viz. 7.1.2.1. and 7.1.2.2.
Note that preposition te represents all **particles** associated with verbs.
Modal particles ge and ga, representing irrealis mood, the ablative
particle le, and adverbs were also examined, and in no circumstances
were these elements found to take on the character of main verbs.

TABLE 5

Comparison of Verb-Associated Entities in Nakanai by Grammatical and Syntactic Potentials

'Main Verb' Function	Intrans. Verb of Motion	Prepositional Verb	Motion Coverb	Locative Coverbs	Directional Verb	Preposition
Semantic characterisation	Action	Action	Action	State	Action	n/a
Syntactic characterisation	Intrans	Intrans	Intrans	Intrans	Trans	n/a
Example	hari *'run'*	kara *'until, as far as'*	go-LOC *'go'*	o-LOC *'be situated at stated location*	tavu *'toward'*	te
In serial function, independently takes verbal modes and aspects	yes	no	yes	no	no	no
Takes prepositional 'object', i.e. goal	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
Isolable from a following NP	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	n/a
Can occur in series following a transitive clause	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	n/a
Supervention of patient of first clause as topic of second clause, i.e. clear conjoining	yes	no	yes	no	no	n/a

7.1.2.1. Prepositional Verbs

There are two verbs which I have included under the term **preposi-tional verb**, namely kara *'until, as far as'*, encoding range (see 2.1.2.2.) and vikapopo *'together'*, encoding the comitative relationship (see 2.1.2.3.). These are intransitive active verbs. They can appear without a following goal-NP only when highly inflected:

(349)a. Eia vikapopo tomi moli-ti.   (Adverbial and Perfective
        3ps *together   all   only*-PERF   inflection)
        'It was all together.'

   b. Egiteu   kara   moli-e.   (Adverbial and deictic inflec-
        they(pl) *as.far.as just-there* tion)
        'They came only this far.'

These verbs normally appear as main verbs with a NP following:

(350) Amite   kara   moli e   Hoskin.
        we(pl.ex) *as.far.as just* NM *Hoskins*
        'We only went as far as Hoskins.'

However, when the verbs kara and vikapopo occur in series the fol-lowing NP is potentially preceded by a preposition encoding goal (prep-osition te) and comitative (particle le) respectively:

(351)a. Amite   pou kara moli (te) la maulavi.
        we(pl.ex) *sit until just* PREP NM *afternoon*
        'We stayed until the afternoon.'

   b. Amite   umala ge   pou vikapopo l-egite
        we(pl.ex) PROH IRR *sit together* ABL-*they*(pl)
        Siapani-pani.
        rd-*Japan*
        'We were not to stay with the Japanese.'

   c. *Amite vikapopo-a egite Siapanipani. (cf. example (b)).

The following NP then, is in the goal or comitative relationship. Example (c) shows that the NP following the VP cannot be encoded with accusative 3ps suffix -a as would be appropriate to the marking of patient. Neither can the prepositional verb in chained sequence take verbal aspects and modifiers independently of the VP in the preceding clause:

(352) Amite   (ge) pou (*ge) vikapopo egite.
        we(pl.ex) IRR   *sit* IRR   *together they*(pl)
        'We will sit with them.'

7.1.2.2. Directional Verbs[1]

Consider now directional verbs such as:

tavu	*'towards'*	e.g.	hari tavu	*'run towards'*
muli	*'after'*	e.g.	hari muli	*'run after'*
taro	*'away from'*	e.g.	hele taro	*'run away from'*
polo	*'across'*	e.g.	pagi polo	*'jump across'*

These verbs indicate the direction of a motion to a goal or away from a source. They accord very closely with Pawley's three characteristics of prepositional verbs in POC grammar (Pawley 1973:142-7). The first of these characteristics is that prepositional verbs are disyllabic forms which connect a verb with its grammatical object. The second characteristic is that such forms are always followed by an object pronominal suffix. In Nakanai this characteristic is reduced to the potential suffixation of the 3ps suffix -a. Thirdly, the preceding verb is often formally intransitive, having no transitive suffix or pronominal suffix.

Prepositional verbs very probably played an important role in Oceanic grammar. They are not prominent in Fijian, nor in the Polynesian languages, but are numerous in most of the other better-known Oceanic languages, as well as being found in some of the Western Austronesian languages (Pawley 1973:143 and 180). It would appear that a number of words which are purely adverbs in Polynesian languages were verbs in proto-Oceanic grammar. For these reasons then, it would appear an important task to adequately ascertain the categorial status of prepositional-type verbs in Oceanic languages.

Syntactically, directional verbs occur mainly in chained succession to an intransitive motion verb, as do coverbs and the prepositional verbs **kara** and **vikapopo**. Directional verbs, however, are quite distinct semantically from these other verbs. They are transitive rather than intransitive, hence they must take a patient-NP in the immediately post-verbal nominal position, rather than a goal, source or comitative NP. The directional verb, then, will potentially be suffixed by the 3ps accusative ending -a and the following NP will never be marked by prepositional-type elements **te** and **le**:

(353)a. E   guliliki   hari   tavu(-a)   (*te)   e   tila-la.
       NM *child*   *run*   *towards*-3ps PREP NM *mother*-3psi
      'The child ran to his mother.'

---

[1] The appearance of directional verbs in verbal compounds was discussed in 5.4.1.5.

(353)b. E   guliliki   hele   taro(-a)   (*le)   e   tila-la.
       NM   *child*   *flee* *away.from*-3ps   ABL   NM   *mother*-3psi
       'The child ran away from his mother.'

   Unlike prepositional verbs kara and vikapopo, which can appear with-
out a following NP, directional verbs must be followed by a patient NP
which encodes the goal or source of the motion encoded by the main verb
of the clause complex. However, a point of similarity with preposi-
tional verbs is found in the fact that grammatical elements cannot be
interposed between the main verb and the directional verb occurring in
chained sequence to it:

(354)a. E   guliliki   hele   tavu(-a)   e   tila-la.
       NM   *child*   *flee* *towards*-3ps NM   *mother*-3psi
       'The child fled to his mother.'

   Cf. the serial verb complex hele tavu-a in the above example with
the following expansions:

     b. hele ta-tavu-a   cf. *hele-le tavu-a

     c. hele tavu-ti-a   cf. *hele-ti tavu-a

     d. hele tavu moli-a   cf. *hele moli tavu-a

In the above comparisons of acceptable and unacceptable grammaticalised
expansions of the serial verb complex, (b) represents the habituative/
continuate aspect, (c) the perfective aspect, and (d) verbal modifi-
cation by the verb moli indicating in this instance a direct or un-
wavering action.

   Now Table 5 shows that these directional and prepositional verbs
are quite distinct, in a number of syntactic tests, from the motion
coverbs, but considerably more parallel syntactically with the locative
coverbs. This suggests then that there are subcategory distinctions
within the class of coverbs, as indeed between classes of serial verbs,
based on syntactic behaviour reflecting fundamental semantic distinc-
tions.

7.2. SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISATION OF COVERBS

7.2.0. *SYNTACTIC CORRELATES OF THE MOTION/LOCATION DISTINCTION*

   Whereas prepositional verbs encode a spatial or temporal relation-
ship, and directional verbs a directional one, coverbs encode either
location or motion. In this they are morphologically distinct from
other verbs, there being a bound verbal root to indicate the locative
state or the direction of the motion, followed by a bound locative
root.

The bound verbal root **o-** uniquely signifies the semantic notion of location, i.e. proximate or generalised location:

(355)a. Amiteu   pou o-io   la hohoi.
        we(pl.ex) *sit* *at-there* NM *bush*

        'We stayed in the bush.'

     b. E   tete   o-ata la luma.
        NM *father* *at-up* NM *house*

        'Father is up in the house.'

Additionally, **so-LOC** indicates distant location, while **lo-LOC** indicates adjacency (see 7.3.1.).

The bound root **go-** uniquely signifies the semantic notion of motion, i.e. motion toward a location which is stated in general terms in the suffixed locative root:

(356)a. E   Baba   hele, (eia) go-ata la hohoi.
        NM *Baba* *flee* 3ps   *go-up* NM *bush*

        'Baba ran away up into the bush.'

     b. Egite   ge   go-muli te   Kansel.
        they(pl) IRR *go-east* PREP *Councillor*

        'They are going along to see the Councillor.'

Additionally, **so-LOC** and **lo-LOC** in their motion (rather than their locative) senses indicate respectively the destination or origin of the motion.

Table 5 shows that coverbs differ from both prepositional verbs and directional verbs in that they can be stated without a following nominal, because of the encoding of locative in the compound stem.

Coverbs differ further from directional verbs in that directional verbs are transitive, whereas coverbs are intransitive. Also, a clause with a directional verb cannot be conjoined to another clause with a different topic NP. But coverbs are not a unitary category. Locative coverbs are stative, taking a patient-NP as the clause topic, whereas motion coverbs are active, taking an actor-NP as the clause topic. The motion coverbs have more of the characteristics of full verbs than do locative coverbs, independently taking verbal modes and aspects in the serial function, and readily allowing the supervention of the clause topic between the main verb and the serial verb.

7.2.1. *MOTION COVERBS*

The motion coverbs are the general motion verb **go-LOC** and the directional motion verbs **lo-LOC** and **so-LOC**, which may appear as main verbs (examples (a) and (b)) or as chained verbs (examples (c) and (d)):

(357)a. La vareki so-ata la uele.
    NM *goanna to-up* NM *canarium.tree*

    'The goanna went straight up the canarium tree.'

   b. La uaga isa lo-at-ata-o.
     NM *canoe one from-rd-up-there*

     'A canoe is coming from up there.'

   c. Eia puli-a so-luma la mautu.
     3ps *take*-3ps *to-house* NM *village*

     'He took her back to the village.'

   d. E Mugure hiliti lo-talo la liba-le.
     NM *Mugure arise from-down* NM *grave-there*

     'Mugure arose from out of the grave.'

Motion coverbs however, are not uniform in their syntactic behaviour. Consider conjoined clauses with the same topic. The coreferential topic cannot be stated preceding coverbs lo-LOC and so-LOC in chained sequence, but can before go-LOC:

(358)a. Egite hele (*egite) so-muli e Makasili.
    they(pl) *flee they*(pl) *to-east* NM *Makasili*

    'They fled eastward to Makasili.'

   b. Amite guvi (*amite) lo-ata la hohoi.
     we(pl.ex) *arrive we*(pl.ex) *from-up* NM *bush*

     'We arrived from up in the bush.'

   c. Eia hele (eia) go-ata la hohoi.
     3ps *flee* 3ps *go-up* NM *bush*

     'He fled up into the bush.'

Similarly, when in successive clauses the patient of the first clause is coreferential with the topic of the second, it may not be stated preceding coverbs so-LOC and lo-LOC in the second clause:

(359)a. Eia tigitaro la lalu (*eia/la lalu) so-talo la magasa.
    3ps *pour.out* NM *water* 3ps/NM *water to-down* NM *ground*

    'He poured out the water onto the ground.'

   b. E masta vi-valibure-a la pepa (*eia/la pepa)
     NM *whiteman* caus-*scatter*-3ps NM *paper* 3ps/NM *paper*

     lo-ata te balus.
     from-up PREP *aircraft*

     'The whiteman scattered papers from a 'plane.'

Such conjunction may, however, occur with the coverb go-LOC in chained sequence, as seen by comparing (359d) with an example of co-referential topic chained sequence involving go-LOC in (359c):

(359)c. La   vareki   go-ata   la   uele   (eia)   talitititi
     NM   *goanna* go-up   NM   *canarium.tree* 3ps   *scurry*

     moli-ti.
     just-PERF

     'The goanna went straight up the canarium tree, scurrying.'

   d. E   guliliki   hari   muli   la   kari,   eia   go-muli.
      NM   *child*   *run*   *after* NM   *truck* 3ps   *go-east*

      'The child ran after the truck as it headed east.'

In (d) if the topic of the chained motion clause were to be omitted
the clause would be interpreted as referring to the child rather than
the vehicle.

A similar argument can be stated with regard to non-imminent irrealis
marker ge, which is usually repeated for every clause in a sequence,
even when the coreferential topic is not stated:

(360)a. Galigeli,   etatou   ge   go-lau   ge   igo-a.
        tomorrow   *we*(pl.in) IRR   *go-sea*   IRR   *do*-3ps

        'Tomorrow we will go to the beach and do that job.'

Such cannot occur, however, with clauses with so-LOC and lo-LOC in
chained succession:[1]

   b. Amite   ge   hele   (*ge)   so-io   la   hohoi.
      we(pl.ex) IRR   *flee*   IRR   *to-there*   NM   *bush*

      'We will flee into the bush.'

So without yet considering locative coverbs it can already be seen that
coverbs are not homogeneous in their syntactic behaviour and syntactic
character; the distinctions patterning as follows:

	Active Only	Active or Stative	Stative Only
Serialised only by clause conjunction	go-LOC		
Serialised either by clause conjunction or chaining		so-LOC lo-LOC	
Serialised only by chaining			o-LOC

---

[1] Under some circumstances, for example the following repeated-action sentence, chains
can occur with coverbs so-LOC and lo-LOC:

     Egite   ale   boru-boru   so-io,   ale   boru-boru   so-io.
     they(pl) *that* rd-*fall*   *to-there* *that* rd-*fall*   *to-there*
     'Some fell here and some fell there.'

So, as shown by the above table, **so-LOC** and **lo-LOC** are polysemous, having in addition to their motion functions a purely locative function comparable to the function of **o-LOC**, which is a stative verb entering only into clause chaining constructions, never appearing conjoined to another clause.

7.2.2. *LOCATIVE COVERBS*

Locative coverbs are the proximate location verb **o-LOC**, and the polysemous verbs **so-LOC** and **lo-LOC** in their locative senses, indicating respectively distant and adjacent situation at a stated location.

As a main verb **o-LOC** can indicate a stative existential function:

(361)a. Eau o-mai.
     I   *at-here*

     'I am here.'

  b. E   gavman   o-io.
     NM *government* *at-there*

     'There is a government.'

This function can be fulfilled in a relative clause also:

  c. E   tama   gatou o-ata ge   baumuli   amutou.
     NM *father* 1pli   *at-up* IRR *care.for* *you*(pl)

     'Our father in heaven will watch over you.'

The next example illustrates **o-LOC** in chained succession with an intervening patient-NP:

(362) Egira   tomi abi la sulabe,   tau-a   o-ata la
     they(du) *all* *get* NM *climbing.ring* *put*-3ps *at-up* NM

     varu girua.
     head 3pli

     'They both took their climbing rings and put them up on their foreheads.'

Chaining of **o-LOC** with regard to various grammatical options is next illustrated:

(363)a. In chained sequence with anaphoric reference (see 4.2.3.2.):
     Tio, egiteu   e   tamalavele   ge go-io,   ge
     then *they*(pl) NM *father.of.adze* IRR *go-there* IRR

     pou-ti   o-io   vola.
     sit-PERF *at-there* PRON

     'Then the adze-owners will go and commit themselves to work on that (canoe).'

(363)b. In topicalised sentence with partitioning (see 4.2.1.2.):

Ale   o-gala la sto,   eia malau bakisi.
that *at-out* NM *store* 3ps *far*   *a.bit*

'*That trip out to the store is a bit far.*'

   c. In topicalised sentence, referring anaphorically to the sentence topic (see 4.2.3.2.):

Eia la taua   sesele, egite   mera taro amite
3ps NM *spirit* *true*   *they*(pl) *talk* *away* *we*(pl.ex)

o-io   vola.
at-there PRON

'*He is truly a spirit, and they warned us about him.*'

The locative verb so-LOC indicates a state of being situated distantly from the speaker, out of sight. The location indicated is general rather than specific, and implies informing someone of the location. Thus utterances with so-LOC very appropriately accompany any kind of indicating or directing activity.

(364)a. Egite   vi-sae   moli-a   so-ata te   sipi.
they(pl) caus-*climb* *just*-3ps *to-up* PREP *ship*

'*They loaded it onto the ship.*'

   b. Egite   isahari so-io   la gauru.
they(pl) *some*   *to-there* NM *road*

'*Some of them are out on the road.*'

The locative verb lo-LOC however, indicates a state of being situated adjacently to the speaker, positioned immediately beside an object which serves as a point of reference and is relatively large in relation to the size of the entity whose distance from the speaker is being indicated:

(365)a. Eme   pou lo-ata   la poga-gu-e.
you(s) *sit* *from-up* NM *back*-1s1-*there*

'*Sit up on my back there.*'

   b. Isahari ge   mavuta lo-talo   la kupaha mula.
some   IRR *sleep* *from-down* NM *leg*   *our*(du.in)

'*Some will sleep down at your feet.*'

Locative coverbs can appear with juxtaposed locative clauses, indicating a conjunction of locative clauses:

(366) Eia so-muli   lagu, o-gala-le.
3ps *to-east* *face* *at-out-there*

'*Its eastward, in front of you, outside the village there.*'
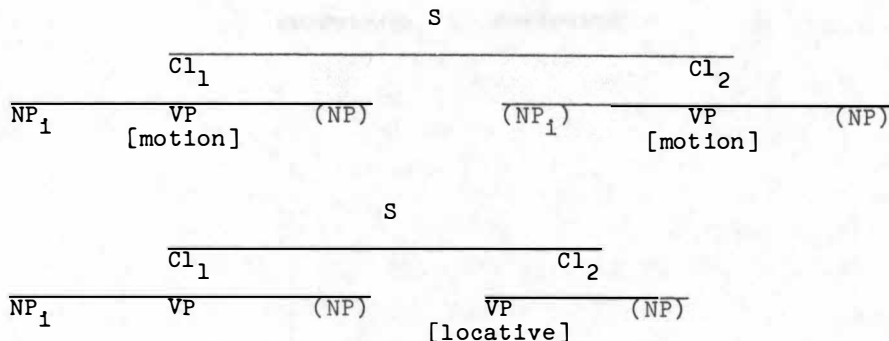
7.2.3. THE CLAUSE CHAINING SOLUTION

The question now arises as to which of the proposed analyses of
serial verbs (see 7.0.3.) to adopt for the analysis of coverbs. From
the conjoining behaviour of intransitive motion verbs and the motion
coverb go-LOC, choice of the paradigm of conjoined clauses in sequence
seems to be pressed upon us. In the case of conjoined motion verbs,
the speaker has the option of not uttering the coreferential NP in a
subsequent clause in a clause chain. However, the coreferential NP is
obligatorily deleted from a clause chain with preceding locative co-
verbs or with motion coverbs so-LOC and lo-LOC.

Now even if one were to analyse these data within a transformational
framework, with surface structures being formed by transformations from
formal deep structure configurations of the conjoined or subordinated
sentence, the positing of a deletion rule would be of dubious theoret-
ical status (e.g. Jackendoff's suggestion (1972) that deletion-under-
identity be not permitted in a transformational grammar) and indeed the
status of obligatory rules, which would be required for the locative
verbs, is also dubious within transformational grammar.

Recall, however, Pike's language-as-wave concept, discussed in
7.1.1. All of the serial verbs discussed in this chapter have main-
tained their verbal character despite their frequent participation in
verbal complexes. Yet in the process of developing an auxiliary verbal
role they are losing some of their flexibility in terms of capacity to
enter into conjoined relationships and ability to take modes and aspects
when in chained sequence. Yet there is still their fully verbal nature
to contend with, the fact that they still appear as main verbs, with
all the grammatical characteristics of verbs. The paradigm of con-
joined clauses would seem to be the only paradigm which does justice
to the fully verbal character of these verbs. Three of the four coverbs
can appear as motion verbs, and it is to motion verbs that the con-
joining paradigm most aptly applies. In view of these considerations,
a clause chaining analysis is adopted for coverbs, with the option of
interposing the coreferential NP between Clause 1 and Clause 2 being
obligatorily suspended in the case of a locative clause or a clause
with the motion verbs so-LOC and lo-LOC occurring in chained sequence.
Illustrated for clauses with coreferential topics, this situation is
as follows:[1]

---

[1]I adopt here a horizontally-extended square-branching type of diagram rather than
the familiar vertically branching 'tree' diagram. This convention, which is carried
forward into chapter VIII, and is intended to indicate an immediate constituent type
of analysis, is adopted in order to avoid the possibility of implicit confusion with

```
                              S
              Cl₁ _____ Cl₂
    NP₁        VP        (NP)      (NP₁) ____ VP        (NP)
            [motion]                        [motion]


                              S
              Cl₁ _____ Cl₂
    NP₁        VP        (NP)      VP        (NP)
                                [locative]
```

One or the other of these conjoining configurations is the structural option encoding the serial verb type of sequence in Nakanai.

The final section of this chapter takes up the matter of the semantic characterisation of coverbs. The semantic aspect has, by virtue of its conditioning effects in the syntax, already figured prominently in the discussion thus far.

7.3. SEMANTIC CHARACTERISATION OF COVERBS

7.3.1. POSITIONAL DISTINCTIONS IN THE BOUND VERBAL ROOT

As noted already in the discussion, the bound locative verbal roots o-, so- and lo- encode, in order, distinctions of proximate, distant and adjacent locations.

Adjacency is relative to the size of the object used for a reference point. In the case of a large, familiar object, such as a house, with reference to which the object being identified in its location is relatively small, particular distinctions can be drawn thus:[1]

lo-luma la mata la luma	*'In front of the house' (= facing the hamlet clearing)*
lo-lau la vai la luma	*'On the seaward side of the house'*
lo-muli la kisu la luma	*'On the eastern side of the house'*
lo-ale la kisu la luma	*'On the western side of the house'*

(footnote 1 cont'd from p.206)

'derivational trees' as found in transformational grammar, and the theoretical assumptions that go with an approach which purports to derive sentences by 'rules', from 'abstract formal objects' in a 'deep structure' which is in principle unobservable. Certainly I have included some 'housekeeping' transformations, describing adjustments in form such as those required in the reduction of clause chains, but such formalisms are only a convenient metaphor, implying no abstract deep structure.

[1]In the following examples la mata means *'door'*, la vai means *'side'* and la kisu means *'gable or end wall'*.

Adjacency can be a relatively long distance in the case of a very
large point of reference such as a mountain:

(367) Amite   mou   hagavi moli la olu   e Lolo: e Pago
       we(pl.ex) *live* *near* *just* NM *mountain* NM *Lolo* NM *Pago*

       lo-ilo,   e Lolo lo-lau,   la mautu   tamite   kabili.
       from-inland NM *Lolo* *from-sea* NM *village* *our*(pl.ex) *middle*

       'We live near Mount Lollo: Mount Pago is inland, Mount Lollo is
       seaward of us, and our village is in the middle.'

Distant location, indicated by so-, is general rather than specific,
usually out of sight, and implies informing someone of the location,
hence the frequent accompaniment of utterances with so-LOC by gestures
indicating direction. This is seen very clearly with an example which
uses so-LOC as a **main** verb rather than a serial verb:

(368) E   Bereme so-ata la hohoi.
       NM *Bereme* *to-up* NM *bush*

       'Bereme is (situated) up in the bush.' (Bereme is a village)

Alternative to the adjacency/distance contrast is the notion of
proximity, which gives an estimated location relative to the **item** being
located and its point of reference, in contrast to adjacency and dis-
tance estimates, which are stated relative to the **speaker** and a point
of reference.

(369) Tio, la tavile isa o-io   po-pou, po-pou o-io   te
       so   NM *woman* *one* *at-there* *rd-sit* *rd-sit* *at-there* PREP

       la luma   tetala, la mautu   tetala-o.
       NM *house* 3psp   NM *village* *her-there*

       'Well, there was a woman just sitting at her house in her village
       there.'

Thus the root o- can be used whenever the location expressed is one
of proximate distance between the item and the point of reference. The
location so expressed often will in fact be intermediate between adja-
cent and distant in relation to the speaker, but this does not determine
the choice of the root o-, as can be seen from the following pair of
sentences:

(370)a. E   tete   tolo la obu   o-rivo   la mahuma.
        NM *father* *chop* NM *tree* *at-garden* NM *garden*

        'Father chopped down a tree at the gardens.'
        (i.e. proximate to both speaker and the village)

    b. E   tete   tolo la obu   o-ata   la hohoi.
        NM *father* *chop* NM *tree* *at-up* NM *bush*

        'Father chopped down a tree up in the bush.'
        (i.e. distant from speaker and village)

If emphasis were to be placed on the **distance from the speaker** in (b), the root **so-** would be used rather than o-.

A complication is that **so-** can express psychological distance, as in the next example, in which reference is made to burial:

(371) Etatou   ge   tabuli   moli   so-talo   te   la   lulu,   etapou
      we(pl.in) IRR *lie*   *just* *to-down* PREP NM *hole* *we*(pl.in)

    ge   parara.
    IRR   *rot*

    'We shall all remain in the grave, we shall all decompose.'

This example serves to emphasise again the relative nature of estimates of adjacent, distant and proximate distance with regard to the location of the speaker, and the location and size of the point of reference in relation to the location and size of the item located.

7.3.2. *DIRECTIONAL DISTINCTIONS IN THE BOUND VERBAL ROOT*

Directional distinctions (i.e. goal/source) have been given fundamental expression in the morphological categories of Nakanai, as indeed in many other Austronesian languages, as follows: the two coverb roots which specifically express the direction of a motion are **so-** and **lo-**, indicating motion towards a location and motion away from a location, respectively. If the speaker wishes to express a location in relation to which a motion is directed, there is no choice but to express it in terms of one or other of the coverbs built on these two roots:

(372)a. Amite   beu-rivu-a   so-io   e   Ukarumpa.
       we(pl.ex) *return*   *to-there* NM   *Ukarumpa*

      'We returned to Ukarumpa.'

    b. Eau   hiliti   lo-io   e   Ukarumpa,   go-mai-ti-e.
       I   *arise*   *from-there* NM   *Ukarumpa*   *go-here*-PERF-*there*

      'I set out from Ukarumpa and came straight back here.'

7.3.3. *MEANINGS ENCODED BY THE BOUND LOCATIVE SUFFIX*

The sub-divisions in this part of the discussion do not reflect grammatical distinctions, but are included only to break up the sixteen locative suffixes into semantic subgroups for more convenient analysis and description. Locative suffixes do not independently express semantic information apart from the NP which optionally follows the coverb. Rather, the locative suffix states a location in general terms, the following NP stating the same location more specifically.

7.3.3.1. Vertical Distinctions

The pertinent distinction with regard to vertical space is drawn between -ata *'up'* and -talo *'down'*.

(373)a. La   vareki   kora-ti   o-ata   la   obu-o.
       NM   *goanna*   *leave*-PERF   *at-up*   NM   *tree-there*

       'The goanna was just left up the tree there.'

    b. La   tavile   Ubae,   egite   pigi-a   so-talo   la   lalu.
       NM   *woman*   *Ubae*   *they*(pl)   *throw-away*   *to-down*   NM   *water*

       'There was this (dead) woman, from Ubae who they threw into the river.'

Some locations subsumed under these roots are -ata *'up in the mountains/in the deep bush'* and -talo *'towards the setting sun'* (cf. also -ale – 7.3.3.4.).

(374)a. La   maigi   o-vola,   la   vuhu-la   egite   pou   o-ata   la
       NM   *cold*   *at*-PRON   NM   *reason*-3psi   *they*(pl)   *sit*   *at-up*   NM

       hohoi.
       bush

       'It is cold there because it's up in the bush.'

    b. La   mago   pusikarere   lo-talo   e   Bule.
       NM   *sea*   *spray*   *from-down*   NM   *Bule*

       'The sea is spraying from down past Bule Point.'

7.3.3.2. Internal/External Locations

This distinction is expressed by the pair of suffixes -ilo *'inside'* and -gala *'outside'*.

(375) La   tavile   ge   vi-tiroro   bulahu   moli   so-ilo   la   luma?
      NM   *woman*   IRR   *caus-enter*   *aimlessly*   *just*   *to-in*   NM   *house*

      'Should a woman enter without due ceremony the marriage house?'
      (very free translation)

(376) La   paga   taume   bisi   ele,   eia   polo-kulikuli   moli-au
      NM   *thing*   *your*(s)   *little*   DEIC   3ps   *transit-skin*   *just-me*

      o-gala   la   kulikuli-gu.
      at-out   NM   *skin*

      'That little thing of yours there, it just glanced off my skin.'

Further meanings included within the notions of spatial inclusion and exclusion are illustrated as follows:

(377) Eia   vei-pala   la   golu-golu   ale   o-ilo   te   la   tia-la.
      3ps   *say-forth*   NM   *rd-thing*   *that*   *at-in*   PREP   NM   *stomach*

      'He reveals the things that are in his stomach (= inner being).'

```
(378) Egite    o-gala-ti    te    la  kansel.
      they(pl) at-out-PERF  PREP  NM  council
```
'They are out of the council now.'

In a similar vein, o-ilo vola can be used as a prefatory adverbial phrase meaning *'concerning the topic of discussion, I have the following to say ...'.*

Also -ilo expresses the notion of inland, or the direction of the shore when one is positioned out at sea:

```
(379)a. E   bolu   mago, Male, la  muli-gu   o-ilo  la  magasa-le.
        NM  turtle say   look  NM  place-1si  at-in  NM  ground-there
```
'The turtle said: Look, my home is on the shore there.'

```
   b. Eme     ka-ti     ge   selea       so-ilo  la  parava.
      you(s)  not-PERF  IRR  go.straight to-in   NM  beach
```
'You are no longer to go straight into the beach.'

7.3.3.3. Anterior/Posterior Locations

The direction to the front is indicated by the suffix -lagu, taken from the noun la lagu- *'face'*, and extendable to denote location in the bow of a canoe.[1]

```
(380) La  tahalo ale  lolo-a,   eia ge  pagi-ti    so-lagu  la
      NM  man    that hear-3ps   3ps IRR jump-PERF  to-front NM

      mori-la.
      bow-3psi
```
'The man who hears it will jump right onto the bow of the canoe.'

The opposite direction to -lagu is -tigu *'behind'*, extendable also to the stern of a canoe:

```
(381) Eia vi-pou    taro moli-a   o-tigu    la olo    te
      3ps caus-sit  away just-3ps at-behind NM garden PREP

      tubu-la-o.
      grandparent-3psi-there
```
'He made her sit out of sight, out the back in his grandmother's garden.'

7.3.3.4. Coastal Locations

From a base position standing on the beach facing out to sea, right-wards along the coast is the direction -muli, and leftwards along the

---

[1]Note that locations -lagu and -tigu are not applicable to vehicles other than a canoe, except in very playful language. *'In the front'* and *'in the back'* of, say, a truck, are denoted by extended meanings of the words mamuga *'first'* and mulimuli *'later'*, respectively, and thus are outside the general system being described here.

coast is the direction -ale. Over long distances, say the fifty miles
distance from Hoskins to Bialla, the directions can be indicated across
the water to another position around the curve of the coast. As a rough
mean, -muli can be glossed as *'east'* and -ale can be glossed as *'west'*,
although there is variation from southeast to northeast in the case of
the former, and from northwest to southwest in the case of the latter.

(382) Egite   tilia o-muli   e   Galilo.[1]
       they(pl) *dance* *at-east* NM *Galilo*
       'They danced at Galilo.'

The location of facing out to sea or being at sea is expressed as -lau,[2]
which is opposed to -tivu, expressing the location of the shore or in-
land, from out on the sea (also *'clear of the water'*, as in lifting a
fish trap from the sea).

    The frequent association of -lau and the noun phrase la mago *'the
sea'* has led to the lexicalisation of V-lau la mago as V-lomago, as in
go-lo-mago *'go to (the) sea'* and o-lo-mago *'out at sea/by the sea'*.

    Far distant locations can become uncertain and are in some instances
arbitrarily assigned. Thus the Willaumez Peninsula west and northwest
of the Nakanai coast, is regarded as either o-lau or o-talo. Rabaul is
consistently, and appropriately, o-muli. Both Manus, to the northwest,
and Bougainville (to the east, across the land mass of New Britain away
from the Nakanai coast) are o-lau.

    Anywhere on the mainland of New Guinea is o-talo, except for centres
in the Highlands, which are spoken of by some as being o-ata.

    Further distant again, vaguely-known places such as Australia,
England, Germany, Rome and Japan, are all usually regarded as being
o-muli, although individual variations are encountered. The denotation
o-muli for foreign countries makes sense when one considers that his-
torically all Nakanai contact with foreign races originated from the
Rabaul area, the intruders moving on westwards until the Nakanai coast
was reached.

7.3.3.5. Domestic Locations

    There is a threefold distinction to be made with regard to the
domestic context of the village, viz. the locations

---

[1]Locations east and west along the coast are appropriately encoded thus. It is in-
appropriate to use a proximate or distant verbal root (see 7.3.1.).

[2]Obsolete form -olu. Note that if the speaker goes inland all directions fairly
immediately back towards the coast become o-lau.

> -luma   *'the location of the nearest hamlet'* (usually one's own home village)
>
> -rivo   *'the location of the gardens, or the bush hinterland proximate to the village'*
>
> -hulu   *'the location of the men's clearing or the men's house'*

Very few nouns may appear in construction with -luma, for the simple reason that in order to so appear, the noun must indicate the hamlet or its equivalent. Hence

> la mautu   *'village, hamlet'*
>
> la olo   *'woman's garden in immediate environs of the hamlet'*
>
> la kale   *'temporary residence erected on hunting trips'*

(383) Eia   vi-tuga   moli-ti-a,   go-luma la olo   te
     3ps   caus-*walk* *just*-PERF-3ps *go-home* NM *garden* PREP

     tubu-la.
     grandparent-3psi

     'He walked her along, going home to his grandparents' garden.'

Note that -luma is not used to indicate going home to one's own specific house, when uttered within the village, nor is it used to indicate going home to one's own hamlet from another section of the village. The referent of -luma is the nearest entire village or hamlet, and not a house or section within the village.

Following the suffixes -rivo and -hulu it is only very rarely necessary to indicate the identity of the garden or men's clearing towards which the action is taking place:

(384) E   rutu-rutu gite   tuga   go-io   go-rivo,   luku-luku.
     NM   rd-*wife*   *their* *walk* *go-there* *go-gardens* rd-*dig.taro*

     'Their wives went off to the gardens and dug taro.'

(385) Egite   go-io   pagi so-ulu,   go-io   ali.
     they(pl) *go-there* *jump* *to-men's.clearing* *go-there* *eat*

     'They went eagerly to the men's clearing and ate there.'

An interesting lexicalisation of opposed extended meanings of -rivo and -luma is noted at this point. Spirit-men are contrasted with real men[1] in the terms:

> la tau-lo-rivo   *'(spirit) man from the bush'*
>
> la tau-lo-luma   *'(true) man from the village'*

Hence, in the story of a stone-throwing contest between a boy and a spirit-being:

---

[1] Valentine (1965) discusses this distinction in the context cf Nakanai religion. See also 5.4.2.2.

```
Ale   lo-luma        laba,  iala moli kama la uati,  la malu.
that  from-village   throw  but        not  NM stone NM bird
'(Then) the one from the village (= the human one of the pair)
threw, but it wasn't a stone (that he threw), it was a bird.'
```

Other lexicalised extensions arising from domestic locatives are
la bolo-luma 'domestic pig' and e polo-hulu[1] 'pig only to be eaten by
men' (and, by implication, in the men's clearing).

7.3.3.6. Generalised Locations

There are two general locative suffixes:[2]

```
-io    'there'
-mai   'here'
```

(386) Amite   hari go-io,   amite   go-io   sibitala
      we(pl.ex) run go-there we(pl.ex) go-there   arrive

      o-io   e Goroka.
      at-there NM Goroka
      'We travelled, continuing until we arrived at Goroka.'

(387) Pupu,   eme po-pou o-mai   la mautu   tegalua-e.
      grandfather   3ps rd-sit at-here NM village our(du.in)-there
      'Grandfather, you must stay here at our village here.'

There are no extended meanings *per se* for the general location suf-
fixes, however there are particular extensions of the meanings of cer-
tain coverbs formed by these and the locative verbal prefix o-. Thus
o-mai can indicate serious determination to do something forthwith,
thus lending importance to a statement; o-io moli o-vola 'forthwith'
indicates immediacy of action; o-ve can indicate overabundance of goods,
denial of a claim, or the qualitative deficiency of a given item:

(388) La bua   o-ve, la suku   o-ve, la ilali o-ve ...?
      NM areca.nut where NM tobacco where NM food where

      La mage.
      NM feast
      [very freely] 'Where need one seek for areca nut, tobacco or
      food ...? These are everywhere ... You know what a festival is
      like!'

---

[1]This is apparently a fossilised form, cf. la bolo 'pig'.

[2]See 3.1.2.2. for a discussion of the interrogative locative particle -ve, which
occurs as illustrated in this example:

```
Amuto        me Karapi pou so-ve?
you(pl.ex)   and Karapi sit to-where
'Where did you and Karapi stay?'
```

(389) La luma la kansel ale o-mai tegatou e Hoskin,
NM *house* NM *council* *that* *at-here* *our*(pl.in) NM *Hoskins*

eia-la o-ve? Eia ka marasa.
3ps-*that* *where* 3ps *not* *nice*

'*As for our council chambers here at Hoskins, they are not*
attractive at all.'

In the case of someone being questioned as to where they have come
from, the question is expressed in the continuous (reduplicated) mode,
irregularly formed in this one instance by reduplication of -ve: Eme
loveive? '*Where have you come from?*'.[1]

Serial verbs, as I have attempted to demonstrate in this chapter,
represent a close-knit interclausal relationship in which verbs which
elsewhere appear as main verbs occur in an auxiliary function in chained
co-ordination following a main verb. The auxiliary function is always
associated with semantic notions such as direction, motion and location,
and represents a conjoined rather than a subordinated type of relation-
ship. The discussion goes on in chapter eight to consider subordinate
and co-ordinate interclausal relationships in their own right, and the
nature of complex interclausal semantics.

---

[1] The epenthetic vowel -i- appears infixed in loveive.

INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONSHIPS

8.0. ELEMENTS OF THE SENTENCE

8.0.1. *OVERVIEW*

The level of the sentence is the grammatical level above the clause, into which elements lower in the grammatical hierarchy, the phrase and the clause (and, recursively, the sentence) are distributed. There are basically two kinds of clausal combinations in Nakanai, subordination co-ordination.

Subordination occurs in the topic sentence with a dependent clause, or in the quotative sentence. A topic sentence with a dependent clause (see 8.1.1.) consists of a dependent clause in combination with an independent clause, the dependent clause indicating the presuppositions underlying the sentence. Quotative sentences (see 8.1.2.) have a quotation occurring as a complement which is embedded in the matrix clause, realising the patient role. Semantic notions of purpose or intention as well as direct and indirect speech are all encoded as quotative sentences in Nakanai.

Co-ordination consists of the concatenation of two or more clauses or sentences joined in sequential (see 8.2.1.) or simultaneous (see 8.2.2.) association. Three variants of the simultaneous relationships are encoded, namely association, alternation and amplification.

8.0.2. *PERIPHERAL ELEMENTS*

Particles peripherally associated with the sentence optionally occur. These include affirmative and negative responses, expressed by free particles, e.g.:

```
ee/elo      'yes'
ioge        'very well then'
meie        'that's right'
olo         'what did I tell you!'
iaa         'is that so!'
ialale      'there you have it!'
ouka        'no'
```

Conjunctions can also appear prefacing sentences in addition to their subordinating or co-ordinating functions. Responses and sentential conjunctions occur sentence-initially, but do not co-occur.

There can also occur preposed to the sentence topicalised temporal elements which provide the context of sequential sentences:

```
mulimuli                    'later'
oio moli ovola              'straight away'
la haro isahari poloti      'some days passed'
(te) la haro isasa          'one day'
la paga maulavi             'in the afternoon'
la paga logole              'then when it was night'
mai galigeli (lou)          'the next day'
```

The first example (a) illustrates an affirmative peripheral item, the second example (b) illustrates a conjunction prefacing an association sentence, linking it into the overall development of the discourse:

(390)a. Ioge,   la hapu go-io   la gauru, la hapu go-io
        well NM *part go-there* NM *road* NM *part go-there*

        te   la iloto-le   balus.
        PREP NM *buying*-3psip *aircraft*

        'Well, some money is allocated to roadworks, and some to
        buying airline tickets.'

     b. Tio,   la tavile o-io   popou   ele,   la ilo-la
        well NM *woman at-there* *rd.sit* *there* NM *inside*-3psip

        ka-ti   taritigi.
        not-PERF *good*

        'So, the woman was left, and she was no longer content.'

Negative peripheral particles can also appear postposed to the sentence, as in (391):

(391) Eau ka-ti   ge   sulu   lou   la valua, ouka sesele-ti.
      I *no*-PERF IRR *destroy* *again* NM *men* *no* *truly*-PERF
      'I will not destroy the people again, not ever.'

Another peripheral element appearing sentence-finally is the tag question marker ia, which was discussed in 3.1.2.2.:

```
(392) Eme      mari-mari  la  i-laba,    ia?
      you(s)   rd-know     NM  nom-throw  TAG
      'So you really know how to throw, eh?'
```

The vocative is a sentence-initial peripheral element used specif-
ically to draw the addressee's attention to an utterance in direct
speech. The prenominal marker, which is otherwise obligatory, is
deleted in the vocative form of a noun or pronoun:

```
(393) Mutou,         amutou       go-mai,  e   tubu          gatou
      you(pl.ex)     you(pl.ex)   go-here  NM  grandparent   our(pl.in)

      guvi-ti-e!
      arrive-PERF-there
      'Hey you kids, come here, our grandfather has arrived!'
```

This example has the pronominal root mutou appearing without the pre-
fix a- which substitutes in second person non-singular pronouns for
noun marker e. A noun root is illustrated in the vocative in (394):

```
(394) Ioge Pago,  eau  ge   vei-a-mu       la  vimari     tegite
      well Pago    I    IRR  tell-3ps-2si   NM  teaching   PREP.they(pl)

      bisisi.
      little.ones
      'Well Pago, I'm going to tell you how we teach our children.'
```

This example has both affirmative and vocative introductory peripheral
particles.

Other sentence-initial peripheral elements are attention-getting or
exclamatory elements which precede the sentence:

```
        ko            'oh!'
        iauo/omo      'alas!'
        iaue          'goodness me!'
        hui/hae/oa    'hey!'
        kisvi         'aha!'
        hilake        'wow/gosh/oh my!'
```

```
(395)a. Hui,  hae,  umala  etatou      la  ia   ale   taritigi  isasa
        hey   hey   PROH   we(pl.in)   NM  that fish  good      one

        ge  igo  gegeru  lou   mai-e.
        IRR do   badly   again like-there
        'Hey, let not one more good fish come to harm again like this.'
```

```
     b. Iauo,  eme      ali   tomi-au.
        alas   you(s)   eat   all-me
        'Alas, you are eating me all up!'
```

Example (a) shows two exclamations juxtaposed at the beginning of the
sentence. Exclamatory utterances can of course also appear as utter-
ances in isolation.

8.1. SUBORDINATION

8.1.1. *DEPENDENT CLAUSES: THE TOPIC SENTENCE*

In chapter IV I showed that topicalisation is implemented by means
of nominal inflection (i.e. demonstrative, deictic or anaphoric focus-
sing of given information), or by fronting of NPs representing given
information to serve as new themes. All dependent subordinate clauses
in Nakanai are topicalised by either or both of these strategies. Such
is not surprising given that the function of dependent subordinate
clauses is to encode semantic presuppositions in the sentence. That
is, the meaning of a dependent clause is already presupposed when the
sentence containing it is uttered.[1] A topic sentence consists of a
nucleus consisting of either a fronted thematic (i.e. topic) nominal
(see 4.0.2.) or a dependent clause either preposed or postposed to an
independent clause or sentence:

$$S_{topic} \; = \; \begin{matrix} NP \\ [TOPIC] \end{matrix} \; /Cl_{\, subordinate} \; + \; Cl/S$$

The above formula shows that the topic-NP assumes the same rank func-
tionally as the subordinate clause. That is, in a sentence like **la
bolo, egite ubi-a** (lit. *'the pig, they shot it'*), the topic states two
presuppositions, roughly as follows:

  i) *'I am talking about a certain pig of which you are already
     aware'*;
  ii) *'I am about to say something important about that pig.'*

The topic sentence is discussed in chapter IV in terms of nominal and
modal topics. The present discussion considers specifically the syntax
of subordinate clause topicalisation.

Let us term the independent clause or sentence with which the depen-
dent clause is associated as a presupposition-creating element, the
base of the sentence. Some dependent clauses can appear only preposed
to the base. Others can appear only postposed. Yet others can appear

---

[1]This is the case for Nakanai, however Hope (1971:64–6) describes the operation of
presupposition-creating subordinate clauses in Lisu, which contain verbs meaning *'say'*,
'intend', *'refer to'*, *'suppose'*, etc. and a complement sentence which itself contains
a factitive verb meaning *'is so/is true'* plus another complement sentence. Nakanai
does not cover this range of possibilities in subordination. Also Karttunen (1970:
328-39) gives a list of semantic categories of complement-taking verbs in English which
create presuppositions, only some of which are expressed as verbs associated with
quotative complement clauses in Nakanai (see 8.1.2.). For example, his 'factitive'
is represented by Nakanai rovi-a *'know'*, which takes a quotative complement, and his
'only-if' category is represented by Nakanai koramuli-a *'sufficient/able'*.

either preposed or postposed to the base. I discuss dependent clauses
according to this elementary typological outline.

a) Sequence

  Those subordinate clauses which appear only preposed are syntactically
distinct. They are participial-like constructions indicating the se-
quential presuppositions of the sequence (i.e. they are part of the
setting) by recapitulation of the final clause of the preceding sentence.
Sentences joined by recapitulation form a cohesive unit,[1] a subgrouping
of sentences, within the discourse (see 8.2.1.1.).

(396) La   tavu   lovo   lo-io   toa   te   la bagalagale
      NM   *hornbill* *fly*   *from-there* *tread* PREP NM *top.plate*

      la luma.   Toa   te   la bagalegale la luma-o,   la
      NM *house*   *tread* PREP NM *top.plate*   NM *house-there*   NM

      tavile rovi-ti-a,   la luma   mariu-ti.
      woman   *know*-PERF-3ps   NM *house* *sway*-PERF

      '*The hornbill flew forth and alighted on the top plate of the*
      house. With that, the woman knew he was there because the house
      swayed.'

In (396) the clause **la tavu toa te la bagalegale la luma** is recapitu-
lated with ellipsis on the coreferential topic **la tavu** at the beginning
of the next clause, thus uniting this pair of sentences as a subgroup
developing the sequence of events in the unfolding of the traditional
folk story from which the example is taken. Recapitulation is always
with coreferential topic clauses, which may be transitive, or intrans-
itive, as in the next example:

(397) Egirua   go-mai   sivo.   Sivo,   egirua   abi-a
      they(pl) *go-there* *climb.down* *climb.down* *they*(du) *get*-3ps

      la uele   ale-le,   egirua   go-io   la baa   isa
      NM *canarium.nut*   *that-there*   *they*(du) *go-there* NM *area* *one*

      popou-o,   egirua   go-io   voro-voro-a.
      rd.sit-there   *they*(du)   *go-there*   *rd-pound*-3ps

      '*The two of them then climbed down. Having climbed down, they*
      took the nuts, went off somewhere and sat down, and set to
      cracking them.'

In (397) the second sentence begins by recapitulating in reduced form
the final clause of the first sentence, i.e. **sivo**. This expresses the

---

[1] This is a New Guinea areal feature, occurring in Papuan as well as AN languages.
See e.g. Longacre 1972:45-50 for an account of how recapitulation promotes cohesion
within sentences and paragraphs in Papuan languages. John Lynch has also pointed out
to me (personal communication) that for AN languages the feature of recapitulation is
not New Guinea-specific, but occurs elsewhere in Oceania, the specific example he cites
being Lenakel of the New Hebrides.

presupposition that having climbed down, another action performed by
the already established actors can now follow in sequence. The function
of the following base of the sentence (expounded in this case by a se-
quential co-ordinated sentence - see 8.2.1.) is to state the sequential
act or sequence of actions.

It should be noted however that motion coverbs go-io and go-mai can
appear in the capacity of recapitulated clauses. They stand in general
terms for the preceding clause in the sequence of a narrative when em-
bedded material has intervened negating the impact of the usual form of
exact repetition:

(398) E   pakasa   vei-a   la vareki mai-e: eme   umala
       NM   *wallaby* *tell*-3ps NM *goanna* *like-this* *you*(s) PROH

       viakara agagi.   Go-io,   la vareki vei-a-la   mago,
       talk   rd.*loudly* *go-there* NM *goanna* *tell*-3ps-3psip *say*

       Eme   tataga,   ia?
       you(s) rd.*afraid* TAG

       'The wallaby told the goanna, "Don't talk too loudly." Then the
       goanna replied, "So you are afraid, hey?"'

In example (398) quotative complement clause Eme umala vikara agagi
intervenes to break the sequence which would otherwise be maintained by
recapitulating the previous clause expressing an action in the action
sequence. So the general recapitulative element goio is stated to con-
tinue the sequence. The next example shows this happening after a rel-
ative clause has broken the sequence of actions:

(399) La   haro isa e   pakasa   me   la vareki go-io,   egirua
       NM   *day* *one* NM   *wallaby* *and* NM *goanna* *go-there* *they*(du)

       hilo la irobo   te   Tulagola, la uele   vuha
       see NM *taboo.tree* PREP *Tulagola* NM *canarium* *bear*

       pepeho.   Go-io mulimuli egirua   sae-a.
       very.much *then* *later*   *they*(du) *climb*-3ps

       'One day the wallaby and the goanna happened upon a tree of
       Tulagola's, which he had forbidden anyone to steal from, a
       canarium tree fully bearing. So later on the two of them went
       and climbed it.'

The sequence-regaining function of go-io after the relative clause la
uele vuha pepeho in (399) is distinct from but functionally akin to the
auxiliary type of use of go-mai and go-io preceding a main verb, in
which function these verbs serve to indicate that a sequence sentence
is linked into an overall series of sequences which completes a semantic
'episode' in a narrative. I have analysed go-mai and go-io in that
function as motion verbs in a chained sequence of clauses (see 7.2.1.)
but the function of the chaining is clearly to maintain cohesion of

actions in the discourse rather than to indicate a motion in a given direction (see 8.2.1.).

b)   Condition/Circumstance

Returning from this diversion into the peculiar sequencing functions of motion verbs in participial and auxiliary-like functions, I return to the matter of subordinate dependent clauses, in particular those indicating conditional or circumstantial topics. These clauses appear either preposed or postposed to the sentence base. Postposed, they must be prefaced by ale *'when/if'*[1] or mai *'if/like'*. When the dependent clause is preposed however, the subordinating conjunction need not appear:

(400)a. Eme   tatuga   la merera taku o-io   la varu-mu
        you(s) rd.*walk* NM *talk* *my* *at-there* NM *head*

        tabulibuli, la mahuli-la taume   ge   malau.
        rd.*lie*   NM *live*-nom *your*(s) IRR *long*

        'If you follow my advice you will have a long life.'

Example (400) can be represented schematically as follows:
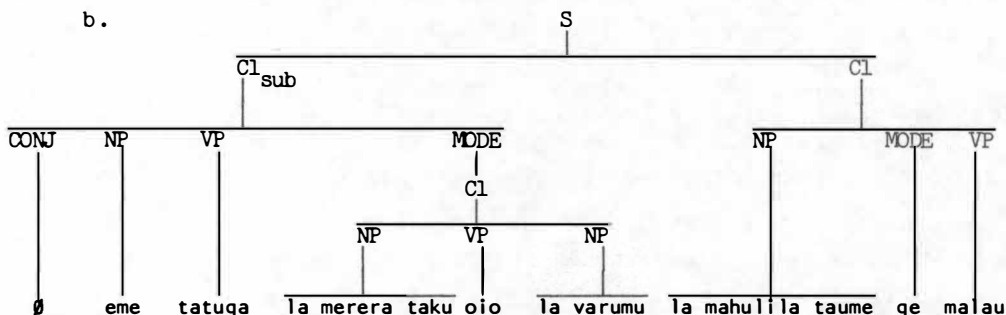
The conditional subordinate clause in (400) states a contingency. A conditional subordinate clause can equally well state a necessary pre-condition, as in ale eme ge guvi o-talo *('when you arrive down there')* eme ge pou-tali amite *('you should wait for us')*. In a preposed clause with ale indicating *'when'*, two presuppositions are encoded, firstly, it is assumed that a stated event will take place, and secondly, a sub-sequent event can take place if and only if the predicated preceding event takes place. As I attempted to show in the glosses for ale and mai, however, ale can be used for contingent *'if'* as well as necessary precondition *'when'* (although mai *'if'* cannot be used to mean *'when'*). A preposed dependent clause marked by ale and indicating contingency is illustrated next:

---

[1] Note that ale is the form of the demonstrative (see 4.2.1.). For a discussion of this see pages 226 and 227.

```
(401) Ale   eme    ge   lulu  ale   uru    ele,   eme    ge   lulu
      if    you(s) IRR  pick  that  great  there  you(s) IRR  pick

      e    hatavile  uru.
      NM   woman     great
```

'If you pick that mature one there you'll get an old woman.'

There are two presuppositions encoded by the subordinate clause ale eme
ge lulu ale uru ele in (401). The speaker in the story from which this
sentence is taken is a younger brother advising his older brother how
to get a nice young woman by picking a magical melon. The context is
that the speaker has discovered that if you pick a young melon you get
a young woman from it. He assumes that if you pick a mature melon you
will get an old woman. The first presupposition is that the addressee
might or might not pick a mature melon. The second presupposition is
that the possibility of this choice is now thematic in the development
of the story. The meaning of the clause expounding the sentence base
is predicated upon these two presuppositions, to the effect that given
there is a choice about to be made, the predominant fact is that picking
a mature melon (against the brother's advice) will involve getting an
old woman rather than a nubile young one as desired.

   The next example shows a preposed conditional clause marked by mai
rather than ale:

```
(402) Mai  eme    ge   pou  moli,  la  paga   isa  ka   ge   sibitala.
      if   you(s) IRR  sit  just   NM  thing  one  not  IRR  arrive
```

'If you just sit and do nothing then you will have nothing.'

   An example of a conditional topic appearing thematically (i.e. as a
focussed known theme rather than as a preposed newly-emphasised theme)
is as follows:

```
(403)a. Eme     ge   tolo  savulu-sa  gete  ualasiu  mai  la
        you(s)  IRR  chop  ten-one    plus  nine     if   NM

        luma-le     ge   malau.
        house-that  IRR  long
```

'You must chop nineteen (poles) if it's a long house.'

The thematic conditional is shown in (a), introduced by mai, and in (b)
introduced by ale and introducing an accomplished precondition or cir-
cumstance:

```
     b. Etatou     iloburuko  ale   eia  krosi-me          ele.
        we(pl.in)  upset      when  3ps  angry.at-you(s)    there
```

'We were upset when he was angry at you.'

An accomplished precondition is really a conditional presupposition
which has occurred in accomplished time rather than potentially occur-
ring in projected time (encoded by irrealis markers ge or ga - see
3.1.1.5.).

Mai can also indicate exemplification, a presupposition which states roughly: *'supposing that a situation x applies, then certain things which I am about to state would follow'*.

(404) Mai   etatou   ale   igoie mago vikapopo, etatou   igo
      like *we*(pl.in) *that today say together we*(pl.in) *do*

      sesele-a.
      *truly-*3ps

      'You know how nowadays we talk about unity, well we are really implementing the idea.'

The presupposition in (404) is that a situation pertains, namely current political talk about and public interest in national unity (surrounding the attainment of self-government) and it has relevance to the situation about which the speaker is now addressing the hearers.

c) Result/Reason

Subordinate clauses which appear only postposed to the base are those reflecting presuppositions apart from sequence and condition or circumstance, i.e. result (expectation and contra-expectation) and reason. Subordinating conjunctions encoding each of these meanings must appear, since the nature of the succeeding clause has to be specified along two distinct dimensions, namely linear sequence and expectation.

The conjunction iala *'so'* (or eala) (see (405)) introduces a 'result' clause,[1] that is, a presupposition of an **expected** result arising out of a linearly **preceding** circumstance:

(405) Eia vikapopo tomi moli-ti,   iala igoie egite
      3ps *together all just-*PERF *so today they*(pl)

      toi-l-a   vei-a   e   New Britain.
      *call-*ABL-3ps *say-*3ps NM *New Britain*

      'It's now all together in one piece so nowadays they call it New Britain.'

If a number of disparate pieces of land came together to form a new island it would be an entirely expectable postcondition that the new island should be given a separate name, hence the statement of a result topic in (405).

The conjunctional phrase iala moli *'but'* (or eala moli) introduces a contra-expectation result clause, that is it encodes a presupposition of a result from a linearly **preceding** precondition which is **contrary to reasonable expectation**:

---

[1] I have also heard the form tiele to indicate *'so'*.

(406) Egite   la soesobe   baubau, iala moli egite   kama
       they(pl) NM *young.women* rd.*sing* *but*   *they*(pl) *not*

       la soesobe,   egite   la pepe.
       NM *young.women*   *they*(pl) NM *melons*

       'There are young women there singing, but they are not really
       young women, they are melons.'

In this example from a traditional narrative (cf. (401)) the contra-
expectation postcondition and the need for its specification is very
clear. If one hears young women singing it is perfectly in line with
expectation that, upon investigation, the said young women will be
found nearby. It is important in the story then, to develop the fact
that these are magical melons that can turn into young women, contrary
to the preceding circumstance as stated in the clause expounding the
base of the sentence, and contrary to the reasonable expectation arising
from it.

    Reason is encoded by the NP la vuhu-la lit. *'the basis of it'*. This
NP is co-opted to act as a conjunction subordinating the dependent
clause to which it is preposed, which is in turn postposed to the sen-
tence base:

(407) La ilo-la   ka-ti   taritigi te   Magurei ele,   la
       NM *inside*-3ps1p   *no*-PERF *good*   PREP *Magurei* *there* NM

       vuhu-la   e   Magurei la kalia la tahalo.
       basis-3ps1p   NM *Magurei* NM *flesh* NM *man*

       'Her innermost being yearned for Magurei because he was a fine
       specimen of a man.'

A reason clause states a precondition after first stating the subsequent
result of that precondition. The **reason** so stated is in **line with
expectation**, but **out of linear sequence**. It is in terms of sequence
the reverse of a result clause, as a comparison of (407) with (405)
illustrates.

    I have argued for a focussing analysis of subordinate clauses to the
effect that they are demonstrative, deictic or anaphoric. Earlier it
was noted that ale indicating condition or circumstance has the same
form as demonstrative ale. In view of what has been demonstrated con-
cerning the focussing nature of subordination it is not surprising that
ale is used in this function (cf. also 4.2.1.). Consider further then
the morphological make-up of the subordinating conjunctions e/iala,
e/iala moli and la vuhu-la. Iala appears to be derived from the contrac-
tion of eia 3ps and -la 'demonstrative suffix', giving the literal
meaning *'it being thus ...'* which is clearly both demonstrative and
anaphoric. Iala moli is literally *'it being thus, only ...'* which
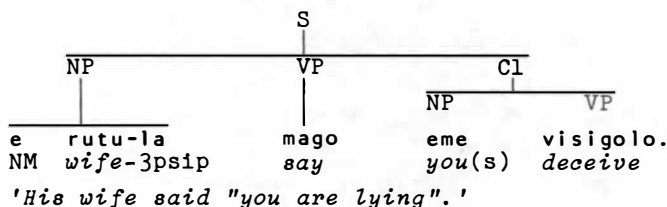amounts to *'except'* or *'but'* in English and is again both demonstrative

and anaphoric. Finally, la vuhu-la which I glossed above as *the basis of it* is also clearly anaphoric. Additionally, there are alternative forms for la vuhula, specifically te ale (PREP + *that*) used by many younger speakers, which is both demonstrative and anaphoric, and ile used by some older speakers, a term which is perhaps reducible to eia + ale + ele 3ps + *that* + *there*, which would make it demonstrative, deictic and anaphoric.

All of the presupposition-encoding clauses discussed in this section are dependent clauses which occur juxtaposed to the base of the sentence (see again the diagrammatic representation of a topic with dependent subordinate clause in (400b)). That is, although subordinate they are not embedded. There is however another type of subordinate clause in Nakanai which is embedded rather than juxtaposed, and independent rather than dependent, namely the embedded quotative complement clause.
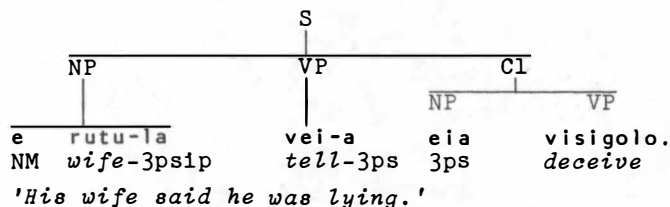
8.1.2. *EMBEDDED CLAUSES: THE QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENT SENTENCE*

Embedded complement clauses indicate intention, evaluation, or direct or indirect quotation. The simple embedding of the patient complement is dealt with under the case system as a variant realisation of the patient case (see 2.3.2.4.), which is normally filled by a NP (see 2.1.1.2.). Direct quotes are embedded in the complement of the verb mago *say* (see (408a)) while indirect quotes are embedded in the complement of the verb vei-a *tell* (see (408b)).

(408)a.

```
                         S
   ┌──────────┐    ┌────────┐    ┌──────────────────┐
   NP              VP             Cl
   |               |        ┌─────────┬──────────┐
   |               |        NP              VP
   |               |        |               |
   e    rutu-la    mago     eme        visigolo.
   NM   wife-3psip say      you(s)     deceive
   'His wife said "you are lying".'
```

b.

```
                         S
   ┌──────────┐    ┌────────┐    ┌──────────────────┐
   NP              VP             Cl
   |               |        ┌─────────┬──────────┐
   |               |        NP              VP
   |               |        |               |
   e    rutu-la    vei-a    eia        visigolo.
   NM   wife-3psip tell-3ps 3ps        deceive
   'His wife said he was lying.'
```
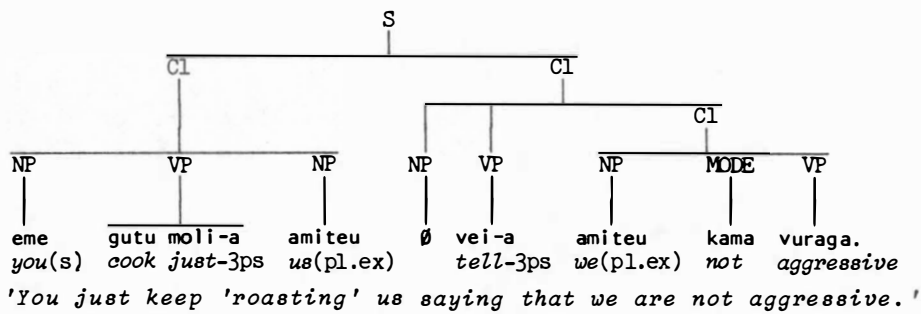
So far then there is nothing about the quotative complement that cannot be subsumed under the apparatus of the transitive clause. However we have to consider complex embedding of quotative complement

sentences in which they occur in simultaneous co-ordination sentences (see 8.2.2.). For example in (409) an indirect quote sentence is shown in co-ordination with another clause with coreferential deletion of the topic in the second (i.e. the quotative) sentence.

(409)

```
                                      S
           ┌──────────────┴──────────────────────────┐
          Cl                                         Cl
  ┌────────┼─────────┐          ┌─────────┬──────────┴────────┐
  │        │         │          │         │                  Cl
  │        │         │          │         │          ┌────────┼────────┐
  NP       VP        NP         NP        VP         NP      MODE      VP
  │        │         │          │         │          │        │        │
 eme   gutu moli-a  amiteu      Ø       vei-a      amiteu    kama    vuraga.
you(s) cook just-3ps us(pl.ex)         tell-3ps   we(pl.ex)  not    aggressive
```

'You just keep 'roasting' us saying that we are not aggressive.'

Reported thoughts, feelings and intentions occur encoded in such co-ordinated sentences, the quotation complement clause following a transitive clause predicated on one of the following verbs with suffix -a appearing:

Awareness Verbs		Evaluative Verbs	
rovi	*'know'*	taritigi	*'good'*
hilo	*'see'*	sesele	*'true'*
gabu	*'think/feel'*	koramuli	*'sufficient/fitting'*
lolo	*'hear'*	vagari	*'difficult'*
masaga	*'want'*		

As the names of these two semantic subgroupings suggest, complements associated with awareness verbs encode an indirectly quoted thought, feeling or desire, while complements associated with evaluative verbs encode an indirectly quoted evaluation.

All reported thoughts and feelings are embedded in the patient of vei-a in a clause appearing in co-ordination with another clause predicated on an awareness or an evaluative verb (after which vei-a is sometimes removed by ellipsis):[1]

(410) Egite   kama koramuli-a vei-a   [egite   ge   lololo
      they(pl) not   able-3ps   tell-3ps   they(pl)   IRR rd.hear

      isa la tahalo.]
      one NM man

      'They are simply not able to obey anyone.'

---

[1] 'Intention' can appear encoded as a quotative complement associated with any active verb, in the manner illustrated in (409).

In this example, in which the square brackets indicate the embedded
quotative clause, the second part of the co-ordinated sentence is a
quotative complement sentence predicated on **vei-a,** in which the coref-
erential topic **egite** has been deleted.

As with co-ordinated sentences in which the first part introduces a
following indirect quotation sentence, direct quotation sentences also
occur in such constructions, an example of which has already been pre-
sented diagrammatically in (409). The preceding clause in such con-
structions is most often predicated on one of the following 'speech'
verbs:

toi	*'utter'*
vei	*'tell'*
tola	*'call'*
tahi	*'ask'*
vikara	*'speak'*

Once again, as with co-ordinated sentences embedding indirect quotative
complement sentences, ellipsis of the quotative verb is an acceptable
option, due perhaps to the lexical content of the verb in the preceding
clause which renders the inclusion of **mago** *'say'* somewhat redundant.
When the preceding clause does not involve a 'speech' verb then the
quotative verb **mago** cannot be deleted, but in a dialogue exchange in
mid-discourse even **mago** itself may be omitted preceding exchanges of
conversation reported as direct speech. **Mago** is a unique verb on a
number of counts. In a co-ordinated sentence **mago** appearing in the
second clause always has a topic coreferential with the topic of the
first clause, and which is obligatorily deleted preceding the quotative
verb. Additionally, **mago** cannot occur with an accompanying modal in
the clause, nor may it be inflected. Over against this, **vei-a** can be
both modified and inflected: **Eia ge vei-ti-a giteu** *'he would already
have told them ...'.* **Mago,** then has lost most of its verbal character-
istics and has almost completely developed into an auxiliary speech
marker. It would appear then to be another exemplar of the notion of
language as wave, as developed in 7.1.1.

8.2. CO-ORDINATION

A co-ordinated sentence in Nakanai consists of a series of two or
more independent clauses or sentences indicating sequential events,
simultaneous or overlapping events, a comment on or amplification of
an event or state, or a series of alternatives. In formal terms, a co-
ordination in Nakanai is consistent with the definition given by Dik
(1968:25):

> A coordination is a construction consisting of two or more
> members which are equivalent as to grammatical function,
> and bound together at the same level of structural hierarchy
> by means of a linking device.

Dik is careful to point out that the 'linking device'

> can either consist in the mere juxtaposition of the co-
> ordinated members ..., or in the use of one or more co-
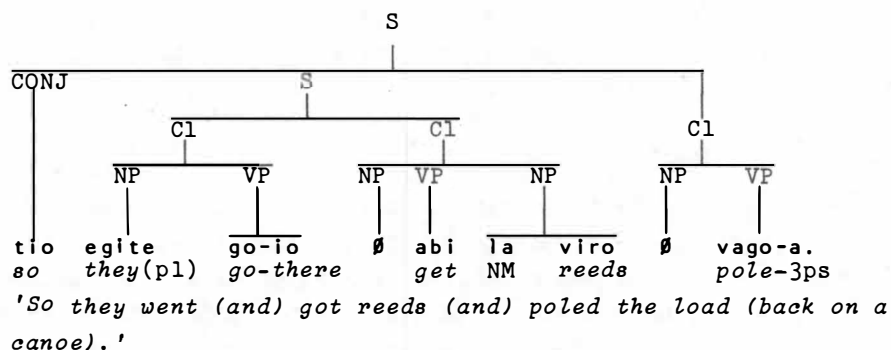> ordinating particles. (p.31)

In the analysis of co-ordination presented in this section I dis-
tinguish sequential sentences (8.2.1.) from sentences indicating sim-
ultaneous relationships between co-ordinated members (8.2.2.). Sequence
is indicated by interposition of the conjunction tio *'then'* or by a
number of other syntactic identifiers which I shall consider shortly.
Simultaneous co-ordination is indicated by the potential interposition
of conjunction me *'and'* between the co-ordinated members (see 8.2.2.1.).
Disjunction is indicated by the obligatory interposition of conjunction
(ou)ka *'or'* (lit. *'no'*) between the co-ordinated members (see 8.2.2.2.).
Amplification or parallelism between co-ordinated members is indicated
by juxtaposition of elements, accompanied by repetition of participants
or predicates (see 8.2.2.3.).

8.2.1. SEQUENCE SENTENCE

8.2.1.1. Chaining and Embedding of Sequence Sentences

Sequence is indicated by juxtaposition of clauses, or by interposition
of the sequence conjunction tio *'then/so'* (or oraet from Pidgin orait)
joining motions in a sequence. The last clause in a sequence optionally
indicates a state or a non-motion action indicating the completion of
the sequence. Sequences with a coreferential topic shared by the clauses
in the sequence may be **chained** (see chapter VII) with deletion of the
coreferential topic:

(411)

```
                                    S
                                    |
CONJ                    S                                       
 |                      |                                       
 |         Cl                      Cl                    Cl
 |      NP      VP       NP  VP       NP        NP    VP
 |      |       |        |   |        |         |     |
tio   egite   go-io      Ø  abi      la  viro   Ø   vago-a.
so    they(pl) go-there     get      NM  reeds       pole-3ps
```

*'So they went (and) got reeds (and) poled the load (back on a
canoe).'*

In 7.0.2. I foreshadowed the discussion of motion coverbs goio and gomai in an auxiliary type of function. In (411) the presence of a chained clause with goio forms an embedded sentence which in turn chains with the clause egite vago-a which of course has the coreferential topic deleted. Also in 7.0.2. as well as in the section on sequencing topics in the present chapter (see 8.1.1.(a)) I discussed the matter of recapitulation of material from the last clause of a preceding sentence as the topic of the following sentence, giving both cohesion and sequence to the two sentences so joined. So there are two syntactic devices in Nakanai for linking sentences together into a sentence grouping, specifically **auxiliary chaining** and **recapitulation**, and there are two syntactic devices for linking clauses together into sentences, namely chaining and sequencing by interposition of the **conjunction tio** or by **juxtaposition** of clauses. Thus the sentence level in Nakanai with regard to sequencing has complex multiple embedding of sentences. Another way to look at it would be to see **recapitulation** as defining a syntactic 'paragraph' (i.e. the paragraph ends when the recapitulation stops) and to define discourse syntactically as a concatenation of paragraphs or sentences in which auxiliary chaining is maintained. I will now illustrate complex embedding of sentences as outlined above, in the presentation, analysis and discussion of a sample text.

8.2.1.2. A Sample Narrative Text[1]

In the presentation of a sample narrative text in this section, clauses are given on separate lines, referenced by letters a, b, c and so on, and grouped in numbered 'paragraphs', i.e. sentence groupings, semantic chunks of the discourse which are also internally cohesive syntactically due to the operation of recapitulation and auxiliary chaining. Chained sequences of clauses, embedded clauses, relative clauses and nominal topics are all listed within one clause complex on one line, rather than being broken up into their separate elements and rendered on separate lines of the text. These numbered sentence groupings further group into higher-order semantic 'episodes' of the narrative (see 8.2.1.3.). Structural linkage is symbolised by ligatures on the left, the syntactic indicators of linkage being marked by underlining.

---

[1] The full lexical and grammatical analysis of this text is given in Appendix B.

TEXT: How I Set up a Village Copra Business

(A Contemporary Narrative by Councillor Lulubo Vitata)

SCENE 1: THE VILLAGE

1a. Eau popou gabutatala,
I sat and thought continuously

b. la vuhula la maututula usu, egite hiliti te la bisnis,
because many villages were progressing in business,

c. goio, eau goio igo isa e belo.
so I rang the bell.

d. Eau igo isa e belo,
Ringing the bell,

e. tola vikapopo egite la valalua e hatavivile,
I called together the men and the women

f. eau goio tahl egite la mani.
and asked them for money.

2a. Oraet, egite goio abiagu isasasa, isasasa,
Well they went and gave me single dollar notes each,

b. isahari ilalua,
some two dollars each,

c. egite goio abiagu ilalua.
they gave me two dollars each.

d. Eau toia giteu ilalua,
I told them two dollars each,

e. iala moli isahari abia isasasa.
but some gave only one dollar each.

f. Mai egite ouka la mani,
If they didn't have any money,

g. o, egite ababia isasasa,
well, they gave one dollar each,

h. o, egite ale la mani ilua oio tegite, egite abia ilalua,
and those who had a bit of money gave two dollars each,

i. egite abi tomiagu ilalua tomi kaluvu.
they all gave me two dollars each.

3a. Tio, eau goio gigia la mani ele.
So I went and counted that money.

b. Eau goio gigia la mani ele,
I went and counted that money,

c. eia koramuli la salatu isa.
and it came to more than one hundred dollars.

d. Tio, eau goio veimatagagea giteu mago,
So, I went and explained that to them saying,

e. taritigi, etatou ge soko isa la gauru tegatou
good, we shall start a way of our own

te la bisnis te la liu, te la kopra.
with a coconut business, with copra.

SCENE 2: THE OFFICE

4a. **Tio, amite goio pou.**
Well, we then waited.

b. **Pou, eau goio te didiman oio e Hoskin,**
Waiting, I went to the agricultural officer at Hoskins

c. **eau goio kaka isa la luma.**
I went and asked for a house.

d. **Amila vikarakara.**
We talked.

e. **Vikarakara, eau goio masaga la luma, la luma la liu,**
Talking, I went and (said I) wanted a house, a coconut

  te la gulutu la liu.
  house, for cooking coconuts (= preparing smoked copra).

5a. **Tio, e didiman goio vei rivuagu mago**
Well, the agricultural officer replied saying

b. **eme ge beua, goio la mautu, pou muga,**
you should return to the village and wait,

c. **eau ge baha ilua e didiman soiole, ge gigi la liu**
I will send two extension officers out, and they will

  tamutou.
  count your coconuts.

SCENE 3: THE VILLAGE

6a. **Tio, e didiman goio baha ilua soio la mautu tamiteu,**
So, the agricultural officer sent two officers to our village,

b. **goio, egira gigi la liu.**
then, they counted the coconuts.

c. **Egira gigia,**
They counted them,

d. **gigia, gigi kaluvua,**
counted them completely,

e. **io, la liu tamite usu agi.**
and, our coconuts were plentiful.

7a. **O, egira beua.**
Well, they returned.

b. **Beua, egira veiale didiman.**
Returning, they told the agricultural officer.

234

SCENE 4: THE OFFICE

8a. **Tio,** la haro isa **eau golo sibitala** oilo te didiman ele.
*Well, one day I arrived in the agricultural officer's
office.*

b. **Sibitala tetala, amila vikarakara.**
Arriving thus, we conversed.

c. **Amila vikarakara, eia** goio **veiagu mago,**
We conversed, and he went and said to me,

d. **Ia liu taume usu agi, usu pepeho,**
your coconuts are plenteous,

e. **eia koramuli la luma isasa,**
enough for one house,

f. **io, eau ge tahime,**
so, I will ask you,

g. **eme masaga la luma ale mave,**
what kind of house (= boiler) do you want,

h. **ale nabatu ka ale nabauan?**
(plan) number two or number one?

9a. **Eau** goio **vei rivuala,**
I replied

b. **mago, eau masaga e nabauan.**
I want number one

10a. **Tio, eia** goio **mago,**
Then, he said,

b. **oraet, eme ge gomuli la mautu, pou,**
very well, go back to the village and wait,

c. **eau ge mulimuli ge baha isa la kamda soiole,**
later I will send a carpenter out

d. **eia ge voku la luma tamutou me la valalua taume.**
and he will build the house for you and your people.

11a. **Tio, amila** goio **pou,**
So we went and sat down,

b. **eau** goio **tahia mago,**
I asked him,

c. **la mapa la luma iriva?**
how much is that house?

d. **Eia** goio **veiagu mago,**
He said,

e. **la salatu itolu.**
three hundred (dollars).

SCENE 5: THE VILLAGE

12a. Tio, eau beua goio |la mautu,|
So I went back to the village,

b. eau tola vikapopo egite la valalua, tahi egiteu,
and I called together the people, asking them,

c. isahari masagea,
and some wanted it (i.e. to go ahead)

d. isahari ouka,
(while) others didn't,

e. o, amite tilimuli moli la gabutatalala tamiteu ale masageao.
so, we followed the wishes of we who wanted it.

13a. O, amite goio pou.
So we went and waited.

b. Pou,
(we) waited,

c. goio e didiman bahea la tahalo itolu muga,
and the agricultural officer sent three men first,

d. goio, egite goio maki la muli la mak, kaluvua.
and they went and marked out the building, finishing the job.

14a. Tio, |mulimuli| la tahalo iluale tuga, beua, goio e Hoskin,
Then, later those two men returned to Hoskins,

b. isa moliti korae,
(while) one stayed,

c. amite goio vokua.
(and) we built it.

d. Amite vokua,
We built it,

e. voku kaluvua,
completing it,

f. tio, eau goio igoa e belo, tola vikapopo egiteu,
then, I rang the bell, calling them together,

g. amiteu kivung te la bisnis.
(and) we had a business meeting.

15a. Tio, amite goio pou,
Well, we went and sat down,

b. eau goio veipalea giteu la gabutatalala taku te la
(and) I went and explained to them my ideas on how

gauru la igogulu la liu,
to run the copra business,

c. egite loloa,
(and) they heard it,

d. egite sagege.
(and) they were happy.

8.2.1.3. Analysis of the Sample Text

The reader will have noticed that the text is divided into five
'episodes' on the basis of scene changes. Each new scene is marked by
a coverb introducing a new location, notated as follows (e.g. sentence
4b) oio e Hoskin *'at Hoskins'*. In 8a there is also a temporal set-
ting, la haro isasa *'one day'*, which I have also circled. The sentences
and embedded groups of sentences within each episode form a semantic
grouping of sentences with linking devices similar to those described
for linking clauses into sentences.[1] I term the linkages so formed
'sequence sentence grouping', amplification sentence grouping', and so
on. These groupings occur within episodes as follows:

TABLE 6
Linkage of Sentence Groupings into Semantically-defined
Episodes in Sample Text

Episode	Sentence Groupings	Scene	Shift of Main Protagonists
1	1, 2, 3	the village	Councillor > the people > councillor
2	4, 5	the office	Councillor > agricultural officer
3	6, 7	the village	Africultural extension officers
4	8, 9, 10, 11	the office	Africultural officer > Councillor > Agricultural officer > Councillor
5	12, 13, 14, 15	the village	Councillor > Agricultural officer > the people > councillor

Throughout the text I have underlined syntactic features of recapit-
ulation, auxiliary motion verbs, and conjunctions. Within sentence
groupings these features define the sentence groupings (or narrative
'paragraphs') syntactically, and within and between sentences they
define the sentence syntactically. In the following table I outline
the complete syntactic analysis of episode 1 from the level of the clause
up. Sentence types forming the components of the sentence groups or
appearing embedded in other sentences are named on the right-hand side
of the table. Some of these are simultaneous co-ordination sentence
types, which have yet to be discussed in the next section (8.2.2.).

----

[1]Cf. Allen's analysis of relationships between sentence and discourse in Halia, an
Oceanic Austronesian language of Bougainville (Allen 1972:1-15).

TABLE 7

Diagrammatic Representation of the Syntactic Structure
of the First Episode of Sample Text

```
                                             ┌ I   Reason Topic S ──┐la
                          ┌ A Sequence S ────┤ link: goio           │link: la vuhula
       1                  │                  └ II Chained S ─────────│lb
    Sequence              │                                          │lc
    Sentence ─────────────┤ link: recapitulation
    Grouping              │
                          │                  ┌ III Chained S ────────│ld
                          │                  │                       │le
                          └ B Sequence S ────┤ link: goio
                                             └ IV clause ──────────── lf

                    ─────── link: oraet (cf. tio)

                          ┌ C Amplif.  S ────┤ I ──────── Cl ──────── 2a
                          │                  │ II ─────── Cl ───────── 2b
                          │                  └ III ────── Cl ───────── 2c
                          │
                          ├ link: Ø
       2                  │                  ┌ IV Contraex Topic S ──┐2d
    Amplif.               │                  │                       │link: iala moli
    Sentence ─────────────┤ D Amplif.        │                       │2e
    Grouping              │   Sentence ──────┤ link: Ø
                          │   Grouping       │                       ┌ V₁-Topic S │2f
                          │                  │            ┌ V Assoc S ┤            │link: o
                          │                  │            │           │── link: o  │2g
                          │                  └            │           └ V₁₁-Cl── 2h
                          ├ link: Ø
                          └ E   Cl ───────────────────────────────── 2i

                    ─────── link: tio

                          ┌ F Sequence       ┌ I   Chained S ──────── 3a
       3                  │   Sentence ───────┤ link: recapitulation
    Sequence ─────────────┤   Grouping        └ II Sequence Topic S──│3b
    Sentence              │                                          │3c
    Grouping              ├ link: tio + goio
                          └ G ──────────────── III Chained S with
                                                   embedded quota-   │3d
                                                   tive S ───────────│3e
```
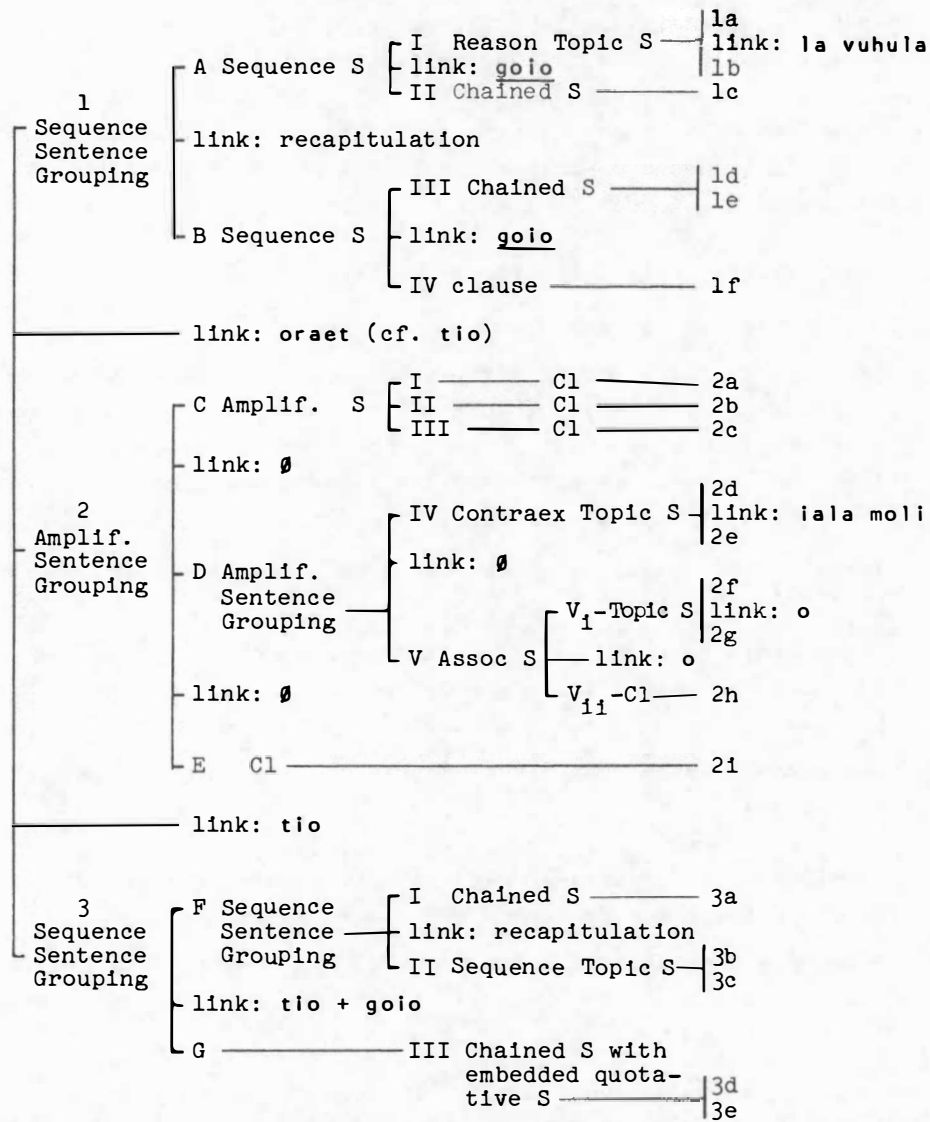
238

Table 7 then, is a diagrammatic specification of the first episode
of the narrative text in 8.2.1.2. This representation should suffice
to illustrate factors of syntactic embedding and grammatical linkage as
they operate in Nakanai narrative discourse.[1] All but one of the topic
sentence variants are shown in the table, as well as quotative comple-
ment sentences. Sequential co-ordination is also shown, with only the
alternation type of sentence missing out of the range of sentences which
realise the simultaneous co-ordinative relationship in its various
structural manifestations.

8.2.2. *SIMULTANEOUS RELATIONSHIPS*

8.2.2.1. Association Sentence

The conjoining of clauses in simultaneous association encodes simul-
taneous actions or overlapping states or processes, i.e. a group predi-
cation associated in some way other than by temporal sequence. The co-
ordinating link me *'and'* is optional, and coreferential topics in suc-
cessive conjoined clauses are repeated rather than deleted:

(412) Etato   ge gogo   egiteu,   me etatou   ge puli
      we(pl.in) IRR *sorry.for* *them*(pl)   *and* *we*(pl.in) IRR *bring*

      egiteu   te   la gauru ale   taritigi.
      them(pl.in) PREP NM *road* *that* *good*

      'We should be sorry for them and help put them on the straight
      and narrow.'

In most cases however, the clause topics are different in successive
conjoined clauses:

(413) La   mautu   e   Galilo muga, me   Kimbe la va-ilua-la.
      NM *village* NM *Galilo* *first* *and* *Kimbe* NM caus-*two*-nom

      'Galilo village was first and Kimbe came second.'

Embedding and topicalisation can occur within co-ordinated members,
for example the second clause in (413) could be elaborated by a reason

---

[1]Other discourse types, as yet not fully analysed, appear to be of explanation and
exhortation genres. A fairly detailed but merely notional survey of a number of non-
narrative texts showed that sentence groupings linked internally by recapitulation and
auxiliary motion verbs do not occur outside of the narrative genre, although multiple
co-ordinative embedding does occur, at least on a semantic basis, with conjunctions
joining the embedded elements internally and externally. Compare Longacre's remarks
(1974:167):

> Narrative can be systematically distinguished in various ways from other
> discourse genre. Above all, narrative contains plot. The plot structure
> of the rhetorician is related to but not isomorphic with the surface
> structure grammar on the discourse level.

topic clause such as la vuhula egite kama mas tigi *'because they didn't march well'*.

I shall discuss two distinct variants of the simultaneous relationship, the alternation sentence (8.2.2.2.) and the amplification sentence (8.2.2.3.) before going on to conclude with a discussion of co-ordinated NPs and the problem of the individual relationships of co-ordinated NPs to a single predicate (see 8.2.3.).

8.2.2.2. Alternation Sentence

Disjunction encodes co-ordinated alternatives. The disjunct co-ordinator is (ou)ka *'or'* (literally *'no'*).[1] The co-ordinator must appear, and is interposed between the disjunctive elements. In the first example, an amplificatory (paraphrase) sentence (see 8.2.2.3.) appears as the disjunct element:

(414) Egite   ge   rasi-me,   ouka egite   ge
      they(pl) *IRR* *sorcerise-you*(s) *or*   *they*(pl) *IRR*

      bili-me,   egite   ge   kue-me.
      strike.down-you(s) *they*(pl) *IRR* *strike-you*(s)

      'They will sorcerise you, or they will strike you down, they'll beat you up.'

The disjunct element can be reduced by ellipsis of repeated material from the first clause:

(415) Eme   masaga ale   nabatu,   ka (eme   masaga) ale
      you(s) *like* *that* *number.two* *or* *you*(s) *like* *that*

      nabauan?
      number.one

      'Do you like the second or the first one?'

Most often however, disjunction appears with simply a negative particle as the second (i.e. the alternative) element:

(416) Egite   vei-a   ge   va-ubibi   le   amutou, ka ouka?
      they(pl) *say*-3ps *IRR* *rec-rd.shoot* *ABL* *you*(pl) *or* *no*

      'Did they intend to fight against you, or not?'

There is no limit to the number of disjunct members, and, as can be seen from the last two examples, the disjunct can be an interrogative querying alternative possibilities.

---

[1] Ouka would appear then, in this context, to be indicating the option of a negative conditional presupposition, i.e. Possibly X, but if not X, then Y. However (ou)ka appears only in postposed clauses, occurring obligatorily, and sometimes preceding ouka (see (416)). It most often appears shortened to ka and is developing the functional and distributional character of a conjunction.

8.2.2.3. Amplification Sentence

Amplificatory association is a lexically and structurally restricted form of conjunction which encodes parallel relationships, paraphrasing, repetition, or listing for rhetorical effect. In paraphrasing succeeding clauses state a specific variant, a negated antonym, a synonym or amplification of what was predicated in the first clause. At least two NPs, VPs or modals must be paraphrased across the conjoined elements.

The first example illustrates statement-specific paraphrase:

(417) Amite   pou galili la olu   e Lolo, e Rikau
      we(pl.ex) *sit around* NM *mountain* NM *Lollo* NM *Rikau*

      lo-ata, e Gule lo-muli,   e Malalia lo-lau, e Moramora
      from-up NM *Gule from-east* NM *Malalia at-sea* NM *Moramora*

      lo-talo, io la olu   uru   e Lolo kabili.
      at-down *so* NM *mountain* *great* NM *Lollo middle*

      '*We dwell around Mount Lollo; Rikau is inland, Gule is east,*
      Malalia is seaward, Moramora is westward, and the great mountain
      Lollo is in the middle.'

In (417) the general statement in the first clause is elaborated by four specific statements in succession, and a summary statement in the last clause. The paraphrasing clauses are all stative, being of the form   NP   + lo-LOC.
      [LOC]

The second example illustrates negated antonymy:

(418) Amutou   kama roromuli la mata tegatou,   ale ge tau-a
      you(pl) *not obey*   NM *eye* *our*(pl.in) *that* IRR *put*-3ps

      amutou   ge go-mai harari,   la hararo tomi moli
      you(pl) IRR *go-here* rd.*quickly* NM rd.*day* *all* *just*

      amutou   guvi   mulimuli.
      you(pl) *arrive* *late*

      '*You don't keep the time we've set for you to come early; every-*
      day you arrive late.'

Note that in (418) the pronoun amutou is repeated, and the act of arriving late in the second clause is contrasted with the ideal of arriving on time or early, stated in the relative clause in the first part of the sentence.

The next example illustrates equivalent (synonymous) paraphrase:

(419) La pepa, egite   igogolu-a te   la obu, egite   la
      NM *paper* *they*(pl) *make*-3ps PREP NM *wood* *they*(pl)· NM

      gale isasa, egite   voku la pepa te   la obu.
      area *one* *they*(pl) *make* NM *paper* PREP NM *wood*

      '*As for paper, they make it from wood - the people of a certain*
      country make paper from wood.'

In (419) the verbs in the successive co-ordinated topic sentence, i.e. igogolu and voku (P) *'make'*, are synonymous. Egite, the topic of the first sentence, is expanded as the topic of the second sentence, while the goal-NP te la obu is repeated in both sentences.

Finally, I illustrate amplified equivalent paraphrase:

(420) Egite   tou,   egite   tomi tou.
      they(pl) *refuse* *they*(pl) *all* *refuse*
      'They refused, they all refused.'

In this example the direct equivalence across the two clauses underlines the amplification ascribed by tomi *'all'*: *'they refused, they all refused'*.

In rhetorical listing, repetition, or elaboration, all syntactic elements of the first clause or sentence must be paralleled in the associated clauses or sentences of the conjoined structure. A summary statement is often given as a conclusion to the sentence:

(421)

Cl_1: Egite   tokoromo-ti-a   isahari egiteu   la iaia-le,
      they(pl) *decorate*-PERF-3ps *some*   *they*(pl) NM *rd.fish-there*

Cl_2: isahari tokoromo-a   e talele-o,
      some   *decorate*-3ps NM *garfish-there*

Cl_3: isahari tokoromo-a   e kalebu,
      some   *decorate*-3ps NM *leather-jacket*

Cl_4: tokoromo-a   e ruka,
      decorate-3ps NM *barracuda*

Cl_5: isahari tokoromo-a   egite   tomi, e pokio-le.
      some   *decorate*-3ps *they*(pl) *all* NM *shark-there*
      'They were decorated as various kinds of fish - some were decor-
      ated as garfish, some as leatherjackets, some as barracudas, some
      as other kinds of fish, such as the shark.'

The first clause states the general grounds of the statement which is elaborated in the following four clauses. Clauses 2 to 4 state the parallel associations, which encode specific examples. The final clause states the summary, with the NP e pokiole being added as a postscript. Grammatical features of this example, apart from the parallel type of amplificatory simultaneous co-ordination which it is illustrating, are as follows: the 3ps marker -a is used to encode an agentless relation-ship (see 4.1.2.2.), while the coreferential topic is deleted on one of four potential repetitions, the next-to-last. This latter fact shows that the general requirement that the coreferential topic be retained in simultaneous co-ordination does not necessarily apply under condi-tions of repeated amplification. A final grammatical observation re-garding (421) is that the clauses are juxtaposed. This is not

obligatorily so for parallel amplificatory structures, the co-ordinated elements of which are sometimes joined by co-ordinating conjunction me *'and'* as shown in (422):

(422) Eia suli-au te   la igogolu tegiaku,   me   eia suli-au
      3ps *help-me* PREP NM *work*   *my*   *and* 3ps *help-me*

      te   la pulou   tegiaku o-io,   me   eia suli-au te
      PREP NM *sitting* *my*   *at-there* *and* 3ps *help-me* PREP

      la kavovou-la.
      NM *stroll*-nom

   'He helped me with my work, he helped me in my home life there,
   and helped me in my free time.'

Something of the rhetorical effect of parallel amplification can be seen from this and the previous example.

   The final example shows that an amplification sentence, along with other types of sentence, can be embedded in a co-ordinate sentence. In (423) there are two co-ordinated parts. In the latter part, there are in turn two more parts, the latter sequentially developing the former. Within this sequence is embedded an amplification sentence. I present the sentence first with numbered clauses (a) then the diagrammatic representation (b) using the clause indices as points of reference. Ø represents the deleted coreferential topic.

(423)a. 1. O   egite   go-io.
           so   *they*(pl) *go-there*

      2. Ø ga   baha lou   isa,
           IRR *send* *again* *one*

      3. eia tou,
         3ps *refuse*

      4. o,   egite   go-io
         then,   *they*(pl) *go-there*

      5. Ø baha lou   isa,
           send *again* *one*

      6. egite   tou,
         they(pl) *refuse*

      7. egite   tomi tou.
         they(pl) *all*   *refuse*

   'So they went and tried to send one of their number, but he
   refused, then they went and told another to go but everyone
   refused, they all refused.'

   The structure of (423a) is shown in (b):

(423)b.
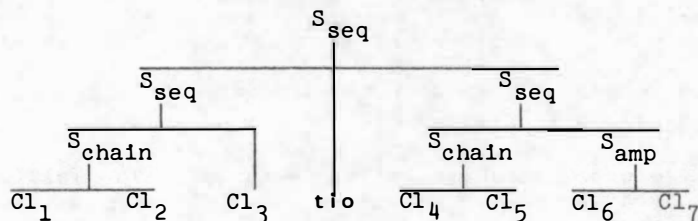
In (b) S_{seq} symbolises a sequence sentence (see 8.2.1.) while S_{chain} symbolises a chained sequence sentence (see 7.2.3.). The sentence is made up of two co-ordinated embedded sequence sentences joined by the sequencing conjunction tio.[1]

8.2.3. CO-ORDINATED NPs

Co-ordinated and serial NPs were discussed initially in 6.5.2. It remains only to explore a little further some particularities of the nature of the semantic and syntactic relationships which pertain between members of a nominal co-ordinate and the rest of the clause in which they appear. NPs are usually co-ordinated by juxtaposition rather than by the conjunction me.

A co-ordinated NP in the clause topic position indicates concomitant involvement of two participants in an action or state rather than contemporaneous but separate repetitions of an event. The latter is indicated in Nakanai by clause chaining or by ellipsis.

(424)a. E   hatavivile, la valalua, egite   o-io   po-pou.
        NM   *women*   NM *men*   *they*(pl) *at-there* rd-*sit*
        '*The women and the men are there waiting.*'

The above formulation can be rendered with ellipsis of all but the topic of the second clause:

     b. E hatavivile   o-io   po-pou, la valalua.
        NM *women*   *at-there* rd-*sit* NM *men*
        '*The women are there waiting, and the men.*'

The translation of (b) appears to indicate a change of emphasis, but I tend to think of (b) as an optional rendering with the same meaning and emphasis as (a), and certainly my informants regarded it this way. However, (a) cannot be rendered with simultaneous conjoined sentences.

---

[1] The symbols S_{seq}, etc. are not used elsewhere in this study, and are therefore not listed in the abbreviations at the beginning of the study.

```
      a. *E   hatavivile  o-io      po-pou,  la  valua  o-io      po-pou.
          NM  women       at-there  rd-sit   NM  men    at-there  rd-sit
```

A disjunct (alternation) sentence can also appear as the clause topic, with following ellipsis:

```
(425) Eia  ge    soioge   e   hatavivile,  ouka  ge   la  valalua,
      3ps  IRR   perhaps  NM  women        or    IRR  NM  men

      egite      so-io     po-pou-o?
      they(pl)   to-there  rd-sit-there
```
'Are those perhaps women, or men, (I can see) sitting together down there?'

Clause chaining is used to indicate concomitant involvement of non-actor participants in an event:

```
(426)a. E    Daniel,  eia  rovi-rovi  la  giligi,   la  kekesi.
        NM   Daniel   3ps  rd-know    NM  reading   NM  writing
```
'Daniel knows how to read and write.'

Compare (a) with (b), which sentence it parallels, except that (b) has modal and locative material postposed:

```
      b. Eau  vipoga  e   Kansel,     e   Komiti     alalavi    o-talo
         I    meet    NM  Councillor  NM  Committee  yesterday  at-down

         e   Hoskin.
         NM  Hoskins
```
'I met the Councillor and the Ward Committee yesterday down at Hoskins.'

The situation represented in (a) and (b) can also occur with extreme ellipsis, as in (c):

```
      c. E    Mou  me   Mahuma,  egira     masaga  la  ilali  tegite
         NM   Mou  and  Mahuma   they(du)  like    NM  food   their(pl)

         vovokakea,  tegatou      e   vokurukuru.
         whitemen    our(pl.in)   NM  blackmen
```
'Mou and Mahuma like whitemen's food, as well as blackmen's.'

This is an interesting example in that both actor and patient NPs are co-ordinated, with (optional) ellipsis of the repeated NP.

Separate repetitions of the same action (rather than concomitant involvement of two participants in the same action) are encoded as a chained sequence with coreferential topic deletion. Gapping of the coreferential verb may also occur:

```
(427) Egite     igogolu  la  made,   (igogolu)  la  haro  lua.
      they(pl)  work     NM  Monday  work       NM  day   two
```
'They worked on Monday, and again on Tuesday.'

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this study the place of verbs in the grammar has been relegated to the lexicon, where ultimately the necessity to provide the fine details of their occurrence will overtake the analyst. Fine points of nominal and adverbial operation have also been so approached. Topicalisation, chaining and subordination have loomed large, while derivation and inflection have been considered in lesser detail. Future work on the Nakanai language will need to place the present analysis in diachronic context, thus gaining more clarity on problems which have been skirted, and confirming some of the conclusions from those parts of the analysis which are more detailed.

Nakanai appears to be conservative to a degree, in that it has formally retained certain Oceanic grammatical features. The language is also, however, innovative in the deletion of categories, and in the simplification and reanalysis of those categories which have persisted. This has issued forth in the underdifferentiation of contrast of certain grammatical elements, such as accusative marking, which are controlled partially by factors of context. As analysis proceeded, I became aware that contextual factors were increasingly making an impact on forms and structures in the grammar, an impact which I felt could only be ignored at the expense of a convincing account of the grammar.

There is then, a difficult and subtle degree of contextual marking in Nakanai characterised in nearly every instance by incomplete contrast: in some contexts a feature may optionally appear, but in others it must not appear.

A concluding remark, even if only in very general terms, relating the study to a comparative linguistic perspective, would seem warranted. Nakanai is a language which appears to be committed to the revision of Oceanic grammatical categories in terms of deletion (e.g. the transitive

suffix of POC has been deleted), reanalysis (e.g. the apparent partial replacement of *-Caki by le), simplification (e.g. the institution of a gender-type system of inalienable possession, with only two classes of possession, alienable versus inalienable), and underdifferentiation (e.g. 3ps 'object' marking with -a) of categories. Although a degree of decrement and reanalysis is an ever-present fact of language, if it is true that "Language, taken as real, is something which constantly and in every moment passes away",[1] then certainly Nakanai does not impress as an exception.

One asks, then, with Goodenough (1961a:111-14) and Chowning (1976a: 189) if this is a language of Pacific emigrants, simplified over centuries following their departure from an intermediate island homeland, perhaps in eastern Oceania. Change and simplification could have been exacerbated in degree by prolonged contact with tribes of other Austronesian-speaking peoples resident in New Britain from more ancient times, perhaps from the west.

---

[1]Wilhelm von Humboldt, cited in Salus 1969:184.

NAKANAI PHONOLOGY[1]

A1. INTERPRETATION OF AMBIVALENT SEGMENTS

A1.1. *INTERPRETATION OF UNITS*

A1.1.1. Interpretation of High Vocoids

Vocoid clusters of two to four vocoids containing high vocoids [i] or [u] occur word initially, medially and finally, as in:

[ɛiˈau]	*'I'*
[la uˈaga]	*'canoe'*
[goiˈolɛ]	*'go there'*
[mauˈabɛ]	*'soft'*
[alɛˈiɛ]	*'that one there'*
[paˈua]	*'stupid'*

Both high vocoids have been interpreted as vowels in all environments because of the following constraints:

(1) Sequences of univalent vocoids occur word-initially, medially and finally:

[oˈalɛ]	*'towards Hoskins'*
[oˈata]	*'up'*
[ɛ taˈogu]	*'my namesake'*
[la lɛaˈbala]	*'the wet season'*
[baˈoa]	*'place a beam in a cross of wood'*
[la gaˈgaɛ]	*'bathing place for pigs'*
[baˈɛa]	*'send on an errand'*

---

(2) There are no instances in the language of contrast between syllabic and non-syllabic manifestations of the high vocoids.

(3) Comparisons of the lengths of words suggests that high vocoids in all positions are acting as full syllables. For example, the lengths of [mau'aɓɛ] *'soft'*, and the four-syllable word [saɛ'ala] *'climb for him'* are the same, while both are significantly longer than the three-syllable word [ma'lama] *'sweet'*; [pa'ua] *'stupid'*, and [pa'ɛa] *'look for it'*, both the same length, are significantly longer than the two-syllable word ['pala] *'before'*.

(4) Where stress occurs on the high vocoid (stress being predictable on the penultimate syllable – see section A4.1.), that vocoid is functioning as a vowel. High vocoids in other positions are potentially stressed, as each vowel in a sequence is syllabic (see A4.).

(5) Where the high vocoid occurs contiguous to a consonant or at the end of a word, it is functioning as a vowel, as there are no closed syllables and therefore no consonant clusters in Nakanai.

[ɛ dou'dou]	*'termites'*
[abitaɓu'au]	*'emulate me'*
[baɾau'tua]	*'cut it'*
[la mai'sula]	*'his nose'*
[ɛ'mɛi]	*'you'*

(6) The high vocoids may occur in all vowel positions in all or most possible combinations in a sequence, therefore acting as syllable nucleii.

A1.2. *INTERPRETATION OF SEQUENCES*

A1.2.1. Interpretation of Sequences of Two of the Same Vowel

In all examples in the following set, stress, being predictable (see A4.1.), occurs on one or other of the vowels in the sequence, whichever is penultimate. The sequence is therefore interpreted as a sequence of two vowels rather than a long vowel.

[mata'buu]	*'close your eyes'*
[aɾɛ'buu]	*'close your mouth'*
[i'ɓaa]	*'four'*
[la iɓa'ala]	*'fourth'*
[go'goo]	*'smouldering'*
[la' baa]	*'a space'*

A1.2.2. Interpretation of the Contoid Cluster [ts]

The contoid cluster [ts] only occurs in free fluctuation with [t] before /i/. It is therefore an allophone of /t/ (see A2.3.1.), and is interpreted as a single contoid. There are no univalent consonant clusters in Nakanai, thus this interpretation of [ts] is further justi-fied on the grounds of internal consistency.

    [ɛ'tsila]/[ɛ'tila]   *'mother'*

    [la u'atsI]/[la u'atI]   *'stone'*

A2. THE PHONEME

The phoneme is regarded as the smallest discrete unit in the phono-logical hierarchy.

A2.1. *CHART OF PHONEMES*

A2.1.1. Consonants

Place of Articulation / Manner of Articulation	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops – voiceless	p	t	k	
– voiced	b	d	g	
Fricatives – voiceless		s		h
– voiced	v			
Vibrant		r		
Frictionless continuants	m	l		

A2.1.2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

A2.2.   *PHONEMIC CONTRASTS*

A2.2.1.   Consonantal Contrasts

   Consonants contrast with regard to manner and place of articulation.
Bilabials /p b v m/ contrast initially and medially.

        /la paga/   *'thing'*
        /la baga/   *'large crushing stone'*
        /la vaga/   *'pig food'*
        /la maga/   *'light'*

        /sipa/   *'cut hair'*
        /la liba/   *'cemetery/grave'*
        /la iva/   *'brother-in-law'*
        /la lima/   *'hand'*

Alveolars /t d s r l/ contrast initially and medially.

        /tou/   *'dislike'*
        /e doudou/ *'termites'*
        /sou/   *'dam water'*
        /rou/   *'compensate/redeem'*
        /lou/   *'go back'*

        /kiiti/   *'adhered'*
        /poukidi/   *'sit properly'*
        /kisi/   *'tie'*
        /giri/   *'tickle'*
        /la gili/   *'type of tree'*

Velars /k g/ contrast initially and medially.

        /koko/   *'defecate'*
        /gogo/   *'sorry'*

        /soko/   *'start'*
        /sogo/   *'swollen'*

Glottal /h/ contrasts with its non-occurrence, initially and medially.

        /la haro/   *'the sun'*
        /la aro/   *'cross beam'*

        /bahea/   *'send him'*
        /saea/   *'climb it'*

Voiceless stops /p t k/ contrast initially and medially.

/e pai/	*'type of fish'*
/tai/	*'too'*
/kai/	*'put on'*
/la mapa/	*'pay'*
/la mata/	*'door; opening'*
/la makau/	*'type of fish'*

Voiced stops /b d g/ contrast initially and medially.

/la beho/	*'shell for peeling vegetables'*
/e deo/	*'type of fish'*
/geo/	*'prise'*
/e bobo/	*'yellow cockatoo feather'*
/e podo/	*'pumpkin'*
/e pogo/	*'grasshopper'*

Fricatives /v s h/ contrast initially and medially.

/vali/	*'brush away; clear a path'*
/sali/	*'flow'*
/la hali/	*'obsidian'*
/tavi/	*'flimsy'*
/la tasi/	*'a place'*
/tahi/	*'ask'*

Frictionless continuants /m l/ contrast initially and medially.

/la malu/	*'bird'*
/la lalu/	*'water'*
/la tuma/	*'house louse'*
/e latula/	*'his child'*

A2.2.2. Vowel Contrasts

Vowels contrast with regard to place of articulation. Vowels /i e a o u/ contrast initially, medially and finally.

/aso/	*'smell'*
/esi/	*'scrape soil with hand'*
/isu/	*'like; desire'*
/osa/	*'flirt'*
/usu/	*'plenty'*

```
/la sasa/    'armlet'
/la sese/    'yam'
/la sisi/    'palm leaf'
/la soso/    'betel nut'
/la susu/    'milk'

/sala/       'shave'
/sale/       'empty of people'
/sali/       'flow'
/salo/       'wipe excrement'
/la salu/    'needle'
```

A2.3.   FORMATIONAL STATEMENT OF PHONEMES

PHONEME	ALLOPHONES	DESCRIPTION, OCCURRENCE, EXAMPLE

A2.3.1.   Consonants

/p/	[p]	Voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop. Occurs in all environments. /la paia/ [la pa'ia] 'dog'
/b/	[b]	Voiced bilabial stop. Occurs in all environments. /matabuu/ [mata'buu] 'close your eyes'
/t/	[t]	Voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop. Occurs in all environments. /la utu/ [la' utu] 'louse'
	[ts]	Voiceless alveolar affricate. Occurs in free fluctuation with [t], before /i/ in stressed syllables. /e tila/ [ɛ 'tsila]/[ɛ 'tila] 'my mother'
/d/	[d]	Voiced alveolar stop. Occurs in all environments. /e doudou/ [ɛ dou'dou] 'termites'
/k/	[k]	Voiceless velar unaspirated stop. Occurs in all environments. /kavovou/ [kaɓo'ɓou] 'relax'
/g/	[g]	Voiced velar stop. Occurs in all environments. /igoa/ [i'goa] 'do it'

/v/	[ƀ]	Voiced bilabial fricative; lenis articulation with some speakers.
		Occurs in all environments.
		/vore/ ['ƀoře] *'paddle'*

/s/	[s]	Voiceless alveolar fricative.
		Occurs in all environments.
		/usu/ ['usu] *'plenty'*

/h/	[h]	Voiceless glottal fricative.
		Occurs in all environments.
		/la havu/ [la 'haƀu] *'lime'*

/r/	[ř]	Voiced alveolar vibrant trill.
		Occurs in all environments.
		/uru/ ['uřu]/['uřu] *'big'*

	[ř]	Voiced alveolar flap.
		Occurs in free fluctuation with [ř] in all environments.
		/barautua/ [bařau'tua]/[bařau'tua] *'cut it'*

/l/	[l]	Voiced lateral frictionless continuant.
		Occurs in all environments.
		/goilo/ [go'ilo] *'go in'*

/m/	[m]	Voiced bilabial nasal frictionless continuant.
		Occurs in all environments.
		/la malu/ [la 'malu] *'bird'*

A2.3.2. Vowels

/i/	[i]	Voiced high close front unrounded vocoid.
		Occurs in all environments.
		/la iua/ [la i'ua] *'boil'*

	[ɪ]	Voiceless high close front unrounded vocoid.
		Occurs in free fluctuation with [i] utterance finally following /s/ and /t/.
		/pasi/ ['pasɪ]/['pasi] *'very'*
		Sometimes the articulation of the [ɪ] allophone is so lenis as to be inaudible, though this does not change the stress pattern of the word.

/e/	[ɛ]	Voiced mid open front unrounded vocoid.
		Occurs in all environments.
		/emei/ [ɛ'mɛi] *'you'*

/a/   [a]   Voiced low open central unrounded vocoid.
                      Occurs in all environments. .
                      /la lalu/ [la 'lalu] *fresh water*

           [ɔ]   Voiced low close back rounded vocoid.
                      Fluctuates freely with [a] in stressed syllables
                      between /u/ and /g/.
                      /la uaga/ [la u'ɔga]/[la u'aga] *canoe*

/o/   [o]   Voiced mid close back rounded vocoid.
                      Occurs in all environments.
                      /la bolo/ [la 'bolo] *pig*

/u/   [u]   Voiced high close back rounded vocoid.
                      Occurs except utterance finally following /m/.
                      /arebuu/ [aɾɛ'buu] *close your mouth*

           [ʉ]   /u/ is manifested by its non-occurrence utter-
                      ance finally following /m/.
                      /e latumu/ [ɛ la'tum] *your child*
                      Note this does not change the stress pattern of
                      the word.

A2.4.   DISTRIBUTION OF THE PHONEMES

A2.4.1.   General Distribution of the Phonemes in Relation to the Word (in Terms of Syllables)

A2.4.1.1.   *Consonants*

(1) As there are no closed syllable types in Nakanai, there are no consonant clusters or word-final consonants.

(2) A word need not contain a consonant, but can have up to nine consonants. /eiau/ *'I'*; /tubigologolomoliti/ *just already tricking*.

A2.4.1.2.   *Vowels*

(1) Each vowel manifests the nucleus of a syllable. /pou/ *'sit'*.

(2) With the exception of certain grammatically dependent one-syllable words, words contain two or more syllables. /la baa/ *'space'* (see section A4.2.3.).

(3) Whole word and word initial vowel clusters of two to four vowels may occur. /eiau/ *'I'*; /eiauto/ *'I myself'*.

(4) Word medial vowel clusters of two to three vowels may occur. /mauave/ *'soft'*.

(5) Word-final vowel clusters of two to three vowels may occur. /la galiau/ *'shield'*.

(6) A word may contain up to eleven syllables. /tubigologolomolitiau/ *'just already tricking me'*.

A2.4.2. Specific Distribution of the Phonemes in Relation to the Word (in Terms of Syllables)

A2.4.2.1. *Consonants*

(1) All consonants may occur in a CV syllable word initially, medially or finally. /talikarese/ *'rustling'*.

(2) All consonants and vowels co-occur in a CV syllable word initially, medially and finally. /e hatavilela/ *'his sister'*.

A2.4.2.2. *Vowels*

(1) All vowels may occur in a V syllable word initially, medially and finally. /eiau/ *'I'*.

(2) All vowels may occur in a CV syllable word initially, medially and finally. /tivura/ *'warm'*.

A3. THE SYLLABLE

A syllable is a single mora of timing with a nucleus of one vowel, an optional consonantal onset and potential stress.

A3.1. *SYLLABLE TYPES*

There are two syllable types in Nakanai: V, CV.

> V: /sa<u>ea</u>/   *'climb it'*
> CV: /u<u>su</u>/   *'plenty'*

These syllable types are contrastive, as in:

/la u.lu/	*'breadfruit tree'*	V.CV
/la lu.lu/	*'hole'*	CV.CV
/la ga.e.ke/	*'elephant grass'*	CV.V.CV
/la be.le.la/	*'her vulva'*	CV.CV.CV
/la ga.ga.e/	*'bathing place for pigs'*	CV.CV.V
/go.ga.la/	*'go outside'*	CV.CV.CV

A3.2. *DISTRIBUTION OF SYLLABLE TYPES IN RELATION TO THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD*

(1) Each syllable type may occur word initially, medially and finally. (See above examples.)

(2) Each syllable type may occur in the nucleus of the phonological word, where it takes the stress of the word.

> /paua/ [pa'ua] *'stupid'* CV.'V.V
> /la varula/ [la ɓa'r̃ula] *'his forehead'* CV.'CV.CV

(3) Each syllable type may occur in the margin of the phonological word.

> /abia/ [a'bia] *'take it'* V.'CV.V
> /la bolo/ [la 'bolo] *'pig'* 'CV.CV

(4) Syllables combine to form phonological words as shown in section A4.3.

A4. THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

The phonological word in Nakanai is a rhythmic segment with nuclear stress on the penultimate syllable, and bounded by juncture.

A4.1. *FEATURES*

A4.1.1. The distinguishing characteristic of the nuclear syllable is primary pitch. Primary intensity occurs on the first syllable. Thus primary pitch and primary intensity co-occur in two-syllable phonological words.

A4.1.2. Juncture is marked by primary intensity on the first syllable and low intensity on the last syllable. The occurrence of [ɪ] allophone of /i/ and [ʉ] allophone of /u/ may also signal final juncture if the word is utterance final.

> /kaluvuti/ [+ka͡.lu.ɓu.tɪ+]
> *'finished'*
>
> /eia gomai/ [+e͡.i.a+go͡.ma.i̯+]
> *'he comes here'*

> ^ high intensity
> ˇ low intensity
> + juncture
> ⌒ pitch
> . syllable boundaries

A4.2. *VARIATIONS*

A4.2.1. There is a **timing** feature when reduplication of a CV syllable occurs. The syllable may be reduplicated once or twice, and when one of its occurrences is stressed, the vowel of the syllable preceding the stressed syllable is lost.

/matatutulu/ [matat'tulu] *''sleepy-eyed'*
/lololo/ [l'lolo] *'listening'*
/uru pepeho/ ['uřu p'pɛho] *'very big'*
/mememe/ [m'mɛmɛ] *'shiny'*, but /mememeti/ [mɛm'mɛtɪ] *'already shiny'*

When neither or none of the occurrences are stressed, the vowel of the second-last occurrence is lost. Thus the consonant of the syllable acts as a long consonant.

/matatutuluti/ [matat:u'lutɪ] *'already sleepy-eyed'*
/lololoau/ [lol:o'au] *'listening to me'*
/uru pepehoti/ ['uřu p:ɛ'hotɪ] *'already very big'*

A4.2.2. **Morphophonemic variations** of the phonological word occur

A4.2.2.1. Where the intensifier -o is used, the stress does not shift to the penultimate position in the newly formed word, but remains static.

/alalavi/ [al'laʙi] *'yesterday'*
/alalavio/ [al'laʙio] *'day before yesterday'*

A4.2.2.2. Where the general deictic particles -e *'here'* and -o *'there'* are used, the stress may behave in either of two ways: it may shift to the final syllable, or remain static, instead of shifting to the penultimate syllable in the newly formed word.

/pou/ ['pou] *'sit'*
/poue/ ['pou'ɛ] *'sit here'*
/polo/ ['polo] *'follow'*
/poloo/ [polo'o] *'follow there'*
/la luma/ [la 'luma] *'house'*
/la lumae/ [la 'lumaɛ] *'house'*
/omuli/ [o'muli] *'eastward'*
/omulio/ [o'mulio] *'eastward there'*

The normal adaptive stress shift is demonstrated in the following examples:

/abi/ ['abi] *'get'*
/abia/ [a'bia] *'get it'*
/abitia/ [abi'tia] *'got it'*
/abimolia/ [abimo'lia] *'just get it'*
/abimolitia/ [abimoli'tia] *'just got it'*

A4.2.3.   There is a small group of words in which stress occurs on the
last syllable. /tio/ [tsi'o], and /io/ [i'o] *'so'*, both conjunctions
frequently used in stories, or as exclamations, are frequently said
with a final non-phonemic glottal stop, e.g. [tsi'oʔ]. The shortening
of /isasa/ [i'sasa] *'one'* to /isa/ [i'sa] is not accompanied by an
expected stress shift to the penultimate syllable. This word is also
frequently said with a final non-phonemic glottal stop, [i'saʔ]. Sev-
eral other words have been found which may be shortened in a similar
fashion, e.g. /gomai/ [go'mai] *'come here'* becomes [go'ma] or [go'maʔ];
/tai/ ['tai] *'too'* becomes ['ta] or ['taʔ]. This phenomenon is regar-
ded as an acceptable alternative to the longer forms of the words
concerned.

A4.2.4.   There are ten one-syllable **grammatically-dependent words** in
which the resultant lack of penultimate stress binds them rhythmically
to the following word. These are noun markers la and e, possessor te,
conjunctions me, o and le, and verbal aspects ga, ge, so and ka. But
these are nevertheless separate phonological words as they do not take
primary intensity (as distinct from pitch), as is normally the case in
the first syllable of a phonological word.

/la tuma/ [la 'tuma] *'house louse'*   ^ primary intensity
/e latula/ [ɛ la'tula] *'his child'*   ⌒ primary pitch

Also these are significant natural hesitation points in the flow of
speech, and can be repeated an indefinite number of times, thereby
acting as separate phonological words.

/eau ge ali la la la la bolo/ *'I will eat the the the the pig'*
/eau ge ge ge ali/ *'I will will will eat'*

/la bolo/ [la 'bolo] *'pig'*, but:
/labea/ [la'bea] *'throw it'*

/e podo/ [ɛ 'podo] *'pumpkin'*, but:
/etala/ [ɛ'tala] *'you and I'*

/eme ge ali/ [ɛ̂ːmɛ ɡɛ ˈâːˌi] *'you will eat'*, but:
/eme geoa/ [ɛ̂ːmɛ ɡɛˈɔə] *'you prise it'*

A4.2.5. Question particle a occurs sentence-finally with sharply-rising intonation to mark a question. It is also a one-syllable word, and grammatically dependent in that it has only grammatical meaning.

/eia tarirhgi a/ *'is it good?'*

A4.3. *THE SHAPE OF THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD*

Phonological words are comprised of syllables in the following combinations:

A4.3.1. Two Syllable Words

The two syllable types are found in all possible combinations.

V.V	/la ia/	*'fish'*
CV.CV	/la bolo/	*'pig'*
V.CV	/aso/	*'smell'*
CV.V	/geo/	*'prise'*

A4.3.2. Three Syllable Words

The two syllable types are found in all possible combinations.

V.V.V	/eau/	*'I'*
CV.CV.CV	/malama/	*'sweet'*
V.CV.CV	/uruti/	*'already big'*
CV.V.CV	/la gaeke/	*'kunai'*
CV.V.V	/beua/	*'go back'*
V.CV.V	/alia/	*'eat it'*
V.V.CV	/oata/	*'up'*
CV.CV.V	/la gagae/	*'bathing place for pigs'*

A4.3.3. Four Syllable Words

The two syllable types are found in all possible combinations.

V.V.V.V	/eiau/	*'I'*
CV.CV.CV.CV	/mememeti/	*'already shiny'*
CV.V.V.V	/aleie/	*'that one there'*
V.CV.V.V	/isusu/	*'like me'*
V.V.CV.V	/oatae/	*'up there'*
V.V.V.CV	/eauto/	*'I myself'*

V.CV.CV.CV	/abimoli/	*'just get'*
CV.V.CV.CV	/la leavala/	*'wet season'*
CV.CV.V.CV	/barautu/	*'cut'*
CV.CV.CV.V	/pigitia/	*'threw it away'*
V.CV.V.CV	/la ivaala/	*'fourth'*
CV.V.CV.V	/e doudou/	*'termites'*
V.V.CV.CV	/oatati/	*'already up'*
CV.V.V.CV	/mauave/	*'soft'*
V.CV.CV.V	/arebuu/	*'close your mouth'*
CV.CV.V.V	/gageie/	*'now'*

4.3.4. In words of five to eleven syllables, the two syllable types are found in various combinations.

V.CV.CV.CV.V /alitigia/ *'eat it well'*

CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.V /marimaritia/ *'already understand it'*

V.CV.CV.CV.CV.V.CV /abimolitiagu/ *'already gave it to me'*

CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV /vasigologolomoli/ *'just deceiving'*

CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV /tubigologolomoliti/ *'just already tricking'*

CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.V /tubigologolomolitia/ *'just already tricking him'*

CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.V.V /tubigologolomolitiau/ *'just already tricking me'*

Note: An alternative way of writing adverbs as separate words would eliminate many of the longer words in the language, e.g. ali tigia *'eat it well'*, abi moliagu *'just give it to me'*, kisi gologolo molia *'just tie it temporarily'*. In this case, verbal suffixes move to the last word in the phrase. Both ways fit in with stress patterns of the language, since the syllable carrying greatest stress is the penultimate syllable of both the word and the phrase.

SAMPLE TEXTS

The six texts analysed in the following pages are:

Text 1: An Historical Narrative - Intruders at Vilelo

Text 2: A Traditional Narrative - Big Wallaby Saves the Pigs

Text 3: A Contemporary Narrative - How I set up a Copra Business

Text 4: An Exhortation - Don't Flirt

Text 5: A Description - My Village, Rikau

Text 6: An Exposition - How Paper is Made

TEXT 1: AN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE - INTRUDERS AT VILELO

This story was told to Father Friedrich Hees by Ubala of Porapora Village and Tautele of Makasili Village, and is recorded in Hees 1915-16. An interesting feature is the stability of the grammar over the 60-year time-span since this story was recorded, and one notes too the apparent accuracy of Hees' transcription and rendering of the text, which I have changed only to agree with conventions of word-division and punctuation as used in my present orthography. I have rendered Hees' ê (phonetically ε) as e.

1. La   titima   isa,   eia   go-talo   e   Vilelo.
   NM   *steamer*   *one*   3ps   *go-down*   NM   *Vilelo*

2. Egite   poru,   egite   parau   go-ilo   la   mautu.
   they(pl)   *land*   *they*(pl)   *whites*   *go-in*   NM   *village*

3. Egiteu   gali   tavu-a   egite   Lakalal   la   malaketa.
   they(pl)   *advance*   *toward*-3ps   *they*(pl)   *Lakalai*   NM   *musket*

4. Egiteu   e   Biela,   egiteu   gali   tavu-a   egiteu,   egiteu
   they(pl)   NM   *Bialla*   *they*(pl)   *advance*   *toward*   *they*(pl)   *they*(pl)

   va-ubi.
   rec-*shoot*

5. Egite   Lakalai   hele   kaluvu,   egite   parau   ubi
   they(pl)   *Nakanai*   *flee*   *completely*   *they*(pl)   *whites*   *shoot*

   ilua   la   tavile.
   two   NM   *woman*

6. E   Tamale   Segi   magiri   moli,   e   Tavisi   su-suli-a.
   NM   *Tamale*   *Segi*   *stand*   *just*   NM   *Tavisi*   rd-*help*-3ps

7. Egirua   va-ubi   egiteu.
   they(du)   rec-*shoot*   *they*(pl)

8. Egiteu   e   parau   lo-io,   egiteu   va-ubi.
   they(pl)   NM   *whites*   *from-there*   *they*(pl)   rec-*shoot*

9. E   Tamale   Segl   ubi   egiteu   e   Luveliveli   ale   sa-sae
   NM   *Tamale*   *Segi*   *shoot*   *they*(pl)   NM   rd.*Tolai*   *that*   rd-*climb*

   te   la   titima.
   PREP   NM   *steamer*

10. E   Tamale   Segi   ubi   egiteu   usu,   egiteu   masage-a
    NM   *Tamale*   *Segi*   *shoot*   *they*(pl)   *many*   *they*(pl)   *like*-3ps

    ubi-a.
    shoot-3ps

11. Egite   parau   hele   go-lau   te   la   titima   teglteu.
    they(pl)   *whites*   *flee*   *go-sea*   PREP   NM   *steamer*   *their*(pl)

12. La   logo   eglteu   va-ubi,   va-ubi,   va-ubi.
    NM   *night*   *they*(pl)   rec-*shoot*   rec-*shoot*   rec-*shoot*

13. E   Tamale Segi kuku ta-tavu   egiteu
    NM   *Tamale Segi call rd-toward they*(pl)

14. mago: Mahure   Virerero, amutou   so-vei-ti?
    say   poor.things Vilelos   you(pl) *to-where-*PERF

15. Amutou   go-mai   koli-koli-au!
    you(pl) *go-here* rd-*help-me*

16. Egite   va-ubi,   va-ubi,   egite   hele   so-lau   te   la
    they(pl) rec-*shoot* rec-*shoot* *they*(pl) *flee* *to-sea* PREP NM

    titima   tegiteu.
    steamer *their*(pl)

Translation

1. '*A steamer came down the coast to Vilelo.*
2. *They landed, and the whites entered the village.*
3. *They advanced on the Nakanais with guns.*
4. *The Bialla people came out at them and they fought.*
5. *The Nakanais having fled, the whites shot two women.*
6. *Tamale Segi stayed, and Tavisi was helping him.*
7. *The two of them fought them.*
8. *When the whites would come, they fought.*
9. *Tamale Segi shot the Tolais who had boarded the steamer.*
10. *Tamale Segi shot many of them and they wanted to shoot him.*
11. *The whites fled back out to their ship.*
12. *That night the fight continued.*
13. *Tamale Segi called to the people exhorting them:*
14. *"Comrades of Vilelo, where have you gone?*
15. *Come and help me!"*
16. *They fought on and on (until finally) they (the intruders) fled back to their ship.'*

Comment

There is an interesting construction in #3 wherein a relationship which appears to be equally comitative and instrumental is encoded, *'they advanced on the Nakanais with guns'*. My analysis is that marking such constructions the ablative marker le occurs preceding the patient-NP. The clause should by this analysis read egiteu gali tavu le-gite Lakalai la malaketa. Clearly, however, the ablative marker is not present in #3. This could be due to language change, to faulty analysis, or to inappropriate transcription, the texts having been transcribed, according to Hees, phrase by phrase. I have very great faith in Hees' transcription, and tend to the conclusion that le is being rapidly

reanalysed in Nakanai to become a transitive marker (to replace the lost POC *-Ci) in clauses with more than one post-verbal NP in the simplex clause (see discussion in chapter III).[1]

Both focal and non-focal forms of the non-singular pronouns appear to be used interchangeably, that is, without syntactic conditioning. This is still the case in Nakanai grammar, except that pronouns when used as specifiers before nouns are rarely focal in the present-day use of the language.

TEXT 2: A TRADITIONAL NARRATIVE - BIG WALLABY SAVES THE PIGS

This story was told by Misili Mamui of Gavuvu Village. I later edited it for publication with the help of Kristop Puma, and the story appeard in Johnston 1974:26-33.

1. Ale   alaura   amutou   ge hilo la bolo vuhu
   that *long.ago* *you*(pl) IRR *see* NM *pig* *original*

   ur-uru-o,   egiteu   saga polo-polo te   la gauru
   rd-*great-there* *they*(pl) *cross* rd-*over*   PREP   NM *road*

   egiteu   pe-peho moli.
   they(pl) rd-*die* *just*

2. E   ur-uru   tegatou   pala   egiteu   balava-lava   moli
   NM rd-*great* *our*(pl.in) *before* *they*(pl) rd-*get.luckily* *just*

   la il-ali-la.
   NM nom-*eat*-3psi

3. Egiteu   kama kebo   la paa-muli-muli la bolo vuhu
   they(pl) *not* *exhausted* NM *see*-rd-*after* NM *pig* *original*

   egiteu   balava-lava   moli la bolo vuhu   ale   ge
   they(pl) rd-*get.luckily* *just* NM *pig* *original* *that* IRR

   saga   polo la gauru.
   cross *over* NM *road*

4. Egiteu   tagu-loto   moli egiteu   la p-il-eho
   they(pl) *penetrate* *just* *they*(pl) NM nom-*die*

5. lala moli e   Pakasa Uru hililo   egiteu   al-ali   la bolo,
   but   NM *Wallaby* *Big* rd.*see* *they*(pl) rd-*eat* NM *pig*

   eia tahi egiteu
   3ps *ask* *they*(pl)

6. mago "La bolo ale-le   po-pou   o-io-ve?"
   say   NM *pig* *that-there* rd-*sit* *at-there-where*

---

[1]Note too that le does not mark the reciprocal (i.e. source) relationship in #7.

7. Egiteu   mago "Uu, la bolo ale-le   amiteu   ur-uru
    they(pl) *say* *hey* NM *pig* *that-there* *we*(pl.ex) rd-*great*

    logo-a   te   la gauru, eia saga polo la gauru, eia
    collect-3ps PREP   NM *road* 3ps *cross* *over* NM *road* 3ps

    peho.
    die

8. Mago "Koo, sesele, ia?"
    say *gosh* *true*   TAG

9. Mago "Meie!"
    say *that's right*

10. E   Pakasa   Uru   mago "A,   eau souka   poga   isasa la bolo
    NM *Wallaby* *Big* *say* *ah* *I* *not.yet* *meet* *one* NM *pig*

    ale   ge   saga   polo la gauru ge   peho bububu   moli
    that IRR *cross* *over* NM *road* IRR *die* *pointlessly* *just*

    mai   ele."
    like *there*

11. Mago "Sesele, ia, sesele-to?"
    say *truly*   TAG *truly*-EMPHATIC

12. E   Pakasa   Uru   mago "Ee,   a,   mala   eau ge   pahutu gabu
    NM *Wallaby* *Big* *say* *yes* *uh* *wait* *I* IRR *wait* *thinking*

    o-io   te   la gauru ele,   eau ge   hilo sesele-a   te
    at-there PREP NM *road* *there* *I* IRR *see* *truly*-3ps   PREP

    la mata-gu.
    NM *eye*-3ps1

13. Eia go-io   pahutu te   la gauru ele,   la bolo uru
    3ps *go-there*   *wait* PREP NM *road* *there* NM *pig* *great*

    kapipila la togo,   eia go-io-le   pagi-tala te   la
    very   NM *male*   3ps *go-there-there*   *emerge*   PREP NM

    gauru, magiri   ele   mata-tutulu   moli-ti   vore-vore-a
    road *stand* *there* *eye-sleepy*   *just*-PERF rd-*sway*-3ps

    go-ti-tilu   go-lagu-lagu   ele.
    go-rd-back *go-rd-face*   *there*

14. E   Pakasa   Uru   karutu   moli-ti   la bolo-le   go-talo   tabuli.
    NM *Wallaby* *Big* *shake* *just*-PERF NM *pig-there* *go-down* *lie*

15. E   Pakasa   Uru   ele   hilo-a
    NM *Wallaby* *Big* *there* *see* 3ps

16. mago "Mm, meie,   sesele moli,   la valalua
    say *mm* *that's right* *truly* *just* NM *men*

    balava-lava   le-me.
    rd-*get.luckily*   ABL-*you*(s)

17. Eme   ge   ig-igo   mai-e   saga   polo la gauru eme
    you IRR rd-*do* *like-there* *cross* *over* NM *road* *you*(s)

    pe-peho, ia?
    rd-*die* TAG

18. A, eau vei-a   egiteu   vasigolo-golo, me   o-io-ve,
    ah *I*   *tell*-3ps *they*(pl) *deceive*-rd   *and* *at-there-where*

    la merera tegite   sesele moli.
    NM *talk*   *their*(pl) *truly* *just*

19. Etatou   la bolo isa ale   ur-uru   mai-e,   isa
    we(pl.in) NM *pig* *one* *that* rd-*great* *like-there* *one*

    vei-a   etatou   ge   saga   polo la gauru etatou   ge
    tell-3ps *we*(pl.in) IRR *cross* *over* NM *road* *we*(pl.in) IRR

    peho bulahu   moli igo lava?
    die *pointlessly* *just* *do* *what*

20. Eme go-mai   la tapasi-la   taume   ge!
    you *go-here* NM *last*-nom *your*(s) EXCL

21. E   komaga   ge   koli-me.
    NM *beetle* IRR *change.places.with-you*(s)

22. Eme   umala-ti   ge   saga   polo-polo la gauru mai   ale.
    you(s) PROH-PERF IRR *cross* rd-*over* NM *road* *like* *that*

23. E   komaga   ge   saga   polo, eia ge   peho robo la gauru
    NM *beetle* IRR *cross* *over* 3ps IRR *die* *over* NM *road*

    igo mai   emei.
    do *like* *you*(s.focal)

24. La tapasi-la   taumei-e."
    NM *last*-nom *your*(s.focal)-*there*

25. Tio,   la vigilemulimuli-le Pakasa   Uru ale   eia mera-taro
    well NM *story*-3psi   *Wallaby* *Big* *that* 3ps *warn*

    la bolo-bolo ia-la,   kaluvu-ti.
    NM rd-*pig*   3ps-DEM *finish*-PERF

Translation

1. *'If you had lived long ago you would have seen the wild pigs crossing the paths and being killed.*

2. *Our forefathers just got their food luckily like that.*

3. *They didn't have to work hard to catch wild pigs, they would just go and catch them as they crossed the paths.*

4. *They would kill them with one good thrust of the spear.*

5. *However Big Wallaby saw the people eating pork and asked:*

6. *"Where did you get that pig?"*

7. *They said: "Oh we found it on the path; it was crossing the path and died."*

8. *"Gosh, is that true?"*

9. *"That's right!"*

10. *Big Wallaby said: "Ah, I've not seen it yet - a pig simply crossing the path and collapsing just like that."*

11. *"Is that truly so?"*
12. *Big Wallaby said: "Yes but wait, I'll wait just in case one comes along on the road there and I'll see this with my own eyes."*
13. *So he went and waited on the path and a big boar emerged onto the path, all sleepy-eyed, swaying back and forth.*
14. *Big Wallaby was amazed to see the pig lie down on the path.*
15. *Seeing this he said:*
16. *"Mm, it's true, people are just catching you easily.*
17. *You just cross the paths like that and collapse hey?*
18. *Ah, I thought they were deceiving but no, they were telling the truth.*
19. *Well as for us pigs, did someone say that we should cross the paths and die pointlessly - surely not!*
20. *This is the last time you'll come here like this!*
21. *The komaga beetle[1] will take your place.*
22. *Don't cross the paths like that any more!*
23. *The komaga beetle will cross the paths and die there like you once did.*
24. *This is your last time."*
25. *Well, the story of Big Wallaby and how he warned the pigs is like that. The end.*

TEXT 3: A CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE - HOW I SET UP A COPRA BUSINESS

This is the text used as an example in 8.2.1.2., where it appeared without morpheme breaks and with a free interlinear translation. The story was tape-recorded for me by the protagonist, Councillor Lulubo Vitata, who also assited with its transcription, translation and analysis.

1. Eau   po-pou   gabutatala,   la vuhu-la   la   maut(u)tula   usu,
   I   rd-sit   think   NM origin-3psi   NM *villages   many*

   eglte   hilitl   te   la bisnis,   go-io   eau   go-io
   they(pl) *arise*   PREP NM *business go-there   I   go-there*

   igo   isa   e   belo.
   do   one   NM bell

2. Eau   igo   isa   e   belo,   tola   vikapopo   egite   la valalua
   I   do   one   NM bell   call   together   they(pl) NM *men*

   e   hatavlvlle,   eau go-io   tahl   egite   la mani.
   NM women   I   go-there   ask   they(pl) NM *money*

---

[1] A long thin black edible beetle of the 'phasmid' type; lives in dead tree trunks but is often to be found crushed on the paths and roads.

3. Oraet, egite   go-io   abi-a-gu   i-sa-sasa   i-sa-sasa
   well *they(pl)* *go-there* *get-3ps-1s1* *num-rd-one* *num-rd-one*

   isahari i-la-lua, egite   go-io   abi-a-gu   i-la-lua.
   some *num-rd-two* *they(pl)* *go-there* *get-3ps-1s1* *num-rd-two*

4. Eau toi-a   giteu i-la-lua,   iala moli isahari abi-a
   I *call-3ps* *3pl1* *num-rd-two* *but*   *some* *get-3ps*

   i-sa-sasa.
   num-rd-one

5. Mai egite   ouka la mani, o,   egite   ab-abi-a
   if *they(pl)* *not* *NM* *money* *well* *they(pl)* *rd-get-3ps*

   i-sa-sasa, o,   egite   ale la mani i-lua o-io
   num-rd-one *well* *they(pl)* *that* *NM* *money* *num-two* *at-there*

   tegite,   egite   abi-a   i-la-lua,   egite   abi
   PREP.they(pl) *they(pl)* *get-3ps* *num-rd-two* *they(pl)* *get*

   tomi-a-gu   i-la-lua   tomi kaluvu.
   all-3ps-1s1 *num-rd-two* *all* *finish*

6. Tio, eau go-io   gigi-a   la mani ele.
   well *I* *go-there* *count-3ps* *NM* *money* *there*

7. Eau go-io   gigi-a   la mani ele, eia koramuli   la
   I *go-there* *count-3ps* *NM* *money* *there* *3ps* *sufficient* *NM*

   salatu isa.
   hundred *one*

8. Tio, eau go-io   vei-matagage-a   giteu mago, taritigi,
   then *I* *go-there* *tell-clearly-3ps* *3pl1* *say* *good*

   etatou   ge soko isa la gauru tegatou   te la
   we(pl.in) *IRR* *start* *one* *NM* *path* *our(pl.in)* *PREP* *NM*

   bisnis   te la liu,   te la kopra.
   business *PREP* *NM* *coconut* *PREP* *NM* *copra*

9. Tio, amite   go-io   pou.
   then *we(pl.ex)* *go-there* *sit*

10. Pou, eau go-io   te didiman   o-io   e
    sit *I* *go-there* *PREP* *ag(ricultural) officer* *at-there* *NM*

    Hoskin, eau go-io   kaka isa la luma.
    Hoskins *I* *go-there* *ask* *one* *NM* *house*

11. Amila   vikarakara.
    we(du.ex) *rd.talk*

12. Vikarakara, eau go-io   masaga la luma, la luma la
    rd.speak *I* *go-there* *want* *NM* *house* *NM* *house* *NM*

    liu,   te la g-ul-utu   la liu.
    coconut *PREP* *NM* *-nom-cook* *NM* *coconut*

13. Tio, e didiman   go-io   vei rivu-a-gu   mago, eme
    then *NM* *ag.officer* *go-there* *tell* *back-3ps-1s1* *say* *you(s)*

    ge beua,   go-io   la mautu, pou muga, eau ge baha
    IRR *return* *go-there* *NM* *village* *sit* *first* *I* *IRR* *send*

```
     i-lua      e   didiman      so-io-le,        ge   gigi   la   liu
     num-two   NM  ag.officer   to-there-there   IRR  count  NM  coconut

     tamutou.
     your(pl)
```

14.
```
   Tio,   e   didiman      go-io      baha   i-lua      so-io      la
   so    NM  ag.officer   go-there   send   num-two   to-there   NM

   mautu    tamiteu,      go-io      egira      gigi   la   liu.
   village  our(pl.ex)   go-there   they(du)   count  NM  coconut
```

15.
```
   Egira      gigi-a,      gigi-a,      gigi    kaluvu-a,    io,    la
   they(du)   count-3ps   count-3ps   count   finish-3ps   well   NM

   liu       tamite        usu    agi.
   coconut   our(pl.ex)   many   very
```

16.
```
   0,      egira       beua.
   then   they(pl)    return
```

17.
```
   Beua,     egira       vei-a-le          didiman.
   return   they(pl)   tell-3ps-3psi    ag.officer
```

18.
```
   Tio,   la   haro   i-sa       eau   go-io      sibitala   o-ilo    te
   then   NM   day   num-one    I    go-there   arrive    at-in    PREP

   didiman       ele.
   ag.officer    there
```

19.
```
   Sibitala   tetala,     amila        vikarakara,   eia   go-io
   arrive     PREP.3ps   we(pl.ex)   rd.talk       3ps   go-there

   vei-a-gu         mago,   la   liu       taume      usu    agi,   usu
   tell-3ps-2si    say    NM  coconut   your(s)   many   very   many

   pepeho,   eia   koramuli      la   luma    i-sasa,    io,   eau   ge
   very      3ps   sufficient   NM  house   num-one    so    I    IRR

   tahi-me,      eme       masaga   la   luma    ale    mave,   ale   nabatu
   ask-you(s)   you(s)   like     NM  house   that   how     that  no.2

   ka   ale    nabauan?
   or   that   no.1
```

20.
```
   Eau   go-io      vei    rivu-a-la           mago,   eau   masaga   ale
   I    go-there   tell   back-3ps-3psip      say    I    like     that

   nabauan.
   no.1
```

21.
```
   Tio,   eia   go-io      mago,   oraet,   eme       ge    go-muli    la
   so    3ps   go-there   say    okay    you(s)   IRR   go-east    NM

   mautu,     pou,   eau   ge    mulimuli   ge    baha   i-sa       la
   village   sit    I    IRR   later      IRR   send   num-one    NM

   kamda        so-io-le,          eia   ge    voku   la   luma    tamutou
   carpenter   to-there-there    3ps   IRR   work   NM  house   your(pl)

   me     la   valalua   taume.
   and   NM  men       your(s)
```

22.
```
   Tio,   amila        go-io      pou,   eau   go-io      tahi-a     mago,
   so    we(du.ex)   go-there   sit    I    go-there   ask-3ps   say

   la   mapa   la   luma    i-riva?
   NM  cost   NM  house   num-how.many
```

23. Eia   go-io   vei-a-gu   mago,   la salatu   i-tolu.
    3ps *go-there* *tell-3ps-ls1* *say*   NM *hundred* num-*three*

24. Tio, eau beua   go-io   la mautu,   eau tola vikapopo
    so   *I* *return* *go-there* NM *village* *I*   *call* *together*

    egite   la valalua, tahi egiteu,   isahari masage-a,   isahari
    they(pl) NM *men*   *ask* *they*(pl) *some*   *like-3ps*   *some*

    ouka, o,   amite   tilimuli moli la gabutatala-la
    no   *well* *we*(pl.ex) *follow*   *just* NM *think*-nom

    tamiteu   ale   masage-a-o.
    our(pl.ex) *that* *want-3ps-there*

25. O,   amite   go-io   pou.
    well *we*(pl.ex) *go-there* *sit*

26. Pou, go-io   e   didiman   bahe-a   la tahalo i-tolu
    sit *go-there* NM *ag.officer*   *send-3ps* NM *man*   num-*three*

    muga   go-io   egite   maki   la muli   la mak,   kaluvu-a.
    first *go-there* *they*(pl) *mark* NM *place* NM *mark* *finish-3ps*

27. Tio, mulimuli la tahalo i-lua-le   tuga,   beua,   go-io
    then *later*   NM *man*   num-*two-there* *walk* *return* *go-there*

    e   Hoskin,   isa moli-ti   kora-e,   amite   go-io
    NM *Hoskins* *one* *just*-PERF *stay-there* *we*(pl.ex) *go-there*

    voku-a.
    make-3ps

28. Amite   voku-a,   voku kaluvu-a,   tio,   eau go-io   igo-a
    we(pl.ex) *make-3ps* *make* *finish-3ps* *then* *I*   *go-there* *do-3ps*

    e   belo, tola vikapopo   egiteu,   amiteu   kivung te   la
    NM *bell* *call* *together* *they*(pl) *we*(pl.ex) *meet*   PREP   NM

    bisnis.
    business

29. Tio, amite   go-io   pou, eau go-io   vei-pale-a
    well *we*(pl.ex) *go-there* *sit* *I*   *go-there* *tell-reveal-3ps*

    giteu la gabutatala-la taku   te   la gauru la igogolu la
    3ps1   NM *think*-nom   *my*(s) PREP NM *path* NM *work*   NM

    liu,   egite   lolo-a,   egite   sagege.
    coconut *they*(pl) *hear-3ps* *they*(pl) *happy*

Translation

1. *I sat and thought continuously because many villages were progressing in business, so I rang the bell.*
2. *Ringing the bell, I called together the men and the women, and asked them for money.*
3. *Well they went and gave me one dollar each, some two dollars each, they gave me two dollars each, but some gave only one dollar each.*
4. *I told them two dollars each, but some gave only one dollar each.*

5. *If they didn't have any money, well they gave one dollar each, and those who had a bit of money gave two dollars each, they all gave me two dollars each.*

6. *So I went and counted that money.*

7. *I went and counted that money, and it came to more than $100.*

8. *So I went and explained that to them saying, Good, we shall start a way of our own with a coconut business, with copra.*

9. *Well, we then waited.*

10. *Waiting, I went to the agriculture officer at Hoskins, I went and asked for a house.*

11. *We talked.*

12. *Talking, I went and (said) I wanted a house, a coconut house, for cooking coconuts (i.e. preparing smoked copra).*

13. *Well, the agriculture officer replied saying, You should return to the village and wait, I will send two extension officers out, and they will count your coconuts.*

14. *So, the agriculture officer sent two officers to our village and they counted the coconuts.*

15. *They counted them, counted all of them, and our coconuts were found to be plentiful.*

16. *Then they returned.*

17. *Returning, they told the agricultural officer.*

18. *Well, one day I arrived in the agricultural officer's office.*

19. *We conversed, and he went and said to me, Your coconuts are plentiful, enough for one house, so, I will ask you, what kind of house do you want (i.e. what kind of boiler-house), do you want plant number two or number one?*

20. *I replied, I want number one.*

21. *Then he said, Very well, go back to your village and wait, later I will send a carpenter out and he will build the house for you and your people.*

22. *So we went and sat down and I asked him, How much is that house?*

23. *He said, $300.*

24. *So I went back to the village and called together the people and asked them, some wanted it while others didn't, so we followed the wishes of we ones who wanted it.*

25. *So we went and waited.*

26. *We waited, and the agricultural officer sent three men first, and they went and marked out the building and finished the job.*

27. *Then later two of those men returned to Hoskins while one stayed, and we built it.*

28. *We built it, completed it, then I rang the bell, calling them to-*
   gether, and we had a meeting about our business.

29. *Well we went and sat down, and I explained to them my ideas about*
   how to run a copra business, and they heard it and were happy.

TEXT 4: AN EXHORTATION - DON'T FLIRT

This text was tape-recorded for me by Apelis Ragi of Karapi Village
during a prolonged period of text analysis. Over the matter of a private
joke I asked him to lecture me the way he would lecture a friend over
flirting with women when away from his home village. The text makes
considerable use of the imperative mode, especially the prohibitive
imperative, the rhetorical question and warnings of various sorts.
Absent is the semantic feature of promised rewards for co-operation
contrasted with the dire results of non-co-operation, a feature I have
observed in longer exhortations.

```
 1. Eme       la tahalo isa,   eme       igo tataho pasi-me!
    you(s)    NM man    one    you(s)    do  well   very-you

 2. Eme       igo va-vai   gale, osaosa.
    you(s)    do  rd-side  side  flirt

 3. Eme       igo tataho-me, eme       o-io      la mautu   taume,   ia?
    you(s)    do  well-you   you(s)    at-there  NM village your(s)  TAG

 4. Eme       osaosa moli tegite     tavivile.
    you(s)    flirt  just PREP.they  women

 5. Eme       umala osaosa galolo      te   la tatae   la mautu,
    you(s)    PROH  flirt  constantly  PREP NM excreta NM village

    egite       soukama  pile   etala.
    they(pl)    not.yet  reject us(du.in)

 6. Eme       umala osaosa, eme       umala-ti   vikara galololo
    you(s)    PROH  flirt   you(s)    PROH-PERF  speak  rd.constantly

    vei-a     ge  osaosa galololo.
    say-3ps   IRR flirt  rd.constantly

 7. Etala       o-io      la mautu   eme osaosa?
    we(pl.in)   at-there  NM village you flirt

 8. kama osaosa galololo      go-io     puli  lou   isa-e
    not  flirt  rd.constantly go-there  marry again one-there

    eme       ge  go-io     la mautu,  egite     kama ge  masaga-me.
    you(s)    IRR go-there  NM village they(pl)  not  IRR like-you(s)

 9. Eme       umala-ti   osaosa!
    you(s)    PROH-PERF  flirt

10. Eau mera-taro-me,   eme       umala-ti.
    I   warn-you(s)     you(s)    PROH-PERF
```

Translation

1. *You are a man who shows off too much!*
2. *You snigger, flash glances and flirt.*
3. *Here you are showing off ... do you think you are at home in your own village?*
4. *You indulge in flirting with the women!*
5. *Don't keep flirting with 'crap' like that in case the people reject us.*
6. *Stop flirting and stop blabbing around the place with a view to doing more flirting.*
7. *When we're at home do you flirt like this?*
8. *Your flirting will end up in your getting involved with one of them, but you wouldn't be accepted in her village.*
9. *So stop flirting!*
10. *I'm warning you, stop flirting or they might get angry with us.*

TEXT 5: A DESCRIPTION - MY VILLAGE, RIKAU

Tape-recorded and transcribed by Brown Hura, 1974.

1. Karapi,　eau　masage-a　eau　ge　gilemuli-a-mu　　　　　la　mautu
   Karapi　*I*　*want*-3ps　*I*　IRR　*tell.a.story*-3ps-2si　NM　*village*
   taku.
   my

2. La　mautu　　　taku,　la　isa-la　　e　Rikau,　iala　moli　te　　la
   NM　*village*　*my*　　NM　*name*-3psi　NM　*Rikau*　*but*　　　　PREP　NM
   mautu　　taku　la　ba-baa　bisisi　　o-io.
   village　*my*　NM　rd-*area*　rd-*small*　*at-there*

3. La　baa　taku　sesele,　amite　　　me　tabara-bara-gu,　egite
   NM　*area*　*my*　*true*　　*we*(pl.ex)　*and*　*brother*-rd-1si　*they*(pl)
   la　valua　isahari,　la　baa　tamite　　　isasa.
   NM　*men*　　*some*　　NM　*area*　*our*(pl.ex)　*one*

4. Amite　　　　mou　　hagavi　moli　la　olu　　　　e　Lolo:　e　Pago
   we(pl.ex)　*live*　*near*　*just*　NM　*mountain*　NM　*Lollo*　NM　*Pago*
   lo-ilo,　e　Lolo　lo-lau,　la　mautu　　tamite　　　kabili.
   at-in　NM　*Lollo*　*at-sea*　NM　*village*　*our*(pl.ex)　*middle*

5. La　baa　tamiteu-e,　　　la　isa-la　　e　Podu.
   NM　*area*　*our*(pl.ex)-*there*　NM　*name*-3psi　NM　*Podu*

6. Io,　la　baa　isa　lou　te　Pita,　tegite　　　me
   well　NM　*area*　*one*　*again*　PREP　*Peter*　PREP.*they*(pl)　*and*
   tai-tari-la,　　la　valua　isahari,　egiteu　　pou　o-io　　　vola.
   rd-*child*-3psi　NM　*men*　　*some*　　*they*(pl)　*sit*　*at-there*　PRON

7. La   isa   la   baa   tegiteu   e   Mihe.
   NM   *name* NM   *area*   *their*(pl)   NM   *Mihe*

8. Io,   la   baa   isa   lou   te   Tamale Dau,   e   tultul   ale
   well NM   *area* *one* *again* PREP   *Tamale Dau*   NM   *clerk*   *that*

   pala.
   before

9. E   latatu   girua   egite   isahari,   egite   pou   o-io
   NM   rd.*child* 3pli   *they*(pl)   *some*   *they*(pl)   *sit*   *at-there*

   vola.
   PRON

10. Io,   la   baa   tegiteu   ele,   egiteu   toi   le-gite   e
    well NM   *area* *their*(pl)   *there* *they*(pl)   *call*   ABL-*they*(pl)   NM

    Gugutua.
    Gugutua

11. Io,   la   isa   la   mautu   tamite   bisisi   mai-e: e
    so   NM   *name* NM   *village*   *our*(pl.ex)   rd.*little* *like-there*   NM

    Podu,   e   Mihe,   e   Gugutua,   iala moli egite   toi   vikapopo
    Podu   NM   *Mihe*   NM   *Gugutua*   *but*   *they*(pl)   *call*   *together*

    la   isa   la   mautu   tamiteu   e   Rikau.
    NM   *name* NM   *village*   *our*(pl.ex)   NM   *Rikau*

12. La   isa-la   isa moli e   Rikau,   iala moli o-ilo   vola   la
    NM   *name*-3psi   *one just* NM   *Rikau*   *but*   *at-in*   PRON   NM

    baa   i-tolu.
    area num-*three*

13. Io,   iala eau masage-a ge   vei-matagage-a-mu   o-io
    well *so I*   *want*-3ps IRR   *tell-clearly*-3ps-2si   *at-there*

    vola,   eme   ge   rovi-a.
    PRON   *you*(s)   IRR   *know*-3ps

    . . . . . .

14. Amite   pou   galili   la   olu   e   Lolo: e   Rikau   lo-ata
    we(pl.ex)   *sit*   *around* NM   *mount* NM   *Lollo*   NM   *Rikau*   *at-up*

    Gule   lo-muli,   e   Malalia   lo-lau,   e   Moramora   me   Kavutu
    Gule   *at-east*   NM   *Malalia*   *at-sea*   NM   *Moramora*   *and*   *Kavutu*

    lo-talo,   io   la   olu   uru   e   Lolo   kabili.
    at-down   *then*   NM   *mountain*   *great* NM   *Lollo*   *middle*

    . . . . . .

15. La   gilemulimuli-la taku   moli-e   vei-a   eme   ge   rovi
    NM   *story*-3psi   *my*   *just-there*   *tell*-3ps *you*(s)   IRR   *know*

    tigi   la   mautu   taku,   io   ea   kaluvu-ti.
    well NM   *village*   *my*   *well* 3ps   *finish*-PERF

Translation

1. *Karapi, I want to tell you about my village.*

2. *My village is called Rikau but there are several sections to it.*

3. *My section, belonging to me and my brothers and some others, that's one section.*

4. *We live near Mount Lollo: Pago is inland, Lollo is seaward, and our village is in between.*

5. *The name of our section is Podu.*

6. *Well there's another section belonging to Peter and his younger brothers and some others; they live there.*

7. *The name of their section is Mihe.*

8. *Well there's another section belonging to Tamale Dau, the former clerk (=Tultul(P) or village clerk).*

9. *The children of those two (sic) and some others, they all live there.*

10. *Well, that section of theirs, they call Gugutua.*

11. *So the names of our hamlets are like this: Podu, Mihe and Gugutua, but they combine together under the name of our village, Rikau.*

12. *There's just one name for the village but there are three sections in it.*

13. *Well, I wanted to explain that to you so you would know.*
    (..... in the text at this point represents some deleted information about the access roads to Rikau)

14. *We live around Mount Lollo: Rikau is up in the hills, Gule is eastward, Malalia is seaward, Moramora and Kavutu are seaward, and the big mountain Lollo is in the middle.*
    (..... in the text at this point represents some deleted concluding remarks)

15. *My story, told that you might know about my village, is complete.*

TEXT 6: AN EXPOSITION - HOW PAPER IS MADE

A transcription of a tape-recording by Isak Kuere of Karapi Village describing paper-making procedures which he had seen in a film.

1. Eau   masage-a   ge   vigilemuli   la   igogolu   te   la   pepa   ale
   I   *want*-3ps IRR   *tell.story* NM *work*   PREP   NM   *paper* *that*

   egite   vokakea   igogolu   o-vola,   eia   sibitala.
   they(pl) *whites* *work*   *at*-PRON 3ps   *arrive*

2. La   pepa,   egite   igogolu-a   te   la   obu,   egite   la
   NM   *paper* *they*(pl) *make*-3ps PREP   NM   *wood* *they*(pl) NM

   gale   isasa,   egite   voku   la   pepa   te   la   obu.
   area *one*   *they*(pl)   *make* NM   *paper* PREP NM   *wood*

3. La   lalu   isa   uru,   la   mapa-la   o-ata   sesele   la   tibulu
   NM   *water* *one* *great* NM   *source*-3ps *at*-up *truly* NM   *deep.bush*

   sesele,   eia   sali   o-luma   la   mautu.
   true   3ps   *flow* *at*-home NM   *village*

4. O,   egite   la baa-lei-o,   la mautu   tegiteu hagavi
    well *they*(pl) NM *area-that-there* NM *village* *their* *near*

    te   la lalu   alei-e.
    PREP NM *water *that-there*

5. Io,   egite   la valalua ale   to-tolo   la obu,   egite
    well   *they*(pl) NM *men*   *that* rd-*chop* NM *wood* *they*(pl)

    to-tolo-a   o-ata   la tibulu.
    rd-*chop*-3ps *at-up* NM *deep.bush*

6. Egite   pigi   purususu-a   so-talo   te   la tia   la
    they(pl) *throw* rd.*descend*-3ps   *to-down* PREP NM *stomach* NM

    lalu,   la lalu   sali   taro-a,   go-luma   sibitala o-luma   te
    water NM *water* *flow* *away*-3ps   *go-home*   *arrive* *at-home* PREP

    la mautu.
    NM *village*

7. Iala moli egite   ale   o-luma   pou   te   la mautu,
    but   *they*(pl) *that* *at-home* *sit* PREP NM *village*

    egite   pou   raragi   te   la masin.
    they(pl) *sit* *ready* PREP NM *machine*

8. Egite   la muluga   la masin,   egite   vi-magiri-a
    they(pl) NM *bosses* NM *machine* *they*(pl) caus-*stand*-3ps

    hagavi te   la harare   la lalu.
    near PREP NM *banks* NM *water*

9. Egite   go-io   pou,   la mata giteu   moli   la obu   ale
    they(pl) *go-there* *sit* NM *eye* 3ps1p   *just* NM *wood* *that*

    ge   pati   tala.
    IRR *float* *appearing.*

10. Io,   mulimuli e   masasta   ale-le,   eia ge   kirapim la
    then   *later*   NM rd.*white*   *that-there*   3ps IRR *start* NM

    masini   ale-o.
    machine *that-there*

11. Io,   la masini   go-talo   ge   hare-pala   ge   kamu-a   la
    then   NM *machine* *go-down* IRR *mouth-open* IRR *grasp*-3ps NM

    obu   ale   pati   tala-tio,   eia ge   lapu-a   so-ata.
    wood *that* *float* *appearing-there*   3ps IRR *pull*-3ps *to-up*

12. Io,   eia go-io   lapu-a   so-ata,   io   la masini   isa
    then   3ps *go-there* *pull*-3ps *to-up*   *then* NM *machine* *one*

    lou   eia go-io   kamu   tavu   lou-a,   io   eia
    again 3ps *go-there* *grasp* *toward* *again*-3ps *well* 3ps

    go-io   su-suki   la kulikuli-la.
    go-there rd-*strip*   NM *bark*-3ps1

13. Io,   la kulikuli-la-le,   egite   kama   ge   pigi-a,   eia
    well   NM *bark*-3ps1-*there* *they*(pl) *not* IRR *throw*-3ps 3ps

    ge   su-suki-a   mai-o,   io   la masini   isa   kamu   tavu
    IRR rd-*strip*   *like-there*   *well* NM *machine* *one* *grasp* *toward*

    polo-polo   la kulikuli-la.
    rd-*separate* NM *bark*-3ps1

14. La kulikuli ale-le,   egite   ge   voku-a,   eia   ge
    NM *bark*   *that-there* *they*(pl) IRR *work*-3ps 3ps   IRR

    sibitala   mai   la mesonaet.
    arrive   *like* NM *masonite*

15. Io,   la obu,   eia ge   va-go-ilo-a   te   la masin   isa
    well NM *wood* 3ps IRR caus-*go-in*-3ps PREP NM *machine* *one*

    ale   ge   ka-kapu-a.
    that IRR rd-*pulp*-3ps

16. Eia ge   ka-kapu-a,   (repeats this clause 4 times) eia ge
    3ps IRR rd-*pulp*-3ps   3ps IRR

    parara   mai   la matagu   ale   etato   ka-katu-a.
    pulped *like* NM *derris.root* *that* *we*(pl.in) rd-*pound*-3ps

17. Io,   la masin   isa   lou   ge   abi-a,   eia ge   pilu-a.
    then NM *machine* *one* *again* IRR *get*-3ps 3ps IRR *fold*-3ps

18. Eia ge   pilu-a,   pilu-a,   pilu-a   kaluvu,   io   mulimuli
    3ps IRR *fold*-3ps *fold*-3ps *fold*-3ps *finish* *then* *later*

    la masin   isa   ge   bu-buli-a.
    NM *machine* *one* IRR rd-*roll*-3ps

19. Eia ge   bu-buli-a,   (repeats this clause 5 times) eia ge
    3ps IRR rd-*roll*-3ps   3ps IRR

    bu-buli-a   mai-o   eia ge   sibitala mai   la pepa.
    rd-*roll*-3ps *like-there*   3ps IRR *arrive* *like* NM *paper*

20. Io,   la masin   isa   ge   kamu   tavu   polo   lou-a,
    then NM *machine* *one* IRR *grasp* *toward* *separately* *again*-3ps

    go-io,   go-io,   egiteu   ge   baraututu-a.
    go-there *go-there* *they*(pl) IRR rd.*cut*-3ps

21. Egite   ge   baraututu-a, (repeats this clause 3 times) la
    they(pl) IRR rd.*cut*-3ps   NM

    baututu-la   ge   bo-boto   bakikisi   bakikisi.
    rd.*piece*-3ps1p IRR rd-*short* rd.*a.bit* rd.*a.bit*

22. Io,   la masin   isa   ge   abi   polo   lou-a,   eia
    then NM *machine* *one* IRR *get* *separately* *again*-3ps   3ps

    go-io   ge   sai-a.
    go-there IRR *pack*-3ps

23. Eia ge   sai kaluvu-a,   io   la masin   isa   kamu   tavu
    3ps IRR *pack* *finish*-3ps *then* NM *machine* *one* *grasp* *toward*

    polo   lou-a   eia ge   kekesi   o-vola.
    separately *again*-3ps 3ps IRR *write* *at*-PRON

24. Eia ge   kekesi   o-vola   kaluvu,   io   eia ge   va-go-io-a
    3ps IRR *write* *at*-PRON *finish* *then* 3ps IRR caus-*go-there*-3ps

    te   la kes   isa   uru   egite   raragi-ti-a   tau
    PREP NM *case* *one* *great* *they*(pl) *prepare*-PERF-3ps *put*

    hagavi-a   te   la masini   ale-o.
    near-3ps PREP NM *machine* *that-there*

25. La   masini   ale-le   go-io   kekesi kaluvu, io   eia ge
    NM *machine that-there go-there   write   finish   then 3ps IRR

    kekesi   mai-e,   paru-paru so-talo   la bokis   uru   egite
    write   like-there   rd-fall   to-down   NM box   great   they(pl)

    lili-a-le.
    nail-3ps-there

26. Eia ge   ke-kekesi-a   mai-e,   paru-paru, paru-paru, eia
    3ps IRR rd-*write*-3ps *like-there   rd-fall   rd-fall   3ps

    go-io   la bokis ele   ge   volu, io   la masin   isa
    go-there   NM box   there   IRR *full*   then NM *machine*   one

    kamu   tavu   polo-a   ge   tabago robo   tatao-a.
    grasp   toward   separately-3ps   IRR *seal*   *covering*   *well*-3ps

27. Go-io   mai   ele,   igo vagari-a,   la masin   isa   ge
    go-there   like   there do   strong-3ps   NM *machine*   one   IRR

    abi-a   sugu-taro-a   so-ilo   te   la gima-la,   tabuli-o.
    get-3ps   *push-away*-3ps   *to-in*   PREP NM *place*-3psl   *lie-there*

28. La igogolu la pepa   ale   egite   vokakea igogolu-a   te
    NM *work*   NM *paper* that they*(pl)   *whites*   *work*-3ps   PREP

    la obu,   ia-la   moli   ele,   kaluvu-ti.
    NM *wood*   3ps-DEM   *just*   there   *finish*-PERF

Translation

1. *I want to tell you about how whitemen make paper.*
2. *As for paper, they make it from wood, the people of a certain place,*
   they make paper from wood.
3. *There is a great river which starts up in the deep bush and runs*
   down to a town.
4. *Well the people of that region have made their town near that river.*
5. *Well the men chop down trees up in the deep bush.*
6. *They throw them down into the middle of the river, and it floats*
   them away down to the town.
7. *Well the ones in the town are ready with a machine.*
8. *The directors of those machines have set them up near the banks of*
   the river.
9. *They wait, with their eyes only on the timber floating towards them.*
10. *Then the whites will start their machines.*
11. *Well the machine goes down and opens its mouth and grabs the logs*
    that are floating along, pulling them up.
12. *Having pulled them up, another machine grasps the logs and strips*
    the bark off.
13. *But they don't discard the bark, another machine grabs it.*
14. *They'll use the bark to make masonite.*
15. *Well then they feed the timber into another machine which pulps it.*

16. *It will pulp it and pulp it until it is mashed like the derris root which we pound.*
17. *Then another machine will get it and fold it.*
18. *It will fold it and fold it, then, having finished that, another machine rolls it.*
19. *It will roll it and roll it, and having rolled it like that it will turn out like paper.*
20. *Then another machine grabs it and cuts it up.*
21. *It cuts it and cuts it into lots and lots of very small pieces.*
22. *Then another machine grabs it and packs the pieces down tight.*
23. *Having packed it, another machine will grab it and print on it.*
24. *The printing completed, the machine will place the papers in a big case which they've prepared and placed next to the machine.*
25. *The machine keeps printing batches and the papers keep falling down into the case that they've made.*
26. *It will print and stack, print and stack, then when the box is full another machine grabs it and seals it up nicely.*
27. *Then it binds the box and another machine gets it and pushes into its place where it then remains.*
28. *Well that's how the whites make paper. The end.*

SAMPLE LEXICON

The following pages give an alphabetical listing of lexical items found in the texts. Excluded are (1) functional items, i.e. those serving a grammatical function and therefore accounted for in the discussion of the syntax and grammar;[1] (ii) proper nouns giving the names of people and places; (iii) pronouns, which represent closed-class groups with unique referents, and are not therefore lexical items in the strict sense; (iv) exclamations. Items included in the lexicon are noun bases, verb bases, locative suffixes, adverbs and quantifiers.

For the verb bases the case frame and subcategory of each distinct sense is given, but only for those senses in which the verbs are used in the sample texts. Where processes of nominalisation, reciprocal or causative derivation, reduplication, and resultative formation are irregularly applied, or apply where not predictable from the subcategory of the verb (or do not apply, and this is not predictable either), details are listed accordingly. Noun bases are listed with a hyphen following for inalienably possessed nouns, and without a hyphen in the case of inalienably possessed nouns. The noun marker la or e is given after the category identification, e.g. n (la), indicating which noun marker the noun takes. It is noted for each noun whether or not it may be reduplicated to form the collective plural, and irregular forms of the plural are also listed.

---

[1]These include case markers (2.1.), adverbs expressing modality in the clause (3.1.1.), verbal aspect markers (5.1.) and derivation markers (5.3.), reduplication in its various forms and functions (5.5.), noun markers (6.1.), nominalising affixes (6.2.2.), numerals (6.4.2.), demonstratives (4.2.1.1.), deictics (4.2.2.), subordinating conjunctions (8.1.1.) and co-ordinating conjunctions (8.2.2.). Pronouns and pronoun suffixes are found in 6.2.1. and 6.3.

The following abbreviations are used for categories:

    iv   intransitive verb
    tv   transitive verb
    adv   adverb
    n   noun

Other abbreviations are as listed in the abbreviations at the front
of the study, e.g. rd 'reduplication', but note the following also:
E 'English source', P 'Pidgin source'.

The lexicon is not set up in terms of a features type of model, des-
pite the appearances to the contrary, with my use of plus and minus
signs. These signs simply signify that a given morphological deriva-
tional process may (+) or cannot (-) be applied to a particular item.
The layout of noun items has been explained, but verbs need perhaps
some elaboration: the following is an example of the first line of a
verb item:

    tolo   tv   [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat]

The first line gives the verb base on the left, the subcategory, in
this case tv, and then the case frame. The next line gives the English
gloss. Then follow a number of derivational specifications, e.g.

    +rd
    +nom

These specifications tell us that for the verb tolo reduplication may
occur, as may also nominalisation. Other information also listed for
verbs includes + or - causativisation; + reciprocalisation (so many
transitive verbs may be reciprocalised on the phrase level by the
addition of appropriate adverbs that I declined to specify -rec since
the matter was very difficult to get straight once and for all with inform-
ants); and finally for some verbs, where applicable, + resultative is
specified, indicating that this is a process verb which can be turned
into a state verb by the suffixation of the perfective aspect marker
-ti.

There is almost no limit to the amount of morphological, co-occurrence
and contextual information which could have been included in the lexi-
con, of course, and only the bare minimum is included here. A blank
does not necessarily indicate a negative value but rather that I have
not elicited the appropriate information.

abi
1. tv [___Act Ben Pat]
'give'

2. tv [___Act Pat (Goal)]
'bring, get'

3. iv [___Act]
'get'

+rd
+nom: la (ila)bi- *'getting'*,
 la vaabila *'gift'*
−caus (iv)

agi
Manner adv
'too much'
+rd

alaura
Temporal adv
'long ago'
−rd

ale mave
Manner adv (phrase)
'which' (interrogative)
−rd

ali
1. tv [___Act Pat (Ins)]
'eat'

2. iv [___Act]
'eat'

+rd
+nom: la ilali *'food, feast'*
+caus (iv)

baa(-)
n (la)
'area, space'
+rd

baha
tv [___Act Pat (Goal)]
*'send a person or a spoken
 message'*
+rd
+nom: la bilaha *'sending'*,
 la bilalaha *'servant'*

balava
iv [Act (Ins)]
'get something for nothing'
+rd
+nom
+caus

barautu
1. tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat]
'cut'

2. tv [___Ins Pat]
'cut'

3. iv [___Pat (Ins)]
'be cut'

+rd
+nom

belo
n (e)
'bell' (P, E *'bell'*)
+rd

beua
iv [___Act (Goal)]
'return'
−rd
+nom: la bileula
+caus: vibeuleia
(spontaneous suffix -a analysed
as 3ps suffix -a, hence irreg-
ular infixing (e.g. beu-ti-a)
of verbal suffixes)

bisi
iv [___Pat (Goal)]
'small, young, insignificant'
+rd: bisisi *'young ones'*
+nom: la bibisi- *'youthfulness'*
+caus: vi-/igo

bisnis
n (la)
'business' (P, E *'business'*)
+rd

bokis
n (la)
'box' (P, E *'box'*)
+rd: la bokikisi

bolo
n (la)
'pig'
+rd

bububu
Manner adv
'pointlessly' (cf. also
 bulahu q.v.)
−rd

bulahu
Manner adv
'for no reason' (cf. bububu)
+rd

buli
tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat]
'roll'
+rd
−nom

didiman
n (e)
'agricultural officer' (P)
−rd

gabu
1. tv [___Act Pat]
'think about' (cf. also
 gabutatala q.v.)

2. iv [___Act (Goal)]
'think on'

+rd
+nom: la gabutatalala
+caus

3. Manner adv
'tentatively, experimentally'
(also gabuto, gaito)

+rd

gabutatala 1. tv [___Act Pat]
'think about' (cf. also gabu)

2. iv [___Act]
'think'

+rd
+nom: la gabutala- *'idea'*,
la gabutatalala *'thinking'*
—caus (iv)

gabutatalala n (la)
'thinking' (nom of
gabutatala q.v.)
—rd

gale 1. n (la)
'area, region'
+rd

2. Manner adv
'to the side'
+rd

gali iv [___Act (Goal)]
'advance, emerge'
—rd
—nom
+caus

galili Manner adv
'around'
+rd

galolo Manner adv
'constantly, tediously'
+rd

gauru n (la)
'path, road'
+rd

gigi tv [___Act Pat]
'count, read'
+rd
+nom

gilemuli tv [___Act (Ben) Pat]
'tell a story'
+rd
also: vi-gilemuli

gilemulila n (la)
see la vigilemulimulila
nom of gilemuli

gima- n (la)
'appointed place'
+rd

go-LOC iv [___Act (Goal)]
Motion coverb
'go to stated location'
+rd
+nom
+caus

golo Manner adv
'deceivingly, temporarily'
+rd

gulutu n (la)
'cooking'
nom of gutu q.v.
+rd: gulutulutu- *'cooking place'*

gutu tv [___Act (Ben) Pat]
'cook'
+rd
+nom

hagavi iv [___Pat (Goal)]
'near'
+rd
—nom
+caus: igo

harare- n (la)
'banks of river'
cf. la hare- *'mouth'*
—rd

harepala iv [___Act]
'open one's mouth'
(cf. la hare- *'mouth'*, pala
'revealing')
+rd
—nom
+caus

haro n (la)
'sun, day'
+rd

(ha)ta(vi)vile n (e)
'women' (cf. la tavile *'woman'*)
+rd: e hatavilevile- *'sisters'*

hele iv [___Act (Goal)]
'flee, run desperately'
+rd
+nom
+caus

hililo rd of hilo q.v.

hiliti iv [___Act]
'stand up'
+rd
—nom
+caus

hilo tv [___Act Pat]
'see'
+rd
+nom: la hililola
+caus: va-hilo [___Act Pat Ins]

igo   tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat]
'do, make'
+rd
+nom: la iligolu
+rec: va-igo *'quarrel'*
see also igo lava, igo mave

igotataho   tv [___Act_1 Pat_1]
'show off'[1]
+rd
+nom
cf. igo *'do'*, tataho *'well'*

igovavai   iv [___Act]
'snigger'
+rd
+nom
+caus
cf. igo *'do'*, vavai *'to the
  side'*

igogolu   1. n (la)
'work'
−rd
cf. igo *'do'*, golu *'thing'*

2. iv [___Act (Goal)]
'work'

3. tv [___Act Pat]
'make, work on'

+rd
+nom: la iligolu; la igo
  olula
−caus (iv)

ilali-la   n (la)
'eating' see ali *'eat'*

-ilo   locative suffix
'in, inside, inland'

-io   locative suffix
'there'

isa-   n (la)
'name'
+rd

kabili   iv [___Pat (Goal)]
'in the middle'
+rd
+nom
+caus

kaka   tv [___Act (Src)/Goal Pat]
'ask, request'
+rd
+nom

kaluvu   1. tv [___Act Pat]
'finish'
+rd
+nom

2. iv [___Act]
'finished'
+nom
+caus (iv)
+resultative

3. Intensity adv
'completely'

4. Incidence adv
'completing'

+rd

kamda   n (la)
'carpenter' (P, E *'carpenter'*)
+rd

kamu   tv [___Act Pat]
'grasp'
often: kamu tavu lit. *'grasp
  towards'* = *'grasp by hand'*
+rd
+nom
+rec

kapipila   see makapipila

kapu   tv [___Act Pat]
'pulp'
+rd: kakapu
+nom: la kapula

karutu   iv [___Act (Ins)]
'startle, be surprised'
+rd
+nom
+caus

katu   tv [___Act Pat]
'pound'
+rd
+nom

kebo   iv [___Act (Ins)]
'have a difficult time'
(us. with negative: kama kebo)
+rd
−nom
+caus: vi-/igo

kekesi   tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat]
'write, carve marks'
+rd
+nom

kes   n (la)
'case' (P, E *'case'*)
rd: la keikesi

kirapim   tv [___Act Pat]
'start, as a machine' (P, E
  'get up')
−rd
+nom

kivung	iv [___Act (Goal)] *'meet'* (P, Tolai) −rd −nom −caus
koli	tv [___Act Pat] *'help, exchange places with'* −rd +nom: la kilolila *'replace- ment'* +rec: vikolikoli
komaga	n (e) *'long, thin, edible, black beetle of the phasid type'* rd: komamaga/komagamaga
kopra	n (la) *'copra'* (P, E *'copra'*) −rd
kora	iv [___Pat] *'stay, remain'* −rd −nom −caus
koramuli	1. iv [___Act] *'sufficient'* 2. tv [___Act Pat] *'suitable for'* +rd +nom −caus (iv)
kuku	iv [___Act] *'call out'* +rd +nom +caus
kulikuli-	n (la) *'bark of tree'* +rd
-lagu	locative suffix *'to the front'* (la lagu- *'face'*)
lalu	n (la) *'fresh water, stream'* +rd
lapu	tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat] *'pull'* +rd +nom
la(ro)va	n (interrogative, with noun marker la incorporated) *'what'* +rd

latu-	n (e) *'child, offspring'* +rd: e latatu-
-lau	locative suffix *'the direction of the sea'*
lili	tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat] *'nail'* (P, E *'nail'*) −rd +nom
liu	n (la) *'coconut, coconut tree'* +rd
lo-LOC	iv [___Act/Pat (Goal)] Motion and Locative coverb *'come from stated location/ be adjacently situated at stated location'* +rd +nom +caus
logo	n (la) *'night'* +rd
logo	tv [___Act Pat (Goal)] *'collect off ground'* +rd −nom
lolo	tv [___Act Pat (Goal)] *'hear'* +rd +nom +caus: va-lolo *'preach to, tell'*
lou	Intensity adv *'again'* −rd
-luma	locative suffix *'the direction of the village, nearest habitation'* (cf. la luma *'house'*)
luma	n (la) *'house'* +rd
magiri	iv [___Act (Goal)] *'to be standing up'* +rd −nom +caus: vi-/igo
mago	tv (used as direct quote marker) [___(Act)(Pat)] (-a not suffixed) *'say'* can occur chained, with actor deleted; Pat is a complement clause

ma(h)ura   n (e)
'poor thing'
-rd

-mai   locative suffix
'here, hither'

mak   n (la)
'mark' (P, E *'mark'*)
rd: la makimaki

makapipila   Manner adv
'very (big)' cf. uru
makapipila
+rd

maki   tv [___ Act Pat (Ins)]
'mark out' (P, E *'mark'*)
+rd
-nom

malaketa   n (la)
'rifle, musket' (P, E
'musket')
+rd

mani   n (la)
'money' (P, E *'money'*)
-rd

mapa-   n (la)
'cost'
+rd

masaga   tv [___ Act Pat]
'want, desire'
+rd
+nom

masin(i)   n (la)
'machine' (P, E *'machine'*)
+rd: masisini, masinisini

masta   n (e)
'white man, caucasian' (P,
E *'master'*)
(synonyms: e vokakea, e
parau)
+rd: mastasta

mata-   n (la)
'eye'
+rd: mamata-

matagaga   1. n (la)
'light, enlightenment'
-rd

2. iv [___ Pat (Goal)]
'clear'
-rd
-nom
+caus: vi-/igo

matagu   n (la)
*'derris root (used as fish
poison)'*
-rd

matatutulu   iv [___ Act]
'sleepy'
-rd
-nom
+caus: vi-/igo

mautu   n (la)
'village'
+rd: la maututula q.v.

maututula   n (la)
'villages'
(pl. of la mautu)

mave   Manner adv
'how' (interrogative)
n.b. igo mave *'how, how come'*
(interrogative), ale mave
'which' (interrogative) q.v.
-rd

merera   n (la)
'talk, speech, information'
-rd

mesonaet   n (la)
'masonite' (E)
+rd: la

moli   1. tv [___ Act (Goal)]
'concentrating upon'
-rd

2. Intensity adv
'just, only, simply'
-rd

mou   iv [___ Act (Goal)]
'live'
+rd: moumou
-nom
+caus: vi-/igo

muga   1. iv [___ Act (Goal)]
'go ahead'
+rd
+nom: la muluga- *'first one,
person in charge'*, la
mulugaluga *'leader'*
+caus

2. Intensity adv
'firstly'
+rd

-muli   locative suffix
'east (along the coast)'

muli-   n (la)
'*place, area*'
+rd

mulimuli   1. Temporal adv
'*later*'

2. Manner adv
'*behind, following*'
−rd

muluga-   n (la)
'*person in charge of something*'
nom of muga '*go first*' q.v.

nabauan   n (e)
'*the first one*' (P, E
'*number one*')
−rd

nabatu   n (e)
'*the second one*' (P, E
'*number two*')
−rd

o-LOC   iv [___Pat (Goal)] (locative coverb)
'*at*'
−rd
−nom
−caus

obu   n (la)
'*wood, tree*'
+rd

olu   n (la)
'*conical mountain*'
+rd

osaosa   iv [___Act (Com)]
'*flirt*'
−rd
−nom
+caus: igo osaosea

paa   tv [___Act Pat]
'*seek*' (cf. paamuli q.v.)
+rd
+nom

paamuli   tv [___Act (Ben) Pat]
'*seek*'
+rd
+nom

paamulila   n (la)
'*seeking*'
nom of paamuli q.v.
−rd

pagitala   iv [___Act (Goal)]
'*emerge*'
+rd
+nom
+caus: vi-/igo

pahutu   iv [___Act (Goal)]
'*wait in ambush*'
+rd
+nom
+caus

pala   Manner adv
'*open, evident, revealed*'
+rd
+resultative: palalati '*revealed*' [___Pat]

pala   Temporal adv
'*before, previously*'
−rd

parara   iv [___Pat]
'*pulped, rotted*'
−rd
−nom
+caus: igo

parau   n (e)
'*white man*' (P)
rd: paraurau
(cf. e masta)

pasi   Intensity adv
'*very, extremely*'
rd: papasi/paipasi

pati   iv [___Act]
'*float*'
+rd
+nom
+caus: vi-/igo

peho   iv [___Act (Ins)]
'*die, pass out*'
+rd
+nom
+caus: vi-/igo

pepa   n (la)
'*paper*' (P, E '*paper*')
+rd: la pepapepa

pepeho   Manner adv
'*very, extremely*'
+rd

pile   tv [___Act Pat]
'*reject, disdain*'
+rd
−nom
+caus

pileho	n (la) *'death'* nom of peho *'die'* q.v. +rd: la pileleho *'corpse'*		2. Manner adv *'covering, over'* +rd
pilu	tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat] *'fold, crease'* +rd −nom	**rovi**	tv [___Act Pat] *'know'* (usually re knowing information) cf. mari q.v. +rd +nom: la irovi; la virovila *'sign'*
poga	tv [___Act Pat] *'meet'* +rd +nom: la vipogala	**sae**	iv [___Act (Goal)] *'climb, board vehicle'* +rd +nom +caus
polo	1. tv [___Act Pat] *'pass by, ignore'* +rd −nom	**sagapolo**	iv [___Act Goal] *'cross over'* +rd +nom +caus
	2. Manner adv *'over, across, separately'* +rd		
poru	iv [___Act (Goal)] *'land from canoe'* +rd +nom +caus	**sagege**	iv [___Act (Ins)] *'happy'* −rd +nom +caus: vi-/igo
pou	iv [___Act (Goal)] *'sit, wait, remain'* +rd +nom +caus: vi-/igo	**sai**	tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat] *'pack down tightly'* +rd: saisai +nom −rec
puli	tv [___Act Pat] *'marry, induce to a place'* −rd +nom +caus	**sali**	iv [___Act] *'flow'* +rd +nom: la silali *'flowing'*, la silalali *'watercourse'*
raragi	1. tv [___Act (Ben) Pat] *'prepare'* 2. iv [___Pat (Goal)] *'ready, prepared'* −rd +nom: la iraragila −caus (iv)	**sesele**	1. iv [___Pat] *'true'* +rd +nom +caus 2. Manner adv *'truly, properly'* −rd
rivu	Manner adv *'back, returning'* +rd	**sibitala**	iv [___Act (Goal)] *'arrive'* (cf. guvi *'arrive'*) +rd +nom +caus
robo	1. tv [___Act Pat] *'cover'* +rd +nom: la irobo *'tree pro- tected by a spell'* +caus: igo	**so-LOC**	iv [___Act/Pat (Goal)] Motion and Locative coverb *'go to stated location/be situated at stated location'* +rd +nom +caus

soko   tv [___Act Pat]
'*start*'
+rd
+nom

sugutaro   tv [___Act Pat]
'*push something along*'
+rd
+nom

suki   tv [___Act Pat]
'*strip bark off tree*'
+rd
+nom

suli   tv [___Act Pat]
'*help*'
(cf. also koli q.v.)
+rd: susuli
+nom: la visuli
+rec

tabago   iv [___Pat (Goal)]
'*cover tightly, adhere to*'
+rd
+nom: la tabagotolala
   '*glue*'
–caus

tabagorobo   tv [___Act Pat]
'*seal off small opening*'
+rd
+nom
+caus: vi-/igo

tabara-   n (e)
'*brother*' (*sibling of same
   sex*)
+rd

tabuli   iv [___Act (Goal)]
'*lie motionless*'
+rd
+nom
+caus

taguloto   tv [___Act Pat]
'*kill with single thrust*'
+rd
+nom

tahalo   n (la)
'*man*'
–rd
plural: la valalua '*men*'

tahi   tv [___Act (Src) Pat]
'*ask*'
+rd
+nom

tala   Manner adv (or suffix)
'*emerging, appearing*'
+rd

-talo   locative suffix
'*down, under*'

tapasila   n (la)
'*the last one*'
nom of tapasi iv '*finish*'
cf. also kaluvu '*finish*'
+rd

tari-   n (e)
'*younger sibling*'
+rd

taritigi   iv [___Pat (Goal)]
'*good*'
+rd
+nom
+caus: igo tigi-a

tatahe-   n (la)
'*excreta*'
+rd

tavile   n (la)
'*woman*'
–rd; plural e (ha)tavivile q.v.

tavu   iv [___(Act) Pat]
'*towards*'
+rd
–nom
+caus: igo

tibulu   n (la)
'*rainforest*'
+rd

tigi   Manner adv
'*well, properly*'
+rd

-tigu   Locative suffix
'*behind*'

tilimuli   tv [___Act Pat]
'*follow after*'
+rd
+nom
+rec

-tilu   see -tigu

titima   n (la/e)
'*steamship*' (P, E '*steamer*'
 via Tolai)
rd: e tititima

togo n (la)
'male animal, esp. boar'
+rd

toi tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat]
'call, as naming'
+rd: tototoi
+nom: la vitiloila

tola tv [___Act Pat (Ins)]
'call to, bid'
+rd
+nom

tolo tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat]
'chop'
+rd
+nom

tomi 1. Intensity adv
'all'

2. Quantifier
'all'

+rd

tuga iv [___Act (Goal)]
'walk, depart'
+rd
+nom
+caus: vi-/igo

tultul n (e)
'village clerk' (P)
−rd

ubi tv [___Act (Ben)(Ins) Pat]
'shoot, stab'
+rd
+nom
+rec: vaubi *'fight with
weapons'*

uru 1. n (la)
'an old or important person'
rd: e ururu *'old ones,
ancestors'*

2. iv [___Pat (Ben)]
'big, old, important'
+rd
+nom: la vaururula
+caus

ururu n (e)
'old ones, ancestors'
rd of uru q.v.
−rd

usu 1. iv [___Pat]
'numerous, plentiful'
+rd
−nom
+caus

2. Quantifier
'many'
−rd

va-ubi iv [___Act (Ins)]
'fight with weapons'
caus of ubi *'shoot'* q.v.
+rd
+nom
−caus

vagari 1. iv [___Pat (Goal)]
'strong'
−rd
+nom: la vagagarila
+caus: igo

2. Manner adv
'strongly'
−rd

va(la)lua n (la)
'men, people'
plural of la tahalo *'man'* q.v.
−rd

vasigolo/ 1. tv [___Act Pat]
visigolo *'deceive someone'*

2. iv [___Act]
'deceive, be deceptive'

+rd
+nom
−caus

-ve Locative suffix
'where' interrogative
rd: -veive

vei tv [___Act (Ben) Pat]
'tell, think'
+rd
−nom
Pat is clausal complement

veimatagaga tv [___Act Ben Pat]
'explain'
−rd
+nom

veipala tv [___Act (Ben) Pat]
'reveal a secret' (vei *'tell'*,
pala *'revealing'*)
−rd
+nom

vigilemuli tv [___Act Ben Pat]
'tell a story'
+rd
+nom

vigilemuli(muli)la n (la)
'story'
nom of vigilemuli q.v.

vikapopo   1. iv [___ Act Goal] (prep-
             ositional verb)
             'together'
             -rd
             +nom
             +caus: vi-/igo

             2. Manner adv
             'together'
             -rd

vikara   iv [___ Act (Goal)]
             'speak'
             +rd
             +nom: la vikarara/la
              vikarala

vokakea n (e)
             'white man, caucasian'
             +rd: vovokakea/vokakakea

voku   tv [___ Act Pat]
             'make' (P, E *'work'*)(cf.
             igogolu tv *'make'* q.v.)
             +rd
             +nom: la vuloku-

volu   iv [___ Pat (Ins)]
             'full'
             +rd
             -nom
             +caus: vi-/igo

vorevorea iv [___ Act]
             'sway back and forth'
             -rd
             +nom: la vorevolela
             -caus

vuhu   Adjectival element
             'wild' as in la bolo vuhu
              'wild pig' (cf. also hou
              'wild' as in la paia hou
              'wild dog')
             +rd

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALLEN, Janice
    1972   'Relationships Between Sentence and Discourse in Halia'.
            Pacific Linguistics, A-34:1-15.

ALLEN, Jerry and Conrad HURD
    1963   *Languages of the Cape Hoskins Patrol Post Division of the
            Talasea Sub-District, New Britain*. Ukarumpa: Summer
            Institute of Linguistics, Port Moresby: D.I.E.S.

ARNAULD, Antoine
    1964   *The Art of Thinking*. Translated by James Dickoff and
            Patricia James. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. Reprinted
            in abridged form in Peter H. Salus, ed. 1969:109-37.

BEAUMONT, Clive
    1972   'New Ireland Languages: a Review'. *Pacific Linguistics*,
            A-35:1-41.

BURGER, Friedrich
    1913   *Die küsten- und Bergvölker der Gazellehalbinsel*. Stuttgart:
            Strecker & Schröder.

BURGMANN, Arnold
    1961   'L. Bischofs Vokabulare der Ubili-Sprache (Neubritannien)'.
            Anthropos 56:930-3.

CAPELL, Arthur
    1954   A *Linguistic Survey of the South-Western Pacific*. South
            Pacific Commission Technical Paper No.70. Noumea.

1962   A *Linguistic Survey of the South-Western Pacific*. (New and Revised Edition). South Pacific Commission Technical Paper No.136. Noumea.

1969   A *Survey of New Guinea Languages*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

1971   'The Austronesian Languages of Australian New Guinea'. In T.A. Sebeok, ed. *Current Trends in Linguistics*, vol.8: *Linguistics in Oceania*, 240-340. The Hague: Mouton.

CHAFE, Wallace L.

1970   *Meaning and the Structure of Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1974   'Language and Consciousness'. *Language* 50:111-33.

1976   'Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View'. In Charles N. Li, ed. *Subject and Topic*, 25-56. New York: Academic Press.

CHOWNING, Ann

1969   'The Austronesian Languages of New Britain'. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-21:17-45.

1971   'The External Relationships of the Languages of Northwest New Britain'. Paper read at the 20th International Congress of Orientalists, Canberra.

1973   'Milke's "New Guinea Cluster": the Evidence from Northwest New Britain'. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:189-243.

1976a   'History of Research in Austronesian Languages: New Britain'. In S.A. Wurm, ed. *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study*, vol.2: *Austronesian Languages*. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-39:179-95.

1976b   'Austronesian Languages: New Britain'. In S.A. Wurm, ed. *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study*, vol.2: *Austronesian Languages*. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-39:365-86.

n.d.   Bileki Vocabulary. Typescript. 284pp.

CHURCHWARD, C.M.

1953   *Tongan Grammar.* London: Oxford University Press.

CLARK, Marybeth

1978   *Coverbs and Case in Vietnamese.* (Ph.D. dissertation,
        University of Hawaii, 1975.) *Pacific Linguistics,* B-48.

CLARK, Ross

1973   'Transitivity and Case in Eastern Oceanic Languages'.
        Oceanic Linguistics 12:559-605.

DIK, Simon C.

1968   *Coordination: Its Implications for the Theory of General
        Linguistics.* Amsterdam: North-Holland.

DIXON, R.M.W.

1972   *The Dyirbal Language of North Queensland.* Cambridge
        Studies in Linguistics 9. London: Cambridge University
        Press.

DYEN, Isidore

1965   *A Lexicostatistical Classification of the Austronesian
        Languages.* IJAL Memoir 19.

ELIAS, R.M. and R.M. SHERWIN

1970   'Origins of Tambu Shell Currency'. *Journal of the Papua
        New Guinea Society* 4/2:69-76.

ELKINS, Richard E

1971   'Western Bukidnon Manobo Sentence Structure'. *Lingua* 27:
        216-62.

FILLMORE, Charles J.

1968   'The Case for Case'. In Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms,
        eds *Universals in Linguistic Theory,* 1-88. New York:
        Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

1976   The Case for Case Reopened. Mimeograph typescript. 45pp.
        University of California, Berkeley.

FIRBAS, Jan

1966   'On Defining the Theme in Functional Sentence Analysis'.
        Travaux Linguistiques de Prague 1:267-80.

FOLEY, William A.

1976a   Comparative Syntax in Austronesian. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

1976b   Inherent Referentiality and Language Typology. Seminar, Australian National University, October 1976.

FOLEY, William A. and Robert D. VAN VALIN, Jr

1977   'On the Viability of the Notion of 'Subject' in Universal Grammar'. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 293-320.

FRIEDERICI, Georg

1912   *Beiträge zur Völker- und Sprachenkunde von Deutsch-Neuguinea. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten,* Ergänzungsheft 5.

1913   *Untersuchungen über eine melanesische Wanderstrasse. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten,* Ergänzungsheft 7.

GIVÓN, Talmy

1971   'On the Verbal Origin of the Bantu Verb Suffixes'. *Studies in African Linguistics* 2/2:145-63.

GOODENOUGH, Ward H.

1961a   'Migrations Implied by Relationships of New Britain Dialects to Central Pacific Languages'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 70:112-26.

1961b   The Willaumez Languages of New Britain. Paper delivered to the 10th Pacific Science Congress, Hawaii.

GRACE, George W.

1955   'Subgrouping of Malayo-Polynesian: A Report of Tentative Findings'. *American Anthropologist* 57:337-9.

1959   *The Position of the Polynesian Languages within the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) Language Family. IJAL* Memoir 16.

1969   'A Proto-Oceanic Finder List'. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 1/2:39-84. University of Hawaii.

GRIMES, Joseph E.
1975   *The Thread of Discourse*. *Janua Linguarum*, Series Minor, 207. The Hague: Mouton.

GROSSMAN, Robin E., L. James SAN and Timothy J. VANCE, eds
1975   *Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

GROSU, Alexander
1975   'A Plea for Greater Caution in Proposing Functional Explanations in Linguistics'. In Grossman et al., eds 1975: 170-208.

HARRISON, Sheldon P.
1973   'Reduplication in Micronesian Languages'. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:407-54.

HAWKINSON, Annie K. and Larry M. HYMAN
1974   'Hierarchies of Natural Topic in Shona'. *Studies in African Linguistics* 5:147-70.

HEES, Friedrich
1915-16   'Ein Beitrag aus den Sagen und Erzählungen der Nakanai (Neupommern, Südsee)'. *Anthropos* 10-11:34-64, 562-85, 861-87.

HOHEPA, Patrick W.
1969   'The Accusative-to-Ergative Drift in Polynesian Languages'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 78:295-329.

HOOLEY, Bruce A.
1970   Mapos Buang - Territory of New Guinea. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

HOPE, Edward R.
1974   *The Deep Syntax of Lisu Sentences*. *Pacific Linguistics*, B-34.

HUMBOLDT, Wilhelm von
1963 *Humanist Without Portfolio.* Translated by Marianne Cowan
from the Introduction to *Man's Intrinsic Humanity: His
Language (1830-1835).* Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State
University Press. Reprinted in Salus, ed. 1969:178-98.

JACKENDOFF, Ray
1972 *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar.* Cambridge,
Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.

JOHNSTON, Raymond L.
1973a Nakanai Texts. Typescript, Summer Institute of Linguistics,
Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

1973b Nakanai Anthropology Essentials. Typescript, Summer
Institute of Linguistics, Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

JOHNSTON, Raymond L., ed.
1974 *La Vigilemulimulile Pakasa Uru me Tulagola (Stories about
Big Wallaby and Tulagola the Dog).* Summer Institute of
Linguistics, Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

JOHNSTON, Raymold L. and Marilyn R. JOHNSTON
1972 Lakalai Phonology. Typescript, Summer Institute of
Linguistics, Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea.

KARTUNNEN, Lauri
1970 'On the Semantics of Complement Sentences'. *Papers from
the 6th Regional Meeting.* Chicago Linguistic Society.

KEENAN, Edward L.
1976 'Towards a Universal Definition of "Subject"'. In Charles
N. Li, ed. *Subject and Topic*, 303-33. New York: Academic
Press.

KEENAN, Edward L. and Bernard COMRIE
1972 Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar. Paper
presented at the 47th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic
Society of America, Atlanta, December 27-28.

KILHAM, Christine Anne

   1977   *Thematic Organization of Wik-Munkan Discourse*. *Pacific Linguistics*, B-52.

KROLL, H.

   1938   'Sagen und Märchen der Bola'. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 70:371-425.

KUNO, Susumu

   1975   'Three Perspectives in the Functional Approach to Syntax'. In Grossman et al., eds 1975:276-336.

LANYON-ORGILL, Peter A.

   1960   A *Dictionary of the Raluana Language*. Victoria, B.C.: The Author.

LAUFER, Carl

   1956   'Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse innerhalb des Gunantuna-Stammes (Südsee)'. *Anthropos* 51:994-1028.

   1966   'Zur linguistischen Forschung auf Neubritannien'. *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research* 8:115-24.

LEE, Keedong

   1974   Verbal Aspect in Kusaiean and Ponapean. Paper presented to the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu.

LEHMANN, Winfred P.

   1973   'A Structural Principle of Language and its Implications'. *Language* 49:47-66.

LI, Charles N. and Sandra A. THOMPSON

   1973   'Serial Verb Constructions in Mandarin Chinese'. In Claudia Corum et al., eds *You Take the High Node and I'll Take the Low Node: Papers from the Comparative Syntax Festival: The Differences Between Main and Subordinate Clauses*, 96-103. A Para-volume to *Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

300

LONGACRE, Robert E.
    1972   *Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages*, vol.1: *Discussion*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

    1974   'Narrative Versus Other Discourse Genre'. In Ruth Brend, ed. *Advances in Tagmemics*, 357-76. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

LYNCH, John D.
    1973   'Verbal Aspects of Possession in Melanesian Languages'. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:69-102.

MEYER, Otto
    1932   'Missionar und Wissenschaft'. In J. Hüskes, ed. *Pioniere der Südsee*, 185-96. Hiltrup: Herz-Jesu Missionhaus.

MILKE, Wilhelm
    1961   'Beiträge zur ozeanischen Linguistik'. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 86:162-82.

    1965   'Comparative Notes on the Austronesian Languages of New Guinea'. In G.B. Milner and E.J.A. Henderson, eds *Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies* 1:330-48. Amsterdam: North-Holland. Also: *Lingua* 14:330-48.

MILNER, George B.
    1973   'It is Aspect (Not Voice) Which is Marked in Samoan'. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:621-39.

MORGAN, Jerry L.
    1975   'Some Remarks on the Nature of Sentences'. In Grossman et al., eds 1975:433-49.

MÜHLHÄUSLER, Peter
    1975   'Reduplication and Repetition in New Guinea Pidgin'. In K.A. McElhanon, ed. *Tok Pisin i go we? Kivung Special Publication Number* 1:198-214. Port Moresby: Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea.

MÜLLER, Hermann
    1907   'Grammatik der Mengen-Sprache'. *Anthropos* 2:80-99, 241-54.

MUNRO, Ian S.R.

    1967   *The Fishes of New Guinea*. Port Moresby: Department of
              Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries.

PARKINSON, Richard

    1907   *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* ... Stuttgart: Strecker und
              Schröder.

PAWLEY, Andrew K.

    1972   'On the Internal Relationships of Eastern Oceanic Languages'.
              In R.C. Green and M. Kelly, eds *Studies in Oceanic Culture
              History*, vol.3:1-142. *Pacific Anthropological Records* 13.
              Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

    1973   'Some Problems in Proto-Oceanic Grammar'. *Oceanic
              Linguistics* 12:103-88.

    1976   On the Development of Relative Clauses in Oceanic Languages.
              Typescript.

PAWLEY, Andrew K. and Lawrence A. REID

    1979   'The Evolution of Transitive Constructions in Austronesian'.
              In Paz Naylor, ed. *Papers from the Second Eastern Conference
              on Austronesian Languages. The Michigan Series in South
              and Southeast Asian Languages and Linguistics*, 103-30. Ann
              Arbor: CSSEAS Publications. The University of Michigan.
              In press.

PIKE, Kenneth L.

    1967   'Grammar as Wave'. *Monograph Series on Languages and
              Linguistics*, 18th Annual Round Table, 1-14. Georgetown
              University, School of Languages and Linguistics.

POSTAL, Paul M. and David M. PERLMUTTER

    1974   *Notes on Relational Grammar*. Baltimore: Linguistic
              Society of America.

POWELL, Wilfred

    1883   *Wanderings in a Wild Country, or, Three Years Among the
              Cannibals of New Britain*. London: Sampson Low.

PRENTICE, D.J.

    1971   *The Murut Languages of Sabah*. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-18.

REID, Lawrence A.

1970 *Central Bontoc: Sentence, Paragraph and Discourse.*
Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 27. Summer
Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma,
Norman.

ROSS, John R.

1967 'Auxiliaries as Main Verbs'. In W. Todd, ed. *Studies*
in Philosophical Linguistics, series 1.

1972 'Act'. In Donald Davidson and Gilbert Harman, eds
Semantics of Natural Language, 70-126. Dordrecht: D. Reidel.

SACRED HEART MISSION, VALOKA

1939 *La Buka La Kilaka Tabou (tegiteu e Katoliki Nakanai).*
Vunapope. 40pp.

1949 *La Testamento Ale Mamuga, te la Merera Nakanai.* 17 O.T.
stories. Vunapope. 10pp.

1951 Atles Testamento. 78 O.T. stories. Typed carbon. 50pp.

n.d.a Nakanai Reader. Mimeographed book of short stories. 36pp.

n.d.b Nakanai Katekisma. Carbon copy. 28pp.

n.d.c Book of 96 New Testament Stories. Typed carbon. 90pp.

n.d.d Sunday Gospels. Typed carbon. 40pp.

SALUS, Peter H., ed.

1969 *On Language: Plato to von Humboldt.* New York: Holt,
Rinehart and Winston.

SCHACHTER, Paul

1973 'Focus and Relativization'. *Language* 49/1:19-46.

1974 'A Non-Transformational Account of Serial Verbs'. *Studies*
in African Linguistics, Supplement 5:253-70, 278-82.

1976   'The Subject in Philippine Languages: Topic, Actor, Actor-Topic, or None of the Above?'. In Charles N. Li, ed. *Subject and Topic*, 491-518. New York: Academic Press.

1977   'Role and Reference Properties of Subjects'. In P. Cole and J. Sadock, eds *Syntax and Semantics*, vol.8: *Grammatical Relations*. New York: Academic Press.

SILVERSTEIN, Michael

1976   'Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity'. In R.M.W. Dixon, ed. *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*, 112-71. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

SMEALL, Christopher

1975   'Grammaticalized Verbs in Lolo-Burmese'. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 2/2:273-87.

SNEDDON, James N.

1975   *Tondano Phonology and Grammar*. *Pacific Linguistics*, B-38.

SPEYER, J.S.

1886   *Sanskrit Syntax*. Leiden: Brill.

STAHLKE, Herbert F.W.

1974   'Serial Verbs as Adverbs: A Reply to Paul Schachter'. *Studies in African Linguistics*, Supplement 5:271-7.

STAMM, Joseph

1961a   Grammatik der Lakalai Sprache - West and Central Nakanai.
(1925)   41pp. Typescript, Sacred Heart Mission.

1961b
(1925)   Woerter Buch der Valoka Sprache. 86pp. Typescript, Sacred Heart Mission.

n.d.   Die Aussichten auf die Nakanai mission sind nicht ganz Aussichtslos. (Memoirs). 30pp. Typescript, Sacred Heart Mission, Rabaul.

TCHEKHOFF, Claude

1973   'Verbal Aspects in an Ergative Construction: An Example in Tongan'. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:607-20.

VALENTINE, Charles A.

1958 An Introduction to the History of Changing Ways of Life on the Island of New Britain. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. Microfilm, Ann Arbor: University Microfilm Libraries, 1963.

1963 'Men of Anger and Men of Shame: Lakalai Ethnopsychology and its Implications for Socio-psychological Theory'. *Ethnology* 2:441-77.

1965 'The Lakalai of New Britain'. In P. Lawrence and M.J. Meggitt, eds *Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia,* 162-97. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

YNGVE, Victor H.

1975 'Toward a Human Linguistics'. In Grossman et al., eds 1975:540-55.