TOLAI SYNTAX
AND ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

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The present study of Tolai was commenced in 1974 at the instigation of Professor Dr M. Scheller of the University of Zürich, to whom I wish to express my thanks for teaching me the first lessons in Tolai and Tok Pisin and for encouraging me to investigate the influence of the substratum on the development of Tok Pisin (Mosel 1980). The first field research, which was generously supported by my parents, was carried out in September and October 1976; the second from March to September 1978, while I was a member of the research project 'Sprachwandel und Sprachmischung' (Language Change and Language Mixing) of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which financed the studies from 1977 to 1979. I am most grateful to Dr Hans-Jürgen Sasse, the supervisor of this project for his guidance throughout my historical and sociolinguistic research. I also would like to acknowledge here the helpful criticism and encouragement I received from all friends, colleagues and the chairman of the Institut für Allgemeine und Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft, University of Munich, Professor Dr Klaus Strunk.

In 1980 I was invited by Professor Dr Hansjakob Seiler to join the Cologne Research group in language universals and typology (UNITYP) financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and continued working on the description of the Tolai syntax under his supervision. I am deeply indebted to my Cologne colleagues who have stimulated my studies through commenting on draft sections of this book; many ideas, particularly those concerning nominal determination, number, possession and clause structure, evolved during our discussions. I especially wish to thank Professor Dr H. Seiler for his constant interest and valuable criticism, and I hope that this work will contribute to the research of language universals and language typology.

Further I would like to thank Professor Dr Peter Mühlhäusler of Oxford University; I profited a lot from our discussions on language development in general and that of Tok Pisin in particular.

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

This book is dedicated to Joachim Mosel (1928–1982) in remembrance of the time we spent together.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE SCOPE OF STUDY

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

1.2 THE TOLAI PEOPLE

The Tolai people populate a strip of coast about 50 kilometres long and up to 50 kilometres wide, in the north-west of the Gazelle Peninsula, East New Britain, Papua New Guinea. The political and commercial centre of this area is the seaport of Rabaul. The first regular contact the Tolais had with white people was in the years after 1875, when the Methodist Church opened its mission (Mosel 1982) and when, almost simultaneously, the first commercial firms set up business on the Duke of York Islands and the Gazelle Peninsula (Hempenstall 1978:119). These firms started to enlist workers for Samoa, and established the first plantations. The Catholic Church began missionary work with the Tolai in 1882 (Mosel 1982). In 1884 the whole Bismarck Archipelago was declared a German protectorate, in 1885 a German colony.
Since the Tolai did not work on the plantations in their own areas, but only enlisted for work on Samoa out of venturesomeness or because of family disordances, workers from other areas of the Bismarck Archipelago (especially from New Ireland) had to be brought in to work on the plantations on the Gazelle Peninsula. In the years leading up to the First World War, the population of Rabaul and its surroundings was made up of the following groups:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Although the Tolais are the tribe most influenced by the Europeans in Papua New Guinea, they still stick to their traditions. The old structure of society, with its clans, secret societies and marriage categories, has hardly changed; in the village courts justice is done according to old law, and the traditional shell-money has more prestige than the national currency. In the villages European clothing is sneered at, and a marriage between a Tolai and a non-Tolai is rare. This sticking to tradition results in the fact that the majority of the 80,000 Tolais still live in the villages. Only a few live in the provincial capital of Rabaul (pop. 30,000). These are government officials and business men with their families, along with younger people, who work in town or still go to school (Malaguna Technical College, Rabaul Secretarial College). Those Tolais who live in Rabaul usually have a close relationship to their home village.
The majority of the population in Rabaul is made up of the Europeans, Chinese and Papua New Guineans from other provinces. This also applies to Kokopo with a population of not more than 5,000.

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

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

1.3 THE TOLAI'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENGLISH AND TOK PISIN

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

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

1.4 THE TOLAI LANGUAGE

1.4.1 The names of the language

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

1.4.2 Genetic and typological classification

According to Capell's subgrouping of Austronesian New Guinea languages, which is based on the sequential order of subject, verb and object, Tolai belongs to the so-called 'AN1-languages' as it shows SVO in contrast to AN2-languages, which are SOV-languages (Capell 1971:241-243). Though spoken in New Britain, Tolai is not closely related to the other Austronesian languages of New Britain, but belongs genetically to the languages of Southern New Ireland (Beaumont 1972:12ff, 1976:387ff; Chowning 1969:24).

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

1.4.3 The development of the Tolai language since 1875

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

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

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

(a) Derivations:

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

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

(b) Circumlocutions:

Cultural innovations resembling things of the traditional Tolai society, but which have a new function, are often signified by nominal compounds consisting of the head noun, the connective particle and the modifying noun which denotes the function of what is referred to by the head noun (cf.p.51), e.g.
pal - na-kunukul  store
house -c- trading
pal - na-banubat  prison
house -c- looking-up (people)
kiki - na-vinavana  carriage, car
seat - c- going
pia - na-pal  town
ground-c- house

Agent nouns are formed by tena + verbal noun expert in doing stg. or
lup + verbal noun person strongly inclined toward stg., e.g.
tena tutumu  secretary
writing
tena vartovo  teacher
teaching
lup minomo  drunkard
drinking

(c) Extensions:
mal  loin cloth  > clothes
tumu  to draw  > to write
pua  white  > European man

(d) Onomatopoetica:
meme  goat
pedepeda  motorbike
petpet  slipper
pumpum  motorbike

The loan words borrowed from English, Tok Pisin, Fijian1, German and Latin
during the first stage of development were restructured according to the
rules of Tolai phonology (cf. Mösel 1980:8-20), so that their morphological
and syntactic integration caused no problems. As the voiced bilabial /b/
orthographically rendered by v) is the only fricative in Tolai, /f/ in loan
words is substituted by /p/, /\$/ by /b/, /s, z/ by /t/ and /ç/ by /t/ or /k/;
the affricates /ts/ and /t/ are substituted by /t/ and /dz/ by /i/; /h/ is
deleted. Consonant clusters are broken up by inserted vowels except for the
sequences of /mb/, /nd/ and /ng/, which are realised as prenasalised stops
in those dialects which show prenasalisation or are reduced to /b/, /d/ and
/g/ respectively. Examples:

1. English

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

2. Tok Pisin

banit  < banis  enclosure
paut  < paus  suitcase
puti  < pusl  cat
3. German

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

4. Fijian

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

5. Latin

imolatio to sacrifice
pekato sin

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

The Fijian loan words were introduced by the Fijian Methodist missionaries¹, and the few Latin loan words by the Catholic missionaries. Some Tolai circumlocutions seem to be loan translations from Fijian, e.g.

Tolai                         Fijian

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

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

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

Today some of the old expressions created during the first stage of development and which were abandoned during the second one are still maintained in the language of the radio news and the missionaries' language as, for instance, tepelin aeroplane and pia-na-pal town. There are also still some old people, particularly women, who have not yet accepted the phoneme /s/ and say Ingilit English, balut aeroplane, karabut prison, tito store etc. As far as
morphology and syntax are concerned, there seems to be no change during the second stage of development, since Pidgin verbs, for instance, could easily be reduplicated in order to express the imperfective aspect, or be nominalised by the infix -in-, e.g. simsipit to be speeding, sipasipak to be habitually drunk, sipit speeding, etc.

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

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

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

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

   (2) Ma nam ra Babylon di ga destroy ta= na ba a
       and DEM ART INOEF TA PREP=it or ART
       kalou i ga va= kaina- vuē.
       God he CAUS=be-bad-do-away+it
       And Babylon was destroyed, i.e. God spoilt it and made it disappear.

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

   (3) Kana umana sentences, a umana pakapaka-na-tinata
       his PL ART PL pieces- C- speaking
       ta kana umana kakailai i complete ba i kidoloina
       in his PL song it or it complete
       ta ra tinata Kuanua.
       in ART speaking Kuanua
       His sentences, the parts of speech in his songs were completely correct Tolai sentences.
The alternative solution of exclusively using Tolai expressions in order to avoid misunderstandings was obviously rejected, since the speakers of higher education like to show off their knowledge of English. In the examples quoted above, which could be extended over pages, the English loan comes first and is explained by the following Tolai paraphrase. In conversations between people of the same level of education, English loans are not followed by Tolai paraphrases, but sometimes the speakers use the reverse strategy by which a Tolai expression is followed by an English paraphrase. This type of paraphrasing obviously does not meet the necessity of establishing meaningful communication, but only serves as a means of signalling the speaker's social and educational status. Thus when the two teachers Joe and To Mago were chatting about Joe's life, Joe said:

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

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

1.4.4 Regional, social and functional varieties of present day Tolai

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. The language of the radio news

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

(6) \[ \begin{align*} i & \text{ tarulul ra matanitu ngala} \\ he & \text{ TA ask ART government big} \\ varurung & \text{ ma ra ikilik na matanitu,} \\ together with & \text{ ART little C government} \\ upi & \text{ dir a tur varurung} \\ that & \text{ they/DU TA stand together} \\ ta & \text{ ra umana nga-na-papalum-na-tinur- varbat} \\ in & \text{ ART PL way-C work-C standing-hindering} \\ ta & \text{ ra vinavana kai ra tarai} \\ in & \text{ ART going of ART people} \end{align*} \]
papa ta ra bala- na-gunan
from in ART interior-C- village

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

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

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

(7) di ga vana, di ga vana, di ga vana,
they/DU TA go they/DU TA go they/DU TA go
a vinavana ka iat
ART going only PART
they went and went and went and did not stop

(8) ma nam ra umana bul dia nunure ra nialir K1 113
and DEM ART PL child they/PL know ART swimming
and those children know how to swim.

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

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

Recently introduced circumlocutions are, for instance,

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

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

None of these expressions are used in normal conversations.

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

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

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

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

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

1.5 THE PRESENT DESCRIPTION OF THE TOLAI SYNTAX

1.5.1 The data

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

The most comprehensive dictionary is Meyer's Wörterbuch der Tuna-Sprache
(1961, compiled in 1921), followed by Lanyon-Orgill (1960), Rickard (1889) and Wright
(1964), which is based on Rickard (1889). Rickard (1889) and Lanyon-Orgill (1960)
also prepared an English-Tolai Index, and Bley (1917) a German-Tolai dictionary.
German-Tolai glossaries are also found in Bley (1912) and Costantini (1907).
As the Methodist missionaries (Rickard, Fellmann, Wright) and their Catholic colleagues (Bley, Eberlein, Meyer, Zwinge) did not cooperate (Mosel 1982), the research on the Tolai language followed two separate traditions, so that the modern linguist is fortunate in being provided with two kinds of sources whose reliability can be tested by comparison. Not being trained linguists, the missionaries often copied the views of their predecessors without verifying them. The dictionary by Lanyon-Orgill, who was not a missionary, is obviously based on Rickard (1889).

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under 14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 60</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 37
In the following description of Tolai syntax I usually quote examples from edited texts, as far as traditional Tolai is concerned, in order to allow verification. Bible translations and *Nilai ra Dovot* (1909-1976), the monthly paper of the Methodist Church, are only used as sources to demonstrate the peculiarities of the missionaries' language. The origin of the examples is given by means of the following abbreviations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bl</td>
<td>Bley (1912)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co</td>
<td>Costantini (1907)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eb</td>
<td>Eberlein (1912)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kl</td>
<td>Kleintitschen (1924)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Meier (1909)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ND</td>
<td><em>Nilai ra Dovot</em> radio news taped in 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT</td>
<td><em>Tolai texts; Mosel</em> (1977)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>Wright (1964)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1.5.2 Conventions

All examples are written in the modern standard orthography except that morpheme boundaries are indicated by = and that the subordinated constituents of nominal and verbal compounds are joined to the head by hyphens. Quotations from sources not written in the standard orthography are adapted, which mainly concerns the writing of the phonemes /g/ and /ŋ/. Whereas nowadays they are rendered by q and ng respectively, the early Methodist publications used the Fijian³ spelling q and g, which had also been adopted by some Catholic writers. The table below shows the spelling of /g/ and /ŋ/ in the various publications:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>/g/</th>
<th>/ŋ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bley (1912)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costantini (1907)</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eberlein (1912)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellmann (n.d.)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin et al. (1974)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kleintitschen (1914)</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanyon-Orgill (1960)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meier (1906)</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ń</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meyer (1961)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright (1964)</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zwinge (1953)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rickard (1889)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

\[ \text{kai } \]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>connective particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEREL</td>
<td>derelational suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTR</td>
<td>distributional plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>effective particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH PART</td>
<td>emphatic particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXC</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRUST</td>
<td>frustrative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INGRESS</td>
<td>ingressive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITR</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREAL</td>
<td>irrealis marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITER</td>
<td>iterative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfect tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS.CLFR</td>
<td>possessive classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS.M.</td>
<td>possessive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>reciprocal prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECENT</td>
<td>recent past tense marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>functional reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REMOTE</td>
<td>remoteness marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>tense, aspect, mood marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRI</td>
<td>trial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRM</td>
<td>transitive marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2

THE NOUN PHRASE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

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

the male personal name Mikael and the village name Raluana in

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

tutana the man and vavina the woman in

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

iau I in

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

nam that in

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

patana nobody in

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

mangoro many in

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

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

iau I and vavina woman in

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

vavina woman and nam that in

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

gunan village in

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

2.2 ARTICLES

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

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

(11) a tutana the man
     ART man
     tika na tutana a man, one man
     one C man
     a ik a oaga the small canoe
     ART small C canoe
     ta ik a oaga a small canoe
     ART small C canoe
     a tarai the people, the men
     ART people
     ta tarai people, some people
     ART people

Though a/ra and ta, tika na are somewhat similar to the English articles 'the' and 'a', their distribution is different, as shown in (8) and (12), e.g.
(12) "Una kul pa ta ier ma ta buai!"  
you/SG+TA buy PART some pepper and some betelnut  
| ga kul pa ra buai ma ra ier.  
he TA buy PART ART betelnut and ART pepper  
"Buy pepper and betelnuts!" He bought betelnuts and pepper.

which illustrate two rules:

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

   (8) lau a vavina.  
   I ART woman

   but not by

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

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

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

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

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

(14) pata tutana  
no man  
no man

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

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

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

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

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

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

(17) Tara tutana-vurakit i lua...  
one t. he precede
rn a tara tutana-vurakit i ga mur  
and the-other t. he TA follow
One tutana-vurakit (a spirit) preceded, the other followed.
Traditional proper names are preceded by To for males and la for females respectively and thus contrast with common nouns e.g.

(18) a vuvu To Vuvu
   ART wind Mr Wind
   the wind, Mr Wind
   a malana la Malana
   ART morning Mrs Morning
   the morning, Mrs Morning

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

(19) a lapan
   ART Japan the Japanese
   tika na lapan
   one C Japan a Japanese, one Japanese

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

(20) tura= gu my brother
    brother= my
    a umana tura= gu my brothers
    ART PL brothers= my

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

2.3 THE SEQUENTIAL ORDER OF NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

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

DEM + ART + PL (+C) + ADJ ev + C + N NUC +
POSS.PRON QUANT NUM

+ + (C) + N MOD + ADJ ch + POSSESSOR-PHR

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

ADJ ev = evaluating adjective
ADJ ch = characterising adjective
N NUC = head noun
N MOD = modifying noun
POSSESSOR-PHR = possessor phrase
Examples:

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

(23) kana tik a na bar mana
    his one C lad
    one of his lads

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

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

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

\[ \text{DEM} + \text{ART} + \text{PL} + (C) + \text{ADJ}_{\text{ev}} + \text{C} + \text{N}_{\text{NUC}} = \text{PRON.SUFF}_\text{POSSESSOR} \]

\[ \text{NUM} = \text{POSS.M.} + \text{NP}_\text{POSSESSOR} \]

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

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

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

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

in contrast to

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

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

2.3.1 Determiners preceding the head noun

2.3.1.1 Demonstrative pronouns

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

Note that the inverse word order, e.g.

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

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

2.3.1.2 The second position: articles and possessive pronouns

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

(31) a pal
ART house
a umana pal
ART PL house
kaugu pal
my house
kaugu umana pal
my PL house
tika na pal
one PL house
tika na umana pal
my one PL house
tika na tika na pal
my one C house
ta umana pal
some PL house
kaugu ta umana pal
my some PL house

2.3.1.3 Plural markers, quantifiers and numerals

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

(32) go ra umana magit
DEM ART PL thing
these things (cf.p.61)
go ra lavur magit
DEM ART PL thing
these various things
(cf.p.77)
go ra ta na tura= na
DEM ART PL C brother= his
these brothers of his
(cf.p.62)
Plural markers, quantifiers and numerals may not be combined with one another, i.e. plurality is exclusively expressed by a plural marker or a quantifier or a numeral; if plurality is expressed by a quantifier or a numeral it is not redundantly indicated by a plural marker. While all plural markers except tara (cf.p.62) and some of the quantifiers (cf.p.63), e.g. peal many, paupau few are juxtaposed to what follows them (i.e. an adjective or the head noun), other quantifiers and all the numerals except ura two require a ligature called 'connective particle' (abbr. C), e.g.

(35) a umana ngala na pal the big houses
ART PL big C house
a peal ngala na pal many big houses
ART many big C house
a paupau ngala na pal a few big houses
ART few big C house

but

(36) a tara na ngala na tutana the big men
ART PL C big C man
a mangoro na ngala na pal many big houses
ART many C big C house
a ilima na ngala na pal five big houses
ART five C big C house

2.3.1.4 Evaluative and affective adjectives

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

If two adjectives precede the head noun, the first one is usually either ngala big or ik little and refers to the size of the head noun referent, e.g.
or it modifies the quality expressed by the second adjective as being strong or weak, e.g.

(39) **a ngala na kaina bung**

**ART big C bad day**

*a very bad day (the day when the volcano erupted).*

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

(40) **a bo na dekdek na papalum**

**ART good C hard C work**

*good, hard work*

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

2.3.2 Determiners following the head noun

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

2.3.2.1. Nouns

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

(41) **a bul vartovo**

**ART child learning**

*the pupil*

(42) **a bul vavina**

**ART child woman**

*the girl*

(43) **a bul tutana**

**ART child man**

*the boy*

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

(44) **a bul Niu Gini**

**ART child New Guinea**

*the New Guinean child*

After adjectives which end in -na the connective particle is omitted. All other nouns are joined to the head noun by the means of the connective particle. The resulting construction is for practical reasons simply called **N₁-C-N₂-construction**. The modifying noun (N₂) determines the concept expressed by the head noun
in a rather unspecific way. Thus, if \( N \) refers to a concrete object, \( N \) may characterise it by denoting its material or its destination (for further details cf.p.51):

\[
\begin{align*}
(45) & \quad \text{a} \quad \text{pal} \quad \text{- na} \quad \text{kunai} \quad \text{the grass hut} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{grass} \\
(46) & \quad \text{a} \quad \text{pal} \quad \text{- na} \quad \text{-vartovo} \quad \text{the school house} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{house-C} \quad \text{- learning} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
(47) \quad \text{a} \quad \text{nirovoi-na-boroi} \quad \text{the pig hunt} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{hunting-C} \quad \text{pig}
\]

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

### 2.3.2.2 Adjectives

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(48) & \quad \text{a} \quad \text{ikilik} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{pal} \quad \text{the little house} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{little C} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{(in contrast to a big house)} \\
& \quad \text{a} \quad \text{pal} \quad \text{ikilik} \quad \text{the toilet} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{little} \\
& \quad \text{a} \quad \text{ngala} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{vartovo} \quad \text{the big school} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{big C} \quad \text{school} \quad \text{(in contrast to a small school)} \\
& \quad \text{a} \quad \text{vartovo} \quad \text{ngala} \quad \text{the high school} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{school} \quad \text{big} \\
& \quad \text{a} \quad \text{vartovo} \quad \text{ikilik} \quad \text{the primary school} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{school} \quad \text{little}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
(49) \quad \text{a} \quad \text{pal} \quad \text{pua} \quad \text{the white house} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{white}
\]

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

\[
(50) \quad \text{a} \quad \text{pua} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{pal} \quad \text{the white house} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{white C} \quad \text{house}
\]

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

\[
(51) \quad \text{a} \quad \text{pal} \quad \text{tabu} \quad \text{the sacred house} \\
& \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{sacred}
\]
(52) a vavina tuna the real woman (not the spirit; ART woman real i.e. the woman that owns all the properties a female human being has)
a tinata tuna the indigenous language ART language real i.e. the Tolai language.

In combination with lima hand tuna is used metaphorically to denote the right hand, e.g.
(53) a lima tuna the right hand ART hand real

while left hand is expressed by the single lexeme maira.

2.3.2.3 Possessor phrases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The last example shows that the goal of the action is felt as being more inherently related to the action than the actor (cf. p. 36). The difference between possessive constructions and the N1-C-N2-constructions will be discussed in 2.5.4 (cf. p. 59).

2.3.2.4 Local deictics and prepositional phrases

Local deictics and prepositional phrases are always related to the immediately preceding noun, or in case that they follow a N1-C-N2-construction, to N1, which is another proof of the strong cohesion of N1-C-N2, e.g.

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

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

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

2.3.2.5 Relative clauses

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

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

(61) Di kubika ta ra tarai diat dia korot
INDEF give-a-gift to ART men they/PL they/PL chase
nam ra boroi ma ra tabu
DEM ART pig with ART shell-money
The men who have chased the pig receive a small gift in shell-money.

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

(62) Tika na bul a iangi=na To Noel amir
One C chap ART name= his TO Noel we/EXC/DU
amir ga ki varurung ati ...
we/EXC/DU TA sit together here
One chap whose name was To Noel and I stayed together here.
(lit. one chap - his name (was) To Noel - we two stayed together here)

(63) Nam ra nga a umana te Ostrelia dia ga mal
DEM ART way ART PL native Australia they/PL TA make
ia tika na pakana ta=na i ga kaina.
TT 66
it one C part on=it it TA bad
Part of the former road which the Australians had built was bad.
(lit. that road - the Australians had made it - one part of it was bad)
2.3.3 Conclusion

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

DEM + ART   + PL   + (C) + ADJ_{ev} + C + N_1
or
POSS.PRON   QUANT   or
or
NUM

highest referential potential
increasing referential potential
decreasing referential potential
descending referential potential
increasing descriptive potential
decreasing descriptive potential

The order of elements preceding the head noun seems to be determined by the same rule as stated for High German by Seiler (1978:309):

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

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

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

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

4. The use of the connective particle is only partly correlated with the two principles of determination, i.e. determination of reference and determination of a concept. The only regularity which can be observed is that determiners of a very high referential potential as demonstratives, articles, possessors and local deictics are not linked by the connective particle. But it cannot be explained why evaluative adjectives that precede the head noun require the connective particle, whereas characterising adjectives lack it. Since the items of a high referential potential lack the connective particle, one would rather expect that characterising adjectives are linked by it instead of
evaluative adjectives. The characterising adjectives hold the same position as N₂ in N₁N₂-compounds, which also lack the connective particle, so that it might be reasonable to regard the sequence of N ADJ_n as a compound, too.

2.3.4 Innovations in modern Tolai

2.3.4.1 Articles

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

(64) mangoro na tarai  
many C people

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

2.3.4 The sequential order of noun phrase constituents

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

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

(65) a pu a na pal  
ART white C house
the white house

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

(66) wetpela haus  
white house
a/the white house

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

(67) a yellow na pal  
ART C house
the yellow house

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

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

a i kilik na vartovo  
ART little C school
the primary school

instead of a matanitu ngala and a vartovo i kilik³ (cf.p.24).
2. Due to the extensive use of nominalisations, the sequence of N₂-C-N₂ is sometimes interrupted by an adjective modifying the N₂ in the language of the radio news (cf.p.10), e.g.

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

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

1. Multiple compounding

While in traditional Tolai compound noun phrases consist of only two nouns, namely N₁-C-N₂, the head noun is occasionally followed by two or three modifying nouns in the radio news, e.g.

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

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

2. Extensive use of adnominal prepositional adjuncts

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

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

becomes

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

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

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

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

(Ta, which is rendered by PREP in the interlinear morphemic translation, is basically a locative preposition; for details cf.p.202).
In traditional Tolai the patient of an action expressed by a nominalised verb can only be denoted by the C-N2-construction, e.g.

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

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

(77) | pait kana tinata-na-varvadovot
    He make his speaking-C-finding-out-the-truth
   ure ra vartakun pire August To Ima.  (news)
   about ART accusing PREP A.
   He held a speech to find out the truth about the accusation
   against August To Ima.

(78) A nilul upi ra maramaravut ure pire
    ART asking for ART supporting in-respect-to PREP
    ra Red Cross ati New Britain di vaarike
    ART here IND announce+it
   go ra ravian.  (news)
   DEM ART afternoon
   This afternoon it was announced that the population was asked to
   support the Red Cross here in New Britain.

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

2.4 POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASES

2.4.1 Introduction

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

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

(80) my brother
    I have two brothers
(81) the leg of the kangaroo  
The kangaroo has short front legs.

(82) the leaves of the tree

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

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

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

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

I. Inalienable possessive phrases

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

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

II. Alienable possessive phrases

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

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

III. Compound noun phrases

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

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

In inalienable possessive constructions (84), (85), the possessor always follows the possessed noun (i.e. bala belly). While singular pronominal possessors are directly suffixed to the possessed noun (85), (90), non-singular pronominal and nominal possessors are connected to it by means of the possessive marker (POSS.M.) =i (91), (92):
The pronominal suffixes =gu, =m, =na etc. cannot be classified as possessive suffix pronouns, but only generally as suffix pronouns, because they also occur with some prepositions, e.g. ta=gu to me, pira=gu near me.

Since clusters of consonants are avoided in Tolai⁵, the singular pronominal suffixes =gu, =m and =na are not directly joined to nouns ending in a consonant, but through mediation of an insert vowel. If the stem vowel of the noun is u or if the final consonant of the noun is p, the insert vowel is u, elsewhere it is i, e.g.

(93) a ul= u=gu my head
ART head= my
a gap= u=na his blood
ART blood= his
a pal= i=na his skin
ART skin= his

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

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

In alienable possessive constructions the possessor noun follows the possessed noun and is joined to it by means of the particle kai or ai ((86), (95), (96)), which is composed of the possessive classifier (POSS.CLFR) ka= or a= and the possessive marker =i:
The different meanings of the possessive classifiers will be explained below (cf.p. 39); here we are only concerned with the formal structure of the different possessive constructions.

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>POSS.M.</th>
<th>POSS.CLFR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inalienable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular pronom.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-singular pronominal possessor</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal possessor</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alienable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal possessor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal possessor</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As will be seen later (cf.p.46), this continuum of structural means correlates with a semantic continuum from the most intimate or inherent relationship (such as kinship and bodypart relationship) to more distant relationships (as for instance temporary ownership); the more inherent relationships require less
mediating means of expression than the less inherent ones. Secondly, the choice of the means of expression is determined by morphosyntactic features of the nominal possessor. The syntactic relationship between the possessed noun and a pronominal possessor is closer than the corresponding relationship between the possessed noun and a nominal possessor; and in inalienable possessive phrases non-singular pronominal possessors require a more distant construction than singular pronominal possessors. 6

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(99) & \quad \text{a pal-na-kunai} \\
& \quad \text{ART house- C- grass} \\
& \quad \text{the grass hut}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(100) & \quad \text{a bala-na-vavina} \\
& \quad \text{ART belly- C- woman} \\
& \quad \text{a woman's belly, a belly like a woman}
\end{align*}
\]

In comparison with

\[
\begin{align*}
(101) & \quad \text{a bala=i ra tutana} \\
& \quad \text{ART belly=POSS.M. ART man} \\
& \quad \text{the belly of the man,}
\end{align*}
\]

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

2.4.2 Alienable possessive phrases

The class of alienable possessive phrases comprises of two subclasses7, which are marked by the possessive classifier KA– (95), (97) and A– (96), (98) and their respective allomorphs, and hence will be called 'KA–possessive phrases' and 'A–possessive phrases' respectively. 8

2.4.2.1 Alienable KA-possessive phrases

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(102) & \quad \text{a pal ka=i ra tutana} \\
& \quad \text{ART house POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. ART man} \\
& \quad \text{the house of the man}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(103) & \quad \text{ka= gu vavina, ka= gu tutana} \\
& \quad \text{POSS.CLFR=my woman, POSS.CLFR=my man} \\
& \quad \text{my wife, my husband}
\end{align*}
\]
(104) kau=gu taulai
    POSS.CLFR=my wife/husband
    my wife (said by a man), my husband (said by a woman).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(110) ure ra pinot ka= ra uma ra TT 121
    about ART coming POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. ART PL
    katiket
    catechism teacher
    about the arrival of the catechism teachers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.4.2.2 Alienable A-possessive phrases

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

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

(117) To-ia u u iian kau= gu vudu?
KL 283
who you/SG you SG eat/RED POSS.CLFR=my banana
Who are you who is eating my bananas?
(118) ... ma dir ra pu ia ma ra= na ram M 44
and they/DU hit it with POSS.CLFR=its club
... and they hit it (the pig) with its club (with the club that
was determined for it)

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

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

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

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

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

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

(124) a waraku e ra maraket
ART oil POSS.CLFR + POSS.M. ART musket
oil to oil the musket with.

(Rickard 1889:439)

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

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

The fact that A-possessor referents are affected by what is denoted by the
possessed noun is correlated to the fact that A-possessive constructions express
a more intimate relationship than KA-possessive constructions, as it is the body
of the possessor referent or his personality that is affected. This becomes
most evident with the noun mal clothes. With an A-possessor mal refers to
clothes that someone wears or should wear on his body. But if it is possessed
by a KA-possessor, it is only intended to say that the possessor referent has
these clothes irrespective of whether he puts them on or not, e.g.
Both the KA- and the A-possessive constructions have been defined as alienable constructions on the basis of mere structural criteria. If, however, structural features are correlated with semantic ones, it becomes evident that they do not form one class which is strictly opposed to the class of inalienable constructions, but that these three types of possessive constructions constitute different degrees on a gradient scale from established possession to inherent possession with the alienable KA-possessive constructions at one end and the inalienable constructions at the other (compare Seiler's claim that "the traditional exclusive categorisation into 'inalienable' or 'alienable' possession must be given up" (Seiler 1983:81). As will be seen later, the morphosyntactic class of inalienable possessive constructions also shows various degrees of 'inalienability' (cf.p.46).

### 2.4.3 Inalienable possessive phrases

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

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

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

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

(127) \[\text{tura}= \text{i ra tutana} \]

\[\text{brother}=\text{POSS.M. ART man} \]

\[\text{the brother of the man} \]

(128) \[\text{a uma na tura}= \text{i ra tutana} \]

\[\text{ART PL brother}=\text{POSS.M. ART man} \]

\[\text{the brothers of the man} \]

(129) \[\text{a bala}= \text{i ra tutana} \]

\[\text{ART belly}=\text{POSS.M. ART man} \]

\[\text{the belly of the man} \]
2.4.3.1 Possessive phrases of kin relationships

There are two classes of kinship terms:

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

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

(130) \( \text{tubu=} \text{gu} \)

person who is in the relationship grandparent- my grandchild to another person

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

(131) \( \text{nina ra bul, tama=} \text{nam ra tutana} \)

DEM ART child father/child=POSS.M. DEM ART man that child, the child of that man

(132) \( \text{tama=} \text{nam ra bul} \)

father/child= POSS.M. DEM ART child the father of that child.

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

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

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

(133) \( \text{a ura bar tubu=} \text{na} \)

ART two PL grandparent/-child- DEREL the grandmother and her grandchild.

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

(134) \( \ldots \text{ami matua=} \text{na} \)

we/DU/EXC uncle/nephew=DEREL \( \ldots \) we two are in the relationship of uncle and nephew, i.e. I am his uncle (I am his nephew is theoretically possible as well)

(135) \( \ldots \text{mi tura=} \text{na ma Kabinana} \)

we/DU/EXC brother=DEREL including K. \( \ldots \) I and To Kabinana are brothers, I am the brother of Kabinana.
The subject marker refers to the total number of subject referents. If you want to say 'we two and Kabinana are brothers', you have to use the trial form:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(144) Ma dia tir nam ra pap: "Ba tavu= m
      and they/PL ask DEM ART dog please, master=your/SG
      akave?
      where
      And they asked that dog: "Please, where is your master?"
2.4.3.2 Possessive phrases of bodypart relationships

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

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

(145) \[ \begin{align*}
& \text{it go appear ART blood= his it TA run} \\
& \text{upwards high DEM ART blood} \\
&(\text{The man was thrown into the sea.) His blood appeared (i.e. he started to bleed), and the blood flew up to the surface.}
\end{align*} \]

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

(146) \[ \begin{align*}
& \text{they/PL take- E ART two egg} \\
& \text{They took two eggs.}
\end{align*} \]

(147) \[ \begin{align*}
& \text{they/PL TA bite/RED ART egg- POSS.M.= their} \\
& \text{Each of them (the ants) carried an egg in its mouth.}
\end{align*} \]

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

(148) \[ \begin{align*}
& \text{ART egg -C- hen} \\
& \text{ART egg -C- ant} \\
& \text{hen's egg} \\
& \text{ant's egg.}
\end{align*} \]

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

(149) \[ \begin{align*}
& \text{and he TA head=DEREL towards-to ART door} \\
& \text{He had his head in the direction of the door.} \\
& \text{he TA foot=DEREL towards-to ART back-of-the-hut} \\
& \text{he lay down with his head at the door and his feet in the back of the hut, i.e.}
\end{align*} \]
and as the head of a patient noun phrase:

(150) "... una loe ra ul=u= m."

you/SG-TA shake ART head= your/SG

l ga low ra ul= a.

he TA shake ART head= DEREL

"Shake your head." And he shook his head.

(151) l ga iaian ra ul= a.

he TA be-eating ART head=DEREL

He was eating the head (of the victim).

(152) Nam di kutu- vue ra ul= a ra

DEM INDEF cut- off ART head= DEREL ART

kaia i ga dolom ia ka.

kata he TA swallow him PART

That one whose head was cut off — the kaia-ghost swallowed him.

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

(153) A kaia i vue ra ul= i ra tutana. KI 350

ART kaia he throw-away ART head=POSS.M. ART man

The kaia-ghost threw the head of the man away.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-possessed form</th>
<th>possessed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a manua</td>
<td>a manua=m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART ulcer</td>
<td>ART ulcer=your/SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your ulcer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a nilai=na</td>
<td>a nilai=gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART voice=DEREL</td>
<td>ART voice=my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>my voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a pal-a-kau= na</td>
<td>a pal-a-kau=i ra boro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART track=DEREL</td>
<td>ART track POSS.M. ART pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the track of the pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a minat=i= na</td>
<td>a minat=i= vavat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART corpse=DEREL</td>
<td>ART corpse= POSS.M.=your/PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your corpses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Nouns denoting properties that are socio-culturally defined as non-transferable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-possessed form</th>
<th>possessed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a iang</td>
<td>a iang=i gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART name</td>
<td>ART name=my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a kaia</td>
<td>a kaia=dat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART secret</td>
<td>ART secret+POSS.M.=our/PL/INC our secret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a nga</td>
<td>ra nga=dir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART way</td>
<td>ART way=POSS.M.=their/DU their way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a rakirak</td>
<td>a rakirak=i m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART catafalque</td>
<td>ART catafalque=your/SG your catafalque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a tabu</td>
<td>a tabu=gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART taboo</td>
<td>ART taboo=my</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-possessed form</th>
<th>possessed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a kuba=na</td>
<td>ra kuba=na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART bed/dwelling=DEREL</td>
<td>ART hut=his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a kuba=gu</td>
<td>ART mat-to-sleep-on=my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>my mat to sleep on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a makmakilalat=na</td>
<td>ra makmakilalat=i=dat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART entrance</td>
<td>ART entrance=POSS.M.=our/PL/INC our entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a marua=na</td>
<td>tika na marua=gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART fire(-wood) DEREL</td>
<td>some C firewood=my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>some firewood to warm me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Nouns denoting referential objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-possessed form</th>
<th>possessed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a malalar=ra umana</td>
<td>a malalar=i ra umana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART picture=POSS.M. ART PL</td>
<td>Tubuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the picture of the Tubuans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a tinata=ra nam ra tubuan</td>
<td>a tinata=i nam ra tubuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART speech=POSS.M. DEM ART Tubuan</td>
<td>the story about that Tubuan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While malalar obligatorily enters the inalienable possessive construction, tinata *speech, story* is also constructed with the preposition *ure* about. Other words of this semantic class, such as akakur *story, legend, fable* or pirpir *speech, talk* cannot be inalienably possessed, but must be constructed with *ure* about.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-possessed form</th>
<th>possessed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a pupulu =i</td>
<td>ra pupulu= i tura= na M 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART parcel</td>
<td>ART parcel=POSS.M. brother=his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the parcel into which his brother has been wrapped up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra mata- i</td>
<td>ra tabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART source=POSS.M. ART shell-money</td>
<td>the place where the shell-money is found.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

(154) ... i ga pokó ra bala= i ra marau K1 176
he TA cut ART belly=POSS.M. ART crocodile
... he cut the belly of the (living) crocodile

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(160) a= gu bala= na
POSS.CLFR= my belly=DEREL
the entrails that are determined to be eaten by me.
To conclude, the construction of bodypart terms differs from that of kinship terms in the following points:

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

2.4.4 The continuum from inherent to established possession

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

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

(Seiler 1983:5)

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

The second position on the scale of inherence is held by the non-reciprocal kinship terms. These terms are less inherent than the reciprocal kinship terms, because they explicitly denote only one side of the relationship, e.g. natu= son, daughter, tinata= mother, though implicitly they contain "reference to the POSSESSOR" (Seiler 1983:5). Since one cannot speak of a mother in Tolai without saying whose mother is meant, these terms are more inherent than the relational
bodypart terms (e.g. \(uJ=\) head), which can be derelationised, if they do not refer to the speaker's or hearer's bodypart, or if they denote a bodypart that has been separated from its body (cf.p.42).

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

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

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

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

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

The inalienable possessive phrases only express one clearly defined relationship. Since these relationships are defined biologically or on the basis of Tolai traditions, it seems plausible that inalienable constructions
are not accessible to terms of cultural innovations. Apart from the above mentioned ART pa=i NP TREE the root or base of a tree, all other part/whole relationships the whole of which is inanimate are expressed by compound noun phrases.

2.4.5 Innovations in modern Tolai

2.4.5.1 Alienable possessive constructions

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

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

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

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

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

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

(164) kau gu cousin
  my cousin.

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

(165) kau gu dekdek
  my strength

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

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

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

5. Due to loan translations from English, there are alienable possessors which replace prepositional phrases of location, e.g.
A special case of loan translations are the constructions of abstract nouns such as lolovina length and mamat weight which are recent derivations from the adjectives lolovina long and mamat heavy, e.g.

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

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

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

(172) longpela haus
long house
the long house

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

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

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

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

instead of

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

In Tok Pisin our food means

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

7. The A-possessive construction does not seem to have undergone changes. There is only one example in the whole corpus which contradicts the rules of traditional Tolai. In the next example
(177) a ticket ai ra bus
    ART for ART
the ticket for the bus; the bus ticket

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

2.4.5.2 Inalienable possessive constructions

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

(178) lakaka ta ra bala= i ka= veve
    but in ART belly=POSS.M. POSS.CLFR=our/PL/EXC
tama= na kini iat i ga vala
    father/children=DEREL staying PART he TA HABIT
vapurpuruan ka= veve tama= na kini.
    disturb POSS.CLFR=our/PL/EXC father/children=DEREL staying
(lit. but inside of our staying as father and children he used to
disturb our staying as father and children)
When he, our father, stayed with us in our family, he usually
disturbed our family life.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\[(184) \text{ra } \text{pinot}=i \text{ lesu}\]
\[
\text{ART coming}=\text{POSS.M. Jesus}
\]
\[
\text{the coming of Jesus.}
\]

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

\[(185) \text{ure ra } \text{tinavua} =i \text{ ra lotu}\]
\[
\text{about ART growth= POSS.M. ART Church}
\]
\[
\text{about the growth of the Church.}
\]

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

\[(185) \text{ure ra } \text{tinavua} \text{ ta ra } \text{papalum ati}\]
\[
\text{about ART progress in ART work here}
\]
\[
\text{about the progress of the work here}
\]

which shows that the writers were not sure how to construct \text{tinavua}.

2.4.5.3 Conclusion

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

2.5 COMPOUND NOUN PHRASES

In 2.4.1. the compound noun phrases were mentioned as a means of expressing possession along with inalienable and alienable possessive constructions, as they are used to denote part/whole relationships, which certainly belong to the domain of possession in its wider sense (Seiler 1983:4, 68). However, in contrast to inalienable and alienable possessive phrases, compound noun phrases have many other functions than the expression of possessive relationships. One of these other functions is the expression of spatial relationships, e.g.
which like part/whole expressions show at least some lexical affinities with the inalienable possessive phrases of bodypart terms, but whose classification as possessive phrases is even more debatable (cf.p.56). Or, if one could speak of degrees of 'possessivity' to characterise those constructions which are still somewhat related to the proper possessive constructions, one might perhaps say that the degree of 'possessivity' decreases from the construction of bodypart terms to the expression of part/whole relationships and, further on, to the expression of spatial relationships. At the end of such a scale of 'possessivity' there would be those compound noun phrases then which have nothing to do with possession.

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

(187) a pal- na-kunai
ART house-C grass
the grass hut
a pal- na-kapa
ART house-C metal
the house of sheet metal

(188) a pal- na-boroi
ART house-C pig
the pig sty
a pal- na-varto
ART house-C learning
the school house,

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

(189) a mapi- na-davai
ART leaves- C tree
the leaves of the tree,
amorphous stuff of which the head noun indicates a measured quantity, e.g.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(193) a iwu-na-pap
    ART hair-C-dog
    dog's hair (was on the back of the dancer)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To conclude, C + N₂ determines the concept expressed by the head noun, whereas alienable and inalienable possessors specify the reference of the object which the head noun refers to. Being the modifier of the concept of the head noun (N₁), the modifying noun (N₂) in N₁-C-N₂-constructions does not refer to an individual entity which is discrete from the head noun referent. In N₁-C-N₂-constructions, e.g. a bul-na-luluai the chief's child N₁ (bul) and N₂ (luluai) form a closely knit unit which is more like a compound noun than a phrase, because the sequence of these three elements must not be interrupted by any additional determiners. The N₁-C-N₂-construction can only be modified as a whole. While, for instance, both the possessed noun and the possessor in possessive phrases may be modified by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

(198) go ra bul ka= i ra luluai
    DEM ART child POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. ART chief
    this child of the chief
the demonstrative pronoun can only modify the whole N1-C-N2-construction:

\[(200)\] \text{go ra bul na-luluai} \\
\text{DEM ART child-C-chief} \\
\text{this chief's child; this child of a chief.}

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

\[2.5.1 \text{ Part/whole constructions}\]

Part/whole relationships are relationships that exist between an object or a plant and its constituent, and hence mostly removable parts, as for instance the relationship between a tree and its leaves, its crown, its stem etc. Apart from the exception mentioned above, all part/whole relationships are expressed by compound noun phrases, so that the whole of which the N1-referent is part of is not specified or individuated. Even if you mean, for instance, the roof of a specific house, you simply say

\[(201)\] \text{a ul-a-pal} \\
\text{ART head-C-house} \\
\text{the roof of the house,}

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

\[(202)\] \text{i ga van' urama liu ta ra ul-a-pal ... TT 77-78} \\
\text{he TA go up-there high on ART head-C-house} \\
\text{amir ga kau urama ra ul-a-pal ma} \\
\text{we/DU/EXC TA climb up-there ART head-C-house and} \\
\text{amir ga tuman-vue uro ra} \\
\text{we/DU/EXC TA push-do-away-him down-to ART} \\
\text{ul-a-pal, upi i ga va, i ga va-head-C-house so-that he TA lie-down he TA lie-down} \\
\text{mur nam ra ul-a-pal ...} \\
\text{follow DEM ART head-C-house} \\
\text{kan go ra papar-a-pal arama ra ul-a-pal ...} \\
\text{from DEM ART side-C-house up-there ART head-C-house} \\
\text{he climbed on to the roof of a house (and stood there ... Then a leader of the Japanese shot at his neck ... But he did not fall down to the ground, he remained standing and died while standing).} \\
\text{We climbed up on to the roof of the house and knocked him down on the roof of the house, so that he lay down, he remained lying on the roof of the house ...} \\
\text{(We thought that we should carry him down properly) from the side of the house (from) the roof there (to the ground).}
In other words, one does not refer to the house as an individual discrete entity, but to the concept of 'house', by which a part of it, namely the roof, is characterised, as if one could say 'the housy roof' in English. As will be seen in the next chapter (cf.p.56), ra ul-a-pal can also mean the top of the house. That the speaker here refers to the roof is particularly shown by the third sentence and knocked him down on the roof of the house.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>unpossessed form</th>
<th>inalienable constr.</th>
<th>part/whole constr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bala=na belly</td>
<td>a bala=i ra boroi</td>
<td>a bala-na-lama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the belly of the pig</td>
<td>the stem of the coconut tree/a coconut tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bit=i=na anus</td>
<td>a bit=i ra tutana</td>
<td>a bit-na-davai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anus of the man</td>
<td>the base of the tree/ a tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kongkong=i=na</td>
<td>a kongkong=i ra tut</td>
<td>a kongkong-na-lama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>the neck of the man</td>
<td>the upper part of the stem of the coconut tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata=na eye</td>
<td>a mata=i ra tutana</td>
<td>a mata-na-bair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the eye of the man</td>
<td>the sharp end of a stick for husking coconuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngie=ne mouth</td>
<td>a ngie=i ra tutana</td>
<td>a ngie-na-tete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the mouth of the man</td>
<td>the tip of the flower of the banana/a banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paka=na body</td>
<td>a paka=i ra tutana</td>
<td>a paka-na-davai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the body of the man</td>
<td>the piece of wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pal=i=na skin</td>
<td>a pal=i ra tutana</td>
<td>a pal-a-kiau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the skin of the man</td>
<td>egg's shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul=a head</td>
<td>a ul=i ra tutana</td>
<td>a ul-a-davai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the head of the man</td>
<td>the crown of a tree/the tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur bone(s)</td>
<td>a ur=i ra tutana</td>
<td>a ur-na-mami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the bones of the man</td>
<td>the thorny roots of the Mami/a Mami</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In contrast to the possessor of the inalienable and alienable possessive phrases, the modifying noun of these phrases cannot be pronominalised, i.e. one cannot say 'its crown, its roof' etc., but must use either the N1-C-N2-construction or the 'unpossessed' form, i.e. the derelationised or non-relational form.

2.2 Spatial relationships

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

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

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

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

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

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

it is not possible to speak of a top, an inside or a side, unless it is also said of which object the top, inside or side is meant. Thus relational nouns such as bala belly, interior, inside can only be derelationised, if it is understood from the context whose inside is referred to, e.g.
Theoretically, =na could also be the suffix pronoun, but this would contradict the rule that the N₂ of N₁-C-N₂-constructions cannot be pronominalised (cf. p. 54). Further evidence for the interpretation of bala=na as the non-relational form of bala= is provided by the use of papar side in comparable contexts. In contrast to bala=, papar side is not morphologically relational. Hence papar is used without any suffix, if it is understood from the context whose side papar refers to. Compare:

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

(210) I ga ku ra tek, a papar a kukuta
he TA paint ART kangaroo ART side ART black-paint
ma a papar a tar.
and ART side ART red-paint
(he took black paint, he took red paint)
He painted the kangaroo, one side with black paint, the other side (with) the red paint.

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

The third type of N₁-C-N₂-constructions to be mentioned here differs from the first two ones, as it does not refer to a particular part of an object which is complete in itself (e.g. the roof or the interior of a house), but to an un-specific piece of an amorphous stuff, for example

(211) a kudu- na-davai a short piece of wood
ART short-piece-C-earth
a kut- na-pia a lump of earth
ART lump-C-earth
a paka-na-davai a piece of wood
ART body-C-wood
a paka-na-lokor an area of jungle
ART body-C-jungle
a paka-na-tinata a piece of talk, a word
ART body-C-talk
a pal-a-davai a long thin piece of wood, piece of board.
ART skin-C-wood
According to our definition of possessive phrases, these N₁-C-N₂-phrases are not to be classified as possessive phrases, as they do not express that the head noun referent belongs to what is expressed by N₂; a paka-na-davai a piece of wood, for instance, does not mean that the piece belongs to the wood as part of a whole, but that there is wood in a certain quantity and of a certain shape. However, most of these 'piece'-nouns share the feature of being grammatically relational with the head nouns of part/whole constructions; i.e. they must take the derelational suffix when used in isolation, for example: a kut=u=na, a paka=na, a pal=i=na the lump, the piece, the long thin piece. Furthermore, in many cases it usually is the same nouns that enter this 'piece-of-amorphous-stuff'-construction, the part/whole construction and the inalienable construction of bodypart terms. Compare:

(212) a pal=i ra tutana
   ART skin=POSS.M. ART man
   the skin of the man
   a pal- a-kiau
   ART skin-C-egg
   the egg shell
   a pal- a-davai
   ART skin-C-wood
   the skin-like piece of wood, i.e. a long thin piece of wood;
   a piece of board

(213) a paka=i ra tutana
   ART body=POSS.M. ART man
   the body of the man
   a paka-na-davai
   ART body-C-wood
   the piece of wood.

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

(214) a poko-na-tabu
   ART string-C-shell-money
   the string of shell-money
   a poko= no
   ART string= DEREL
   the string

(215) a kur-a-pa
   ART half-a-dozen-C-taro
   half a dozen taros
   a kur=e=ne
   ART bunch=DEREL
   the bunch or cluster of fruit (4-7 pieces).

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

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

1. Inalienable possessive phrases
   \[(\text{ART}) \ N_{\text{POSSESSUM}} = \text{POSS.M.} \ N_{\text{POSSESSOR}}\]

2. Alienable possessive phrases
   \[(\text{ART}) \ N_{\text{POSSESSUM}} \text{POSS.CLF} = \text{POSS.M.} \ N_{\text{POSSESSOR}}\]

3. Compound noun phrases
   \[(\text{ART}) \ N_1 - C - N_2\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
(+ \text{ inherent, } - \text{ established}) & \text{possession of reciprocal kinship terms} & \text{possession of non-reciprocal kinship terms} \\
\text{inalienable} & \text{possession of relational bodypart terms} & \text{possession of non-relational bodypart terms} \\
\text{alienable} & \text{A-possession} & \text{KA-possession} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{(+ inherent, - established)} & \text{(- inherent, + established)} & \text{(+) possessive)} & \text{(-) possessive)} \\
\end{array}
\]
2.6 THE EXPRESSION OF NUMBER

2.6.1 Introduction

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

\[(216)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a gunan} & \quad \text{ART village} \\
& \quad \text{the village} \\
\text{a gunagunan} & \quad \text{ART villages} \\
& \quad \text{the (all over the area distributed) villages}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[(217)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a kalou} & \quad \text{the (Christian) God} \\
\text{a vaden} & \quad \text{the women} \\
\text{a kikil} & \quad \text{the group} \\
\text{a tava} & \quad \text{the water} \\
\text{a vinavana} & \quad \text{the going} \\
\text{a davai} & \quad \text{the tree(s), stick(s), wood} \\
\text{a lama} & \quad \text{the coconut(s).}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[(223)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tikana davai} & \quad \text{one/a tree} \\
\text{a voana davai} & \quad \text{one/a tree} \\
\text{a kapona davai} & \quad \text{the single tree.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[(224)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a umana davai} & \quad \text{the trees} \\
\text{umana tree} & \quad \text{the trees}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(225)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a mangoro na davai} & \quad \text{many trees} \\
\text{mangoro many tree} & \quad \text{many trees}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(226)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a e na balu} & \quad \text{the swarm of pigeons} \\
\text{swarm na balu} & \quad \text{the swarm of pigeons}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(227)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a vinun na davai} & \quad \text{ten trees.} \\
\text{ten na davai} & \quad \text{ten trees.}
\end{align*}
\]
One distinguishes between three kinds of plurality:

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

2.6.2 Plurality of discrete entities

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

(228) a umana pal
ART PL house
the houses

(228) a umana tava
ART PL water
the portions of water.

2.6.2.1 Plural markers

2.6.2.1.1 Umana

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

(229) a umana davai
ART PL tree
the trees

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

(230) i kiki varkolono ta nam ra bil pata
he sit alone in DEM ART wilderness no
umana ta-na.
PL in-it
He was alone in that wilderness where nobody else was staying.

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

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

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

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

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

(233) a bar turana brothers
    ART PL brother

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

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

(235) a barbar tamana more than one group of people who
    ART PL father/son are in the relationship of father
    go ra barbar tamaina these sisters and brothers-in-law
    DEM ART PL sister-/brother-in-law
    and son(s); fathers and sons

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

(236) ra umana matua-m your uncles and your brothers.
    ART PL uncle-your/SG and ART PL brother-your/SG

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

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

2.6.2.1.3 Tara

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

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

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

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

(240) Pai peal ra tabu.
     not it many ART shell-money
     The shell-money was not much.
     ma diat a paupau
     and they/PL ART few
     and they (were) few. (Seri)

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

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

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

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

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

(243) a ngala na tava  much water, the big portion
     ART big C water
     a ngala na pal  the big house.
     ART big C house
The opposite of ngala is ik little, e.g.

(244) A= gu ta ik a tava.  K1 168
       for=me ART little C water
       Give me some water, please!

       ... i ga puak pa ra ik a boroi        K1 79
           he TA take E ART little C pig/pork

       ... he took some pork

       ... ra ura ik a davai  M 62
           ART two little C wood

       ... two small pieces of wood.

2.6.2.3 Quantifying nouns

Quantifying nouns (Nquant) are nouns that denote a certain quantity of something, i.e. either a collection or a part of a whole. In both cases they enter a N1-C-N2-construction as head (N1) which is modified by N2, e.g.

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

       the crowd of men

a e- na-balu
ART swarm-C pigeon

a kur- na-davai
ART pile-C wood

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

the piece of wood

a kut- na-pia
ART lump-C earth

the lump of earth.

Kor, e, kur, kudu, kut and numerous other words of this kind have to be classified as head nouns rather than modifying quantifiers as mangoro many (cf.p.63), since they can be modified by quantifying adjectives as any other head noun in a N1-C-N2-construction can do, e.g.

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

       the big crowd of men

a ngala na pal- na-tarai
ART big C house-C men

       the big men's house

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

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

Furthermore, Nquant are pluralisable and countable, e.g.

(249) a umana kikil- na- tarai
       ART PL group C men

       the groups of men

a ilima na e- na- balu
ART five C swarm C pigeon

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

2.6.2.4 Numerals

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ART</th>
<th>numeral used absolutely</th>
<th>ART</th>
<th>numeral used attributively</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>head noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td></td>
<td>ART</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>- tikai</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>tika</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>tutana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a voana</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>voana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a urua</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>tutana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a evut/ivut</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>evu/ivu</td>
<td></td>
<td>tutana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a utul</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>utul</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>tutana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>a ivat</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ivat</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>tutana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a varvivi</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>varvivi</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>tutana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>a ilima</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ilima</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>tutana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(250) a varvivi bung \textit{four days} K1 388
     a varvivi kakaruk \textit{four chickens} K1 207

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

(251) nina ra taba varvivi tutana K1 182
     DEM ART four man
     that group of four men.

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

2.6.2.5 Transnumerality

The indication of discrete plurality is regularly neglected, when the head noun enters a possessive construction as possessum whose possessor refers to more than one human being and when for extralinguistic reasons each possessor referent owns one possessum referent, e.g.
(252) Kama va tutana ava? Komave tutana a umana pun. M 92  
your/PL man what our/PL/EXC man ART PL turtle  
What are your husbands? Our husbands are turtles.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.6.2.5.1 Nouns referring to unique entities (N\textsubscript{single})

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

2.6.2.5.2 Verbal nouns (N\textsubscript{v})

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

(255) ... i tup avet ra kini up u M 280  
it exhaust us/PL/EXC ART sitting for you/SG  
..., waiting for you exhausted us.
2.6.2.5.3 Nouns referring to persons (N_pers)

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

(256) Nam ra mong i ga ti en- vapar ra en ma M 60
DEM ART shark it TA TA eat-finish ART fish and
na ubu ra tutana tuna.
it+TA kill ART man real
That shark ate all the fish and will (consequently) kill human beings.

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

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

Pluralised N_pers are always related to plural subject markers and pronouns. Tutana man and vavinawa woman can be pluralised by umana or replaced by tarai men and vaden/varden women respectively (cf. below):

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

2.6.2.5.4 Tarai, vaden/varden

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

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

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

(260) Tika na tarai ami mal diat dia K1 56
one C men we/DU/EXC create them/PL they/PL
vava ra pupul.
sleep/RED ART bush
One tribe that we have created sleeps in the bush.
(creation myth)

The numeral tika na one makes it evident that tarai men is understood as a unity of men; i.e. in contrast to a umana tutana men, a tarai men does not just refer to a plurality of discrete entities, but to a plurality that is apprehended as a collection, though it is not to be classified as a collective noun. For if tarai were a collective noun, a umana tarai would be expected to mean several unities of men, tribes and not men. The function of umana here is not to
pluralise what is referred to by the head noun (tarai), but to express that the head noun referent (men, people, tribe) consists of several discrete entities. The Janus-headed nature of tarai of referring to a single entity on the one hand (a unity of men) and a plurality of discrete entity (men) is reflected in the possibility to combine tika na one with tarai and the obligatory use of plural subject markers and pronouns.

2.6.2.5.5 Nouns referring to peoples and tribes (Npeople)

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

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

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

The Taulils and the Bainings speak a foreign language.

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

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

(262) ... dir ga ima ra umana Talavurngada K1 84
they/DU TA hire ART PL T.
... they hired the T.-tribe (according to the context it was the whole tribe that was hired).

Dia ga varubu ra umana Vairiki ma diat K1 454
they/PL TA fight ART PL V. and they/PL
nanana Butam.

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

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

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

the class of Npeople has to be distinguished from tarai and collectives. Furthermore, while umana with collectives refers to a plurality of collections, it does not pluralise Npeople in this sense, but has the same function as with tarai. Regardless of its different grammatical classification, however, the construction of ART + Npeople is one of the various means to express the notion of collection in Tolai.
To conclude, in traditional Tolai the names of peoples and tribes form a class of nouns of its own which, in comparison to \(N_{\text{pers}}\) and \(N_{\text{tarai}}\), is somewhat more transnumeral, because \(N_{\text{people}}\) is to a higher degree ambiguous in respect to the number of human beings spoken about (remember that with \(N_{\text{pers}}\) umana may only be omitted in possessive constructions or when \(N_{\text{pers}}\) is used generically.

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

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

(264) Akave ra tutana?  Where is the man?
where ART man
Akave ra galip?  Where are the peanuts?
where ART peanut

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

(265) "Ba una koe pa ta ivu tirip na M 16f
PART you/SG+TA climb-and-get E ART two young C
genenge "... ma i ga koe pa ka ra
yellow-coconut and he TA climb-and-get E only ART
kapo na ngenge ma a makadao.
single C yellow-coconut and ART green-coconut
"Get two young yellow coconuts..."
But he's got only one yellow coconut and a green one.

whereas in

(266) To Kabinana i ga vatavua ra lama, a ngenge,
To K. he TA create ART coconut ART yellow-coconut
a makadao.
ART green-coconut
To Kabinana created the coconuts, the yellow and the green ones.
ra lama, a ngenge and a makadao unambiguously refer to more than one single item. In other contexts singularity must be marked by tika na one, \(\text{ART} + \text{voana one}\) or \(\text{ART} + \text{kapo na single}\), e.g.

(267) ... ma di vata ra vat ma di M 142
and INDEF heat ART stone and INDEF
igir ia ma di kia
prepare-with-vegetables it and INDEF grasp-with-tongs
pa ra kapo na vat ma di vung ra kapo
E ART single C stone and INDEF put ART single
na vat ma i ga kaiane o ra kapo na vat.
C stone and it TA feel DEM ART single C stone
they heated the stones in the fire and prepared it (the fish) with vegetables and they grasped a stone with tongs (got it out of the fire) and put the stone (to the fish) and it felt that stone.

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

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

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

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

(269) tika na lama
one C coconut
one umana lama the coconut (but not: one amount of coconuts)
in contrast to
(270) tika na kikil
one C group
one umana kikil the groups.

Thus Nsmall are very similar to Npeople, the only difference being that in contrast to Npeople, Nsmall are always related to singular subject markers and pronouns:

(271) ma ra umana ngalangala na tamapodo ta go ra TT 22
and ART PL big C maggot in DEM ART
kake=ne i ga irairop ta nam ra mata- na-kinkin
foot=his it TA come-out/RED of DEM ART whole-C- wound
big maggots came out of the wound on his leg

(272) ... ma dia puak ra umana vat ma dia M 184
and they/PL take ART PL stone and they/PL
vung ia ...
put it
... they took the stones and put them ...

2.6.2.5.7 Nouns referring to big animals (Nanimal)

Nouns referring to big animals, such as pigs, which do not live in groups or herds, form a class of nouns that show a higher degree of transnumerality than Npers (since there are not any herds of sheep, cows or other cattle in the
Tolai area, we do not know how such collections would be referred to. Good evidence for the classification of these nouns are enumerations, e.g.

(273) Ma di ga mal ra tarai, a uma na beo, and they/PL TA create ART men ART PL bird
a uma na boroi, a lama, a pa, a vudu, ART PL pig ART coconut ART taro ART banana
a lavur nian parika.
ART various sorts of food all
They created men, birds, pigs, coconuts, taros, bananas, all various sorts of food.

(274) Ma dia long komave ta uma na magit, ta and they/PL steal our/PL/EXC ART PL thing ART
umana boroi, a kakaruk, a vudu a tapiok. PL pig ART chicken ART banana ART tapiok
And they stole our things, pigs, chickens, bananas, and tapioks.

(275) "Amur tabar komamur tarai ma ra ava?" you/DU give your/DU people with ART what
"A pa, a lama, a boroi, a tabu." ART taro ART coconut ART pig ART shell-money
"What do you give to your people?"
"Taros, coconuts, pigs and shell-money."

These enumerations show that boroi can be constructed like NPers as well as like Nsmall. Which construction is preferred in traditional Tolai cannot be decided, as the old texts do not provide sufficient data to draw any conclusions from mere statistics. As far as number agreement is concerned, boroi behaves like NPers. In contrast to ra uma na ngal angala na tamapodo big maggots, a uma na boroi pigs is related to the plural subject marker dia they:

(276) A uma na boroi dia kubar parika. ART PL pig they/PL become-wild all
All the pigs became wild.

(Unfortunately there are no sentences which show pronominal agreement.)

To conclude, nouns referring to big animals, e.g. boroi pig, form a class of their own which shows a higher degree of transnumerality than NPers and Nsmall, as undifferentiated quantities are referred to by ART + uma na + N (273), (274), (275), as well as ART + N (275). Since ART + uma na + N is related to the plural subject marker dia, it is assumed that in respect to the feature of discreteness this class is closer to NPers than to Nsmall.

2.6.2.5.8 Nouns referring to birds

Beo bird belongs to the same class as boroi pig, e.g.

(277) ... a uma na beo par dia ga malagene. ART PL bird all they/PL TA dance
... all birds danced.
and food for them, all different sorts, birds and pigs,

whereas kakaruk chicken seems to belong to a different class, as, in contrast to boro pig, it is not preceded by umana in the enumeration quoted above (274). Unfortunately the old texts do not provide any examples of subject marker and pronominal concord, so that we do not know whether kakaruk belongs to Nsmall like, for instance, rumi ant or to another one. In modern Tolai the subject marker is i (sg.), and pronouns that are related to a umana kakaruk are also singular, e.g.

(278) Gono ra umana kakaruk i ga ki tika na mar TT 48
DEm ART PL chicken it TA stay one C hundred
nam di kul-vairop pa Turmilet me
DEm INDEF buy-make-go-out E T. with-it
With these chickens which numbered one hundred they bailed out Turmilet.

2.6.2.5.9 A davai wood, tree(s), stick(s)

One word that shows a very high degree of transnumerality is davai. As the following examples illustrate, ART + davai denotes wood, trees, sticks and other natural things of wood. In contrast to ART + tutana man and ART + lama coconuts, ART + davai does not primarily refer to a single object or to a certain amount, but is really transnumeral in the sense that it may equally refer to both singular and plural objects, i.e., for instance, to a stick as well as sticks.

Secondly, it is rather unspecific in respect to the size and shape of its referent, as it may indifferently be used to denote whatever consists of wood. What is meant by ART + davai only becomes clear from the linguistic or extra-linguistic context. Thus, when ART + davai is the object of kita to chop with an axe, it is evident that it refers to firewood, or when used with kao ta to climb on, it obviously refers to a tree or trees, for example:

ART + davai wood:

(279) ma i kita ra davai ra vavina ...
and she chop ART wood ART woman
and the woman chopped the firewood ...

ART + davai stick, sticks:

(280) "Ba u tar vi ra davai ta ra umana pa? M 72
PART you/SG TA tie ART stick to ART PL taro
"Have you already tied the stick to the taros?"
A tatakula i bubur a davai. K1 120
ART t. she break-off/RED ART stick
The tatakula broke off sticks.

The reduplicated verb bubur indicates that the action of breaking off happened several times. Hence ART + davai refers to more than one stick.
ART + davai tree, trees:

(281) "Ba una ki ta go ra davai! M 96
    PART you/SG+TA sit on DEM ART tree
    'Sit on this tree here!"

Dia ga kao ta ra davai. K1 123
    they/PL TA climb on ART tree
    They climbed the trees.

Umama is used, if it is explicitly to be expressed that what is spoken about is a number of discrete entities of wood:

(282) Dor a pokoto ta umana davai, upi K1 37
    we/DU/INC TA cut ART PL stick in-order-to
    dor a mal ta tarai ...
    we/DU/INC TA make ART people
    Let's cut some sticks in order to carve some people ...
    (creation myth)

Unfortunately there are no sentences in the material under consideration in which ART + umama/QUANT/NUM + davai occurs in the subject position, so that we do not know whether its subject marker is singular or agrees in number with the subject. Pronouns related to davai are always singular, e.g.

(283) A pele davai i ga tuba dir me K1 148
    ART many stick she TA cover them/DU with-it
    She covered herself and it (the child) with many sticks, ...

... i takan pa ra ura ik a davai ma i M 62
    he take E ART two little C stick and he
    kala ia
    carve it

... he took two little sticks and carved them

(adjectives that precede the modified noun like ik here are connected to it by the connective particle).

2.6.2.5.10 Nouns denoting liquids (N_{liqu})

Nouns denoting liquids, e.g. tava water, gap blood, can be directly combined with umama, quantifiers or numerals to denote an unspecified or limited number of units or portions of the head noun referent. They differ from N_{small}, e.g. lama coconut in two points:

1. The size and configuration of what is pluralised or counted as discrete entity is extremely variable and only understood from the context; for liquids are amorphous matter and the countable entities into which it can be portioned are not given by nature as in the case of coconuts, fish etc., e.g.

(284) ra ura ik a gap M 24
    ART two little C blood
    two drops of blood

Dia ga bolo tika na tava ... K1 187
    they/PL TA cross one C water
    They crossed a water (i.e. a river)
lau vana kan kaigu tika na tava.  
I go off my one C water
I left my water (i.e. container of water).

Ma una bal ara a pel tava.  
and you/SG+TA live there ART many water
And take your residence where there are many springs.

a umana kalina tava, a umana angina tava  
ART PL bad water ART PL stinking water
bad water, stinking water (filled in buckets)

2. In whatever context the unquantified form ART + Nliu, e.g. a tava the water, occurs, it always refers to one quantum which is not to be understood as consisting of a number of quanta, as collections consist of discrete entities e.g. a collection of coconuts. For example:

(285) "A tava akave? Magari u tar momê! .
. . . iau pa iau mome ta tava."
I not I drink any water
"Where is the water? You have drunk it!"
. . . I have not drunk any water."

. . ga vut mulai ta ra tava ...
She ART come again at ART water
She came back to the water (i.e. a well) ...

As far as the degree of transnumeralty of Nliu is concerned, the crucial question "does ART + N primarily refer to a single discrete unit or to a certain quantity, or may ART + N refer to one discrete unit as well as to a quantity to more or less the same extent?" must be answered as follows: ART + Nliu always refers to a single unit which, however, is not discrete, namely an unspecified quantum of a liquid, and at the same time to a certain quantity, though not to a quantity of countable items, but to a mass of amorphous matter. Consequently, ART + Nliu is like ART + Nsingle in that it is absolutely non-transnumeral, but whereas ART + Nsingle is discrete, ART + Nliu shows the highest degree of non-discreteness.

If the precise quantum of liquid is to be expressed, it is denoted by the noun referring to the container into which the liquid has been filled, e.g.

(286) . . . ma i ga mome pa na rana kaur-na-tava.  
and he TA drink E DEM his bamboo-C-water
and he drank that bamboo (vessel) of water.

Note that rana is a possessive which is only used with nouns or noun phrases referring to something that is determined to be eaten or drunk or otherwise consumed by the possessor (cf.p.37ff). Thus kaur-na-tava evidently refers to a quantum of water here. The same N1 + C + N2-construction, however, is also used to express the meaning of "a container full of the liquid denoted by N2", e.g.

(287) . . . iau kurue ra pal-na-tava.  
I wear-round-the-neck ART vessel-C-water
. . . I wore a vessel with water round my neck.

Due to insufficient data it is hardly possible to set up any rules of number agreement. The only sentence in the old texts where a umana tava occurs in subject position is
2.6.2.5.11 Collectives \((N_{coll})\)

The material under consideration provides only sufficient data to investigate the construction of collectives referring to human beings, for example kor crowd, kikil circle, group, vunatarai clan, so that nouns denoting collections of animals, plants and non-living objects, e.g. e-na-balu swarm of pigeons, tinga-na-lama group of coconut trees, cannot be taken into account. Collectives referring to human beings (abbr. \(N_{coll-hum}\)) show some similarity with \(N_{liqu}\), as \(ART + N_{coll-hum}\) refers to a single countable unit, namely a group (of people), and at the same time to a certain quantity which, however, in contrast to liquids is a quantity of discrete units, namely people.

Since \(ART + N_{coll-hum}\) denotes a quantity of human beings, it is related to plural subject markers and pronouns, as all other noun phrases are that express the notion of a plurality of people; compare:

\[(288)\]
\[
\text{Ma a umana tava parika dia ga mat.} \quad \text{KL 114}
\]

and \(ART\ PL\ water\ all\ they/PL\ TA\ die\)

And all springs died.

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Those nouns, however, which in an ART + N –construction primarily express the notion of a collection of small objects or animals are related to the singular subject marker and singular pronoun, even if numerals, quantifiers or umana indicate discrete plurality:

If in an ART + QUANT + Nsmall –construction the noun is dropped by ellipsis, ART + QUANT may be combined with the singular or the plural subject marker, e.g.

In contrast to many other languages the semantic features (+ animate) or (+ human) are not relevant for number agreement. On the one hand, there are N–animate which behave like tutana man etc., as, for instance, gunan village, pal house or male valley and other topographical terms, and on the other hand, nouns referring to small animals that usually occur in groups, swarms and the like are treated like nouns denoting fruit; for example:

Though the data collected so far does not permit us to set up explicit rules, it is evident that concord in Tolai is not grammaticalised. Otherwise one would expect that all noun phrases that are marked for discrete plurality would be related to plural subject markers and pronouns.
2.6.2.6.2 Transnumerality

There are five classes of non-transnumeral nouns:

1. nouns referring to unique entities
2. verbal nouns
3. tarai, vaden/varden
4. nouns denoting liquids
5. collectives.

Nouns referring to entities (Nsingle), e.g. a Kalou the (Christian) God, and verbal nouns (Nv) have in common that they are not pluralisable, but are always singular, whereas tarai men, people and vaden/varden women are always plural. Nouns referring to liquids (Nliq) and collectives (Ncoll) denote single countable units, namely portions of liquids and collections, when occurring in an ART + N -construction, and they must be pluralised by plural markers, quantifiers and numerals, if the plurality of portions of liquids or collections is to be expressed.

The remaining classes are comprised of transnumeral nouns, i.e. nouns that in an ART + N -construction can either refer to a single unit or to a plurality of units. Whereas ART + Npers (nouns referring to persons) primarily denotes one person, and the cases in which this construction expresses plurality are restricted to certain contexts, ART + Nsmall (nouns referring to small objects that usually occur in a certain quantity) primarily denote an amount of what is referred to by N, e.g. lama coconuts, and it is the use as a singular noun that is restricted. Between these two extreme classes of Npers and Nsmall the other classes which show different degrees of transnumerality can be located on what might be called 'transnumerality scale'. The highest degree of transnumerality is reached with those nouns which in contrast to Npers and Nsmall may equally refer to a single item or to a quantity of items, i.e. the class to which davai wood, tree(s), stick(s) belongs.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
N_{\text{pers}} & N_{\text{animal}} & N & N_{\text{davai}} & N & N_{\text{small}} \\
\text{primarily referring to a unique item} & \text{primarily referring to a plurality of items} \\
\text{low degree of transnumerality} & \text{highest degree of transnumerality} & \text{low degree of transnumerality} \\
\end{array}
\]

Nouns referring to big animals (Nanimal) are located between Npers and Ndavai, because they primarily denote single entities as Npers, but the contexts in which they can denote a plurality of items are less restricted than those of Npers, i.e. they are more transnumeral than Npers. The location of all noun classes on the transnumerality scale is far from being investigated and will only be possible, if one can check nouns of all classes in various contexts with informants. At the moment we are not even able to give a full list of the different noun classes into which the Tolai nouns have to be classified.

2.6.3 Plurality of different kinds ('Artenplural')

The plural marker lavur expresses the idea of different sorts of that which is referred to by the head noun. In traditional Tolai lavur and umana are mutually exclusive, and like umana, lavur does not pluralise a noun that has already been pluralised by a numeral or a quantifier, for example:
(296) a-gu ta lavur mapinai.  
for-me ART leaf  
(Bring) various leaves for me (to eat).

(297) Ma a lavur tarai ma a lavur varden  
and ART men and ART women  
dia ga kokor kikil ia.  
they/PL TA crowd round her  
(All) various kinds of men and women (you can think of)  
surrounded her in a crowd.

(298) Pata vudu, pata pa ma pata lavur magit  
no banana no taro and no thing  
ta na ra gunan.  
in DEM ART village  
Neither bananas nor taros nor anything else (to eat was found)  
in that village.

In contrast to umana, lavur is not used in isolation. In case that the referent is not to be expressed explicitly, lavur is combined with the noun mangana sort, kind, e.g.

(299) Ma a-diat ta nian, ta lavur mangana parika.  
and for-them/PL ART food ART sort all  
And food for them, all various sorts.

(300) Ta umana beo, ta umana boro, ta lavur mangana  
ART PL bird ART PL pig ART sort  
parika.  
all  
birds, pigs and all various kinds (of animals).

Mangana itself can be modified by a noun and enters a N1-C-N2-construction then, in which it occurs in its basic form manga:

(301) a lavur manga-na-kaur  
ART sort- C- bamboo  
different sorts of bamboo

(mangana is the derelationised form which has to be distinguished from manga-na).

2.6.4 Distributional plurality

Distributional plurality of units means that each item of a number of units is handled by a different person, or that a number of units is locationally or temporally distributed. It is expressed by reduplication, for example:

(302) Ba avata puak pa na ra ogoaga ...  
PART you/PL TA take DEM ART canoe/DISTR  
Take those canoes (each of you one) ...

(303) Avata a lualua mua upi ra  
you/PL TA precede PART for ART  
kubakuba= i= dat  
hut/DISTR=POSS.M. our/INC/PL  
Go ahead, each of you to her hut, and I will follow to my hut.
To Kabinana supplied the villages with water.

Nouns that are marked for distributional plurality by reduplication, may additionally be preceded by umana or lavur, for example:

(306) a umana gunagunan

villages

a lavur gunagunan

various villages, villages of different types.

If a noun is modified by a preceding adjective, distributional plurality is expressed by reduplication of that adjective, e.g.

(307) a koko na gunan

ART good/DISTR C village

good villages

nina ra livlivuan na boroi

DEM ART fat/DISTR C pig

those fat pigs.

Reduplication serves also as a means to derive distributional numerals from cardinal numerals, for example:

(308) Diat parika a varvarvivi nga-na-

they all ART four/DISTR row-C-

pal-a-ngie=i = diat.

teach= POSS.M.=their/PL

They all had four rows of teeth.

2.6.5 Modern Tolai

2.6.5.1 Pluralisation of loan words

According to their different ways of integration in Tolai, English nouns can be classified into two classes:

1. collectives
2. non-collective nouns.

2.6.5.1.1 Collectives

The class of collectives is comprised of nouns denoting groups of people, e.g. band, crew, education department, police, Provincial Government, Rabaul Secretarial College, abbreviation Rabsec, and staff. The peculiarity of these nouns is that, as one would expect, ART + N_{coll-E} refers to a single group, e.g.
(309) ra police ati Rabaul
ART here
the police here in Rabaul

(310) a band kai ra army
ART of ART
the band of the army

while in contrast to English the pluralised form ART + uma/QUANT/NUM + N\text{coll-E} may either denote a plurality of N\text{coll-E}, i.e. refer to several groups, or express that the group spoken about is not regarded as a whole invisible body, but as consisting of individual members, e.g.

(311) a ura band kai Papua New Guinea
ART two of
the two bands of Papua New Guinea

(312) lau a lualua ta ra band ... di vatang
I ART leader in ART INDEF call
ia ba a lualua kai ra uma band.
him PART ART leader of ART PL
I (was) the leader in the band ... who is called the leader of the band members.

(313) tika na arip na police dia vana ubara
one C thousand C they/PL go there
one thousand policemen went there

(314) ra captain i ga ye kana uma crew
DEM he TA inform his PL
the captain informed his crew (the members of his crew)

(315) nina ra lavutul na crew
DEM ART eight C
those eight members of the crew

(316) a uma ra Rabaul Secretarial
ART PL
the students of the Rabaul Secretarial College

(317) ... ra uma ra Rabsec
ART PL
... the students of the Rabsec

(318) diat ma ra uma staff
they/PL and ART PL
they and the staff members.

Thus, with borrowed collectives, uma, quantifiers and numerals do not only indicate plurality of groups, but also serve as a means of showing the contrast between the notion of group as a whole body and the notion of individual members of a group. In the latter case uma, quantifiers and numerals have the same individualising force as in the case of N\text{people}:

(319) a Baining
a uma Baining
the Baining people
the (members of the) Baining people.

The borrowed collectives differ from the construction of ART + N\text{people} in traditional Tolai, as the subject markers and pronouns related to them are usually not plural but singular. Only in three out of 17 cases in the material under consideration ART + N\text{coll-E} is related to by plural subject markers and pronouns:
(320) kaugu family dia ga ti mait ika (Royal)
my they/PL TA TA sick PART
my family has become sick

(321) i boina ure ra family iau settle tadiat (Kepas)
it good for ART I them/PL
it is good for the family that I settle them

(322) ra police ati Rabaul dia tar vadovot pa (news)
ART here they/PL TA confirm E
ra tinata
ART speech
the police here in Rabaul confirmed the news

but, as already mentioned, the more common construction is

(323) ra police ati Rabaul i biti ba: ... (news)
ART here it say PART
the police here in Rabaul said: ...

Umana + N_coll-E in the meaning of 'members of what is referred to by
N_coll-E' looks very much like the plural of a singulative 'one member of what is
referred to by N_coll-E' that has been derived from the collective. Tika na
N_coll-E 'one + C + N_coll-E', however, is never used in that meaning, but only
means 'one that is referred to by N_coll-E', e.g.

(324) tika na band
one C
one band

but not 'a single member of the band'. Single members of a group are referred
to by circumlocutions, e.g.

(325) tika na tena - papalum kai ra police (news)
one C worker of ART
one policeman, a policeman

or by the corresponding English term, e.g.

(326) tika na Cocoa Board Inspector (news)
one C
an inspector of the Cocoa Board.

To conclude, borrowed collectives, as for instance police, may enter the
following constructions:

(327) a police dia vana
ART police they/PL go
a police i vana
ART police it go
the police went
a umana police dia vana
ART PL police they/PL go
the policemen went.

A police dia vana follows the rule of concord of traditional Tolai, as express­
ions referring to a plurality of human beings are referred to by plural subject
markers and pronouns. For the same reason, the construction of a police i vana
must be regarded as an innovation, whereas the development of the third con­
struction seems to follow the grammar of traditional Tolai, if one compares the
contrast between a police the police and a umana police the policemen, a number of single members of the police with that between a Baining the Baining people and a umana Baining a number of single members of the Baining people or a lama coconuts and a umana lama single coconuts.

But since Tok Pisin shows this kind of pluralisation of collectives borrowed from English as well, e.g.

(328) ol ami
    PL army
    members of the army, soldiers,

it must be taken into consideration that the development of constructions like a umana police was at least reinforced by interference from Tok Pisin.

Peter Mühlhäusler who has investigated the development of number in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1981) states:

Whereas in the text samples of older speakers and those recorded before 1950 animate group nouns are treated as syntactic singulars, there is now a strong trend towards regarding them as plurals. The assignment of the plural category appears to have taken place in a number of stages:

stage 1:
ol preceding names of countries, islands or towns indicates inhabitants of a country, for example ol Ostrelia Australians
ol Amerika the Americans ...

stage 2:
ol preceding common nouns referring to localities indicates inhabitants of that locality, e.g. ol nambis beach dwellers,
ol bikbus people who live in the bush ...

stage 3:
ol preceding names of organisations indicates the members of that organisation. This construction is particularly common with abstract nouns borrowed from English, for example ol ami the army, soldiers, ol misin the mission, missionaries, ol malaria sevis the malaria service, people working for the malaria service, ol pablik helt sevis the public health service, ol gavman the government, members of government (Mühlhäusler 1981:51).

The examples of stage 1 correspond to constructions such as a umana Baining the Baining people (Baining without the article is the name of the area, where the Bainings live). But if it is right that these forms did not exist before 1950, it is more probable that they developed independently, than that they were borrowed from Tolai into Tok Pisin. For the influence of Tolai on the development of Tok Pisin was greatest between 1900 and the early 1920's, but does not seem to play a role after the Second World War (Mühlhäusler).

The development of ol nambis beach dwellers etc. in stage 2 and ol ami the army, soldiers in stage 3 cannot be ascribed to direct substratum influence from Tolai or superstratum influence from English, but is the result of "natural expansion tendencies" (Mühlhäusler). While ol nambis etc. do not have any equivalents in Tolai, ol ami etc. do, and as all borrowed collectives in Tolai which are combined with umana in the meaning of members of ... refer to somewhat organised groups of people, I suppose that both the influence of Tok Pisin and the already given individualising function of umana played a role in the development of the construction of ART + umana + N_{Coll-E} 'members of what is
referred to by Ncoll-E'. This argument is supported by the fact that English loans denoting unorganised natural groups such as family only take umana to mark the plural of Ncoll-E, e.g. a umana family families.

2.6.5.1.2 Non-collective nouns

With non-collective nouns borrowed from English (NE) plurality is expressed in three ways:

1. ART + umana + NE, e.g. a umana student
2. ART + umana + NE-s, e.g. a umana students
3. ART + NE-s, e.g. a students.

Young speakers, especially, will freely mix all possible forms in one and the same speech act, for example:

(329) a umana magician magicians (Desi)
(330) a umana teachers teachers (Desi)
(331) nam ra toes those toes (Desi)
DEm ART
(332) a umana student students (Pauline)
a umana students students (Pauline)

Table 1 shows how 24 speakers, who use nouns borrowed from English, pluralise them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART + umana + NE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doris (f, 59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennifer (f, 17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kepas (m, 42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lulupa (m, 59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maibe (m, 45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March (f, 27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melki (m, 50-60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraide (f, 50-55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Vuina (m, 40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliab (m, 39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauline (f, 32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangrang (m, 40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinnie (f, 35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desi (f, 24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabi (m, 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe (m, 50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magret (f, 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel (f, 16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarutia (m, 40)</td>
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<tr>
<td>To Vartoto (m, 55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy (f, 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing (m, 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal (m, 32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f = female, m = male; the numbers indicate the age of the speakers.
Since older speakers only use the ART + umana + N_E - construction and the use of ART + umana + N_E-s almost always implies the use of ART + umana N_E, and ART + N_E-s the use of ART + umana + N_E-s and ART + umana + N_E, it may be concluded that ART + umana + N_E represents the first stage of borrowing followed by ART + umana + N_E-s and ART + N_E-s.

That English nouns are pluralised only by the English plural morpheme -s seems to be a very recent development, because ART + N_E-s is used by speakers who are more or less fluent in English, and in most cases with nouns which are not usually used in their singular form, as their referents rarely occur in isolation, e.g. boots, bricks, passengers, slippers, toes, tools but also beginners, brothers, kingdoms and stores are found.

The pluralisation of nouns borrowed from English follows mainly the rules of Tolai grammar, so that not only 'countable' but also 'uncountable' English nouns are pluralised by umana, if the noun referent spoken about consists of a number of discrete entities, e.g.

(333) dia vura kap pa kadia umana pay (Rachel)
They/PL TA get E their/PL PL pay
they set off to get their pay

(334) lau papalum ma ra umana money i la vana (March)
I work with ART PL money it TA go
papa ta ra umana outstation.
from in ART PL outstation
I work with money which comes from the outstations.

(335) ma dita ga anan ra umana slow music (Rachel)
and they/TRI TA make ART PL slow music
and they played (some pieces of) slow music

(336) ra pakana nina di ga ivure nam ra umana (News)
ART place DEM INDEF TA sell DEM ART PL
spirit ta-na
alcohol in-it
the place where the bottles of methylated spirits were sold.

There are similar constructions in Tok Pisin which have developed only recently so that they cannot be ascribed to substratum influence but have to be explained as "the result of internal natural growth" (Mühlhäusler), for example:

(337) em i helpim ol inkam bilong ol wokman
he increase PL income of PL workman
(I is the so-called predicate marker in Tok Pisin)
he increased the income of the workmen (Mühlhäusler 1981:50)

But it should be taken into consideration that this type of pluralisation may be a common Melanesian or Papua New Guinean feature. Whatever the origin of pluralisation of nouns in Tok Pisin, that are 'uncountable' in English, might be, it certainly contributes to the maintenance of these un-English constructions with English loan words in Tolai.

In other instances the rules of Tolai pluralisation are violated. Thus for instance, English loan words that belong to the class of N_small according to Tolai grammar and should appear in their unmarked form, are in certain contexts pluralised, e.g.

(338) U tar mome ra umana tablets? (Magret)
you/SG TA drink ART PL
Did you ever take tablets (in order to commit suicide)?
(339) ra umana weapons nin ave vala training me (Eliab)
ART PL DEM we/PL/EXC TA train with-it
the weapons with which we trained.

Only the very early introduced loan word bomb is sometimes handled like nouns belonging to Nsmall, e.g.

(340) a umana balus dia vue ra bomb (Paraide)
ART PL plane they/PL throw ART
the planes threw bombs.

There are no instances in which English loan words are pluralised by lavur and only one case of reduplication:

(341) dia ivure kadia bag-bag- na-cocoa
they/PL sell their/PL bags/DISTR-C- cocoa
they sell their bags of cocoa; each of them sells his bags of cocoa,
i.e. the distinction of discrete plurality, distributional plurality and plurality of different kinds ('Artenplural') is not maintained with loan words.

2.6.5.2 New developments in Tolai grammar

2.6.5.2.1 Umana

While in traditional Tolai the marker for discrete plurality umana, quantifiers and lavur, the marker for plurality of different kinds, are mutually exclusive, some young speakers use umana in combination with quantifiers and lavur, e.g.

(342) a umana bul, a peal umana bul (Royal)
ART PL boy ART many PL boy
boys, many boys
(343) a peal umana beo (Gabi)
ART many PL bird
many birds
(344) ma ta umana lavur magit bulang (Nancy)
and ART PL PL thing also
and also various other things
(345) ma a umana lavur manga-na-en (Royal)
and ART PL PL sort- C- fish
and various sorts of fish.

This development matches with the tendency of umana to become obligatory with nouns referring to a number of entities and corresponds to the use of the plural marker ol in Tok Pisin by young speakers. Mühlhäusler (1981:53) states:

The use of ol together with the above quantifiers (i.e. sampela some, plenti many) is common with most speakers of the younger and the youngest generation and there are indications that the use of ol in this context is well on its way of becoming categorial ... At the present there are three variants:

(346) sampela ol bisnesman
ol sampela bisnesman
ol sampela ol bisnesman some businessmen.
Since young Tolais are bilinguals of Tolai and Tok Pisin, the combination of umana with quantifiers is at least reinforced, if not caused, by interference from Tok Pisin.

2.6.5.2.2 Lavur

The already mentioned fact that lavur is not used with loan words indicates that the category of plurals of different kinds is becoming less established than the discrete plural. For otherwise there would not be any reason as to why lavur is not found with loan words. This tendency is also reflected in the use of lavur with Tolai words. While old speakers still use lavur as a plural marker to denote that the noun referent occurs in different varieties, e.g.

(347) A lavur tinata par
   ART PL word all
ing different kinds of words

(348) ra lavur papalum ta ra balaguan
   ART PL work in ART feast
   the different works during a feast

It occurs only with magit thing or mangana thing; sort, kind in the young people's variety of Tolai, e.g.

(349) dia ga tir iau ure ra lavur magit
    they/PL TA ask me about ART PL thing
   they asked me various things

(350) ra lavur magit parika nina di pait ia pirevevet
    ART PL thing all DEM INDEF do it with-us/PL/EXC
   all various things that were done to us

(351) ure ra kinakap- na-lavur mangamangana
    about ART transport- C- PL thing/DISTR
   about the transport of various things.

If in modern Tolai the notion of different kinds of something specified is to be expressed, lavur is combined with manga-na, for example:

(352) a lavur manga-na-pilai dia ga pait ia
    ART PL kind- C- play they/PL TA do it
   they played various kinds of games

(353) a lavur manga-na-malagene
    ART PL kind- C- dance
   various kinds of dances.

In the same way plurality of different kinds is expressed with loan words:

(354) ra lavur manga-na-subject dari ra English,
    ART PL kind- C- as ART
typing ma shorthand
ART
   various kinds of subjects as English, typing and shorthand.

In other words, while in traditional Tolai the combination of lavur with manga-na was optional, it is now becoming obligatory with nouns other than magit and mangana, i.e. the distribution of lavur has become rather restricted, and consequently it has lost its status of being a plural marker of the same functional
capacity as umana. The distinction between discrete plurality and plurality of different kinds is no longer marked by different plural markers (i.e. umana and lavur), but has to be expressed by circumlocution, as, for instance, in English. The only difference between English and modern Tolai is that in Tolai 'different kinds of ...' is not expressed by ADJ + N, but that instead of the adjective 'different' the old plural marker lavur is used which originally covers the whole notion of 'different kinds of ...'.

In Tok Pisin plurality of different kinds is expressed by the plural marker ol + kain sort + N, e.g. ol kain projek various projects, and again we may assume that the changes in Tolai are the result of interference.

2.6.5.2.3 Collectives

In traditional Tolai nouns referring to groups of people are related to plural subject markers and personal pronouns. In modern Tolai both plural and singular subject markers and pronouns are used and sometimes variation is even found in one and the same text:

(355) a kor-na-tarai i mat
     ART crowd-C people it die
     many people died

(356) vakir tika na vunatarai ka i ga vaki
     not one C clan only it TA establish
     ra lotu ati
     ART church here
     it was not only one clan which established the Church here.

This variation indicates that the criterion which governs concord is changing. Not being marked for discrete plurality, nouns denoting groups of people are tending now to be treated as singul ars because of their form, whereas in traditional Tolai it was not form but content that was decisive:

A very interesting case in this respect is the noun barmana young man, a youth, e.g.

(357) ma nam To Kabinana kana barmana nin a ra tagul
     and DEM To Kabinana his boy DEM ART star
     and the boy of To Kabinana was that star,

but due to lexical interference from English, it is also used in the sense of youth, group of young men in modern Tolai and related to singular subject markers and pronouns, though this leads to ambiguity:

(358) a barmana i vana
     ART youth he go
     it
     1. the young man went
     2. the group of young men went.

However, the context always makes clear, whether only one young man or a group of men is spoken about, e.g.
2.6.5.2.4 Verbal nouns

In contrast to traditional Tolai where verbal nouns are uncountable, they are combined with umana, quantifiers or numerals in modern Tolai to express that an event or state of being occurs several times:

(361) nam ra umana maramaravut go iau veve u (Joe)
DEM ART PL help DEM I inform/RED you
ta-na
about-it
those acts of help I am going to inform you about now

(362) ma ure ra umana nginarao i vala vanarikai (news)
and about ART PL problem it TA appear
and about the problems which often come up

(363) mangoro na varmilikanai i vanarikai (Darusila)
many C dislike it appear
much dislike has come up

(note that in modern Tolai mangoro is often constructed without the article).

Two factors seem to be responsible for this development:
1. the already mentioned tendency in Tolai grammar to express plurality when one speaks of more than one discrete entity, i.e. a decrease of trans-nounality, and
2. the influence of Tok Pisin in which plurality is expressed with abstract nouns, "if they are objects of a sentence with a plural agent ... (or) the abstract concept can be identified with several concrete items or events" (Mühlhäusler 1981:50), e.g.

(364) ol i gat ol fan
they had PL fun
they had fun

ol kain projek i mas givim ol training long ol lokal pipel
various projects must provide training for the local people.

2.6.5.2.5 Concord

In modern Tolai agreement between nouns and related subject markers and pronouns shows great variation, as it seems to be determined by three competing principles, the traditional one and two new ones:
1. According to the traditional grammar, nouns referring to discrete entities are related to plural subject markers and pronouns, when they denote a number of such discrete entities, regardless if plurality is formally expressed or not.

2. In modern Tolai noun phrases that are formally marked for plurality are related to plural subject markers and pronouns; noun phrases that do not contain a plural marker, quantifier or numeral are treated as singulars regardless their reference.

3. Nouns referring to inanimates are related to singular subject markers and pronouns, even if they are marked for plurality.

With some nouns the first rule determines the concordance, with others the second or the third one, and in some cases the speaker seems to have the choice of the one he prefers. Examples:

1. Collectives referring to groups of people, e.g. kor crowd, vunatarai clan are either related to plural subject markers and pronouns according to the first rule or treated as singulars according to the second rule.

2. Concord in number between pronouns and nouns referring to units of time, e.g. paka-na-bung hour (lit. piece of the day), kilala year (originally only season), and the loan word week, follows the third rule, e.g.

(365) ra umana kilala iau ga vartovo ta-na (Luisa)
       ART PL year DEM TA study in-it
       the years I studied ...

(366) a vinun na kilala takodo nam iau (Pauline)
       ART ten C year straight DEM DEM I
       papalum pa ia go
       work E it DEM
       it is exactly ten years that I work now.

If concord with these nouns, which have been recently introduced into Tolai in order to meet the necessities of modern life, followed the first rule, one would expect plural pronouns, because they denote discrete entities. According to the second rule ra umana kilala, a vinun na kilala would have been related to plural pronouns, because in both cases plurality is marked.

3. A umana magit things is related to plural as well as singular subject markers and pronouns. The table below shows the frequency of singular and plural subject markers and pronouns that are related to ART + umana/QUANT + magit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SM/SG</th>
<th>SM/PL</th>
<th>PRON/SG</th>
<th>PRON/PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>occurrences</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Magit thing may refer to abstract concepts as well as concrete things. In both cases the agreement varies, e.g.

(367) mangoro na pupukuai ta ra vartovo, mangoro (Ia Peril)
       many C change in ART school many
       na magit dia vanarikai
       C thing they/PL appear
       many changes in school, many things have come up
(368) ra umana magit nina dia ki ta ra store (Pauline)
ART PL thing DEM they/PL sit in ART store
the things that are in the store

(369) pi una ve iau ure ta uma na (To Mago)
so-that you/SG+TA inform me about ART PL
magit nina dia- dariba dia- u vala nuk
thing DEM they/PL i.e. they/PL you/SG TA think
pa diat ta go- ta ra uma na kilala lua-
E them/PL in DEM- in ART PL year previous
ta uma na magit u ga pait ia
ART PL thing you/SG TA do it
in order to inform me about things which - that is - they -
you often think of them in this - in the previous years -
things you did.

Obviously singular forms are favoured, but as singular and plural are
indifferently used by older and young people, the tendency of development is un-
clear. As far as concord in general is concerned, it seems that the old rule is
being replaced, but it is impossible to predict whether the feature (± animate)
or (± formally marked for plurality), or a combination of both will prevail.
3.1 INTRODUCTION

The subject marker and the nucleus

The verbal phrase obligatorily consists of the nucleus denoting an action, process or state of being and the subject marker, which refers to the subject of the clause and agrees with it in number if it signifies human beings or big animals (cf. p. 75):

\[
\text{ART} \rightarrow \text{NP} \rightarrow S \rightarrow \text{VP} \\
\begin{align*}
\text{N} & : \text{tutana} \quad \text{subject marker} \\
\text{nucleus} & : \text{i} \quad \text{he} \\
\text{VPN} & : \text{vana} \quad \text{go} \\
\text{the man went} \\
\text{(the simple form i vana usually refers to the past).}
\end{align*}
\]

The nucleus can be formed by verbs, adjectives, quantifiers, numerals and nouns, e.g.

(1) verb: i vana he went  
  adjective: i ngala it is big  
  quantifier: i do there are many (cf. p. 63)  
  numeral: i utul there are three (cf. p. 65, 154)  
  noun: i tutana he became a man (cf. p. 106, 159)

Though being the head of a verbal phrase, the word tutana man in i tutana he became a man has been classified as a noun, because it may function as the nucleus of a noun phrase in this form, while verbs, when they are used as the nucleus of a noun phrase, have to be transformed into verbal nouns by certain affixes or by reduplication (cf. Mosel 1980: 80, 82, 104). Verbs differ from adjectives, quantifiers and numerals in that they cannot be used as nominal adjuncts. Thus in contrast to the adjective ngala big, the verb mulmulum to be hungry cannot be used attributively, e.g.
The notion of the hungry man can only be expressed by a relative clause:

(3) nina ra tutana i mulmulum
  DEM ART ART man he be-hungry
  the man who is hungry.

The verbs can be further classified into dynamic vs. stative, active vs. inactive and transitive vs. intransitive verbs:

In the case of dynamic and stative verbs, i.e. verbs denoting actions or processes and verbs denoting states of being, the classification is based on their different behaviour with respect to the marking of aspect (cf.p.96), which obviously reflects the semantic difference between the two. Active verbs differ syntactically from inactive verbs in that they enter different clause structures (cf.p.137), and semantically in that the subject referent of active verbs is animate and controls the action or state expressed by the verb. Inactive dynamic verbs denote uncontrolled processes, whereas inactive stative verbs refer to uncontrolled states (cf.p.103), usually implying that the subject is inanimate. Transitive verbs are morphosyntactically distinguished from intransitive ones on the basis of whether or not the verb must be obligatorily followed by a patient noun phrase (cf.p.141). Examples:

I. dynamic, active, transitive verbs:
   kita          to hit someone
   mome          to drink something

II. dynamic, active, intransitive verbs:
    vana          to go
    kikita        to hit
    momo          to drink

III. dynamic, inactive verbs:
    takop         to fall down
    dudu          to sink
    guria         to quake
IV. stative, active, transitive verbs:

- guguane: to enjoy something
- maitane: to be sick with

V. stative, active, intransitive verbs:

- gugu: to be happy
- mait: to be sick

VI. stative, inactive verbs:

- buka: to be full
- par: to be finished, complete.

Verbs which are basically transitive, e.g. kita to hit someone can be transformed into intransitive verbs by partial reduplication, e.g. kikita to hit. This type of reduplication must be distinguished from the so-called 'full reduplication', which serves as a means of expressing the imperfective aspect (cf.p.96). Morphologically it usually differs from partial reduplication in that more phonemes are involved, e.g. kitakita to be hitting someone. Intransitive verbs which are derived by partial reduplication can be reduplicated for a second time in order to express imperfective aspect. In this case only the first syllable of the derived intransitive verbs is reduplicated, e.g. kikikita to be hitting (cf. Mosel 1980:103).

The subject marker, which obligatorily precedes the nucleus, is in most cases a shortened form of the independent pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>independent pronoun</th>
<th>subject marker</th>
<th>subject marker + Future Tense marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>iau</td>
<td>ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>una</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>na</td>
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<tr>
<td>Du</td>
<td>1 exc</td>
<td>amir, mir</td>
<td>amir a</td>
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The indefinite subject marker di is only used with active verbs to indicate that the action or state denoted by the nucleus is controlled by someone whom the speaker does not know or does not want to refer to. It resembles the German man or French on. Whereas the plural forms of the subject marker are derived from the independent pronoun by deletion of the final t, the deletion of the final r
in the dual and the final | in the trial is optional; a variation which results from linguistic change. If the various forms of the subject markers listed here are compared with those recorded by Rickard (1889:436), it becomes evident that the loss of the final consonants in the dual and trial subject markers is a recent innovation and that the initial a of the first exclusive and second person has been developed through analogy with the corresponding plural forms.

The subject marker and the nucleus, i.e. the minimal verbal phrase, can constitute a clause, e.g.

(4) ia u vana                          I went
dia vana                          they went.

If the subject is emphasized and if it is pronominal, it is additionally denoted by an independent pronoun, which holds the same position as nominal subjects, e.g.

(5) diat dia vana                          they went
    dia vana                          they went
    a tarai dia vana                          the men went
    ART men                          they/PL go

and which can be separated from the verbal phrase by nominal determiners, e.g.

(6)

Since the subject marker is an obligatory part of the verbal phrase, it must not be deleted when two verbal phrases are coordinated, e.g.

(7) ia lat ia ga kap ia
    he EMPH.PART. he TA take it
    he himself took it; it was him who took it.

3.2 THE SEQUENTIAL ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS

Besides the subject marker and the nucleus, the verbal phrase can contain:

1. A negative particle.
2. Up to three prenuuclear tense, aspect and mood markers (abbr. TA).
3. A prenuuclear adverb denoting the degree or intensity of what is referred to by the nucleus.
4. A postnuclear nominal adjunct which characterizes the concept expressed by the nucleus.
5. Up to three postnuclear verbal adjuncts, i.e. verbs that form a construction of verb serialisation with the nucleus.
6. A postnuclear marker of aspect or directionality.
The sequential order of these constituents is fixed and seems to be subject to the same principle which determines the arrangement of noun phrase constituents. Those constituents which characterise the concept expressed by the nucleus (e.g. adverbs, characterising nominal and verbal adjuncts) are closer to the nucleus than those which serve as means of identifying the reference of the action, process or state expressed by the nucleus (e.g. the subject marker, tense and aspect markers):

NEG SM TA₁ TA₂ TA₃ ADV (C) V (C) N V₂ V₃ V₄ E

NEG negative particle
SM subject marker
TA tense, aspect, mood marker
ADV adverb
C connective particle
V₁ nucleus
N nominal adjunct
V₂, V₃, V₄ verbal adjuncts
E the so-called Effective Particle, which indicates aspect or directionality

A detailed discussion of the sequential order of constituents will follow after the various means of modifying the nucleus and expressing tense, aspect and mood have been described (cf. p. 118). Here a few illustrating examples might suffice:

(9) SM V₁ V₂ V₃ V₄
  dir vung- pakate- vue- mulē M 268
  they/DU put down slap throw away do-again=it
  they immediately threw it down again (the stone which they tried to carry)

(10) SM+TA₁ TA₂ TA₃ V₁
    na ga tia beo go ra ivu M 28
    it+FUT REMOTE CONTRAST bird DEM ART two
    mapi-na-davai leaf tree
    these two tree leaves will later become birds

(11) SM TA ADV V₁
    i ga manga kankan
    he REMOTE very be-angry
    he was very angry

(12) SM TA V₁ C N V₂ V₃
    iau ti tata- na-kaia- vue- mulē M 166
    I really speak-C spirit-throw-away-do-again=it
    I uttered a magic formula, so that it (the snake) disappeared again

(13) SM TA V₁ V₂ V₃ E
    dir ga pokor-kutu- va=luе pa ia M 182
    they/DU TA cut- sever-CAS=be-first it
    they cut it into two pieces first
3.3 ASPECT, TENSE AND MOOD

3.3.1 Introduction

Tolai displays various means of expressing temporal, aspectual and modal relations whose distribution depends on whether the basic form of the nucleus inherently denotes an action or a process on the one hand or a state of being on the other. While, for instance, the present tense is indicated by reduplication with verbs denoting actions, it is unmarked with verbs denoting states, e.g.

\[(14)\] i\(\text{iaian}\) to eat
\[i\text{iaian}\] he is eating
mait to be sick
\[i\text{mait}\] he is sick.

According to the inherent meaning of the basic form of the nucleus and the corresponding differences in marking tense and aspect, the verbs can be classified into dynamic and stative verbs (cf. p. 103, 106). All non-verbal nuclei basically denote states, e.g. korong black, i korong it is black.

3.3.2 Aspect

3.3.2.1 Reduplication of dynamic verbs as a means of expressing imperfective aspect

3.3.2.1.1 Present tense, progressive and durative action

The basic function of the reduplication of dynamic verbs is to indicate that, for the subject spoken about, the action has not been completed, but that it is still going on; though from the view of the speaker it may already be completed. Compare the following sentences:

\[(15)\] To ia u u iaian kaugu vudu? Kl 283
\[\text{ART who you/SG you/SG eat/RED my}\] banana
Who are you, who is eating my bananas?

\[(16)\] i ga valongore ra tabaran i ga tangtangi Kl 125
he \text{TA hear ART spirit it TA cry/RED}
he heard the spirit crying
(lit. he heard the spirit, it was crying)

In (15) the speaker speaks of an action which is being performed just at the time of speaking and which, consequently, is in the present tense both from the view of the speaker and the subject spoken about. But in (16) the actions of hearing and crying are already completed at the moment of the utterance, i.e. the time of being of the speaker. If, however, one regards the temporal relationship between the action of crying and the subject spoken about, the spirit, it is in the present tense for the subject, i.e. it started crying in the past and will stop, from its point of view, in the future. This temporal relationship between the action and the time of being of the subject is indicated by reduplication (e.g. tangtangi), while the temporal relationship between the action and the speaker's time of being is signified by the prenuclear marker ga, which expresses that the action took place in the remote past from his point of view. In (15) both points to which the action can be related come together. This relationship, which will be called Present Tense in the following is marked only by reduplication of the nucleus without prenuclear tense markers.
Verbal phrases which consist only of the subject marker and a simple non-reduplicated dynamic verb refer to an action in the past from the speaker's point of view without taking the perspective of the subject into account, e.g. i tangi he cried. In the preceding examples the construction of valongore to hear was chosen, because it clearly demonstrates the two kinds of temporal relationships which have to be distinguished (i.e. action – speaker and action – subject). As (17) and the examples quoted below show, the use of reduplication is not necessarily bound to subordination. But while the speaker is free to choose the perspective of his description and whether to use reduplication or not in the cases described below, it is obligatory when the action takes place in the present tense, or when it is to be expressed that a progressive action correlates with another action. When, for example, the speaker says that someone chased somebody else without relating the action of chasing to another intervening action, he may say

(18) i (ga) korot ia
   he (TA) chase him
   he chased him

or he may also adopt the point of view of the subject and say

(19) i (ga) korokorot ia
   he (TA) chase/RED him
   he chased him.

The latter construction is preferred when the speaker wants to express that the action took some time. In contrast to English, there are no prepositional or adverbial expressions in Tolai to render the notion of 'for a while', 'for some time' and the like. For example:

(20) iau korokorot ra balu i takap ma kaigu kuara M 90
    I chase/RED ART pigeon it escape with my sling
    I chased the pigeon which had escaped with my sling
(21) a tabaran i ga papapala K1 169
    ART spirit it TA open
    the spirit opened (the entrance, which took some time, since it had been carefully locked).

In order to distinguish between the obligatory use of reduplication, as illustrated by tangtangi be crying in (16), and its optional use in (18) and (19), the former type of action will be called 'Progressive Action' and the latter 'Durative Action'. Note that Present Tense Actions are necessarily progressive and durative, and that Progressive Actions are also durative, whereas the reverse is not true.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>categories of types of actions</th>
<th>present</th>
<th>progressive</th>
<th>durative</th>
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<tr>
<td>Present Tense</td>
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<td>Progressive</td>
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<td>Durative</td>
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3.3.2.1.2 Collective Action

A special type of durative actions is found in the following two examples; these express that the members of a group of people do not perform an action at the same time, but continuously one after the other:

(22) dia vatvatur ra ula
they/PL touch/RED ART head
they (the children) touch the head (one after the other)

dia ga irairop ta ra pal- na-lotu
they/PL TA go-out/RED of ART house-C church
they left the church one after the other.

If the simple form irop were used instead of irairop, the last sentence would mean they left the church without specifying whether they all left it at the same time or one after the other. Furthermore, the use of the reduplicated form implies that the action took some time and that those who performed the action are regarded as a group. This kind of action will therefore be called 'Collective Action'. In other words, the Collective Action is considered to be a continuous sequence of separate actions performed by individuals who constitute a collective. From the point of view of the subject, namely the collective, the action is not completed. In the case of Present Tense, Durative and Progressive Actions, the action which is regarded as not being completed is a single, continuous and durative action. These three features are, in a slightly modified way, also characteristic of Collective Actions. With respect to its collective subject, the action is a single one, which starts when the first participant begins it and which ends when the last participant has finished it. But at the same time it consists of a plurality of actions done by each member of the group.

3.3.2.1.3 Continuously Repeated Actions

The following example shows that the action which is viewed as being uncompleted and which is consequently expressed by a reduplicated verb is not necessarily a single, homogeneous action, but that a non-interrupted sequence of equal actions can also be considered as a single durative action, e.g.

(25) i kavkavir ia
she tear/RED it
she tore it into pieces.

Kavkavir, which is derived from kavir to tear a thing into two pieces, literally means to continuously repeat the action of tearing a thing into two pieces, which implies that the thing is torn into many pieces.
3.3.2.1.4 Iterative Actions

Iterative Actions differ from Continuously Repeated Actions in that the repetition is not absolutely continuous. The only decisive factor seems to be that actions are repeated over a relatively short stretch of time and that the intervals between them are rather short, so that they can be considered as belonging together and constituting one action, e.g.

(27) To Kalang i ga kukukula upi nam diat.          K1 187
To Kalang he TA shout/RED for DEM them/PL
Pa dia valavalongorē.
not they/PL hear/RED + him
To Kalang shouted several times for them, but they did not hear him (each time that he shouted).

The action of shouting is not continuous, as To Kalang obviously waited for the people to react before he shouted again.

3.3.2.1.5 Distributional Actions

Distributional Actions, similar to Continuously Repeated Actions, and Iterative Actions, consist of a number of single actions. In contrast to the former, however, Distributional Actions affect different entities or are performed at different places, whereby these entities or places are of the same kind. Examples:

(28) i alalire pa ia ta go ra gunagunan ma M 196
it float/RED E it to DEM ART place/DISTR and
i ga poporē
it TA land+it
it (the sea) had floated them (the coconuts) to these places and thrown them on the beach

(29) dia ga vungvung ra upaupa K1 205
they/PL TA put/RED ART piece-of-coconut-fibre/DISTR
ta ra talinge=diat
into ART ear= their
they put pieces of coconut-fibre into their ears (each of them put pieces of coconut-fibre into his ears).

Each single action correlates with a different patient or place, which themselves form a unit corresponding to the Distributional Action as a whole. Accordingly, the distributional character of this type of action is additionally indicated by reduplication of the argument which denoted the patient or the place, as reduplication is also a means of expressing distributional plurality with nouns.
Due to the distributional plurality of the patient or the place, the whole sequence of the various single actions is regarded as one action which is uncompleted for its subject.

(30)

3.3.2.1.6 Habitual Actions

By Habitual Actions we mean actions consisting of a sequence of single, equal actions that are done regularly at a certain fixed point of time (e.g. every morning, every Christmas), or that are always done whenever the opportunity to do them arises. Though Habitual Actions are similar to Iterative Actions in that they are constituted by a sequence of repeated single actions, they differ from them just in those two characteristics which have been considered as being essential for the use of reduplication with Iterative Actions. The repetition of single actions is not limited to a short period of time, but can even continue for ever, and, secondly, the intervals between them can be very large. Therefore one can only argue that the coherence between them, which justifies their treatment as one action, is made up by the regularity of their performance.

(31)

From the speaker's point of view, a Habitual Action can be located in the past, present or future. If it is located in the present, it is not necessarily simultaneous with the moment of the utterance. In this respect Habitual Actions differ from all other types of Imperfective Actions. Examples:

(32) U vava ave?
    you/SG sleep/RED where
    Where do you sleep? (i.e. Where do you live?)

(33) Nam ra tubuan ik i ga monamono.
    DEM ART old-woman little she TA stay-in-the-village/RED
    Ma nam ra kaia i ga poapot ma i
    and DEM ART spirit it TA come/RED and it
That old little woman always stayed behind in the village (to guard it, when the others went away). And that spirit always came and stole the taros and the coconuts.

These various kinds of animals will also bite them.

3.3.2.1.7 Conclusion

There are eight types of actions which are expressed by reduplicated dynamic verbs: Present Tense, Progressive, Durative, Collective, Continuously Repeated, Iterative, Distributional and Habitual Actions. They all have in common that they denote an action which is not completed from the point of view of the agent, so that according to general linguistic conventions, the basic function of reduplication of dynamic verbs can be called 'Imperfective Aspect'. The various kinds of Imperative Actions can be classified further on the basis of the following features:

1. (± present), i.e. whether or not an action is necessarily simultaneous with the moment of the utterance. While only Present Tense Actions are (+ present), all others are (- present).

2. (± simultaneous), i.e. whether or not an action is simultaneous with the moment of the utterance or some other past or future event, or not. The class of (+ simultaneous) actions includes Present Tense and Progressive Actions, both of which are obligatorily expressed by reduplicated verbs.

3. (± single), i.e. whether an action is really a single action with only one starting point and one terminal point or whether it consists of a sequence of several equal actions. In contrast to (+ single) actions, (- single) actions expressed by

\[
SM + V_{\text{RED}}
\]

can be paraphrased by

\[
SM + V + ma + SM + V + ma + SM + V ...
\]

e.g.

(35) i kavkav ir ia
she tear/RED it
she tore it several times, she tore it to pieces

can be paraphrased by

(36) i kav ir ia ma i kav ir ia ma i kav ir ia ...
she tear it and she tear it and she tear it
she tore it and tore it and tore it ...

But i ga tangtangi it was crying in

(37) i ga valongore ra tabaran i ga tangtangi
he TA hear ART spirit it TA cry/RED
he heard the spirit crying
cannot be paraphrased by

(38) i ga tangi ma i ga tangi ma i ga tangi ...
   it TA cry and it TA cry and it TA cry
   it cried and it cried and it cried ...

Collective Actions can be regarded both as (+ single) and (- single) actions. In respect to the collective subject,

(39) dia ga irairop
   they/PL TA go-out
   they went out one after the other

must be regarded as a single action, which is reflected by the fact that this sentence cannot be paraphrased by

(40) dia ga irop ma dia ga irop ma ...
   they/PL TA go-out and they/PL TA go-out and
   they went out and went out and ...

But on the other hand irairop does consist of a sequence of several equal actions each of which is performed by a member of the collective; hence dia ga irairop can be paraphrased by

(41) i ga irop ma i ga irop ma i ga irop ma ...
   he TA go-out and he TA go-out and he TA go-out and
   he went out and he went out and he went out ...

whereby the singular subject markers i refer to different people.

4. (+ continuous), i.e. whether the performance of an action is continuous or interrupted. The feature (+ continuous) is shared by all (+ single) actions and additionally by Continuously Repeated Actions, whereas Iterative and Habitual Actions are interrupted by more or less short periods of time. Because they affect different patients or are performed at various places, Distributive Actions are discontinuous.

5. (+ limited), i.e. whether or not an action is performed in a limited period of time and at a certain pace. The only (- limited) actions are Distributive and Habitual Actions.

Habitual and Distributional Actions are defined by the feature (+ regular) and (+ distributional) respectively, and do not fit into the hierarchic order of the other types of actions, which is made up by the following implications:

(+ present) + (+ simultaneous, + single, + continuous, + limited)
(+ simultaneous) + (+ single, + continuous, + limited)
(+ single) + (+ continuous, + limited)
(+ continuous) + (+ limited)

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<th>types of actions</th>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>continuous</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limited</td>
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3.3.2.2 Stative verbs

There are two classes of stative verbs:

1. Stative verbs denoting mental or bodily states, which combine with animate experiencers and enter the construction of active verbal clauses (cf. p.141), e.g.

(42) burut to be afraid
laun to live
mait to be sick
mudian to be cold
talanguan to be tired, to dislike
tianan to be pregnant.

2. Stative verbs denoting states of being of things, which enter the construction of inactive verbal clauses (cf. p.148), e.g.

(43) buka to be full
par to be complete.

Both types of stative verbs are used in their simple, unreduplicated form when they refer to a Present Tense state, e.g.

(44) tina= gu i mait
mother=my she be-sick
my mother is sick

(45) i buka ra rat
it be-full ART basket
the basket is full.

But while the former can be reduplicated in order to express Progressive, Repeated, Habitual and Intensive States, the latter cannot be reduplicated at all. In analogy to Progressive Actions, we speak of a Progressive State, if a state of being is simultaneous with another state or action. The examples found in Kleintitschen (1924) and Meier (1909) suggest that Progressive States are only expressed by reduplicated verbs in subordinated clauses. Since the construction of reduplicated stative verbs has not been checked on with informants, unclear whether it is obligatory or optional. For example:

(46) Nina ra tutana i ga mait. K1 360
DEM ART man he TA sick
Ma nina tura= na pa i ga nana pa ia ...
and DEM brother=his not he TA see/RED E him
Nina, i ga mait, i ga tir:
DEM he TA sick he TA ask
"Bulik, To Bua akave, ari pa i giragire
my-dear To Bua where since not he see/RED
pa iau, ari-eri iau mamait."
E me as-long-as I be-sick/RED
That man was sick.
But his brother did not visit him ...
The one who was sick, asked: "My dear, where is To Bua, since he has not visited me, for long as I have been sick now."
(47)  Ba da lagalagar ma da momo  M 250
when we/PL/INC be-healthy and we/PL/INC drink
vur vur bit.
everywhere
As long as we are healthy, we can have something to drink everywhere.

Repeated States are very rare. In the following example the repetition of a
state is correlated with an Iterative Action:

(48)  lau ma ororo pa diat.
I in-vain call/RED E them/PL
Dia talatalanguan.
they/RED dislike/RED
I called for them in vain. But they did not like (to come).
(But they refused to come each time that I called for them).

Examples for Habitual States are particularly found in creation myths, where the
effect of the event in question or people in future times is stated, e.g.

(49)  kador umana bul diat a ti burburut  M 76
our/DU/INC PL child they/PL TA TA be-afraid/RED
upi ra tabaran
of ART spirit
our children will always be afraid of the tabaran-spirit.

(50)  avat a ti tiatianan
you/PL TA TA be-pregnant/RED
you (women) will become pregnant.

The most frequent function of the reduplication of stative verbs is to indicate
intensity, which is often additionally signified by the emphatic particle ka or
its allomorphs uka and ika, e.g.

(51)  lau ruvaruva ka ta=m.  K1 401
I be-respectful/RED PART of=you/SG
I am very respectful of you.

(52)  "Tago u tanan ika."
because you/SG be-pregnant PART
"lau mamaur uka."
I be-full/RED PART
"Because you are pregnant." "I am only full up.
(That's the reason, why my belly is so big)."

(53)  da malamalari
we/PL/INC be-unhappy/RED
we are very unhappy.

A number of stative verbs only have a reduplicated form without the corresponding
simple counterpart, e.g.

(54)  gugu to be hungry
kankan to be angry
mulmulum to be hungry
nunure to know
ririvon to dream
ririvone to dream of.
These verbs cannot be reduplicated further. Whereas Intensive and Habitual States can be indicated by the adverbs manga very and vatikai always, Progressive and Repeated States cannot be explicitly marked.

A special case of stative verbs is found with kiki to sit, to be seated and tutur to stand, to stay, which are derived from the dynamic verbs ki to sit down, and tur to stand (somewhere), to place oneself (somewhere). These reduplicated verbs differ from reduplicated dynamic verbs in that they do not denote Imperfective Actions but states; otherwise kiki would mean to be taking a seat, to continuously sit down (and get up again) and tutur to be placing oneself somewhere, to continuously stand up (and sit down again). Examples:

(55) Ava nam u kiki taun ia?
    what DEM you/SG sit upon it
    Where are you sitting on?

(56) Una tutur ati!
    you/SG+TA stand here
    Remain standing here!

But:

(57) Una ki ati!
    you/SG+TA sit-down here
    Sit down here!

3.3.2.3 Adjectives

Adjectives forming the nucleus of verbal phrases are reduplicated in order to indicate that the quality expressed by the simplex is intensive or is growing intensive, e.g.

(58) i ga malamalapang nam ra vat
    it TA be-hot/RED DEM ART stone
    that stone became very hot

(59) i ga tutukan mulai
    it TA be-small/RED again
    it became small again

(60) ma pa i ga boboina
    and not it TA good/RED
    and it did not become better.

That these two meanings of reduplication, which will be called Intensive and Ingressive State, should be kept apart is shown by different paraphrases. Thus according to the context, boboina can either be paraphrased by manga boina very good, by boiba tuna really good or by boina vanavana becoming good step by step.

3.3.2.4 Agent- and patientless verbs

There are two kinds of agent- and patientless verbs, namely process and stative verbs. While the former, which denote natural events, are treated like dynamic verbs, e.g.
3.3.2.5 Other types of nuclei

Due to insufficient data, it is not known whether quantifiers, which behave similarly to adjectives in adnominal constructions, are also reduplicated to express Intensive and Ingressive States when they function as the head of a verbal phrase. Numerals are only reduplicated to derive distributive numerals (cf.p.78); whether these distributive numerals only occur in adnominal constructions or also as the nucleus of a verbal phrase has not yet been investigated.

Nouns, which are reduplicated to indicate distributional plurality when they function as the head of a noun phrase, are not reduplicated when used as the nucleus of a verbal phrase. In order to express the notion of 'to become what is expressed by the noun', it is sufficient to use the noun as the nucleus of a verbal phrase (cf.p.159), e.g.

(64) i tuta na
    he man
tutana
    he man

3.3.2.6 Conclusion

As illustrated by the chart below, reduplicated verbs show the greatest variety of meanings. While dynamic verbs are reduplicated in order to express that the action or process has not been completed from the point of view of the subject spoken about, i.e. in order to express Imperfective Aspect, this function of reduplication only plays a marginal role with active stative verbs, and none with inactive stative verbs. This behavioural difference in marking aspect correlates with the semantic differences between dynamic and stative verbs.
Statements imply duration and incompleteness, and consequently, stative verbs need not be marked for the Present Tense and the Durative, whereas actions and processes involve change and termination. In contrast to stative verbs, the simple form of dynamic verbs refers to completed past events and can also be used to express generic or habitual actions (compare the stories about the preparation of sweet potatoes, the pig, the pig-hunt and the house-building in Mosel 1977:129, 132, 135, 137, 139). As far as Present Tense and continuous actions (i.e. Progressive, Durative, Collective and Continuously Repeated Actions) are concerned, reduplication seems to serve as a means of making dynamic verbs similar to stative verbs. That dynamic and stative verbs do not form two strictly separated categories, but are interrelated in this way is best shown by such pairs as ki to sit down and kiki to sit, to be sitting, where the reduplicated form does not denote a continuous action (to be sitting down, taking a seat or to be continuously sitting down and getting up again), but a state. Further evidence for the interrelation between reduplicated dynamic and simple stative verbs is provided by the fact that a number of stative verbs is formally reduplicated without having a corresponding simple form, e.g. gugu to be happy, kankan to be angry, mulmul in to be hungry.

3.3.3 Tense

3.3.3.1 Present, past and future tense

As has been pointed out on several occasions in the preceding paragraphs, the construction of a subject marker plus a non-reduplicated nucleus denotes a past event, when the nucleus is formed by a dynamic verb, and refers to the present or past tense in the case of a stative verb or adjective, e.g.
(65) i tangi he cried
tangtangi he is crying, he was crying
i mail he is sick, he was sick

Similar to stative verbs and adjectives, imperfective, i.e. reduplicated dynamic verbs can refer both to past and present events, when they are combined only with a subject marker. In other words, a past event is only distinguished from a present event, if it is perfective.

A further obligatorily marked temporal distinction is the opposition between future and non-future actions, processes and states. All future actions, processes and states are obligatorily marked by the Future Tense marker and thus contrast with non-future actions, processes and states:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Dynamic Verbs</th>
<th>Stative Verbs</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past Tense</td>
<td>perf. unmarked</td>
<td></td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imperf. marked by reduplication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Tense</td>
<td>imperf. marked by reduplication</td>
<td></td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Tense</td>
<td>perf. marked by the Future Tense marker</td>
<td>marked by the Future Tense marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imperf. marked by the Future Tense marker and by reduplication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Future Tense marker holds the first position after the subject marker fusing with it into a portmanteau-morpheme in the singular and in the case of the indefinite subject marker di. In the dual, trial and plural the form of the Future Tense marker is a, while the subject marker shows the same form as the independent pronoun (cf.p.93). The Future Tense marker is used to denote future actions, processes and states in declarative and interrogative clauses, and it is used to express commands, which, of course, refer to future actions or states. Tolai does not have a particular means of signifying imperatives. Examples:

(66) ina vana (dynamic verb) I'll go
I+FUT go
una vana (dynamic verb) you'll go; go!
you/SG+FUT go
diat a mulmulum (stative verb) they will be hungry
they/PL FUT
diat a ngala (adjective) they will be big
they/PL FUT
na malana (agent- and patientless verb) it will be morning
it+TA morning
una beo (noun) you will become a bird
you/SG+FUT bird
3.3.3.2 Optionally marked temporal categories

3.3.3.2.1 The Remoteness marker ga

If an action, process or state is located in the past before yesterday from the speaker's point of view, it is optionally marked by ga, e.g.

(67) i ga tangi he cried
he REMOTE cry
i ga tangtangi he was crying
he REMOTE cry/RED

but:

*nabung i ga tangi/tangtangi
yesterday he TA cry /cry/RED

and:

(68) i ga kukuta ra ngie= ne its mouth was black K1 336
(69) i ga nat- na-mumum it was a little K1 202
it little-C- adopted-child adopted child

In combination with the Future Tense marker ga indicates that the action, state or process will occur in the remote future, or after something else will have happened before. Hence ga is called 'Remoteness marker'. Examples:

(70) una ga na mule tama= m ma M 98
you/SG+FUT REMOTE see do-again father=your/SG and
na= m
mother=your
you will see your father and mother again later

(71) ina vana, ina ga vut- mulai ...
I+FUT go I+FUT REMOTE come-again
I'll go, but I'll come back later ...

3.3.3.2.2 The Perfect marker tar

The construction of the Perfect marker tar plus a dynamic verb denotes a state that has resulted from a past action or process, i.e. the Present Perfect Tense, which indicates

the continuing present relevance of a past situation ...
it expresses a relation between two time-points, on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, and on the other the time of that prior situation (Comrie 1981:52).

For example:

(72) i tar vana
he PERF go
he has gone (and is not here now)

(73) iau tar ian
I PERF eat
I have eaten (and I am still satisfied)
The Past Perfect Tense, which indicates that a past state has resulted from an earlier event, is expressed by a combination of the Remoteness marker ga and the Perfect marker tar, e.g.

(74) i tar ma\ t
   he PERF \ die
   he has died; he is dead.

Furthermore, tar can be combined with the Future Tense marker or even with the Future Tense marker plus the Remoteness marker ga in order to express that a state in the future will result from some other, earlier future action, e.g.

(76) una tar ma\ t
    you/SG+FUT PERF \ die
    (you will have died)
    you will be dead

(77) una ga tar ma\ t
    you/SG+FUT REMOTE PERF \ die
    (you will have already died)
    you will be already dead.

With stative verbs, tar explicitly indicates that the state referred to by the verb has started in the past. This often implies that it is the result of a past action or process. In English tar + stative verb can best be rendered by the adverb already, e.g.

(78) "U \ tar ma\ l va= par \ koum vaga?"  Kl 59
    you/SG PERF \ make CAUS=be-finished your/SG canoe
    "I \ tar par."
    it PERF \ be-finished
    "Have you finished your canoe?"
    "It is finished."

(79) "Ba i tar maranai kau gunan?"  M 100
    PART it PERF \ be-near your/SG village
    "Have we already come close to your village?"
    (lit. "Is your village already near?")

The same function of tar can be found with imperfective dynamic verbs, which is further evidence for the relationship between stative verbs and imperfective dynamic verbs, e.g.

(80) lo, dir ga tar ma\ l va= par \ ia,  M 46
    well they/DU REMOTE PERF \ make CAUS=be-finished it
    ma To Karvvuu \ i ga \ tar \ tintiding \ ra \ garamut
    and To Karvvuu \ he \ REMOTE PERF \ beat/RED \ ART \ garamut
    ma To Kabinana \ i ga \ biti: ...
    and To Kabinana \ he \ REMOTE \ say
    Well, they had finished it (the canoe and the garamut-drum) and
    To Karvvuu had already started to beat/was already beating the
    garamut-drum, and To kabinana said: ...
"Sauta gogogo?"

"Are you already peeling (the nut)?"

(gogogo, which is derived from the transitive verb go to peel something, shows two types of reduplication, namely reduplication as a means of intransitivisation (cf. p. 92) and, secondly reduplication as a means of indicating imperfective aspect.)

As the following examples illustrate, tar can also be combined with adjectives, numerals, the interrogative pronoun ivia how many and nouns:

"Ba i tar ivia nam u tar pir ia?"

"Ba i tar vinun."

"How many baskets have you already made?" "Ten."

(lit. "How many is it already that you have plaited?"

"It is already ten."

I tar ngala.

He is already grown up.

... ma i tuk- tadap nam na= i= dir i

and he reach-go-to DEM mother=POSS.M. their/DU she

... and he came to their mother there, who had become a child again ... (because she was a snake which had stripped off its skin)

In contrast to the Future Tense and the Remoteness marker, tar does not occur in negative clauses. Thus I have not eaten cannot be translated by

pa iau tar ian

not I PERF eat

but only by

pa iau ian

not I eat

I did not eat

or by

pa iau ti ian

not I really eat

I (really) did not eat (cf. p. 115).

Similarly, tar must not be combined with the modal markers mala nearly and ma, mama in vain, which also express that the action denoted by the verb did not take place e.g.

iau mala bura ta ra tung

I nearly fall into ART pit

I nearly fell into the pit

i ga mama pokor a vat

he REMOTE in-vain cut ART stone

he could not cut the stone
3.3.3.2.3 The Recent Past Tense marker kabur

Due to insufficient data, it is not clear, whether the Recent Past Tense marker is only used with dynamic verbs, or whether it may also occur with stative verbs. With dynamic verbs, it indicates that the action or process denoted by the verb took place in the recent past, e.g.

(91)  iau kabur pait ia ka
      I  RECENT do  it  PART
      I just did it,

or when it is combined with the Remoteness marker ga, it expresses that the action or process had just taken place when something else happened in the remote past. In other words, kabur itself indicates temporal closeness (compare Comrie 1981: 60) in relation to the moment of the utterance or in relation to some other past event. In the latter case we shall speak of Relative Recent Past Tense. In contrast to tar, kabur does not seem to imply that the action is still relevant for the present time, which correlates with the fact that it can be combined with the so-called Frustrative marker ma, mama in vain (cf.p.116), e.g.

(92)  iau kabur mama pait ia
      I  RECENT in-vain do  it
      I have just tried, but could not do it.

3.3.3.2.4 Conclusion

The preceding analysis has shown that eleven tenses can be distinguished in Tolai.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>means of expression</th>
<th>dynamic verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>unmarked</td>
<td>i vana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Tense</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
<td>i tantangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Tense</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>na vana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past Tense</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>i ga tangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Future Tense</td>
<td>NA ga</td>
<td>na ga vana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect Tense</td>
<td>tar</td>
<td>i tar vana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>ga tar</td>
<td>i ga tar vana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Perfect</td>
<td>NA tar</td>
<td>na tar vana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Future Perfect</td>
<td>NA ga tar</td>
<td>na ga tar vana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent Past</td>
<td>kabur</td>
<td>i kabur vana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Recent Past</td>
<td>ga kabur</td>
<td>i ga kabur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.4 Mood

3.3.4.1 The Irrealis marker gala

The Irrealis marker gala indicates that the action, process or state denoted by the nucleus of a verbal phrase is not real, but that the wish exists that it occurs, that it would occur or would have occurred under certain conditions, which, however, are or were not fulfilled. Accordingly, gala is either combined with the Future Tense, the Remote Future Tense, the Past Tense, the Recent Past Tense or the Remote Past Tense.

While gala appears between the subject marker and the nucleus in the North-coast dialects and, consequently, can be classified as belonging to the prenuclear tense, aspect and mood markers, it precedes the subject marker in the Kokopo dialects and thus holds the same position as the negative particle, e.g.

(93) na gala bata, gala na bata
    it-FUT IRREAL rain IRREAL it-FUT rain
    if only it would rain.

In irreal conditional sentences, gala appears in the protasis denoting the condition as well as in the apodosis, which expresses what is conditioned. In both groups of dialects the first gala is put at the beginning of the sentence like a conjunction. Examples:

(94) Gala dia tutun ma ra lalau na davai, M 40
    IRREAL they/PL cook with ART living C wood
diat a gala laun vatikai.
    they/PL FUT IRREAL live always
    If they cooked with green wood, they would live eternally.

(95) Gala amur ongo tar ika a iav ik ta=gu, Kl 71
    IRREAL you/DU obey give PART ART fire little to=me
gala amur a laun vatikai.
    IRREAL you/DU FUT live always
    If you had obeyed and given me some fire, you would live for ever.
(96) Ma gala nam ra bul i ga ongo ta=na M 106 and IRREAL DEM ART child it REMOTE obey to=her
pa dat a gala mat.
not we/INC/PL FUT IRREAL die
If the child had obeyed her, we would not die.
The first gala can also be combined with the conjunctions ba if, when, ona if and ari if, when, thus forming ba gala, ona gala and ari gala, e.g.

(97) Ari gala na keake, gala dor a ki if IRREAL it-FUT sun IRREAL we/INC/DU FUT sit ara ra valian.
down-there ART beach
If the sun were shining, we would be sitting on the beach.

3.3.4.2 The marker of emphatic certainty ti

The marker ti, which is called a 'marker of emphatic certainty', emphasises the speaker's certainty about what he is saying, and can be best translated by English adverbs such as really, certainly, indeed etc. As the following examples will illustrate, it is found in all tenses except the Perfect Tense, and with dynamic verbs, stative verbs and adjectives:

1. Present Tense

(98) U ti varavarara go kador M 58 you/SG really cause-to-be-wrong/RED DEM our/INC/DU umana bul- mur.
PL child-follow
You really cause our descendants to be wrong.
(varavarara is the reduplicated form of the causative verb va=ra ra to cause to be wrong)

(99) Kir i ti kiki ta kada gunan. K1 195 not she really sit/RED in our/INC/PL village
She really does not stay in our village.

(100) Iau ti malari. M 32 I really be-miserable
I am really miserable.

(101) Da ti malamalari tuna. we/INC/PL really be-miserable/RED really
We are extremely miserable indeed.

(102) Ma i ti korong ra ul i na ra malip. M 266 and it really black ART head of DEM ART malip
And the head of that malip (a bird) was really black.

2. Past Tense

(103) Tika na tutana i ti mome- va= par K1 393 one C man he really drink-CAUS=be-finished
ram tava.
your/SG water
Somebody else drank up your water.
3. Remote Past Tense

(104) A keake i ga ti rang ia.
ART sun it REMOTE really burn him
The sun burnt him.

(105) i ga ti par.
it REMOTE really be-finished
It was completely finished.

(106) i ga ti ngala.
it REMOTE really big
It was really big.

(107) Pa i ga vung ia, i ga ti kapkap ia.
not he REMOTE put-down it he REMOTE carry/RED it
He did not put it down, he always carried it.

4. Future Tense

(108) Kador umana bul diat a ti burburut.
our/INC/DU child they/PL FUT really be-afraid/RED
upi ra tabran na ti korokorot diat.
of ART tabran it-FUT really chase/RED them/PL
Our children will certainly always be afraid of the tabaran
(a spirit), which will always chase them.

(109) Ina ti kita-puar ra ulu= m kien!
I-FUT really hit-break ART head=your/SG now
I am going to smash your head now!

(110) Go raveve magit na ti kaina parika.
DEM our/EXC/PL thing it-FUT really bad all
All our things here will certainly be spoilt.

If the Future Tense is used to express a command, ti indicates that the speaker expects that the command is strictly followed without resistance, e.g.

(111) Avat a ti va= par ra niraute.
you/PL FUT really CAUS=be-finished ART clearing
Finish the clearing (of the bush)!

Similarly, ti often renders the notion of English must, e.g.

(112) Ina ti vana ga!
I-FUT really go eventually
I must go now!

Since the negative equivalent of iau tar ian I have eaten is

(113) pa iau ti ian
not I really eat
I have not eaten,

ti is regarded by Bley (1912:54ff) as a means of indicating the Present Perfect Tense, which contradicts the meaning of ti in the Present and the Future Tense. Being unmarked for its temporal relationship, ian eat refers to an action in the Past Tense, whereas ti is an optional marker of mood (see above), so that pa iau ti ian is to be translated literally as I really did not eat. It is the adequate, though not obligatory negative answer to the question.
3.3.4.3 The Frustrative marker ma/mama

The marker ma (Kokopo dialects) /mama (Northcoast dialects) is called 'Frustrative marker', because it indicates that somebody unsuccessfully tried to perform an action, e.g.

(115) Ma To Karvuvu i ga mama pokor raft.  M 52
And To Karvuvu he REMOTE FRUST cut ART stone

Nam ra tubuan i ga vu ra iap.  K1 73
DEM ART old-woman she REMOTE blow ART fire

| ma vuvu ia, i ga tar mat ra iap.
| she FRUST blow/RED it it REMOTE PERF die ART fire
That old woman tried to fan the fire. But she could not fan it up, because the fire had already died.

The reduplication of mama in the Northcoast dialects and of the verb following ma in the Kokopo dialects has certainly to be explained as an instance of Imperfective Aspect. Ma/mama is only used in the Past and the Remote Past Tense and does not occur with stative and inactive verbs.

3.3.5 Unclassified markers
3.3.5.1 la and vala

La is used only in the Northcoast dialects to indicate Continuously Repeated, Iterative and Habitual Actions, which are marked in the Kokopo dialects only by reduplication.

(116) Ma i kap-pa tara umana kurkurua ma i ga  M 140
and he take-E other PL necklace and he REMOTE

la vung ia ta ra timul-a-davai.
put it on ART trunk-C-tree

And he took the other necklaces and placed them one after the other on the trunks of the trees.

(117) Ti ka na bul i ga kiki ta ra vatar  M 138
one C child it REMOTE sit/RED on ART table

ma pa i la rua ra pia.
and not it step ART ground

There was a child who was always sitting on a table and never touched the ground with its feet.

Vala occurs both in the Northcoast and the Kokopo dialects, and signifies the frequency or duration of an action, which can also be expressed by reduplication (cf.pp.97, 100), e.g.

(118) i tar vala va  K1 260
he PERF sleep
he has already been sleeping for some time
3.3.5.2 The Ingressive marker vura

Syntactically vura differs from other prenuclear markers in that it is often, though not obligatorily, joined to the nucleus by the connective particle na. Due to insufficient data, it is not clear, whether vura is only used with dynamic verbs, as the examples suggest, or if it occurs with all types of nuclei. With dynamic verbs vura expresses that the action or process denoted by the verb has started, e.g.

(120) I ga vura na kuma arikai tuna TT 111
it REMOTE INGRESS C rise appear really
nam ra gai.
DEM ART moon
It began to rise, that moon.

3.3.5.3 The Contrastive marker tia

In all Tolai grammars and dictionaries tia is considered a variant of ti (cf.p.114), a statement which can easily be proved wrong, since ti and tia may occur together in one and the same verbal phrase:

(121) ... tago amita ga tia ti kapa
because we/INC/TRI REMOTE CONTRAST really clear
lua ta ik ure ra music
precede some little about ART
(it was very difficult for those men to learn how to play an instrument, because they were not familiar with European music, but it was no problem for us) because we (really) had some knowledge of European music.

The following examples, which have been elicited in several interviews with To Mago and To Walom, show that tia overtly marks contrast and focuses the agent. Compare:

(122) Ari To Marum i tiritir vatikene iau, kir iau
when To Marum he ask/RED do-always/TR me not I
tia balbalbali tago iau ti talanguane
CONTRAST answer/INTR/RED as I really tired-of
ra tinir.
ART asking
When To Marum always asks me questions, I do not answer, because I am really tired of his questions.

(123) Dave u talanguane kaugu mangoro na tinir?
what-about-it you/SG be-tired-of my many C asking
Pata, pa iau tia talanguane.
no not I CONTRAST tired-of-it
Are you tired of my many questions? No, I am not tired of them (but other people would perhaps be tired).
Another possible answer which contains the modal marker ti could be:

(124) *Pata, iau ti gugu ta= na.*

no I really be-happy about=it
No, I really enjoy them.

Tia is frequently found in the stories of To Kabinana and To Karvuvu (Meier 1909), when one of the two explains what each of them has to do, e.g.

(125) *iau, ina ki- iirai, ma u, una tia* M 46

*I+ FUT stay-aside and you/SG you/SG+ FUT CONTRAST*

*ki- iirai. Na boina, ma dor a*

*stay-aside it+FUT be-good and we/INC/ DU FUT*

*var=giragirai, ma una tia gire kaugu,*

*REC=see/ INTR and you/SG+FUT CONTRAST see mine*

*ma ina tia gire koum.*

*and I+ FUT CONTRAST see yours*

(We should not watch each other.) I will stay aside, and you
will stay aside. When it is well done (what each of us is
going to do), we will show it to each other. You will see mine,
and I’ll see yours.

3.3.6 The sequential order of prenuclear markers

The nucleus of the verbal phrase may be preceded by up to three markers
whose order is strictly fixed according to the following rules:

1. If only tense markers are combined, the first position after the subject
marker is held by the Future Tense marker, the second by the Remoteness
marker and the third by the Perfect Tense marker, e.g.

(126) *diat a ga t a r vana* they will have gone

they/PL FUT REMOTE PERF go in the remote future

diat a ga vana they will go in the
they/PL FUT REMOTE go remote future

diat a tar vana they will have gone
they/PL FUT PERF go

diat ga tar vana they had gone.
they/PL REMOTE PERF go

The Recent Past Tense marker holds the same position as the Perfect Tense
marker, but in contrast to the latter it does not combine with the Future
Tense marker:

(127) *diat ga k a b u r v a n a* they had just gone.

they/PL REMOTE RECENT go

2. Apart from the Irrealis marker gala, which precedes the subject marker in
the Kokopo dialects, the mood markers always follow the tense markers, e.g.

(128) *diat a ga ti vana* they will certainly go

they/PL FUT REMOTE really go in the remote future

dia ga mama vana they went in vain.
they/PL REMOTE FRUST go
3. The position of the four unclassified markers la, vala, vura and tia is determined by the following rules: While la precedes the Perfect Tense marker tar, e.g.

(129) dia la tar korot pa ia
they/PL ITER PERF chase E him
they have chased him repeatedly (compare M 212),

vala follows it, e.g.

(130) i tar vala va
he PERF DUR sleep
he has already been sleeping for some time.

Due to insufficient data it is not clear whether vala precedes or follows mood markers. The Ingressive marker vura follows the mood markers, e.g.

(131) ... upi ra pia ni i ti vura na kal-vuē
for ART earth DEM he really INGR C dig-do-away+it
For the earth that he was going to dig out first,

whereas the Contrastive marker tia holds the position between the tense markers and the mood markers, e.g.

(132) i ga tia ti vana
he REMOTE CONTRAST really go
it was him who in fact went.

3.4 PRENUCLEAR ADVERBS

A few adverbs directly precede the nucleus:

1. kabila again, one more, also

(133) ma i kabila taule tara vavina
and he again marry another woman
and he married another woman

(134) Ina kabila vana.
I+FUT also go
I will also go.

2. kaina, kakaina much, strongly, hard, intensively

(135) Pa i ga kaina ian.
not he REMOTE much eat
He did not eat much.

(136) i kaina tangi ka nam ra bul.
he intensively cry PART DEM ART child
That child cried terribly.

(137) Pa i ti kaina marum.
not it really intensively be-night
It is not deep night.

3. manga very, much

(138) i manga kankan.
he very be_angry
He is very angry.
(139) i manga oro  
he much call  
he called aloud

(140) i manga ngala  
he very big  
he is very big

(141) lau manga maingē.  
I much like+it  
I like it very much.  

4. tibuna alone, by oneself  
(142) lau tar tibuna ingit ra mal.  
I PERF by-myself sew ART dress  
I have sewn the dress by myself.  

(143) Tikatika na pia- na-pal ia iat i tia (Namaliu)  
one/DISTR C ground-C- house it self it CONTRAST  
tibuna varakurai ure kana pia.  
by-itself decide about its ground  
Each village makes its own decisions about its real estate.  
(the expression pia-na-pal town, village was introduced by the missionaries; cf.p.10)

5. to almost  
(144) I to na mat.  
he almost C die  
He almost dies.  

6. mat at all (only used in negative clauses)  
(145) Ari di ga pokō iau, pa iau ga tia (Doris)  
when INDEF REMOTE cut me not I REMOTE CONTRAST  
mat na va ga.  
at-all C sleep then  
When I had the operation I did not sleep at all.

3.5 INCORPORATION OF NOUNS

If the nucleus of a verbal phrase is formed by a dynamic verb, it can be modified by nouns, which either directly follow the verb or are joined to it by the connective particle, e.g.

(146) pait-pal  
to build a house  
ki-rokroki  
to sit like a frog

(147) momo-na-tava  
to drink water  
tata-na-ingal  
to speak like an ingal-bird.

These two constructions, which will be referred to as the V-N-construction and the V-na-N-construction respectively, differ from each other in the following points:
1. While the V-N-construction is not productive, but forms a lexicalised compound verb, the V-na-N-construction is productive; whenever it makes sense to characterise a verb by a noun, it may enter the V-na-N-construction.

2. The verb of a V-N-construction may be either transitive (e.g. pait to make in pait-pal to build houses, a house) or intransitive (e.g. ki to sit in ki-rokrrok to sit like a frog), whereas the V-na-N-construction is only formed by intransitive verbs.

In both constructions the noun, which is not preceded by an article or by possessive pronouns, has the same function. It is not referential, but only expresses a concept by which the verb is characterised. In this respect the noun of the V-N- or V-na-N-construction is similar to the N2 of a N1-na-N2-construction (cf. p. 52). In constructions like pait-pal to build houses, a house or momo-na-tava to drink water, the noun does not refer to a concrete patient that is affected by the action denoted by the verb, but is used in a generic sense. In other words, the construction of noun incorporation is used, if the patient of an action is not individuated, but generic. Furthermore, the noun can be incorporated in order to denote the manner in which the action is performed, e.g. ki-rokrrok to sit like a frog, tata-na-ingal to speak like an ingal-bird, or in order to make a general statement about the reason or the place of the action. Examples:

1. The noun denotes a generic patient:

   (148) kul-terai to hire (lit. buy) men
         en-virua to eat human flesh
         kal-up to dig yams
         kap-ier to get pepper
         kap-bala to become pregnant (lit. to get a belly)
         palum-tabu to distribute shell-money (a ceremony)

   (149) gigit-na-bin to pick beans
         kakap-na-nian to get food
         kukul-na-buai to buy betelnuts

2. The noun expresses how the action is performed:

   (150) va-galang to lie like a mouse, i.e. to pretend
         to sleep

   (151) ngangar-na-beo to scream like a bird
         tangi-na-tavur to sound (lit. cry) like a trumpet shell
         pait-na-vavina to behave (lit. do) like a woman

3. The noun denotes the cause of an action:

   (152) mat-na-lom to die because of the lom-ghost
         kukula-na-gugu to cry because of joy
         dadadar-na-bunurut to tremble because of fear

4. The noun denotes the place of an action:

   (153) ki-malur to sit in the shadow

   (154) papalum-na-uma to work in the garden.
3.6 VERB SERIALISATION

3.6.1 The structure of verbal chains

If the nucleus of a verbal phrase is formed by a verb \((V_1)\), it may be followed by up to three other verbs \((V_2 V_3 V_4)\). These verbal chains are complex endocentric constructions, as can be illustrated by bracketing:

\(((V_1) V_2) V_3) V_4\),

i.e. \(V_2\) modifies \(V_1\), \(V_3\) modifies the whole expression \((V_1) V_2\), and \(V_4\) modifies \(((V_1) V_2) V_3\), for example:

(155) Tumu-ba i la ko- mur ta ra vinau, dir M 182
    whenever he \(\text{ITER climb-follow on }\) ART liana they/DU
    la tar pokoko-kutu- vue- mulê meme.
    ITER PERF cut- sever-throw-away-do-again with-it
    Whenever he climbed the liana following them, they cut it
    through making him fall down again with it.

While transitive verbs can only be modified by transitive verbs, intransitive verbs can be followed by intransitive as well as transitive verbs. The composition of an intransitive verb plus a transitive verb is transitive:

1. \(V_{itr} + V_{itr}\)

(156) i pil irop M 96
    it jump come-down
    it (the chicken) jumped down

2. \(V_{itr} + V_{tr}\)

(157) dia ga vue- va= gumu diat M 278
    they/PL REMOTE throw-away-CAUS=dive them/PL
    they threw them into the sea

3. \(V_{tr} + V_{tr}\)

(158) ma i al- vue M 168
    and he pull-do-away+it
    and he pulled it away.

All verbs constituting a verbal chain must have the same agent, and when they are transitive, the same patient. Since adjectives can be constructed like intransitive stative verbs in verbal chains, the term 'verbal chain' as well as the labels \(V_1\) and \(V_2\) will be applied indifferently to adjectives. For semantic reasons, there are no adjectives in the \(V_3\) and \(V_4\) positions.

3.6.2 The meaning of the modifying verbs in verbal chains

The sequential order of the modifying verbs \(V_2\), \(V_3\) and \(V_4\) is determined by their semantic function. As the most frequently used verbal chains only contain the nucleus and one modifying verb, it seems reasonable to describe the function of the modifying verb first on the basis of these minimal verbal chains \((V_1 V_2)\), and then to investigate how the sequential order of the constituents of larger verbal chains is determined by their meaning.
3.6.2.1 The meaning of $V_{itr} + V_{itr}$

With intransitive verbs functioning as the nucleus of a verbal chain, an intransitive modifying verb can have five meanings:

1. $V_2$ denotes the manner in which an action is performed or a characteristic property of a state according to whether $V_1$ is a dynamic or a stative verb:

   (159) vana-bia
   go  be-naked
   to go naked  M 108

   bura-ivaival
   fall-be-concealed
   to fall without being noticed  M 152

   tata-kakaina
   speak-bad
   to speak incorrectly  M 216

   vana-lulut
   go-quick
   to go quickly  M 96

   ngala-lulut
   big-be-quick
   to grow quickly  M 24

   tata-mut
   speak-be-quiet
   to speak in a low voice  TT 95

   va-palar
   lie-be-flat
   to lie flat on the ground  M 270

2. $V_2$ denotes a simultaneous action or state:

   (160) i ga mat-tur
   he REMOTE die-stand
   he died standing  TT 70

   (161) i ga tangtangi-vanavana
   he REMOTE cry/RED go/RED
   he was crying while going  M 140

3. $V_2$ relates the action or state expressed by $V_1$ to some other action or state:

   (162) Na=i=dir i ga igigir-
   mother=POSS.M.=their/DU she REMOTE cook/RED-
   lua adir.
   precede for-them/DU
   Their mother cooked for them before they returned.  M 106

   (163) Ma=i=ruk-mur ta=na.
   and he enter-follow to=her
   And he entered following her/after she had entered.  M 176

The most frequently used modifying verb of this class is mulai (itr) to return, to do again, which indicates that the action or state denoted by $V_1$ is a repetition of an earlier action or state (cf. p.199).

   (164) I ga tangtangi-mulai ...
   he REMOTE cry/RED-do-again
   He was crying again ...  M 98

   (165) ... na gomgom- mulai ra paka=i= dat
   it beautiful-be-again ART body=POSS.M.=our/INC/PL
   ... our body will be beautiful again.
4. In the case that $V_1$ is a verb of motion or position, $V_2$ specifies the direction of the motion or the location of the position (cf.p.182, 187).

(166) vila-bolo
run pass

to run past

pil- irop
jump come-down

to jump down

kinau-likun
creep-return

to creep back

ki- livuan
sit be-in-the-middle

to sit in the middle

ki- lua
sit-precede

to sit in front

5. Par to be complete, to be finished is used as a modifying verb in a verbal chain in order to express that all subject referents are involved in the action or state denoted by $V_1$, or if $V_1$ signifies an action, that the action is completely done. In the latter case par often indicates that an action has been completed, before a subsequent action is done.

(167) ... dia ga vut- par
they/PL REMOTE come-be-complete
... all of them came

(168) i ngala-par ra ngia= i= dir
it big- be-complete ART mouth=POSS.M.=their/DU
both of them had a big mouth (lit. all their mouths were big)

(169) ... ma i ga raut. l ga raut- par
and he REMOTE clear he REMOTE clear-finish
i ga ve ra kai.a.
he REMOTE inform ART kai.a
... and he cleared the bush. After he had cleared the bush, he informed the kai.a (a spirit).

(170) Ma dir ga ian. Dir ga ian par
and they/PL REMOTE eat they/PL REMOTE eat finish
ma nam ra tutana i ga biti ...
and DEM ART man he REMOTE say
And they ate. After they had eaten, that man said ...

Since par inherently carries the notion of perfective aspect, it cannot be combined with verbs denoting a Present Tense action or state.

3.6.2.2 The meaning of $V_{tr} + V_{tr}$

In pure transitive verbal chains the modifying verb shows the same functions as in intransitive verbal chains, and, additionally, a few others which result from the fact that with transitive verbs the relationship between action and patient may also be modified by a subordinated serial verb ($V_2$).
1. Manner:

(171) ... i pait-ive ke na ra garamut  
     he make-conceal PART DEM ART garamut  
     ... (and To Karvuvu) secretly made a garamut drum

(172) Pa i au va longore-mal ia.  
     not I hear - do-well it  
     I did not hear it properly.

(173) I ga na va= dekdek ia.  
     he REMOTE look CAUS=firm it  
     He looked at it firmly.

Here the causative prefix va- only serves as a means of transitivisation, 
but not of causativisation.

2. Simultaneous action:

(174) ... upi dat a i an kilangel  
     so-that we/INC/PL FUT eat try+it  
     ... so that we taste it

(175) Ma dir voko-ilam ia.  
     and they/DU see- recognise him  
     And they saw and recognised him from seeing.

Similarly:

(176) angine ilam  
     to recognise by smelling
bing ilam  
     to recognise by pressing
valongore ilam  
     to recognise by hearing.

3. Relationship to other actions:

The transitive counterparts of lua to precede, be the first, mur to follow and 
mulai to be again, do again, repeat and mule to do something again, to repeat 
something and the causative forms value to do something first and vamur to make 
something follow.

(177) Ma i konom- va= lue kadir tabarikik ...  
     and he swallow-CAUS=precede their/DU things  
     Ma i konom- va= mur mua dir.  
     and he swallow-CAUS=follow PART them/DU  
     And first he swallowed their things ...  
     And then he swallowed them.

(178) ... una ga na- mule tama= m  
     you/S+G+FUT REMOTE see-do-again father=your/SG  
     ma na= m  
     and mother=your/SG  
     ... you will see your father and mother again.

4. Location:

Similarly to verbs of motion, transitive verbs of transportation, i.e. verbs 
expressing that somebody or something is moved somewhere, can be combined with 
verbs that specify the direction of the movement. Many of these modifying 
verbs of transportation are derived from verbs of motion by causativisation.
5. Completeness:

The transitive counterpart of par to be complete, to be finished is the causative verb va=par to complete, finish something, which correspondingly indicates that the action denoted by the nucleus is completely done and that it affects all patients. Like par, vapar is incompatible with Present Tense.

5.1. Completeness: (181) Iga morn expose-cause=complete one C vessel
He drank up one vessel of water.

5.2. Completeness: (182) Sa ti ubu-cause=be-consumed-by-fire it
They roasted it until it was reduced to ashes.

6. Additional meanings of transitive serial verbs:

Transitive serial verbs are often used to specify the effect that the action has on the patient. This meaning is most clearly shown by causative serial verbs which express that the action denoted by the nucleus caused the patient to do something or to be in a certain state.

6.1. Additional meanings of transitive serial verbs: (184) Dia ga tun-cause=be-consumed-by-fire it
They roasted it, until it was reduced to ashes.

6.2. Additional meanings of transitive serial verbs: (185) Vangan-cause=be-full
... and she filled those 30 baskets (with shell-money) ...
(186) Ma ave kita-va= mat ia
and we/EXC/PL hit- CAUS=die it
And we hit him dead.

Non-causative verbs in this function are, for instance, bubur and puar to break, doko to kill, kutu to sever and vake to hold fast, to detain, e.g.

(107) al- doko
pull-kill
go- doko to kill with a spear
pierce-with-a-spear
kita-doko to hit dead
hit- kill
kubu-doko to kill by hanging
tie- kill
al- kutu to pull out, off
pull-sever

(188) biu- kutu
twist-sever
bual-kutu to cut off
cut- sever
bur- kutu to break off
break-sever
karat-kutu to bite off
bite- sever
kita-kutu to hit off
hit- sever
poko-kutu to cut into pieces
cut- sever
kinim-vake to hold fast
catch-hold-fast
oro- vake to call and thus detain,
call- hold-fast to call back
va= tur- vake to hold
CAUS=stand-hold-fast
vi- vake to bind fast
tie-hold-fast

Examples from texts:

(189) ... dia ga al- kutu ra kati= na
they/PL REMOTE pull-sever ART liver=his
... (and those women ...) pulled out his liver (and separated it from his body)

(190) l ga karat-puar a kaur.
he REMOTE bite- break ART bamboo
He bit the bamboo-flute to pieces.
Tar to give is frequently used as a modifying verb in verbal chains in order to indicate that the action denoted by the nucleus has a recipient. Thus tar serves as a means of establishing an additional argument, namely that of a recipient, which is not inherently given in the nuclear verb. Details of the usage of tar to give something and its intransitive counterpart tatar will be discussed in 4.9.2. (cf.p.172) and 4.9.6.3.4. (cf.p.185). Examples:

(192) Ma i ga kaile-tar a malira ta-diat. K1 156
and he REMOTE sing-give ART love-spell to-them/PL
And he sang a love-spell to them.

(193) Ma i tul-tar tika na vuvu tai tura= na. M 194
and he put-forth-give one C flute to brother=his
And he passed the flute to his brother.

3.6.2.3 The meaning of Vitr + Vtr

Transitive verbs following an intransitive verb in a verbal chain express that the action denoted by the nucleus is accompanied by another simultaneous action, or that it has a certain side-effect on somebody or something. Syntactically, the transitive modifying verb introduces a patient noun phrase into the clause.

(194) I ga vava- ririvone ra voana limlimu= na tabaran. C tabaran
he REMOTE sleep/RED-dream/TR one green
He slept and dreamt of a green tabaran (a spirit).

The most frequently used transitive verb in Vitr - Vtr-constructions is bat to obstruct, to stand in the way of, e.g.

(198) I ga tur- bat ra makilalat K1 124
he REMOTE stand-obstruct ART door
He stood in the doorway.
3.6.3 The sequential order of serial verbs

Since the sequential order of modifying verbs in verbal chains has not been investigated with the help of informants, and since the texts do not seem to provide examples for all variations of possible combinations, a number of problems remain unsolved in the following description. To start with, compare the following transitive verbal chains which have been chosen from the texts as prototypical examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nucleus</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pokokutu</td>
<td>va=lue</td>
<td>CAUS be-first</td>
<td>to cut through first</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut</td>
<td>sever</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bobegaze-at</td>
<td>va=lue vue</td>
<td>CAUS=be first do-away</td>
<td>to gaze at something</td>
<td>first, so that it falls down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al</td>
<td>pull</td>
<td>Creep/RED=TR</td>
<td>vue mule</td>
<td>to slowly pull something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull</td>
<td>creep/RED=TR</td>
<td></td>
<td>vue mule</td>
<td>away again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pait</td>
<td>va=rara</td>
<td>CAUS=be-wrong complete</td>
<td>to do everything in</td>
<td>the wrong way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>CAUS=be-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koe</td>
<td>va=par</td>
<td>CAUS=be-complete do-away</td>
<td>to pick completely,</td>
<td>so that nothing is left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pick</td>
<td>CAUS=be-</td>
<td>do-away</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(200) ... dir ga pokokutu- va=lue pa ia M 182
they/DU REMOTE cut- sever-CAUS=be-first E it
... they cut it through first
(201) I bobegaze-at CAUS=be-first do-away do-again M 184
He gazed at their baskets first and made them fall down.
(202) Ma i al- kinakino= e vue mule o M 164
and he pull-creep/RED=TR do-away do-again DEM
ra davai.
ART stick
He slowly pulled the stick back again.
(203) ... u pait-va=rara va=par ia. M 52
you/SG do- CAUS=be-wrong CAUS=be-complete it
... you do everything in the wrong way.
Though the nucleus of a verbal chain can only be followed by three modifying verbs, at least four positions following the nucleus can be distinguished (I-IV; see above), according to which the verbs are classified into class I-, class II-, class III- and class IV-verbs. Verbs characterising an inherent property of the concept denoted by the nucleus directly follow it (as, for instance, kutu to sever follows poko to cut) and precede verbs which specify the temporal relationship between the action in question and other actions (e.g. value to cause to be first, to do first), or which indicate that the action is completely done (e.g. vapar to cause to be complete, to do completely). Semantically, value is less intimately related to poko than kutu to pokö, as the comparison of V₁-kutu and V₁-value constructions show. While nearly all actions can be characterised as being done first, the number of actions that can be characterised as being an action of severing is limited. The same holds true for the relationship between palt to do and vapar to cause to be complete, to finish on the one hand, and palt to do and varara to do in the wrong way on the other. The notion of being done completely is more general than that of being done wrongly. In verbal chains containing four modifying verbs the last one is always mule to do again, repeat. That an action is repeated depends on its nature to an even lesser degree than the fact that it is done before another action or that it is completed, before something else happens.

The semantic features of class I-verbs (e.g. kutu, kinakinoë), class II-verbs (e.g. value, vapar, vamur to cause to follow, to do later) and the class IV-verb mule correlate with distributional properties. The verbs of class I are less combinable than class II-verbs and the class IV-verb mule, and the class II-verbs are less combinable than the class IV-verb mule. On the other hand, the number of verbs constituting these three classes decrease from class I to class IV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>class I</th>
<th>class II</th>
<th>class IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>combinational freedom</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of class members</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these correlations it seems as if the arrangement of the modifying verbs in a verbal chain forms a continuum, as long as vue to do away is not taken into account. Since vue to do away specifies the effect that an action has in respect to the patient, it does not seem reasonable why it follows class II-verbs instead of preceding them as class I-verbs do.

As for intransitive verbal chains, the longest chains found in the corpus contain a verb of motion as their nucleus, e.g.

(205) i  irop galgalir ba M 84
he come-out-down slide/RED go-down
he came down sliding (the tree)

(206) i  dolo ba mulai M 132
he go-through go-down do-again
he went down and through (the hole) again

(207) dir ga vana varkuvo mulai K1 39
they/DU REMOTE go come-together do-again
they came together again
These examples show that the arrangement of the modifying verbs follows similar principles to those determining the sequential order of transitive verbs. Verbs which characterise the manner in which a motion is performed directly follow the nucleus and precede those specifying its direction. Mulai, the intransitive counterpart of mule, comes last of all. That mulai and mule are less intimately related to the nucleus than other modifying verbs is also shown by the fact that they can be separated from the nucleus or other modifying verbs by the so-called 'effective particles' (see below), e.g.

(208) ma dir luk pa mulē
and they/DU gather E do-again+it
and they gathered it again.

3.7 THE EFFECTIVE PARTICLES pa, papa AND kapi, kakapi

The term 'effective particle' has been taken from Bley (1912:119), who introduced it for pa "which indicates that the action really happens or is performed with success or in respect to something. Intransitive verbs are transitivised by pa, e.g. ... ki pa to wait for ..." (Bley 1912:119). In the present description the term 'effective particle' is extended to kapi, since pa and kapi, which show complementary distribution, belong to the same class of functional words. As will be shown below, Bley's interpretation of pa has to be modified.

3.7.1 pa, papa

The basic function of pa is to indicate that the action denoted by the verb leads up to a terminal point, which implies that it is of short duration and that its end is known, e.g.

(209) Ina vuas pa boko ra lima=gu.
I+FUT wash E yet ART hand=my
I am just going to wash my hands.

As an extension of this basic meaning pa also serves as a means of distinguishing punctual actions from actions which imply duration. Compare:

(210) dia puak iau they/PL carry me
they/PL carry E me
they/PL see me
dia gire iau they saw me
dia gire pa iau they caught sight of me.
they/PL see E me

Furthermore, pa expresses that the goal being aimed at by the action has been or will be accomplished, e.g.

(211) iau oro Pelis I called Pelis
I call Pelis
iau oro pa Pelis I called Pelis and he came
I call E Pelis
I searched for it
I searched E it

and that it is directed towards the agent of the action; compare

(212) i kap ia he carried it
he take it
i kap pa ia he took it (for himself)
he take E it
i kap-tar ia ta ... he took it to ...
he take-give it to

Intransitive verbs such as ki to sit, stay can be combined with pa plus a Patient Noun Phrase (cf. p. 141) in order to express that the action is done with respect to a certain goal which is to be accomplished and thus defines the extent of the action, e.g.

(213) i vilau pa ia he ran and got it, i.e. he fetched it
he run E it
una ki pa iau stay, until I (shall) come, i.e. wait
you/SG+FUT stay E me for me
i tata pa iau he greeted me.
he speak E me

While pa is used with active transitive verbs and those active intransitive verbs denoting an action that is aimed at somebody or something, active intransitive verbs signifying an action of limited duration whose termination is not explicitly expressed are combined with the reduplicated form papa, e.g.

(214) Ina momo papa.
I+FUT drink E
I am just going to drink something.

(215) Ari iau ga vavamat papa ka, iau ga
when I REMOTE sleep/RED E PART I REMOTE
ti vatorome ke ra bel.
really hear PART ART bell
When I was just having a little sleep, I heard the bell.

The last example proves that pa/papa and the Imperfective Aspect do not exclude each other. The fact that an action is leading up to a terminal point and that, from the speaker's point of view, it is of short duration, is no obstacle for considering it as not being completed for the subject spoken about. Further examples:

(216) Dir tikan ma dir tikan pa ra ik they/DU search and they/DU search E ART little
a tautau.
C firewood
They searched and found some firewood.

(217) Ma to ia na vila pa dir?
and ART who he+FUT run E them/DU
Who will go and bring them here?
3.7.2 kapí, kakapi

The particles kapí and kakapi indicate that the action denoted by the verb is not the final one, but that it is succeeded by another one, e.g.

(219) I ga punang kapí ia ma i ga vana. Kl 445
he REMOTE bury E him and he REMOTE go
He buried him and went off.

(220) lau tar rang- va= mat kapí ra voana. Kl 66
I PERF roast-CAUS=die E ART one
I have already roasted one (and I will certainly roast more than that).

Should the successive action not be expressed, then it is often implicitly understood that the agent leaves after he has done what the verb refers to, e.g.

(221) I ga galum kapí ra ngie= i kana vavina. Kl 361
he REMOTE kiss E ART mouth=POSS.M. his wife
He kissed his wife's mouth on leaving.

(222) lau giré kapí ia.
I see+it E it
I saw it and went off.

(223) Ina papalum kakapi boko.
I+FUT work E yet
I will do a little work first (and then go).

While transitive verbs are followed by kapí, intransitive verbs require the reduplicated form kakapi. The fact that the effective particles pa, papa and kapí, kakapi are sensitive to transitivity and intransitivity, and that the intransitive forms are derived by reduplication, suggests that they have developed from serial verbs.

3.8. INNOVATIONS IN MODERN TOLAI

3.8.1 The subject marker

The subject marker, which obligatorily introduces the verbal phrase in traditional Tolai, is nowadays occasionally omitted in coordinated verbal phrases, e.g.

(224) Ave papalum bulang ta ra High School, (Goro)
we/EXC/PL work also at ART
pait ra (u)mana pal, ...
do ART PL house
We also worked at the High School, built the houses (there), ...

(225) A paupau tarai dia burut ma vilau. (news)
ART few men they/PL be-afraid and run-away
A few men were afraid and ran away.
3.8.2 Aspect and tense

Since I had observed that the most radical changes begin with imported words (cf. pp. 69, 48, 204), I tested the behaviour of loan words in respect to reduplication and asked several young people to construct sentences which I expected to contain reduplicated verbs in order to express Habitual Actions or States. Apart from a few exceptions only those loan words, whose phonological structure has been adapted or is originally similar to that of Tolai words, were reduplicated, whereby the phoneme /s/, though not being a genuine Tolai phoneme, is nowadays fully accepted. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>simple form</th>
<th>reduplicated form</th>
<th>borrowed form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>belat</td>
<td>belabelat</td>
<td>belhat, T.P.</td>
<td>to be angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galas</td>
<td>galagalas</td>
<td>glas, T.P.</td>
<td>to dive using diving goggles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuk</td>
<td>kukuk</td>
<td>cook, E</td>
<td>to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipak</td>
<td>sipasisipak</td>
<td>spak, T.P.</td>
<td>to be drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipit</td>
<td>simsipit</td>
<td>speed, E.</td>
<td>to speed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taip</td>
<td>tataip</td>
<td>type, E.</td>
<td>to type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuas</td>
<td>vuvuas</td>
<td>wash, E.</td>
<td>to wash</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Loan words which, because of consonant clusters, do not fit into the Tolai phonological patterns, are not reduplicated, but are preceded by the marker vala (cf. p. 116), e.g. vala fiks to fix habitually, vala sponsoa to sponsor habitually, vala klin to clean habitually etc. The only exception regularly heard is stostori to tell stories (habitually), and a few speakers also say stastadi to study habitually.

In the texts I collected in 1978 one even finds frafrai to fry (habitually), which, however, was considered as irregular by other informants. Nevertheless even if such forms have to be regarded as slips of tongue, they show that reduplication is far from disappearing.

The Tolai system of marking aspect and tense does not seem to be affected by interference from Tok Pisin or English. All prenuclear markers and the two postnuclear effective particles still maintain all their functions and are indifferently used with genuine and borrowed words, e.g.

(226) Di ga kabur promote ika ta= gu. (Pauline)
INDEF REMOTE RECENT PART PREP=me
I had just been promoted.
(for the use of the preposition ta after loan words cf. p. 204)

The fact that prenuclear markers of tense, aspect and mood are freely combined with English loan words shows that they have a different morphological status than prefixes as, for instance, the causative prefix, which can only be added to loan words which show the same phonological structure as Tolai words, e.g. va=sipak to make somebody to be drunk.
3.8.3 Incorporation of nouns

Though in traditional Tolai the V-N-construction is not productive, it is found in modern colloquial expressions, which can be ascribed to interference from Tok Pisin, e.g.

(227) Tolai                         Tok Pisin
    korot dance                      bihaim danis
    chase                            follow
    kakap money                      kisim pe/mani
    get

Lukbuk to read looks as if it were derived from English 'look' and 'book', i.e. as if it were an imitation of the V-N-construction with English words. But since luk is identified with Tolai word luk to count by Tolai native speakers, and the Tok Pisin equivalent of lukbuk is rit, ritim, it seem to be more likely that lukbuk is a loan translation from Fijian which was introduced by the Methodist missionaries along with other terms concerning education and mission. In Fijian the notion of to read is expressed by willi vola, which is a V-N-construction similar to that in Tolai and which literally means to count letters.

The V-na-N-construction is frequently used with borrowed nouns, but borrowed verbs only enter this construction, if they are adapted to Tolai phonology, e.g.

(228) gigira-na-filim                to see a film, go to the cinema (Gabi)
    mat-na-overdose                  to die from an overdose (Magret)
    (of tablets)
    galas-na-shell                   to dive for shells with diving goggles
    vok-na-bunurut                   to work with fear

3.8.4 Verb serialisation

While the texts edited by Meier (1909) show a rich variety of verbal chaining, this type of construction seems to be declining in modern Tolai. Firstly, there are found hardly any verbal chains containing more than one modifying verb, and, secondly, the number of verbs which are selected as modifying verbs is reduced (e.g. ba to go down, bat to obstruct, doko kill, irop to go out, mulai, mule to do again, par to be complete, ruk to enter, tar to give, vaba to cause to go down, vairop to cause to go out, vake to hold fast, varuk to cause to enter, vue to do away. The modifying verbs lua, value and mur, vanur to do first and to do later are often replaced by recently developed prepositional phrases (cf.p.211).

Further evidence for the decline of verb serialisation is provided by the fact that it is not productive with loan words. Apart from the very early introduced word lain to be lined up (cf.p.206) in tur lain to stand in a line (TT 58), loan words do not function as modifying verbs in verbal chains. But they occasionally occur as the nucleus, e.g.
They did not make a record (of the cars which had been repaired).

which corresponds to the Tolai expression tumu vake write + hold fast/TR (cf.p.204).

3.8.5 Conclusion

The verb and the verbal phrase are less accessible to innovations than the noun and the noun phrase. Whereas nouns borrowed from English may occur as head nouns as well as in subordinated positions, e.g. korot-dance to visit one party after the other, mat-na-overdose to die from an overdose of tablets (cf.p.135), borrowed verbs do not function as adjuncts (cf.p.135). In contrast to nominal categories such as the various kinds of expressing number and possession (cf.pp.48, 79), the verbal categories of tense, aspect and mood have not undergone any changes. Tolai nouns are more frequently replaced by loans than verbs, and English nouns are often used in the function of verbs, whereas English verbs are not found in the position of nouns (cf.p.203), e.g.

(230) lau ga christmas ati. (Kapi)
   I REMOTE here
   I spent Christmas here.

(231) Ave forgiveness ta- diat. (Joe)
   we/EXC/PL PREP-them/PL
   We forgave them.
Chapter 4

CLAUSE STRUCTURE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to present a thorough description of the various types of clauses in Tolai. In 4.2 the Verbal Clauses are dealt with, which can be further classified into Active and Inactive Clauses and a few marginal types of clauses on the basis of the sequential order of constituents and the correlating semantic structure. While Active Verbal Clauses, which show the constituent order

\[ \text{NP}_{\text{AGENT/SUBJECT}} \rightarrow \text{VP}_{\text{ACTIVE}} \rightarrow (\text{NP}_{\text{PATIENT}}) \]

express some action done by an agent, Inactive Clauses denote a state of being or a process; the noun phrase which refers to what is in the state of being or the process denoted by the verbal phrase, follows the verbal phrase:

\[ \text{VP}_{\text{INACTIVE}} \rightarrow \text{NP}. \]

Since it is obviously functionally equal with the Patient Noun Phrase on Active Transitive Clauses, it will be also called 'Patient Noun Phrase'.

4.3 describes Nominal Clauses, which express existence and equation, and 4.4 deals with a type of clauses which is called 'Semi-Verbal Clauses', because it has some features of Verbal Clauses as well as some characteristics of Nominal Clauses. Other, less frequently used types of clauses, are described in 4.5 - 4.7. In 4.8 the main types of clauses are compared with one another. This comparison shows that they constitute a continuum from Active Transitive Verbal clauses denoting the highest degree of activity to Nominal Clauses expressing states or non-activity.

The description of adjuncts on clause level (4.9) shows that the relationship between the predicate and the semantic role expressed by the adjuncts does not need to be made explicit, if the information of the nature of the relationship is either inherently given in the predicate or the adjunct. The adjuncts whose function is not made explicit are juxtaposed or linked by the preposition ta. At first sight ta seems to be an all purpose preposition, since it introduces adjuncts denoting the position, goal or source of an action, the time, the recipient, beneficiary or addressee, and the cause of an action. In modern Tolai, the patient of verbs borrowed from English is even expressed by ta + NP. (4.10.1). A closer look at the usage of ta, however, shows that it basically functions as a locative marker and that its other functions are derived from
this basic function. The various functions of ta constitute a continuum with its basic function at one end and its function as the linking particle of patient noun phrases with verbs borrowed from English at the other.

There are five types of simple independent clauses in Tolai, the classification of which is based on the structure of the predicate:

1. Verbal Clauses, whose predicate is a verbal phrase with a verb, an adjective, a quantifier or a numeral as nucleus.
2. Nominal Clauses, whose predicate is a noun phrase.
3. Semi-Verbal Clauses, whose predicate is a verbal phrase with a noun as the nucleus.
4. Locational Clauses, whose predicate is a prepositional phrase or a local deictic.
5. Alienable Possessive Clauses, whose predicate is an alienable possessive phrase.

For example (predicates are underlined):

(1) A tu tana i vana
   ART man he go
   The man went.

(2) Avet a umana ko na tutana.
   we/EXC/PL ART PL nice C man
   We are nice men.

(3) A kaliku i qa boroi lua ...
   ART snake it TA pig before
   The snake was a pig before ...

(4) Iau mamati.
   I from-here
   I am from here.

(5) Kaugu a ngala na pal.
    mine ART big C house
    I have a big house.

The verbal phrase obligatorily consists of the nucleus denoting an action, state or process and the so-called subject marker, a shortened form of the independent pronoun which precedes the nucleus and refers to the subject of the sentence, i.e., for example, i he, she, it in (1) and (3) (cf.p.91). The Verbal Clause and the Semi-Verbal Clause may be constituted solely by a verbal phrase:

(6) I vana.
    he go
    He went.

Besides these obligatory constituents, the verbal phrase may contain various prunuclear tense and aspect markers (abbr. TA) between the subject marker and the nucleus(cf.p.94), as well as postnuclear modifiers such as the effective particle (abbr. E) (cf.p.94), adverbials etc. Another means of modification is compounding with nouns (cf.p.120) and verbal chaining, whereby up to three verbs may follow the nucleus (cf.p.122). Negation is expressed by negative particles directly preceding the subject marker, e.g.

(7) Una ti ian vapar vue ge nam.
    you/SG-TA TA eat do-something-completely do away finally that
    Eat that all up now! (said to a child)
(8) Pa iau ti ian boko.
    not I TA eat yet
    I have not eaten yet.

Noun phrases function as the agent and the patient in Verbal Clauses (13)–(20), as the subject and the predicate in Nominal Clauses (2), as the subject in Semi-Verbal Clauses (3) and as part of prepositional phrases. The nucleus can be formed by nouns, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, numerals and indefinite quantifiers.

4.2 VERBAL CLAUSES

As mentioned above, the main characteristic of Verbal Clauses is that their predicate is a verbal phrase, the nucleus of which is a verb, an adjective, a quantifier or a numeral, e.g.

(9) dia ga vana
    they/PL TA go
    they went

(10) dia ga ngala
    they/PL TA big
    they were big

(11) i ga do vanavana ra umana motokar
    it TA many step-by-step ART PL car
    the number of the cars increased step by step

(12) Ma dital ga utul, ...
    and they/TRI TA three
    And they were three, ...

On the basis of the number and the sequential order of the obligatory nominal constituents Verbal Clauses can be classified into five classes:

I. NP V NP
   (13) A tutana i kita ra bul.
       ART man he hit ART child
       The man hit the child.
   (14) A tutana i mome ra tava.
       ART man he drink/TR ART child
       The man drank the water.

II. NP V
   (15) A tutana i vana
       ART man he go
       The man went.
   (16) A tutana i kikita.
       ART man he hit/INTR
       The man hit (someone).
   (17) A tutana i momo.
       ART man he drink
       The man drank.
III. V NP

(18) | buka ra rat
   it full basket
   The basket was full.

(19) | ga io ra pal.
   it TA burn ART house
   The house burnt.

(20) Ma i ga kubur a lama ...
   and it TA grow ART coconut
   And the coconut tree grew ...

IV. V NP NP

(21) | tup ia u ra vinavana.
   it be-severe-upon me ART going
   The march was severe upon me; I was exhausted by the march.

V. V

(22) | bata. | marum
   it rain it night
   It rained. It was night.

The sequential order of constituents in the foregoing examples represents
the basic word order. If a word or phrase is topicalised, it is shifted to the
beginning of the clause. Topicalised noun phrases other than the patient noun
phrases in inactive clauses (16)-(18) (cf. p.148) must be referred to by pronouns
in their original unmarked position. Furthermore, topicalised noun phrases are
usually marked by demonstrative pronouns. In order not to complicate the
following description, topicalisation phenomena will not be discussed here, but
only illustrated by the following examples:

1. Topicalised patient noun phrase in a Transitive Clause

(23) Nam bula kador vavagui kador umana M 66
   DEM also our/INC/DU animal our/INC/DU PL
   bul- mur diat a rapu ia.
   child-follow they/PL TA hit it
   Our animals will also be hit by our descendants.
   (non-human nouns may be referred to by singular pronouns)

2. Topicalised possessor attribute of the patient noun phrase in a Transitive
   Clause

(24) ... kador umana bul a bata na ti M 44
   our/INC/DU PL child ART rain it+TA TA
   ububu kadia nirautan.
   destroy/RED their/PL cleared-place
   ... the rain will destroy the cleared place of our children.

3. Topicalised patient noun phrase in an Inactive Clause

(25) Go ra papalum pa i ga par lulu.t. TT 43
   DEM ART work not it TA be finished quickly
   This work was not quickly finished.

4. Topicalised noun phrase of a prepositional phrase in an Inactive Clause
4.2.1 Active clauses

4.2.1.1 General characteristics and subclassification

In NP-V-NP- and in NP-V-clauses (type I and II) the sequence of NP-V expresses the relationship that exists between an action and its initiator or controller. Hence both types of clauses will be called 'Active Verbal Clauses' as contrasted with 'Inactive Verbal Clauses' (see below); and the noun phrase preceding the verb will be called the 'Agent Noun Phrase'. The relationship expressed by the sequence of V-NP in (13)-(14) is that of an action and the entity affected by that action. The noun phrase following the verb shall therefore be called the 'Patient Noun Phrase'. The function of a noun phrase as agent or patient is marked solely by its position within the clause. If one replaces tutana man by bul child and vice versa, the meaning of the clause (13) would be the child hit the man. Since in Tolai the encoding of the semantic role of the experiencer does not differ from that of the agent of actions (cf.p.143), we will only speak of Agents in the following.

There is no passive voice in Tolai. If the Agent is not to be expressed explicitly, it is referred to by the indefinite subject marker di someone, which corresponds to German man or French on, e.g.

(27) Di kita ra bul.
INDEF hit ART child
Someone hit the child; The child was hit.

(28) Di vana.
INDEF go
Someone went.

According to general conventions, the verbs in (13)-(14) and (15)-(19) can be called 'transitive' and 'intransitive' respectively, but only in the very strict sense that transitive verbs obligatorily govern a patient noun phrase, whereas intransitive verbs do not. Thus kikita to hit in (16), which is derived from the transitive verb kita to hit by partial reduplication, is intransitive in contrast to the latter and must not be followed by a Patient Noun Phrase.

The reverse operation of deriving a transitive verb from an intransitive one is shown in (14), where the transitive verb mome to drink something is derived from the intransitive verb momo to drink by suffixation of the transitive marker -e and the simultaneous loss of the final vowel. Each transitive verb has an intransitive counterpart which is usually arrived at by means of various derivational processes, whereas a number of intransitive verbs, e.g. laun to live cannot be transitivised. Only a limited number of verbs may be used transitively as well as intransitively, e.g. ian to eat, to eat something.

Verbs of position, e.g. ki to sit down, to sit, stay, be and verbs of directed motion, e.g. vana to go, bolo to pass, dolo to go through, ruk to enter etc. may optionally be followed by a noun phrase referring to the location of the action, e.g.

(29) l ki.
he sit-down
He sat down.
(30) Ma di r ga ki ra oaga ...
and they/DU TA sit-down ART canoe
And the two sat down in the canoe ...

(31) ave ga vana Vunagali
we/PL/EXC TA go V.
we went to Vunagali.

(32) ... dia ga bolo.
they/PL TA pass ...
they passed.

(33) ... dia bolo nam ra davai
they/PL pass DEM ART tree ...
they passed that tree

(34) I ga dolo ra pupui.
he TA go-through ART bush
He went through the bush.

(35) I ga ruk.
he TA enter
He came in.

(36) ... i ga ruk ra mata na ganau
he TA enter ART cave C flying-fox ...
he entered the cave of the flying-foxes.

Though (30), (31), (33), (34) and (36) look like transitive clauses (compare Bley 1912:96, Mosel 1980:44), they are more adequately classified as intransitive clauses with a locational adjunct (cf.p.178).

That locational noun phrases cannot be interpreted as a kind of patient and, consequently, the verbs of position as being neutral in respect to transitivity is shown by the following examples where noun phrases denoting location are juxtaposed to derived intransitive verbs, which are unambiguously intransitive:

(37) ... i ga tia kakal ra bala na tung.
he TA TA dig/INTR ART interior C hole ...
he dug inside the hole (down there in the ground).

(38) Tika na tutana i ga rovoi ra lao.
one C man he TA hunt/INTR ART wilderness
A man hunted in the wilderness.

Further evidence is that these noun phrases cannot be pronominalised as patients are, but can only be replaced by local deictics, e.g. ara there, ati here, or by the preposition ta in, to, at plus suffixed pronoun, e.g.

(39) I ki ara / ati.
he sit-down there here
He sat down there/here.

(40) I ki ta=na.
he sit-down in-it
He sat down in it.

Active Intransitive Clauses do not only serve as a means of encoding real acts that are consciously done by an animate doer with respect to an object or somebody else, but are also used metaphorically when an action is said to be carried out by an actor like tool (41) or a natural force (42), e.g.
(41) ma a pagal-a-tup i ga pok o ra l i ma=na
and ART leaf- C-sugar-cane it TA cut ART hand=her
and the sugar-cane leaf cut her hand

(42) ... a tava i tar alir= e
ART water it TA float=TR+it
..., and the water has carried it away

or when a mental activity is directed towards somebody or something, e.g.

(43) A tutana i gire ra bul.
ART man he see ART child
The man saw the child.

There is no difference between 'verba sentiendi' and other transitive verbs in Tolai, as can also be seen from constructions of verbal chaining. Compare:

(44) ... ma i voko-tadap dir.
and he see- go-to them/DU
..., and he caught sight of them.

(45) ... i gire-vue dir.
he see- do-away them
..., he saw how they disappeared.

with

(46) A tabaran i ga mur- tadav ia.
ART spirit he TA follow-go-to him
The spirit followed and caught him up.

(47) Ma i al vuë ...
and he draw do-away+it
And he drew it away ...

Active Intransitive Clauses denote actions which are more or less consciously
done by an animate being such as movements and bodily or mental activities (48),
(49), as well as temporary states of being of the body or the mind (50), (51), e.g.

(48) To Purgo i ga vana.
To P. he TA go
To Purgo went off.

(49) Ma ra ngala= na i ga peke.
and ART mother= its she TA excrete
And its mother excreted.

(50) A umana bul dia mulmulum.
ART PL child they/PL be-hungry
The children are/were hungry.

(51) A umana lapan dia ga kankan.
ART PL Japan they/PL TA be-angry
The Japanese were angry.

In contrast to English, most temporary states of being of the body or the
mind are not denoted by adjectives (e.g. 'hungry', 'sick', 'sad', 'angry'), but
by intransitive verbs. Hence the notion of 'the hungry man' is rendered by a
relative clause:

(52) Nina ra tutana i mulmulum i vana.
DEM ART man he be-hungry he go
The man who was hungry went; the hungry man went.
All verbs including the Tolai translation equivalents of 'to give' are maximally bivalent; they do not require more than two arguments. The notion of 'to give' can be expressed by several Active Transitive Verbs. The most general verb is tar to give (away), whose Patient Noun Phrase refers to the thing which is given. The recipient is optionally expressed by a prepositional phrase, e.g.

(53) ... ma i ga tar ia tai turan=na and he TA give it to brother=his
... and he gave it to his brother

(54) ... ma i tar-bali kapi nam ra laun and he give-return E DEM ART debt
... and he pays the debt.

Usually, however, tar is not used as the nucleus of the verbal phrase, but as a modifier in a verbal chain. The most frequent combinations are tak-tar to pick up + give and tul-tar stretch forth, hand or send + give, e.g.

(55) ... ma dia tak-tar ia ta=gu and they/PL pick-up-give it to=me
... and they gave it to me.

(56) Una tul-tar a maset ta=gu.
you/SG+TA hand-give ART matches to=me
Give me the matches.

As can be seen from the next examples, tar often only qualifies the action as being directed towards another person or an inanimate goal, e.g.

(57) di ga kap-tar go ra nian pira=na
INDEF TA carry-give DEM ART food near=him
they took the food to him

(58) ... ma i vue-tar ia ta na ra ubu-na-vat ...
... and he throw-give her to DEM ART oven-C-stone
... and he threw her into the stone oven.

Tabar to give is used if the thing given is food or a present. The Patient Noun Phrase of tabar refers to the recipient, whereas the given food is optionally expressed by a prepositional phrase introduced by ma with, e.g.

(59) ... upi iau tabar kaigu taulai ma kaigu
so-that I give my husband and my
umana bul
PL child
... so that I can give my husband and my children something to eat.

(60) ... upi dia ga tabar nam ra umana lapan
so-that they/PL TA give DEM ART PL Japan
ma ta umana kakaruk.
with some PL chicken
... (the people were asked) to give chickens to the Japanese.

A third verb corresponding to English to give is tibe which implies distribution. Its Patient Noun Phrase refers to the given object, while the recipient is expressed by ta + NP, e.g.

(61) I tibe nam tika na kakaruk ta=dir.
he distribute DEM one C chicken to=them/DU
He gave the other chicken to them.
In Active Transitive Clauses the Agent and the Patient Noun Phrase may have identical reference, e.g.

(63) Dir ga marimari dir.
    they/DU TA pity them/DU
    They pitied themselves.

4.2.1.2 Intransitivisation of transitive clauses

By intransitivisation we mean the operation by which a transitive clause is made intransitive. There are two types of intransitive clauses resulting from intransitivisation. The first type may be called 'absolutely intransitive', because the Patient NP is completely deleted, e.g.

(64) dia kip ia tuk uro ra valian
    they/PL carry/TR him up-to down-to ART beach
    ... da rapu ra tutana, tumu pa i kikip
    INDEF-TA man if not he carry
    they (the Tolai people) carried him (the chief of the Japanese soldiers) down to the beach on their shoulders (they were forced to do so) ... If a man did not carry him, he would be beaten.

The clauses of the second type are 'less intransitive', insofar as the Patient NP is not deleted, but has become a nominal adjunct of the verbal nucleus, which does not refer to a specific entity affected by the action as in the case of a patient, but characterises the concept expressed by the verb. Thus the transitive clause

(65) dia la git ra umana bin
    they/PL TA pick/TR ART PL bean
    they used to pick the beans (which my parents had planted)

has the intransitive counterpart

(66) dir ga gigi- na-bin
    they/DU TA pick/INTR-C- bean
    they picked beans (they performed the action of bean-picking)

which can be compared to the contrast of specific and generic objects in English. The Tolai Vitr na N-construction, however, has a wider range of use. Corresponding to compound noun phrases in which the nominal modifier is also joined to the nucleus by the connective particle na, e.g.

(67) a uma- na-bin
    ART garden-C- bean
    the garden of beans

the relationship between nucleus and modifier is rather unspecific. With non-derived intransitive verbs na-N can denote manner, circumstance, reason and the like (cf.p.120) e.g.

(68) ... i ga dadadar- na-bunurut, ...
    he TA tremble/RED-C- fear
    ... he trembled with fear, ...
(69) Ma To Karvuvu i ga ngangar-na-beo ... M 32
and To K. he TA scream- C- bird
And To Karvuvu screamed like a bird ...

(70) ... nin i ga ki- na- karabut ara ta ra tung TT 76
DEM he TA sit-C- prison there in ART tunnel
... who sat imprisoned in a tunnel

(71) iau ga diop- na-vavaongo TT 125
I TA sleep-C- lie
I pretended to sleep

Since the nominal adjunct is a modifier of the nucleus, it directly follows the
nuclear verb in constructions of verb serialisation, e.g.

(72) iau ti tata- na- kaia- vue- mulē M 166
I TA speak-C- evil-spirit-do-away-do-again + it
I uttered a spell to make it go away again.

To conclude, the various types of 'more or less' transitive and intransitive
clauses may be arranged on a scale:17

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{transitive} & \\
NP_{AG} & V_{tr} & NP_{PAT} \\
\text{a uma na lapan dia git ra bin} & \text{the Japanese picked the beans} \\
NP_{AG} & V_{itr/derived} & \text{na } N_{MOD} \\
\text{a uma na lapan dia gigit-na-bin} & \text{the Japanese picked beans} \\
NP_{AG} & V_{itr/derived} \\
\text{a uma na lapan dia gigit} & \text{the Japanese picked} \\
NP_{AG} & V_{itr/simple} \\
\text{a uma na lapan dia vana} & \text{the Japanese went} \\
\text{intransitive}
\end{align*}
\]

4.2.1.3 Reciprocal clauses

A special case of intransitivisation is found with reciprocal verbs which
are derived from transitive verbs by the prefix var= and express that at least
two people, who are involved in the action, also performed it, and are affected
by it at the same time. Compare:

(73) A tutana i ubu ra bul ART man he hit ART child
The man hit the child.

(74) A tutana ma ra bul di var=ubu. ART man and ART child they/DU REC=hit
The man and the child hit each other.
While in these sentences the agents and the patients are identical, there are some cases of reciprocal verbs whose subject refers to more than one person, among whom the roles of the agent and the patient are distributed. Varkorot, for instance, which is derived from korot to chase means to perform the action of chasing whereby at least one person chases another person, e.g.

Varkorot does not mean that they chased each other, which would not make sense, but that the two were involved in the action of chasing.

The prefix var= does not exclusively mean reciprocity, but is also used to derive non-reciprocal intransitive verbs from transitive verbs, e.g.

(78) karat to bite (tr)  
var=karat to bite (itr)

(compare the intransitivisation of transitive causative verbs, p.156).

4.2.1.4 Transitivisation of intransitive clauses

As mentioned above, a number of simple intransitive verbs may serve as base for the derivation of transitive verbs by the so-called transitive suffixes =e and =ane. The suffix =e increases the valence of intransitive verbs of action other than movement and position, so that it becomes possible to refer to what is affected by the action. Compare:

(79) Dia momo.  
they/PL drink/ITR  
They drank (quenched their thirst).

(80) Dia mom= e ra tava.  
they/PL drink=TR ART water  
They drank the water.

In (80) ra tava the water denotes a specific quantity of water as, for instance,
the water that was given to them. The notion of they drank water is expressed by the Vitr na N-construction, e.g.

(81) Dia momo- na-tava.
they/PL drink/ITR-C- water
They drink water.

where tava qualifies the concept of drinking as drinking water in contrast to drinking tea or beer, but does not refer to a concrete entity. The suffix -ane is mainly used with intransitive verbs denoting mental or bodily states, e.g.

(82) kankan to be angry kankanuane to be angry with
mait to be sick maitane to be sick with.

4.2.2 Inactive Clauses

4.2.2.1 General characteristics

Inactive Clauses express states of being and processes which are not initiated or controlled, but rather occur to somebody or something. Like Active Intransitive Clauses, the Inactive Clauses contain only one noun phrase, but differ in that this noun phrase follows the verb. As shown by the following examples, the noun phrase may refer to an animate or inanimate entity:

(83) I par ati kaigu tinata.  TT 52
   it be-finished here my speaking
   Here my story ends.

(84) Ma ra tabaran i pap uka, ma i par  Kl 133
   and ART spirit he dog PART and it be-finished
   a pap, i geleng.
   ART dog it mouse
   And the spirit became a dog, and after he had become a dog, he became a mouse (lit. and the dog was finished, he became a mouse).

In the grammars written by the missionaries (Bley 1912, Fellmann, Rickard 1889, Zwinge) agentless clauses with one noun phrase following the verb are treated like Active Intransitive Clauses. But since syntactic functions of parts of speech are only marked by their position within the clause, we think it more adequate to regard the sequence of V NP in (83) as being functionally equal with V NP in (85):

(85) A tutana i kita ra bul.
   ART man he hit ART child
   The man hit the child.

than as being functionally equal with NP V in (86):

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

Thus, Tolai differs considerably from languages of the nominative-accusative type such as English where the semantic roles of the agent of actions and the patient of states and processes are encoded similarly, but the patient of actions and the patient of states and processes are encoded differently, e.g.

(87) the man goes  (action)
(88) the coconut tree grew  (process)
but

(89) the basket is full
(90) he filled the basket

The pronominal elements preceding the verb within the verbal phrase (the subject markers) e.g. i he, she, it in
A tutana i kita ra bul. (85)
ART man he hit ART child
The man hit the child.
A tutana i vana. (86)
ART man he go
The man went.

(91) i buka ra rat.
    it be-full ART basket
The basket was full.

refer to the subject\textsuperscript{19} of the sentence which is not necessarily an agent as in
the case of inactive clauses (91). That i in (91) is not a kind of dummy agent
marker is shown by Inactive Clauses in which the semantic role of the patient
is represented by a non-singular noun phrase. For in this case the subject
marker occasionally agrees with it in number. Since the verbal phrase precedes
the noun phrase, agreement is not obligatory. For example:

(92) Ma dir ga ti dudu-par ra ivu korkor M 138
    and they/DU TA TA sink-be-complete ART two korkor-fruit
    And the two korkor-fruits sank completely down.

(93) i ga buka ra evu rat. K1 498
    it TA be-full ART two basket
    The two baskets were full.

Further evidence for the inactiveness of verbs such as buka to be full, par to
be complete is that they never occur with the indefinite subject marker di, which refers to an unknown or unspecified agent (cf.p.141).

The Inactive Clause construction is obligatory, when a state of being or
a process of a bodypart is to be expressed, irrespective of whether the predi-
cate is formed by an inactive verb (i.e. a verb that exclusively enters the
Inactive Clause construction), an adjective or an active intransitive verb
(i.e. a monovalent verb which is usually constructed with an animate agent
noun phrase). For example:

1. inactive verbs:

(94) Ma i ga buka ra bala= na. K1 319
    and it TA be-full ART belly=his
    And his stomach became full.

(95) i ga kapa ra paka=na. K1 466
    it TA be-clear ART body his
    His body was free (from lunacy).

2. adjectives:

(96) Kir i ongor a paka=gu, ...
    not it strong ART body=my
    My body is not strong, ...


(97) Ma i ga ngala ra bala= i ra vavina. M 92
    and it TA big ART belly=POSS.M. ART woman
    And the belly of the woman grew thick.

3. intransitive verbs:

(98) ..., i ga papala ra mata=na K1 46
    it TA open/ITR ART eye= his
    ..., his eyes opened

(99) Ma i ga pidil ra libongi=na. K1 53
    and it TA knock ART chest= his
    And his heart was beating.

(100) Ma i ga vana ra polo ura ra pi. K1 354
    and it TA go ART liquid down-to ART ground
    And the liquid (of his body) flew down to the ground.

4.2.2.2 Transitivisation of Inactive Clauses

As has been described above, a typical example of Inactive Clauses is the expression of states of bodyparts, e.g.

(101) ..., i makmaki ra bala= gu K1 47
    it be-hurting ART belly=my
    ..., my belly is hurting; I have stomach-ache

(102) i malapang ra ulu= na. K1 47
    it hot ART head his
    His head is hot.

(103) i ga korong ra paka=na, ...
    it TA black ART body=her
    Her body was black, ...

Most of the inactive verbs indicating some state of sickness or mood have transitive counterparts which are derived by transitive suffix -ane, e.g. maki-ane to feel pain at. Whereas transitivisation of active intransitive clauses leads to the establishment of a patient (cf.p.147), it is the agent/experiencer (cf.p.142) that is established by transitivisation of inactive clauses of the type described above:

(104) A vavina i maki=ane ra bala= na.
    ART woman she feel-pain-at ART belly=her
    The woman has stomach-ache.

(105) A tutana i malapangi=ane ra ulu= na.
    ART man he be-hot-in-respect-to ART head=his
    The man has headache.

This operation of transitivisation can be described by the following formula:

\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset & \quad \text{VINAC} & \quad \text{NP}_{\text{PAT}} & \quad \text{inactive} \\
\downarrow & \quad \downarrow & \quad \downarrow & \quad \downarrow \\
\text{NP}_{\text{AG}} & \quad \text{V}_{\text{TR}} & \quad \text{NP}_{\text{PAT}} & \quad \text{transitive} \\
\end{align*}
\]
4.2.2.3 Inactive Clauses derived from Active Transitive Clauses

A number of inactive verbs are derived from transitive verbs by the prefix ta=, e.g. puar to break, tapuar to be broken. \(\text{ta=V}\) indicates a state of being that has resulted from the action expressed by the verbal base, e.g.

(106) A bul i ga puar a kap.
   ART ch1ild he TA break ART cup
   The child broke the cup.

(107) i ga tapuar a kap.
   it TA be-broken ART cup
   The cup had been broken.

(108) To Purgo i ga rup pa ta boro- na-vudu.  K1 81
   To Purgo he TA uproot E some shoot-C- banana
   To Purgo uprooted banana shoots.

(109) Ma i ga guria.  K1 368
    and it TA earthquake
    Ma i ga tarup ra dava.
    and it TA be-uprooted ART tree
    The earth quaked, and the trees got uprooted.

It is the clauses with these derived verbs which provide the strongest evidence for our clause classification into Active and Inactive Clauses, because they show most clearly that the noun phrase following the verb in Inactive Clauses (a kap in (107)) is to be identified with the Patient Noun Phrase in Active Transitive Clauses (106). The initiator of the state of being or the process expressed by the \(\text{ta-}\)verb is often, but not necessarily understood from the context. While in

(110) ... ma i ga ubu nam ra eyu tabaran.  K1 260
    and he TA kill DEM ART two spirit
    i ga tapuar ra u!\(=\) i\(=\) dir.
    it TA be-smashed ART head=POSS.M.=the/\(DU\)
    ... and he killed the two spirits. Their heads were smashed.

it is evident that the person who killed the spirits smashed their heads, it remains unclear in

(111) Ma i ga ruk ura ra mata-na-ganau  K1 171
    and he TA enter there-to ART cave-C- flying-fox
    Ma i ga takop ra makilalat.
    and it TA fall-down ART entrance
    He entered the cave of the flying foxes, and the entrance fell down.

whether there was an initiator of the collapse of the entrance at all.

The derivation of Inactive Clauses from Active Transitive Clauses may be regarded as an operation opposite to that of transitivisation of inactive clauses: while by transitivisation the agent is established, it is deleted by making active transitive clauses inactive.
4.2.3 Transitivity, intransitivity and inactivisation compared

There are two valence increasing operations (transitivisation of intransitive and inactive clauses) and two valence decreasing operations (intransitivisation and inactivisation of transitive clauses) which can be cross-classified as either affecting the agent or the patient:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Increasing Valence</th>
<th>AG</th>
<th>PAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transitivisation of inactive clause</td>
<td>AG V PAT → AG V PAT</td>
<td>transitivisation of intransitive clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decreasing Valence</th>
<th>AG</th>
<th>PAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inactivisation of transitive clauses</td>
<td>AG V PAT → V PAT</td>
<td>intransitivisation of transitive clauses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As illustrated in the diagram below, the transitive clause is involved in all types of valence decreasing and increasing operations, which shows that the transitive clause is the focal type of verbal clauses in Tolai.

There are no derivational relations between Active Intransitive and Inactive Clauses. But they are related to each other in a different way by the fact that with verbs of motion variation is permitted between the two (cf.p.150), depending on the degree of control exercised by the subject referent.
4.2.4 Further types of verbal clauses

The fourth type of clause construction, namely V NP NP, is found with the two verbs tup and monong, both meaning to be severe upon, to exhaust, e.g.

(112) ga monong avet ra mululum. TT 54
it TA be-severe-upon us/EXC/PL ART hunger
Hunger tormented us.

Though the verbs tup and monong are bivalent, tup- and monong-clauses differ from transitive clauses in two points:

1. The verb does not denote an action affecting the patient-referent (avet), but rather a bodily state of being of the patient referent.
2. In contrast to Active Transitive Clauses the relationship between the subject (mululum) and the verb (monong) is not that of control, but that of cause.

Formally these differences are reflected in different word order (V NP PAT NP CAUS against NP AG V NP PAT), and in that the subject is always inactive and consequently cannot be represented by the subject marker di. Thus, in spite of their bi-valence, tup- and monong-clauses are closely related to inactive clauses of type III and can be regarded as links between Active Transitive and Inactive Clauses.

A further type of clause construction closely related to the inactive type is found with the impersonal expression i tale it is possible and i topa it suits, which are followed by animate Patient Noun Phrases, e.g.

(113) i tale iau it is possible for me, I can (do it)
i topa u it suits you, you must (do it).

If it is to be expressed what someone can or must do, these verbal clauses are followed by a subordinated clause introduced by (u)pi that, e.g.

(114) Pa i tale iau pi ina vana.
not it be-possible (for) me that I-TA go
I cannot go.

(115) i topa iau pi ina papalum.
it suits me that I-TA work
I must work.

(Upi-clauses refer to events that follow what is expressed by the main clause. Thus upi-clauses also denote the content of wishes, intentions, purposes and the like, e.g.
4.2.5 Agent- and patientless clauses

The last type of verbal clauses consists only of the subject marker, optional tense and aspect markers and the nucleus, which refer to some natural event or to time, e.g.

(117) | ga guria, ga bata, ga labur ... \[ K1 325 \\
| it TA earthquake it TA rain it TA storm \\
| The earthquake, rain fell, the storm blew ...

(118) | ga batabata. \[ K1 133 \\
| it TA rain/RED \\
| It was continuously raining.

(119) | ga malana, nam ra tutan ga vana. \[ K1 67 \\
| it TA morning DEM ART man he TA go \\
| (When) it was morning, the man went; the next morning the man went.

(120) | marana i, upi na keake. \[ M 244 \\
| it near so-that it TA sun \\
| ..., it was near that the sun shone = it was shortly before sunrise.

The words referring to natural events (bata, guria, labur) or the time of the day (malana, keake) are multifunctional in that they may function as nuclei of either noun or verbal phrases, e.g.

(121) | bata, a guria, a labur, a malana ART rain ART earthquake ART storm ART morning \\
| a keake \\
| ART sun \\
| the rain, the earthquake, the storm, the morning, the sun, daytime.

An idiomatic way of expression is found with numerals, which in agent- and patientless clause constructions refer to a number of days:

(122) | ivat dor a bung. \[ K1 370 \\
| it four we/PL/INC TA come-together \\
| In four days (lit. it is four) we'll come together.

4.2.6 Causative constructions

Causative Clauses express that an action, state or process is caused by an animate being. What all types of Causative Clauses have in common is that the verbal nucleus is a causative verb derived by the prefix va- and that in comparison with the corresponding non-causative clause a new agent noun phrase is established (NPAG). The simplest type of causativisation is found with inactive clauses where the new agent noun phrase is just added:
If Active Intransitive Clauses are causativised, the agent of the caused action is represented as the patient (NP\textsubscript{PAT}) or the resulting transitive causative clause:

(124) \[
\text{NP}_{\text{AG}} \xrightarrow{V_{\text{INTR}}} \text{A pap} \quad i \quad \text{ga} \quad \text{ki.}
\]
\[
\text{ART} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{TA} \quad \text{sit down}
\]
\[
\text{NP}_{\text{AG'}} \xrightarrow{V_{\text{CAUS}}} \quad \text{a tutana} \quad i \quad \text{ga} \quad \text{va=} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{ra} \quad \text{pap.}
\]
\[
\text{ART} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{TA} \quad \text{CAUS=} \quad \text{sit-down} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{dog.}
\]
\[
\text{causative}
\]
\[
\text{The dog sat down. The man made the dog sit down.}
\]

In the case of causativisation of Active Transitive Clauses, the agent of the caused action becomes the patient of the resulting causative clause, while the patient of the transitive clause is either deleted or represented by an optional prepositional phrase:

(125) \[
\text{NP}_{\text{AG}} \xrightarrow{V_{\text{TR}}} \quad \text{a vavina} \quad i \quad \text{nunure} \quad \text{nam}
\]
\[
\text{ART} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{she} \quad \text{know} \quad \text{that}
\]
\[
\text{NP}_{\text{AG'}} \xrightarrow{V_{\text{CAUS}}} \quad \text{a tutana} \quad i \quad \text{va=} \quad \text{nunure} \quad \text{ra} \quad \text{vavina}
\]
\[
\text{ART} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{CAUS=know} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{causative}
\]
\[
\text{the woman knew that, the man instructed the woman.}
\]

There are no Causative Clauses derived from V NP\textsubscript{PAT} NP\textsubscript{CAUS} -clauses (cf.p.153), which is most plausible, since these clauses already express states of being that are caused. Secondly, causativisation is not found with agent- and patientless clauses. Again, this also seems to be quite natural, as these clauses denote natural events and time (cf.p.154), which are not thought of as being caused by an animate being. With the other three types of clauses causativisation is productive to varying degrees. The degree of productivity decreases from inactive clauses to transitive clauses. While all Inactive Clauses can be causativised, there are a few exceptions with Active Intransitive Clauses (no causative, for example, can be derived from vana to go), and as for the Active Transitive Clauses, it is hard to find any causative counterparts. The notion of 'to cause somebody to do something' is usually expressed by circumlocution with subordinated 'that'-clauses.
Causativisation always implies transitivisation. But as all other transitive clauses, Causative Transitive Clauses may be intransitivised, which is done by prefixing var- to the causative verb and deletion of the patient noun phrase (NP\textsubscript{PAT'}).

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\begin{scope}[local bounding box=transitive]
\node (agent) at (0,0) {\text{NP\textsubscript{AG}}};
\node (intransitive) at (0,-2) {\text{NP\textsubscript{AG}'}};
\node (transitive) at (0,-1) {\text{NP\textsubscript{AG}'});
\node (transitive output) at (0,-3) {\text{V\textsubscript{CAUS}}};
\node (transitive output2) at (0,-4) {\text{NP\textsubscript{PAT}'}};
\node (transitive output3) at (0,-5) {\text{V\textsubscript{TR}}};
\node (transitive output4) at (0,-6) {\text{\textempty}};
\path[->] (agent) edge (transitive output3);
\path[->] (transitive) edge (transitive output2);
\end{scope}
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textit{Compare:}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \texttt{I ga ruk.} \hspace{1cm} \textit{he enter} \hspace{1cm} \textit{He entered.}
\item \texttt{..., di ga va= ruk ia tai tika na pal.} \hspace{1cm} \textit{they/DU TA CAUS=enter him in one C house} \hspace{1cm} \textit{..., they brought him into another house.}
\item \texttt{..., ma dia ga ubu-var= va= ruk.} \hspace{1cm} \textit{and they/PL TA hit-INTR=CAUS=enter} \hspace{1cm} \textit{..., and they made (them) enter by force.}
\end{enumerate}

The intransitivised Causative Clauses show none of the arguments of the corresponding non-causative clauses, because their agent has been newly established and the patient (which is the agent of the caused action) has been deleted.

\section*{4.3 NOMINAL CLAUSES}

Nominal Clauses are clauses whose predicate is formed by a noun phrase and thus they cannot be marked for person and number by subject markers and tense and aspect by tense and aspect markers (abbr. TA). There are two types of Nominal Clauses in Tolai.

1. Existential Clauses
2. Equative Clauses.

\subsection*{4.3.1 Existential Clauses}

Existential Clauses consist of only one noun phrase stating the existence of what is referred to by that noun phrase, e.g.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \texttt{A kilala-na-mulmulum.} \hspace{1cm} \textit{ART season-C- hunger} \hspace{1cm} \textit{There was famine.}
\end{enumerate}

or its non-existence in case that the noun phrase is determined by the adnominal negative particle pata \textit{no}, e.g.
If it is not understood from the context when the noun phrase referent existed or exists, the time of its existence can be indicated by temporal adjuncts, (cf.p.198), e.g.

(132) Ma amana a vaden parika.
and formerly ART women all
In former times only women (existed).

With inalienably possessed nouns, existential clauses correspond to what is expressed by 'to have' in English (cf.p.164), e.g.

(134) ..., a lolovina lima=i= diat.
    ART long hand=POSS.M.=their/PL
    ..., their long arms (existed), i.e. they had long arms.

(135) Pata paka=i= diat a ur parika.
    no body=POSS.M.=their/PL ART bone all
    No body of them (existed), bones only (existed),
    i.e. they had no body, only bones.

Existential Clauses formed by a verbal noun serve as a means of emphasising the action denoted by that verbal noun, e.g.

(136) Di ga vana, di ga vana, di ga vana, a vinavana ka iat.
    they/DU TA go they/DU TA go they/DU TA go ART going only PART
    They went and went and went and did not stop
    (lit. only going existed).

(137) Ave t ave ga ki va vakuku,
    we/EXC/PL we/EXC/PL TA stay lie purposelessly
    pata nidiop.
    no sleeping
    We lay there and could not sleep, we did not sleep all night
    (lit. no sleeping existed).

4.3.2 Equative Clauses

Equative Clauses consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases NP₁ NP₂ expressing that the NP₁ referent is what NP₂ refers to, e.g.

(138) Kamave tutana a umana pun.
    our/EXC/PL man ART PL turtle
    Our husbands are turtles.
If the predicate noun phrase $NP_2$ is negated, it is preceded by the negative particle *pata*. In contrast to negative existential clauses, here the negative particle does not function as a determiner which replaces the article, e.g.

(140) Nam ra boroi pata ra boroi tuna. K1 123
    DEM ART pig no ART pig real
    That pig was not a real pig.

For emphasis, the predicate noun phrase may be shifted to the initial position of the clause, e.g.

(141) A lunga u! M 34
    ART fool you/SG
    You are a fool indeed!

(142) A tabaran ika iau. K1 224
    ART spirit only I
    I am only a spirit.

(143) Ava u? A tutana u? K1 75
    what you/SG ART man you/SG
    What are you? You are a man?

(144) A keake, ia To Purgo. A vagam, ia To Kabinana. K1 61
    ART sun he To Purgo ART moon he To Kabinana
    To Purgo is the sun. The moon is To Kabinana.

In the last sentence the personal pronoun *ia he, she, it* is inserted between the two noun phrases in order to avoid that a keake *the sun* and a vagam *the moon* are interpreted as subjects.

If the subject is represented by a demonstrative pronoun, the inverse word order $NP_{PRED}$ $NP_{SUBJ}$ is the usual one, e.g.

(145) A vavina nam. K1 26
    ART woman DEM
    That is a woman.

(146) Pata ra guria tuna nam, ... K1 369
    no ART earthquake real DEM
    That is not a real earthquake, ...

since deictic subjects usually imply the emphasis of the predicate. If, however, a demonstrative pronoun functioning as the subject is to be emphasised in order to express a contrast, it appears twice: firstly in the initial position, and secondly in its unmarked position following the predicate noun phrase, e.g.

(147) Go a garamut (i) ta go, pata ra oaga M 46
    DEM ART garamut-drum PART DEM no ART canoe
    This is a garamut-drum, not a canoe.

(148) Go a ingal go, ma nam ada beo M 32
    DEM ART ingal-bird DEM and DEM our/INC/PL bird
    vakuku na, ...
    common DEM
    This here is an ingal-bird, but that is a common bird for us to eat, ...
Besides equation, the \( \text{NP}_1 \text{NP}_2 \)-clauses can also express that the \( \text{NP}_1 \) referent has what is referred to by the \( \text{NP}_2 \) (cf.p.163), e.g.

(149) Avet a mangoro na buai ma ... M 208
we/EXC/PL ART many C betel-nut and
We have many betel-nuts, and ... 

That these nominal clauses are to be distinguished from Equative Clauses becomes evident with their negative counterparts. For if the possession is negated, the negative particle pata replaces the article as in the case of negative existential clauses, e.g.

(150) Ba u pata ik a via abara M 194
PART y/SG no little ART knife there
Don't you have a little knife with you?

4.4 SEMI-VERBAL CLAUSES

4.4.1 Structure and function of Semi-Verbal Clauses

Semi-Verbal Clauses are clauses whose predicate is a verbal phrase with a noun as the nucleus. Similarly to nominal clauses they express existence or equation and, additionally, coming into being. All Nominal Clauses can be transformed into Semi-Verbal Clauses, if tense and aspect are to be expressed, e.g.

(151) tuk i ga pui vanavana mulai TT 18
until it TA bush by-and-by again
until the bush grew again
(152) A kaliku i ga boro'i lua. M 218
ART snake it TA pig before
The snake has been a pig before.
(153) Una moar, iau ina tutana tuna ka. K1 438
you/SG+TA moar-bird I I+TA man real PART
You shall be a moar-bird, I'll be a real man.

Secondly, Semi-Verbal Clauses are used instead of Nominal Clauses to express the process of somebody or something changing his or its state of being, irrespective of whether tense and aspect is marked or not, e.g.

(154) ... , i ga tar bul mulai, ... M 36
she TA TA child again
..., she (the mother) had become a child again, ...
(because she was a snake and had thrown off her skin)
(155) Ma namur dir tutana. M 13
and later they/DU man
And later they became men.

The corresponding nominal clauses are:

(156) la a bul.
she ART child
She is/was a child.
(157) Dir a ura tutana.
they/DU ART two man
They are/were men.
To conclude, Semi-Verbal Clauses have two functions:

1. they replace Nominal Clauses of existence and equation, when tense and aspect are to be marked.
2. they express the process by which the subject referent becomes what is denoted by the nominal nucleus of the verbal phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense/aspect</th>
<th>existence equation</th>
<th>process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>nominal clauses</td>
<td>semi-verbal clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marked</td>
<td>semi-verbal clauses</td>
<td>semi-verbal clauses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Semi-Verbal Clauses differ from the proper Verbal Clauses in the following points:

1. Though they do not denote activities of the subject referent, but states or processes, they show the word order

```
S
  NP SUBJ
    ART N
  VP
    sm (TA) N
```

and thus they contrast with Inactive Verbal Clauses, in which the verbal phrase precedes the noun phrase:

```
S
  VP
    sm V
  NP PAT/SUBJ
    ART N
```

In other words, the close relationship between Semi-Verbal and Nominal Clauses is reflected by the fact that the sequential order of subject and predicate is the same.
2. In contrast to Inactive Verbal Clauses, Semi-Verbal Clauses cannot be causativised, which is also a characteristic feature shared by Nominal Clauses.

4.4.2 The modification of the predicate of Semi-Verbal Clauses

The noun forming the nucleus can be modified by another noun which is joined to it by the connective particle, i.e. the predicate of Semi-Verbal Clauses may be formed by a compound noun, e.g.

(158) | bala- na-vavina ra bala= m, ...
    it belly-C- woman ART belly=your/SG
Your belly is a woman's belly, ...
i.e. you have a belly like a woman, ...

Secondly, the noun can be modified by an adjective, e.g.

(159) Ma i ga nat na mumum, nina ra bul
    and it TA little C adopted child DEM ART child
And it was a little adopted child, that child.

(160) Pa i ga ngala na gunan iau ki abara.
    not it TA big C village I stay there
It was not a big village where I stayed.

A different sort of predication is found with adjectives followed by verbal nouns, e.g.

(161) Ave ga bo- na-kini.
    we/EXC/PL TA good-C- staying
We had a good stay.

(162) lau mal kaugu tarai, dia ko- na-tinata,
    I create my people they/PL good-C- speaking
    dia tata tuna- a ko na tinata parika.
    they/PL speak properly-ART good C speaking completely
I have created my people, they speak a good language, they speak properly - a completely good language.

(163) Diat dia ga ngala-na-niligur.
    they/PL they/PL TA big- C- mourning
They felt great sorrow.

These constructions do not denote equation, but express qualities of the subject referent in respect to some activity (namely staying, speaking and mourning). In other words, it is the adjective which is the nucleus, whereas the verbal noun is a modifier, which is also shown by the fact that without the adjective the clause would become ungrammatical. A verbal noun alone cannot function as the nucleus of a verbal phrase. Consequently, these clauses are obviously Inactive Verbal Clauses, and if their subject were expressed by a noun phrase, it would have to follow the verbal phrase. Note that the same type of modification by a verbal noun is also found with Active Intransitive verbs, e.g.

(164) Ave ki- na-bunurut.
    we/EXC/PL stay-C- being-afraid
We stayed (there) with fear.
To conclude, the verbal phrases sm-ADJ-C-NV (e.g. dia ko-na-tinata) and sm-ADJ-C-NCOMMON (e.g. i ga nat na mumum) only superficially resemble one another but completely differ in respect to the function of their constituents, and, accordingly, they have to be ascribed to different types of clauses.

The fact that the nucleus of the verbal phrase of Semi-Verbal Clauses, e.g.

(165) ..., i ga tar bul mulai, ...
    she TA TA child again
    ..., she had become a child again, ...

is modified like a noun shows that it cannot be regarded as a derived denominal verb, so that bul in (165) would be a verb meaning to become a child. Further evidence for the classification of the nucleus as a noun is given by the fact that it cannot be modified by following verbs, as verbal nuclei of VPs can be; i.e. the nominal nucleus of the verbal phrase of Semi-Verbal Clauses cannot form the head of a verbal chain.

4.5 LOCATIONAL CLAUSES

In Locational Clauses the predicate denotes the position, the goal or the source of the subject referent. It may be formed by a prepositional phrase, a local deictic (cf. Mosel 1982) or an adverb. Examples:

1. The position of the subject referent is indicated by a prepositional phrase:

(166) Patana ta ra pal.  K1 484
    nobody in ART house
    Nobody is in the house.

by a positional local deictic:

(167) Pata ia boko a= ti.  K1 499
    not she yet POS=here
    She is not yet here.

or by an adverb:

(168) Ma dital boko na-ta ma ...  M 186
    and they/TRI still C= sea and
    And they are still at sea, and...

2. The goal of the subject referent is indicated by a local deictic:

(169) ..., dor u= r= a ra bung, ...  K1 489
    we/INC/DU GOAL=there=down ART market
    ..., we (will go) down there to the market, ...

3. The source of the subject referent is indicated by a prepositional phrase:

(170) A vavina papa ra pui.  M 132
    ART woman from ART bush
    The woman is from the bush.

or by a local deictic:

(171) lau ma= ti Rakunai.  TT 22
    I SOURCE=here R.
    I am from Rakunai here.
As in Nominal and Semi-Verbal Clauses, the subject precedes the predicate. This rule also applies to locational question words which form a morphological sub-class of the local deictics, e.g.

(172) Dor $u$= ve?  
we/INC/DU GOAL=where  
Where shall we go?  
(173) U $mama$= ve?  
you/SG SOURCE=where  
Where are you from?  
(174) ma ra umana ngala= na diat aka= ve?  
and ART PL parent=DEREL they/PL POS/STATE where  
and where are the parents?

4.6 POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS ON CLAUSE LEVEL

4.6.1 Alienable possessive constructions on clause level

Alienable possessive phrases correspond to two types of nominal clauses, depending on whether the possessed NP functions as the predicate or the subject. If the possessed NP functions as the predicate, the clause consists of two juxtaposed noun phrases $N_1 + N_2$ and thus exhibits the same structure as equative clauses, e.g.

\[(175) \begin{array}{ll}
NP_1 \text{(subject)} & \text{possessor} \\
& \text{possessed} \\
\end{array} \ \\
Avet & a\text{ mangoro na\ buai.} \ \\
we/PL/EXC & ART \text{ many } C\text{ betel nuts} \ \\
We have many betel nuts. \]

(theoretically this sentence could also mean we are betel nuts). If the ownership is denied, the possessed NP2 is introduced by the negative particle pata no, e.g.

\[(176) Ba ia\ pata\ tabu. \]

PART I no shell-money  
I have no shell-money.

In clauses which express that something belongs to somebody, the possessed NP functions as the subject, whereas the predicate is formed by a possessor, introduced by the possessive classifier ka- or a-, e.g.

\[(177) "Ka= i\ ia\ go\ ra\ uma?" \]

POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. who DEM ART garden  
"Ka mamital go."  
POSS.CLFR=our/EXC/TRIAL DEM  
"Whom does this garden belong to?" "Us."

\[(178) Ko= mamur nina ra ngala na tabu. \]

POSS.CLFR=your/DU DEM ART big C shell-money  
That big (roll of) shells-money is yours/belongs to you.
The common feature of the last four clauses is that the possessor, which functions as a predicate, precedes the possessed noun phrase, whereas in the corresponding possessive phrases nominal possessors follow the possessed noun, and pronominal possessors take the position of the article before the possessed noun, e.g.

(181) \[ \text{ka= i nam parika ra tabaran nam ra umana} \]
\[ \text{POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. DEM all ART ghost DEM ART PL} \]
\[ \text{vavina} \]
\[ \text{woman} \]
\[ \text{those women belonged to all those ghosts} \]

(182) \[ \text{A- i nam uka ra tutana nam ra magit. Kl 410} \]
\[ \text{POSS.CLFR-POSS.M. DEM only ART man DEM ART food} \]
\[ \text{The food was only for that man.} \]

If the ownership is denied, the negative particle pa not precedes the possessor phrase:

(183) \[ \text{..., tago pa ka= gu ta vabirau} \]
\[ \text{Kl 402} \]
\[ \text{for not POSS.CLFR=my some light} \]
\[ \text{..., for I have not got a light} \]

(184) \[ \text{..., pa a= vavat ta magit ika} \]
\[ \text{Kl 87} \]
\[ \text{not POSS.CLFR=YOU/PL some food PART} \]
\[ \text{..., there is not any food at all for you.} \]

It seems that all kinds of relationships denoted by alienable possessive phrases can also be expressed on sentence level by predicating either the possessed or the possessor.

4.6.2 Inalienable possessive constructions on clause level

The relationships denoted by inalienable possessive phrases differ from those of alienable possessive phrases in that they cannot be expressed on sentence level by predicating either the possessed noun phrase ('I have a father'), or the possessor noun phrase ('the father belongs to me', 'the father is mine'), which is quite natural, since inherent relationships cannot be predicated. But whereas one can say 'I have four brothers' in English, there are no possessive constructions on clause level in Tolai which could be regarded as translation equivalents of 'have' in this or similar contexts. One can only say:

(185) \[ \text{A i via tura- m?} \]
\[ \text{ART how-many brother-your} \]
\[ \text{(lit. how many brothers of you (exist)?)} \]
\[ \text{How many brothers do you have?} \]
This clause has to be classified as an Existential Clause, i.e. as a clause that consists of only one noun phrase and denotes that what is referred to by noun phrase exists. The same clause type is also used to deny the existence of a certain kind of kin relationship, in other words, to express that somebody does not have this certain kind of relative, e.g.

(186) Ma patana i ga mal nam ra ura bul. and nobody he TA care DEM ART two child
   Pata matua=i= dir pata tura i= dir
   no uncle=POSS.M.=their/DU no brother=POSS.M.=their/DU
   pata ta= i= dir patana kakit.
   no sister=POSS.M.=their/DU nobody at-all
   Nobody cared for the two children, they had neither uncle, nor brother, nor sister, they had nobody at all.

Another possibility of expressing the absence or non-existence of relatives is to topicalise the possessor noun phrase and place it at the beginning of a negative existential clause:

(187) Nam pata matua= na ati, ...
   DEM no nephew=his here
   (lit. that (one), no nephew of his here (exists))
   He has not got a nephew here, ...

(188) ..., tago iau pata niuru= gu ara valien.
   for I no relative=my there beach
   ... for I have not got any relatives there on the beach.

(Note that every nominal part of the clause may be shifted to clause initial position providing that a pronoun is related to it in its original place). The relationship between a human being or an animal and its bodyparts or other things intimately belonging to him is similarly expressed on clause level as kin relationship, e.g.

(189) A evu ia= gu.
   ART two name my
   (lit. the two names of mine (exist))
   I have two names.

(190) O ra evu ngala na mata=na
   DEM ART two big C eye= his
   (lit. that two big eyes of him (exist))
   He had two big eyes.

(191) Ma pata paka=i= diat, ...
   and no body=POSS.M.=their/PL
   (lit. and no body of them (exists))
   And they (the spirits) had no bodies.

As the literal translations suggest, these clauses do not differ structurally from noun phrases, but the context unambiguously determines them as independent clauses.

If it is to be said that somebody has a bodypart of a particular quality or property, as for instance a big mouth, long legs etc., the modifying expression becomes the predicate of the clause, whereas the possessed noun and the possessor noun form the subject noun phrase, e.g.
(192) \[ \text{ngala par ra ngia}= i= \text{ dir ...} \]
\[ \text{it big be-complete ART mouth=POSS.M.=their/DU} \]
(\text{lit. the mouth of the two was completely big})
They both had a big mouth, ...

(193) \[ \text{bala- na-vavina ra bala}= \text{ m.} \]
\[ \text{it belly-C- woman ART belly your/SG} \]
(\text{lit. your belly is a woman's belly})
You have a belly like a woman.

As with kinship terms, the possessor may be topicalised:

(194) \[ \text{pap i ga tar ikilik ra ngie}= \text{ ne dar} \]
\[ \text{ART dog it TA TA small ART mouth=its like} \]
\[ \text{dat i ga tar ngie- na-tutana ...} \]
\[ \text{we/PL/INC it TA TA mouth-C- man} \]
(\text{lit. the dog - his mouth had been little like we, it had been a human mouth})
The dog had had a little mouth like us, he had had a human mouth ...

To conclude, inalienable possessive phrases cannot be transformed into clauses in which the possessor and the possessed noun function as the predicate and the subject, or the subject and the predicate, as alienable possessive phrases can be. The possessor and the possessed noun are always constituents of the same part of the clause. Thus the inheritance of the relationship between an animate being and its relatives or its bodyparts is syntactically reflected by the strong bondedness between the possessor and the possessed noun. In contrast to the established possessive relationships, none of the participants of an inherent relationship can be syntactically predicated to the other.

4.6.3 Part/whole constructions on clause level

There are three devices for expressing part/whole relationships on clause level: Similar to inherent relationships, part/whole relationships can be expressed by existential clauses, e.g.

(195) \[ \text{banbanu-na-pal} \]
\[ \text{ART door-C- house} \]
the door of the house (exists)

(196) \[ \text{ivia banbanu-na-pal?} \]
\[ \text{ART how-many door-C- house} \]
(lit. how many doors of the house (exist)?)
How many doors does the house have?
A \[ \text{utul a banbanu-na-pal.} \]
\[ \text{ART three C door-C- house} \]
(lit. three doors of the house (exist))
The house has three doors.

Secondly, the noun referring to the part may function as the subject, whereas the predicate is formed by a prepositional phrase denoting where the part is located, e.g.
(197) A utul a banbanu ta ra pal.
   ART three C door in ART house
   Three doors (are) in the house.
The house has three doors.

(198) Pata lok ta ra banbanu.
   no look at ART door
   (there is) No lock on the door.
The door has no lock.

Ta is a kind of all purpose preposition, which is not only used to indicate all sorts of locational relationships (in, at, to etc.), but also temporal relationships (in, during etc.). Furthermore, it introduces prepositional phrases denoting the reason or the instrument.

The third means of expressing part/whole relationships on clause level is given by a number of words which do not only occur as the head of nouns denoting parts of a whole but may also be used verbally, i.e. following the subject marker and being the head of a verbal phrase. Compare:

(199) a vuai- na-lama
   ART fruit-C coconut-tree
   the fruits of the coconut-tree

(200) I ga vuai ra lama.
   it TA fruit ART coconut-tree
   The coconut-tree bears fruit.

(201) Di ga na tadav ra vat i ga mata ra
   they/DU see go-to ART stone it TA hole ART
   bala= na.
   belly its.
   They saw a stone, the interior of which had a hole.

4.6.4 Vatur-vake to have

Vatur-vake is a verbal chain consisting of

(202) va= tur and vake
   CAus=stand detain

While in traditional texts vatur-vake always means to hold fast, to have in one's hands, it is nowadays often used in the general sense of to have. For example:

(203) ... ina vatur-vake nam ra bul.
   I-TA hold DEM ART child
   ..., I will hold that child.

(204) Vakir dia vatur-vake ta papalum.
   (news)
   not they/PL have some work
   They do not have work.

(205) Di vatur-vake tika na wire ka ure ra power.
   (news)
   INDEF have one C wire only for ART power
   They have only one conduction for electricity.

Thus vatur-vake replaces the alienable KA-possessive construction on phrase level.
4.7 OTHER TYPES OF CLAUSES

Occasionally the predicate of non-verbal clauses consists of a prepositional phrase other than a locational one. The only clauses of this type found in the corpus are:

(206) Ure ra marum go ra kinakinau.  K1 267
  for DEM night DEM ART kinakinau-magic
  This kinakinau-magic is for the night.

(207) ..., ma amur upi ra minong?  M 124
  and you/DU for ART decorating
  ... (you have not yet taken revenge for your mother)
  and you think of decorating yourselves?
  and you are about to decorate yourselves?

While the first clause, which expresses what the subject referent is determined for, is undoubtedly complete, the second clause seems to be an ellipsis of amur nuk upi you think of ..., you search for ...

Another problem of grammatical analysis arises with

(208) Ba oaria a kinao!  M 152
  PART the-day-after-tomorrow ART climbing
  The climbing will take place the day after tomorrow!

for it is hard to decide, whether this clause is an existential clause with a temporal adjunct (the climbing (will exist) the day after tomorrow) or a clause whose predicate is formed by a temporal adverb.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The continuum from verbal to nominal clauses

The term 'Semi-Verbal Clauses' has been introduced to label those clauses which share some features of verbal clauses as well as some features of nominal clauses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Nucleus of the predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verbal clauses</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>N, ADJ, NUM, QUANT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-verbal clauses</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal clauses</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While Nominal and Semi-Verbal Clauses are clearly distinguished by the criterion of whether the predicate is formed by a noun phrase or by a verbal phrase, the borderline between Verbal and Semi-Verbal Clauses seems rather to be gradient, since agent- and patientless Verbal Clauses (cf.p.154) and subjectless Semi-Verbal Clauses are very closely related. The nucleus of subjectless Semi-Verbal Clauses is formed by a noun, e.g.

(209) | ga pui
    it TA bush
  The bush grew
whereas the nucleus of agent- and patientless Verbal Clauses was said to be
formed by multifunctional words which can function as verbs and as nouns
(cf.p.154), e.g.

(210) |

| ga guria. | a guria |

*it* TA *earthquake* ART *earthquake*

The earth quaked. the earthquake.

In other words, *guria* in *i ga guria* is classified as verb, but *pui* in *i ga pui*
is not, which does not seem to make sense. However, we think it justified to
distinguish between agent- and patientless Verbal Clauses (*i ga guria*) and
subjectless Semi-Verbal Clauses (*i ga pui*) in this way for the following two
reasons:

1. While subjectless Semi-Verbal Clauses (*i ga pui*) correspond to nominal
Existential Clauses, agent- and patientless clauses do not have such
counterparts. If it is to be expressed that there is an earthquake, one
cannot say a *guria* *the earthquake* (exists), but only

(211) |

| gurguria go. |

*it* *earthquake* /RED *now*

The earth is quaking now.

2. The verbal force of words like *guria* in *i ga guria* is reflected by the fact
that they are reduplicated to indicate the imperfect aspect, e.g. *gurguria* in (211) and *batabata* in (212):

(212) |

| batabata. |

*it* *rain* /RED

It was raining continuously (cf.p.96).

But with Semi-Verbal Clauses the imperfect aspect can only be indicated by
adverbs such as *vanavana* step by step, gradually, continuously, *vatikai* always.

The various types and subtypes of verbal, semi-verbal and nominal clauses
constitute a continuum with the Active Transitive Verbal Clauses at the one end
and the Nominal Clauses at the other:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>nucleus of the predicate</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active Tr. V Cl</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>V TR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Itr. V Cl</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>V itr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactive V Cl</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>V, ADJ, NUM QUANT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agent- and patientless V Cl</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>V, NUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjectless Semi-V Cl</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other Semi-V Cl</td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal Clauses</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.9 ADJUNCTS ON CLAUSE LEVEL

4.9.1 Definition and classification

In Tolai syntax, adjuncts can be defined as syntactically optional constituents which denote participants other than those expressed by the Agent or Patient Noun Phrase, or which give some additional information about the circumstances and conditions associated with the event such as the reason, the purpose, the manner, the time and the place. In contrast to English there are no verbs in Tolai with which the indication of the beneficiary, the time or the place is compulsory. The Tolai translation equivalents of 'to give' (cf.p.144) and 'to put', for instance, are bivalent, and only require the Agent and the Patient Noun Phrase, e.g.

(213) I tar ia.  
   he give it  
he gave it.

(214) I tabar ia.  
   he give (food) him  
He gave him food.

(215) I vung ia.  
   she put it  
She had put it (down).

The meaning of the dance took place in Rabaul, the climbing will take place the day after tomorrow or the feast lasted for three days is rendered completely different in Tolai:

(216) Di ga malagene aro Rabaul.  
      IND TA dance there-in R.  
One/they danced in Rabaul.

or:

(217) Nam ra malagene akano Rabaul.  
      DEM TA dance there-in R.  
That dance (existed) there in Rabaul.

(218) Ba oaria a kinao.  
      PART the-day-after-tomorrow ART climbing  
The climbing (will be) the day after tomorrow.

(219) Di ga balaguan pa ra utul a bung.  
      INDEF TA celebrate for ART three C day  
They celebrated for three days.

Adjuncts can be formed by:

1. prepositional phrases, e.g.

(220) Nam ra tutana i ga vana ta ra marum.  
      DEM ART man he TA go in ART night  
The man went off during the night.

2. adverbs, e.g.

(221) Amana lua a bil uka, ...  
      formerly first ART wilderness only  
A long time ago there was only wilderness, ...
3. local deictics, e.g.

(222) Una van' ti
you/SG+TA go GOAL=here
Come here!

4. noun phrases, e.g.

(223) ... ma amir ga talil ra marum.
and we/EXC/DU TA return ART night
... and we returned in the night.

On the basis of semantic criteria the adjuncts can be classified into:

1. adjuncts denoting the addressee, the recipient and the beneficiary
2. adjuncts denoting the cause or the reason of an action
3. instrumental and comitative adjuncts
4. adjuncts denoting the person or the thing which is wanted to be obtained by the action (purposive adjuncts)
5. locational adjuncts
6. temporal adjuncts
7. adjuncts of manner
8. adjuncts denoting what the action is concerned about.

The adjuncts are normally placed at the end of the clause; only topicalised locational and temporal adjuncts occur at the beginning (cf.p.191, 196). Unfortunately the data does not provide sufficient material to make any conclusive statement about the sequential order of adjuncts, if there are more than one in the same clause.

The description of the various kinds of adjuncts will follow their semantic classification given above. The table below gives a rough survey of the means of expression for each semantic class. The correlation between the structural means and their semantic content will be discussed later in the conclusion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prepositional phrases</th>
<th>adverbs</th>
<th>others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. addressee</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>to</td>
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<tr>
<td>recipient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beneficiary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. cause</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>because of</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. instrument</td>
<td>(ta)</td>
<td>with, through,</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>by</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>with</td>
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<td>concomitance</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>with</td>
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<td>4. purpose</td>
<td>upi</td>
<td>for</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. location</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>in at, to,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from ...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kan, papa from</td>
<td>na-ta out to (verb ser.)</td>
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<td>pire</td>
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<td></td>
<td>tatar</td>
<td>near</td>
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<td></td>
<td>taun</td>
<td>towards, to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuk</td>
<td>over, upon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

continued ...
continued ...

6. time
   ta in, during amana before NP
   pa for namur later (v erb se r.)
   papa since namur later
tuk until gori today etc.

7. manner
dari like damana thus (v erb se r.)

8. concern
   ure about, in respect to

The abbreviation (verb ser.) indicates that in these cases the construction of verb serialisation is also used to express what is denoted by the adjuncts.

4.9.2 Adjuncts denoting the addressee, the recipient and the beneficiary

Adjuncts denoting the addressee, the recipient and the beneficiary are introduced by the preposition ta, e.g.

(224) To Kabinana i ga biti ta nina ra tutana.
    To K. he TA say to DEM ART man
    To Kabinana said to that man.

(225) ... , i ga tibē ta=dir. K1 294
    he TA distribute+it to=them/DU
    ... , he distributed it to them.

(226) ... i vut pirai=dat upi na pait M 92
    he come to= us/INC/PL in-order-to he+TA make
    ra bul ta=dat.
    ART child to us/INC/PL
    ... he came to us in order to make us with child.

Note, however, that there are also transitive verbs expressing the notion of speaking, giving and doing something to someone's benefit with which the semantic roles of the addressee, the recipient and the beneficiary are encoded by patient noun phrases, e.g.

(227) i ga ve iau (ure ...)
    he TA inform me (about ...)
    he informed me (about ...)
i ga tabar iau (ma ...)
    he TA give (food) me (with ...)
    he supplied me (with ...)
i ga maravut iau
    he TA help me
    he helped me (cf.p.176)

The beneficiary may also be signified by a possessor phrase, if it is understood that the beneficiary owns or will own what is affected or produced by the action, or that it is determined for the beneficiary, e.g.
(228) Una kap ia ka= i natu=um. K1 266
you/SG+TA take it POSS.CLFR=POSS.M. son= your/SG
Take it for your son (i.e. so that your son will own it).

(229) I ga igir a= dir. K1 210
he TA cook-vegetables POSS.CLFR=them/DU
He cooked vegetables for them.

A special kind of recipient adjunct is found with verbs denoting mental
activities such as anger, shame, fright, obedience or belief. Recipient
adjuncts of these verbs signify towards whom the mental activity is directed,
e.g.

(230) ... , pa i ga ongo ta=na M 106
not it TA obey her
... , it (the child) did not obey her

(231) Una nur ta=gu Wr 126
you/SG+TA believe in=me
Believe in me.

(232) lau ruvaruva ka ta=m, ... K1 401
I be-respectful/RED PART you/SG
I am respectful of you, ...

(233) lau ngarau ta=vavat. K1 265
I be-afraid-of you/PL
I am afraid of you.

In some cases the verbs of mental activities can be transformed into transitive
verbs (cf.p.148), whose construction alternates with that of the intransitive
verbs plus ta, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive</th>
<th>transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>burut ta + NP</td>
<td>burutue + NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kankan ta + NP</td>
<td>kankanuane + NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarau ta + NP</td>
<td>ngarauane + NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruva ta + NP</td>
<td>ruvane + NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs which do not express an action of giving something, i.e. verbs with which
the semantic role of a recipient is not inherently given, may be combined with
ta to give, in order to express that the action has a recipient, e.g.

(234) Ma i ga kaile-tar a malira ta=diat. K1 156
and he TA sing- give ART love-spell to=them/PL
And he sang the love-spell to them.

Since the obligatory Patient Noun Phrase of ta refers to the thing given,
while the expression of the recipient is optional, ta can also be used to
change the construction of transitive verbs. With ve to inform, for instance,
the Patient Noun Phrase refers to the recipient or addressee, and the matter
spoken about is expressed by a prepositional adjunct, e.g.

(235) | ve iau ta nam. K1 212
he inform me about that
He informed me about that.

But with ve tar that matter of information becomes the patient, while the
person who is informed is denoted by an adjunct, e.g.
Examples from edited texts:

(237)  Una ve natu=m ta= na.  
you/SG+TA inform son= your/SG about=it 
Inform your son about it.

(238)  I ga ve tar a malira.  
she TA inform give ART love-spell 
She told (him) (the secret of) the love-spell.

4.9.3 Adjuncts denoting the cause

Ta plus noun phrase can indicate the cause of an action or of a bodily or mental state of being, e.g.

(239)  I ga ma ur ta ra mapinai.  
he TA be-satisfied by ART leaf 
He became satisfied by leaves.

(240)  lau mari u ka ta ra tangien.  
I pity you/SG PART because-of ART crying 
I pity you because of (your) crying.

(241)  ..., ave matmat ta ra boroi  
we/EXC/PL die/RED from ART pork 
..., we die from pork.

(242)  Dital ga tangtangi ta nam kadital uma.  
they/TRI TA weep/RED over DEM their/TRI garden 
They wept over their garden (which has been destroyed).

(243)  ..., diat a ti varubu ta ra en, ...  
they/PL TA TA fight because-of ART fish 
..., they will fight because of the fish, ...

In the case of mental states of being, it is often hard to decide whether ta + NP indicates the recipient or the cause of the emotions, e.g.

(244)  ..., i ga burut ta go ra umana  
he TA be-afraid-of DEM ART PL 
be-frightened because-of 
lapan. 
Japan. 
..., he was afraid of these Japanese. 
..., he was frightened because of these Japanese.

4.9.4 Instrumental and comitative adjuncts

Instrumental and comitative adjuncts are introduced by the preposition ma. Instrumental adjuncts denote the tool or the means which is used to perform an action. For example:
(245) ... ma dir rapu ia ma rana ram  M 44
   and they/DU hit it with its club
   ... and they hit the pig with the club (that was meant for it)

(246) ..., iau maravut avat ma ra keake, ...  K1 67
   I help you/PL with ART sunshine
   ... I help you with sunshine.

(247) ... dia tabar ia ma ra umana tabu.  M 92
   they/PL give her with ART PL shell-money
   ... they gave her a present of shell-money.

(248) ... tago di kukul ma ra money
   because INDEF trade by-the-means-of ART money
   ... because they trade by the means of money.

Furthermore, they signify things or persons that are involved in states of being, such as the contents filled into a container is involved into the state of being full, e.g.

(249)  I ga buka ra rat ma ra en.
   it TA be-full ART basket with ART fish
   The basket was full of fish.

(250) ... i ga tar buka ra gunan ma diat.  K1 386
   it TA TA be-full ART village with them/PL
   ... the village was full of them (the people).

(251) I ga kor a papar-a-pal ma diat  K1 186
   it TA crowded ART side- C-house with them/PL
   The side of the house was crowded with them.

In the texts collected by Kleintitschen (1924) and Meier (1909) there are very few examples of instrumental adjuncts which are introduced by ta. The reason why ta is used instead of ma is unclear. Compare:

(252) Dia ga ububu kana vudu ta ra labur.  K1 156
   they/PL TA destroy/RED his banana by ART wind
   They (the spirits) destroyed his bananas by wind.

with

(253) Una ubu ra umana tabaran ma ra lum.  K1 122
   you/SG+TA kill ART PL spirit with ART water
   Kill the spirits by water.

and

(254) ... upi ina kabila varku ta= na.  M 48
   so-that I+TA also paint-oneself with=it
   ... in order to paint myself with it.

with

Ma una tumu ra mata=na ma ta kabang.  K1 142
   and you/SG+TA paint ART eye= his with some lime
   And paint his eyes with lime.

There are four kinds of comitative adjuncts:
Firstly, comitative adjuncts express that the agent of an action is accompanied by somebody else, in which case they are animate, e.g.
(255) Nam ra tutana i ga rovoi ma ra pap. K1 403
DEM ART man he TA hunt with ART dog
That man hunted with the dog.

Secondly, they denote things which are a constituent part of a whole, that is
affected by the action, e.g.

(256) I ga ian ia ka ma ra pali=na. K1 210
he TA eat it PART with ART skin=its
He ate them (the bananas) with the skin.

Thirdly, with verbs of motion comitative adjuncts denote things that are taken
along by the person who moves, e.g.

(257) Ma ra tabaran i ga pot ma ra davai. K1 246
and ART spirit he TA come with ART tree
And the spirit came along with the wood.

(258) ... i ga tul-vue kana vavina ma radi Kl 367
he TA send-do-away his woman with their/DU
magit.
food.
... he sent his wife away with their food.

Fourthly, the verb ki to sit, stay can be followed by a comitative adjunct
containing a verbal noun, which signifies some bodily or mental state of being,
in order to express that the agent referent is in this state of being, e.g.

(259) ... ma di ki ma ra mulmulum. M 64
and INDEF stay with ART hunger
..., and they suffered from hunger.

Ma is certainly the same word as ma and. Its different functions as an
adjunctive particle (preposition) or conjunctive particle of coordination is
overtly marked by number agreement. Compare the following two sentences:

(260) Nam ra tutana i ga rovoi ma ra pap. K1 403
DEM ART man he TA hunt with ART dog
That man hunted with the dog.

and

(261) Telengai dir rovoi ma ra pap. M 168
T, they/DU hunt with ART dog
Telengai and the dog hunted.

While in (260) the subject marker i is singular and refers solely to nam ra
tutana that man, in (261) it is dual and indicates that Telengai and ma ra pap
are coordinated and have the same syntactic function within the clause.

Another possibility of expressing concomitance is verb serialisation
whereby the verb maravut to help, assist follows the nuclear verb as a
modifier, e.g.

(262) ..., i ga valua-maravut ia. M 17
she TA row- help him
..., she rowed helping him; she rowed with him.

While valua to row is intransitive, the verbal chain valua-maravut is transitive
because of the transitivity of maravut. As various other verbs which are used
as modifiers in verbal chains, maravut occasionally occurs in the function of a
preposition or an adverb (cf.p.203), e.g.
... uro ra tung. Ma a garamut maravut down-to ART hole and ART drum with ia uro.
him downwards
... (and they took the stones and threw him with them)
into the hole and (threw also) the drum down with him.

4.9.5 Purposive adjuncts

By purposive adjuncts we mean adjuncts that denote persons or things which
are wanted to be obtained by an action. They are introduced by the preposition
upi, pi for and are characteristically, though not necessarily, found with verbs
expressing wish, desire, search etc. For example:

(265) ma i lulu ra ura tai= na upi rana and he ask ART two sister=his for his
ta ik a pa.
some little C taro
and he asked his two sisters for some taro.

(266) Ma i oraoro upi nam ra vavina.
and she call/RED for DEM ART woman
And she called for that woman.

(267) lau rovoi upi ta boroi.
I hunt for some pig
I hunted for pigs.

(268) A tava na ki ra pupui kan ART water it+TA stay ART bush so-that-not
diat a mat upi ta tava.
they/PL TA die for some water
The water should remain in the bush, so that they will
not die from lack of water.

The adverb vakuku expresses that the action is done without any purpose or
definite reason or without means, e.g.

(269) Ma go ra gun i ga pua vakuku and DEM ART gun it TA explode purposelessly
ta ra maup.
in ART air
And the gun only fired into the air.

(270) Dor ki vakuku ta go ra paka-na-gunan. we/INC/DU stay without-means in DEM ART part-C- village
We shall stay in this place without means.
4.9.6 Locational adjuncts

Locational adjuncts show the greatest variety of forms, since they can be formed by
1. noun phrases
2. prepositional phrases
3. local deictics
4. adverbs, and
5. combinations of adverbs and prepositional phrases
   local deictics and noun phrases
   local deictics and prepositional phrases
   local deictics and adverbs, and
   local deictics, adverbs and prepositional phrases.

For example:

(271) A kapul i ga kiki a= r= ama liu K1 166
    ART opossum it TA sit/RED POSITION=there=up high
    (local deictic) (adverb)
    ta ra davai.
on ART tree
    (prepositional phrase)
The opossum was sitting up there, high above on the tree.

4.9.6.1 Noun phrases and prepositional phrases introduced by ta

The position, goal or source of an event can be expressed by a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase introduced by the so-called 'all-purpose-preposition' ta, if the nature of the locational relationship is understood from the context. This is the case with verbs which inherently contain reference to the position, the goal or the source of an action. Thus positional verbs such as ki to sit (down), to stay, tur to stand and va to lie (down), sleep imply that the action occurs at a certain place, e.g.

(272) Ma dir ga ki ra oaga ma ...
    and they/DU TA sit ART canoe and
    And they sat down in the canoe and ...

(273) Ma i ki ta kana oaga ...
    and he sit in his canoe
    And he sat down in his canoe ...

(274) A korkor i tur ra val.
    ART korkor it stand ART beach
    The korkor (plant) stood at the beach.

(275) ..., ma i ga tur ta ra pi.
    and he TA stand on ART ground
    ..., and he stood on the ground.

Verbs of motion inherently carry information concerning the direction, so that a locational noun phrase or a prepositional phrase introduced by ta may refer to the goal or to the source of the motion depending on the verb. While vana to go, for instance, always implies a goal, vilau to run away implies a source, e.g.
(276) ave ga vana Vunagalip.
we/EXC/PL TA go V.
we went to Vunagalip.

(277) I ga vilau ta ra labur.
he ART run-away from ART tempest
He ran away from the tempest.

(note that if the goal of vana to go is animate, it must be expressed by the
preposition pire near + NP (cf.p.185).

Furthermore, many verbs of motion express how the goal of the motion is
arrived at, e.g.

(278) bolo to go past, pass
irop to go down, come down from a height, descend
to get out
dolo to go through
ruk to go into, enter.

For example:

(279) ... dia ga bolo dital.
they/PL TA pass them/TRI
... they passed the three.

(280) | ga dolo ra pupui, ...
he TA go-through ART bush
He went through the bush, ...

(281) | ga dolo ta ra babait.
it TA go-through ART hedge
It went through the hedge.

According to whether they imply a goal or a source, the verbs of motion can be
classified into goal oriented and source oriented verbs. For example:

(282) goal oriented verbs
bolo (ta) to go past
dolo (ta) to go through
kao to climb (Kl 246)
kuba to descend (M 248)
mur (ta) to follow (Kl 120, 123)
pil ta to jump (M 86)
ruk (ta) to go into, enter (Kl 150, 66)

source oriented verbs
bura ta to fall down from (Kl 336, 503)
irop ta to descend, to go out (Kl 155)
talingir ta to run out, to be poured out (inactive) (Kl 47)

Verbs expressing the notion of 'to put something somewhere' or 'to take some­
thing from somewhere', hence called 'verbs of transportation', are similarly
constructed as verbs of motion. The place where something is put or where
something is taken from is denoted by a noun phrase or by ta + NP, e.g.

(283) Ma dir poe ra kapo na pia ra kapo na kakia. M 158
and they/DU put-into ART one C earth ART one C basket
They put one portion of earth into one basket.
Due to insufficient data it is not quite clear by which rule the presence or absence of the preposition ta is governed. As far as this question has been investigated, it seems to be partly a matter of the lexicon. While many goal oriented verbs of motion, for instance, may be alternatively followed by a noun phrase or by ta + NP, e.g. bolo (ta) to go past, dolo (ta) to go through, mur (ta) to follow, ruk (ta) to enter, there are some verbs which are not combined with ta, e.g. kao to climb, kuba to descend. A grammatical rule determining the use of ta is that ta is never used with proper names of places. Compare:

(288) ... ma dia pukai Nakanai. and they/PL land N. and they landed in Nakanai.

(289) ... ma pa dia ga ti pukai boko ta kadia and not they/PL TA TA land yet their/PL gunan ... village ... and they have not arrived at their village yet ...

A further rule which obviously accounts for the presence or absence of ta is that the source of source oriented verbs is obligatorily marked by ta, whereas with goal oriented verbs the usage of ta is optional in many cases. In the case of vana to go the construction of the adjunct is determined by the fact whether the noun referring to the goal is a proper noun or an animate or inanimate common noun. While place names such as Vunagalip in (276) are juxta­posed, common nouns of places such as nirautan clearing in (292) require the preposition ta (or a local deictic; see below). If the goal of vana to go to is a person, the preposition pire near + NP is used (cf.p.185).
Locational noun phrases are found with all kinds of verbs, if they themselves express a spatial relationship such as:

(293) a bala-na-pia
   ART belly-C-earth
   the interior of the earth

(294) a ul-a-davai
   ART head-C-tree
   the top of the tree.

(For further details on compound noun phrases expressing spatial relationships cf.p.56). For example:

(295) Ma dital kuba ra bala-na-pia, ...
   and they/TRI descend ART belly-C-earth
   And they descended into the interior of the earth, ...

(296) ..., i ga tia kakal ra bala-na-tung.
   he TA TA dig/ITR ART belly-C-pit
   ..., he dug (down there) inside the pit.

(297) ... dir para me ra papar-a-vat
   they/DU hide with+it ART side-C-stone
   ..., they hid themselves with it behind the wall of the rock
   (lit. at the side of the rock)

(298) Ma i voko-tadap dir ra ul-a-davai.
   and he see-go-to them/DU ART head-C-tree
   And he saw them in the tree.

Here the nature of the locational relationship between the event and the place need not be made explicit by prepositions, adverbs or local deictics, as it is already inherently given, in the noun phrase. Being a locational adjunct, a bala-na-N. for instance, can only mean that the event takes place inside what is referred to by N. These noun phrases of spatial relationships, which can also be preceded by ta, are often used where other languages show prepositions:

on, on top of:

(299) i ki (ta) ra ul-a-davai
   he sit ART head-C-tree
   he sat on (top of) the tree

under:

(300) (ta) ra vavai-na-tebol
   ART space-underneath-C-table
   under the table

behind:

(301) (ta) ra muru-na-davai
   ART back-C-tree
   at the back of the tree, behind the tree
near, beside:

(302) (ta) ra papar-a-pal
    ART side-C-house
beside the house

in front of:

(303) (ta) ra luai-na-pal
    ART front-C-house
in front of the house

(304) (ta) ra mata-na-pal
    ART face-C-house
in front of the house

in, into:

(305) (ta) ra bala-na-pal
    ART belly-C-house
in the house.

Verbs which express how a goal is approached, e.g. bolo to go past, dolo to go through, irop to go out etc., are often used as modifying verbs in verbal chains in order to give additional information about the direction of the action expressed by the nuclear verb. These constructions often correspond to English prepositional phrases or adverbs. For example:

(306) A tabaran i ga vila-bolo.
    ART ghost he TA mun-go-past
The ghost ran past.

(307) Ma i ti vilau-dolo ta ra ik a
    and he TA mun-go-through ART little C
mata ik.
hole little
And he escaped through a little opening.

(308) ... dir lop-kao ra ul-a-davai
    they/DU flee-climb ART head-C-tree
... they fled onto the tree

(309) ... dir pil-mur ia ...
    they/DU jump-follow him
... they jumped following after him ...

(310) ..., ma i ga vila-ruk ta ra ngovo na davai.
    and he TA mun-enter ART hollow C tree
..., and he fled into a hollow tree.

Similarly, the causative derivations of verbs of motion are used with verbs of transportation, e.g.

(311) Ma i vue-va= ba nam ra ur= i
    and she throw-CAUS-go-down DEM ART bone=POSS.M.
nam ra tutana.
DEM ART man
And she threw down the bones of the man.

A further case of verb serialisation as a means of expressing locational relationships is found with tar (tr), tatar (itr) which basically means to give
But in verbal chains it is also used as a mere indicator of the direction of the action, namely that it is directed towards a goal, such as the action of giving is directed towards a recipient, e.g.

(312) ... ma i vue- tar ia ta na ra ubu-na-vat ... M 26 and he throw-give her into DEM ART pit-C-stone ... and he threw her away into the oven ...

(313) Nam ra vavina i ga purpurung-tatar ta ra davai. KL 446 DEM ART woman she TA fly- give to ART tree And that woman flew on to the tree.

(314) "... una kap- tar a= gu ta tuv K1 396 you/SG+TA take-give POSS.CLFR=my some sugarcane

ik." Nam ra tutana i ga kap pa ra tuv little DEM ART man he TA take E ART sugarcane

ik. i ga takan- tar ia ta=na.
little he TA pick-up-give it to=her

"Bring me some sugarcane." That man took some sugarcane and give it to her.

In this function tar contrasts with the so-called 'Effective Particle' pa (cf. p.131), which expresses that the action is directed towards the agent itself, e.g.

(315) i kap tar ia ta ... he took it to ...
i kap pa ia he took it (for himself)
i oro tar iau ta ... he called me to go to ...
i oro pa iau he called me to come to him.

4.9.6.2 Prepositional phrases other than those introduced by ta

If the relationship between an event and a place is not predictable from the meaning of the verb or the noun phrase referring to the place, it is made explicit by prepositions, local deictics or combinations of local deictics and prepositions or adverbs and prepositions. Thus goal oriented verbs of motion are combined with kan away from or papa (starting) from, if the source of that motion is to be expressed; whereas the goal of source oriented verbs is indicated by tatar to, e.g.

(316) "Akave ra magit?" "Akana." K1 273 where ART food there

"U vana kan ia ka dave?" you/SG go from it PART why
"Where is the food?" "There."
"Why did you leave it?"

(317) i bura u- r- a ra pia. it fall GOAL-there-down ART ground (local deictic)
It fell down to the ground.

(318) I ga irop ta ra lama tatar ta ra pi. KL 443 he TA descend from ART coconut-tree towards to ART ground He descended from the coconut tree down to the ground.
Though explicit prepositions are not required with goal and source oriented verbs of motion to specify locational adjuncts as the goal and the source respectively, they may be redundantly combined with these prepositions, e.g.

(319) I ga vana tatar ta ra lum.
\(\text{he TA go towards to ART water-hole}\)
He went into the water.

In comparison to European languages, Tolai shows very few prepositions, as it has various other means of expressing locational relationships at its disposal, such as verb serialisation (cf.p.182), noun phrases denoting spatial relationships (cf.p.180) and local deictics (cf.p.189). Furthermore, as has already been shown, many verbs inherently carry information about direction, so that specification by prepositions is not needed. In order not to complicate the description of Tolai prepositions, they will be listed alphabetically and briefly explained in the following.

4.9.6.2.1 kan from

kan from expresses separation. With verbs of motion it introduces locational adjuncts indicating the source of the motion; with other active verbs it denotes that the action is done separately from what is referred to by the adjuncts, e.g.

(320) Dia ga vana kan ia.
\(\text{they/PL TA go from him}\)
They left him.

(321) "Ba upi ra ava go u tututun- ivai M 36
\(\text{PART for ART what DEM you/SQ cook/ITR/RED be-secret}\)
kan na= i= dor?"
\(\text{from mother=POSS.M.=our/DU/INC}\)
"Why are you cooking secretly, so that our mother cannot see it?"

(322) ... nina ra tutana i ga mat kan K1 202
\(\text{DEM ART man he TA die from}\)
natu= i= dir.
\(\text{child=POSS.M.=their/DU}\)
... that man died and left behind their child.

4.9.6.2.2 papa (starting) from

In contrast to kan from, papa (starting) from is only used with verbs of motion and adjuncts referring to concrete places. It is either combined with ta or with positional local deictics, unless the place is denoted by a proper name, e.g.

(323) I ga pil papa ta ra timul tatar ta ra K1 148
\(\text{it TA jump from ART stump to ART}\)
tanguvan davai, ...
pile wood
\(\text{It sprang from the stump (of the tree) to the pile of wood, ...}\)
(324) Ma i pil papa a= ba= and it jump from POS=known-to-the-hearer
r= å ra pui ...
there up-in-the-bush ART bush
And it jumped from the bush ...

(325) "Ba papa ave go ra tabu?
PART from where DEM ART shell-money
"Ba papa Nakanai!
PART from N.
"Where is this shell-money from?"
"From Nakanai!

papa from also introduces temporal adjuncts in the sense of since.

4.9.6.2.3 pirai/pire near, close to

pirai/pire means near the place where somebody or something is located, and it is used irrespective of whether this place is a position or a goal, e.g.

(326) dir ga ki pire nam ra vat they/DU TA sit near DEM ART stones
they sat down near the stones

(327) I ga vana pire ra kaia, ...
he TA go near ART kaia
He went to the kaia (a spirit), ...

(328) ..., tago u vut pira=mavet!
... because you/SG come near=us/EXC/PL
..., because you have come to us!

pirai/pire is obligatorily used when the goal of a motion is a person.

4.9.6.2.4 tatar towards, to

While papa signifies the starting point of an action (cf. p.184), tatar denotes where it ends up, and consequently it is often used as the counterpart of papa from, e.g.

(329) I ga pil papa ta ra timul tatar ta ra it TA jump from ART stump to ART
tanguvan davai.
pile wood
It sprang from the stump of the tree to the pile of wood.

(330) I ga bura ra kapiaka tatar ta ra lum it TA fall ART breadfruit to ART water-hole
The breadfruit fell into the water.

Like papa from, tatar to is combined with ta, unless the place is denoted by a proper name, e.g.
tatar, which is translated by *towards to* here, is identical to the derived intransitive form tatar *to give of* tar *to give something* (cf. p. 144). The various functions of tatar constitute a scale with tar (tr), tatar (itr) *to give* as an independent verb at one end and tatar (ta) *towards to* as a preposition at the other:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>independent verb</th>
<th>tatar (itr)</th>
<th>modifying verb in a verbal chain indicating that the action denoted by the nuclear verb is done for someone.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V_itr + tatar (+ ta ...)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V_itr + tatar (ta)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>preposition</th>
<th>tatar (ta)</th>
<th>towards to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V_itr + tatar (ta) ...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the construction of V\_itr + NP\_PAT + tatar (ta), tatar cannot be interpreted as a modifying verb of a verbal chain, because serial verbs must not be separated from the nuclear verb, and, secondly, transitive nuclear verbs can only be followed by other transitive verbs. Besides locational adjuncts, tatar (ta) also introduces temporal adjuncts.

### 4.9.6.2.5 taun upon

The word taun resembles tatar in that it does not only function as a preposition, but also as a transitive verb meaning *press down upon*, e.g.

(332) una taun ia

you/SG+TA press-down-upon it

you press down upon it

(333) ... ma i kokopo taun ia.

and it fall-down (of earth) press-down-upon him

... and it (the earth) fell down burying him.

(If transitive verbs modify intransitive ones, the whole verbal chain becomes transitive.) While in the last example taun is still a verb, it functions as a preposition in the following sentence:

(334) Ma dia pale kapi ra ding taun ra tung.

and they/PL spread E ART mat over ART hole

And they spread the mat over the hole.
4.9.6.2.6 tuk till, up to

_tuk till, up to_ differs from tatar in that it indicates the goal of a motion of some duration, whereas tatar is typically used with verbs denoting motions that only last a short instance as, for instance, pil to _jump_, bura to _fall_. In other words, it is aspect that determines the selection of tuk. The duration of motion, however, is not necessarily indicated by reduplication or repetition of the verb. As other prepositions, tuk is often combined with local deictics. For example:

(335) "I korokorot avat tuk ave?" Kl 141
    he chase/RED you/PL up-to where
    "Tuk ati."
    up-to _here_
    "Where did he chase you to?" "To _here_._

(336) Nam ra tutana i ga na- murmur ia tuk Kl 211
    DEM ART man he TA see-follow/RED him up-to
    a= r= ana Baining.
    POS=there=up _B_.
    That man followed him with his eyes up to the Baining area.

(337) Ma i vana me tuk a= r= o K1 164
    and he go with+him up-to POS=there=same level
    Ieriiem.
    I.
    And he went with him to Ieriiem.

4.9.6.3 Adverbs

The number of locative adverbs in Tolai is rather small, which correlates with the fact that those relationships expressed by adverbs in other languages are mostly expressed by the means of verb serialisation, e.g.

(338) lau tul- va= lua u meme. M 64
    I send-CAUS=be-first you/SG with-it
    I sent you ahead with it.

(339) ... ma i korot-vue- mule dir. M 114
    and he chase-do-away do again them/DU
    ... and he chased them away again.

Adverbs differ from modifying verbs in verbal chains in that they can be separated from the nuclear verb by patient noun phrases, local deictics etc., whereas modifying verbs of verbal chains directly follow the nuclear verb.

There are two types of adverbs, namely simple and compound adverbs. The simple adverbs are mostly formed by multifunctional words, which do not only function as adverbs, but also as independent verbs:

(340) vailik _ (to be) far away_
    livuan _ (to be) in the middle_
    maranai _ (to be) near_
    maravai _ (to be) near_
    vuvurbit _ (to be) everywhere_.

For example:

(341) Nam ra gunan i vailik iat.
DEM ART village it far PART
The village is very far away.

(342) ... ma da punang i avat vavailik ta M 94
and INDEF+TA bury TRM you/PL far/RED in
ra bil.
ART wilderness.
... and you will be buried far away in the wilderness.

If these words directly follow intransitive verbs, e.g.

(343) ki livuan to sit in the middle
ki vailik to stay far away,

it is impossible to decide whether to class them as an adverb or as a modifying verb of a verbal chain. Compare the following occurrences of maravai (to be) near:

(344) i ga maravai ga aina ra kuba=na, ...
it TA near PART there ART hut= his
His hut was near, ...

(345) Gali u vanavana maravai pire=vevet. K1 502
not you/SG go/RED near near=us/PL/EXC
Do not come near us.

(346) ..., i ga irop aina ga maravai pire K1 487
he TA come-down there PART near near
ra pi, ...
ART ground, ...
..., he climbed down, until he was just above the ground, ...

(347) ... ma u= ti maravai tika na gunan a= kari. TT 74
and GOAL=here near one C village POS=here
... and here, close to a village here.

The only simple adverb which is not a multifunctional word seems to be liu high, e.g.

(348) ... ma i vung ia liu K1 215
and she put it high
... and she put it high up.

Thus the various functions of these multifunctional words constitute a scale:

independent verb → modifying verb in a verbal chain → adverb

Compound adverbs consist of na, which is certainly identical with the connective particle na₂⁰ (abbr. C), and a common noun denoting a place:

(349) na-gunan in the village
na-livuan in the middle
na-nga on the way
na-pal at home, in the house
na-ta on the sea, out to sea
na-taman
  C - clear swept ground
    around a house
na-uma
na-vavai
  C - space underneath

A few adverbs of this type are formed by reduplication:

\[(350) \quad na = nga = na = nga \quad on the way\]
  C = way = C = way
na = pa = na = pal
  from house to house
  C = = C = house
na = ng = na = gunan
  C village

which shows that C + N form a closely knit unit.

The number of these adverbs is limited, though the list given above is probably not complete. na-gunan, na-pal, na-ta and na-uma are most frequently found as a means of further specifying local deictics. Examples:

\[(351) \quad Amir \quad a \quad vana \quad ta \quad go \quad ra \quad marum \quad na-ta. \quad M 138\]
  we/EXC/DU TA go in DEM ART night C- sea
  We will go out to sea this night.

\[(352) \quad Una \quad va \quad a=t\quad na-pal. \quad Kl 280\]
  you/SG sleep POS=here C- house
  Sleep here in the house.

\[(353) \quad Na \quad tur \quad uka \quad na-livuan \quad ta=mimir. \quad Kl 280\]
  he+TA stand PART C- middle =us/EXC/DU
  He should stand between us.

\[(354) \quad I \quad ga \quad vana \quad livuan \quad ta \quad ra \quad ura \quad okor, \quad ... \quad Kl 373\]
  he TA go in-the-middle ART two root
  He walked between the roots of the two trees.

4.9.6.4 Local deictics

The system of Tolai local deictics, i.e. deictic adverbs of place, is rather complicated, as they are not only distinctive for the contrast of 'here' and 'there', but also marked for

1. the level at which the place indicated is located in relation to the speaker's position, for instance, whether it is somewhere upwards or downwards
2. whether the place is
   (a) a place where an action takes place (e.g. 'they dance there') or
   (b) a place where somebody or something is located (e.g. 'he is
       there') or
   (c) the goal of an action or
   (d) the source of an action

3. whether the place pointed at is known to the hearer or not.

These various semantic features are marked by distinctive morphs which can be
combined to rather complex forms consisting of two to five morphs, e.g.

(355) u=tì,  a=tì,  ma=tì,
          GOAL=here  POS=here  SOURCE=here
    hither,  here,  from here

(356) u=ka=ba=r= a
    GOAL=further-on=known-to-the-hearer=there=down in direction
to the beach
    there to a place known to the hearer, somewhere further down
in direction to the beach.

Since we are not concerned with morphology here, and the local deictics have
been described in detail in Mosel 1982, we will confine ourselves to a brief
description of their syntactic behaviour.

The local deictics can be optionally followed by noun phrases (357), (358),
(359), (361), prepositional phrases (362), (363) or adverbs (358), (360) in
order to specify their reference. For example:

(357) Ba dor vana u= r= a ra valian, ... M 50
    PART we/INC/DU go GOAL=there=down ART beach
    Let's go down to the beach, ...

(358) ..., nina tikai i ga kao u= r= ama liu Kl 351
    DEM one he TA climb GOAL=there=up high
    tikai i ga tur uka a= r= a ra pi.
    one he TA stand PART POS=there=down ART ground
    ..., one climbed high up, the other one remained standing
    on the ground.

(359) ... i ga bura u= r= a ra pi Kl 142
    he TA fall GOAL=there=down ART ground
    ... he fell down to the ground

(360) ... i irop mur ma= r= a na-ta M 266
    it get-out follow SOURCE=there=down C- sea
    ... it climbed out of the sea following it

(361) I ga irop ... ma= r= ama ra ul- a-davai. Kl 257
    he TA get-out SOURCE=there=up ART head-C-tree
    He climbed down (from the top of) the tree.
Una va a= ti pire ra iap.  
you/SG+TA sleep POS=here near ART fire  
Sleep here near the fire.

... tago dat ti koako a= ti ta  
because we/INC/PL TA good/RED POS=here in  
ka= da gunan.  
POSS.CLFR=our/INC/PL village  
... because we are very happy here in our villages.

In the case of papa (starting) from and tuk till, up to (cf.p.187) the local deictic follows the preposition, e.g.

(364) papa a= ti, tuk a= ti  
from POS=here up-to POS=here  
from here, to here.

Such combinations of a local deictic and a noun phrase, an adverb or a prepositional phrase are more frequently used than the literal English translation might suggest. In fact, they often occur where a speaker of English would be less precise, and only use a prepositional phrase.

4.9.6.5 Conclusion

Tolai shows various means of expressing locational relationships which, according to their complexity, can be arranged on a scale (cf.p.192). The complexity of locational constructions is determined by two forces:

1. whether the verb or the noun phrase referring to the place already carries information about the nature of the locational relationship (i.e. position, goal or source)
2. the degree of how precisely the speaker intends denoting the locational relationship.

The second factor particularly accounts for the selection of local deictics.

As the examples quoted so far demonstrate, locational adjuncts usually follow the predicate. They are only found at the beginning of a clause, when they express a contrast to what has been said before, e.g.

(365) ... ma pa diat a parpar!  
and not they/PL TA wear-a-loin-cloth  
Ma a= ti Ramoaina diat a parpar.  
and POS=here R. they/PL TA wear-a-loin-cloth  
(All the people should go naked)  
and they should not wear a loin-cloth!  
But here in Ramoaina they should wear a loin-cloth.
The scale of implicit and explicit means of expressing locational relationships:

1. \( V_{\text{GOAL}} \text{ NP} \)  
   POS
   implicit
   The nature of the locational relationship is implicitly given in \( V \) or \( \text{NP} \) (verb serialisation)

2. \( V_{\text{GOAL}} \text{ ta} \text{ NP} \)  
   POS 
   SOURCE
   implicit

3. \( V_{1} V_{2} \text{ GOAL} \text{ ta} \text{ NP} \)  
   SOURCE
   implicit

4. \( V \ (\text{ta}) \text{ NP} \)  
   \( \text{SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP} \)
   implicit

5. \( V \ \text{PREP} \text{ POS} \text{ NP} \)  
   GOAL
   SOURCE
   implicit

6. \( V \ \text{ADV} \text{ ta} \text{ NP} \)
   implicit

7. \( V \ \text{LOC.DEIC. POS} \ (\text{ta}) \text{ NP} \)  
   GOAL
   SOURCE
   implicit

8. \( V \ \text{LOC.DEIC. POS} \ \text{ADV} \text{ NP} \)  
   GOAL
   SOURCE
   implicit

9. \( V \ \text{LOC.DEIC. POS} \ \text{ADV (ta)} \text{ NP} \)  
   GOAL
   SOURCE
   implicit

10.a. \( V \ \text{PREP} \text{ GOAL} \text{ LOC.DEIC. POS} \text{ NP} \)  
   SOURCE
   implicit

10.b. \( V \ \text{LOC.DEIC. POS} \ \text{PREP} \text{ NP} \)  
   GOAL
   SOURCE
   implicit

The nature of the locational relationship is made explicit by additional means.

Examples:

1. (366) \( I \ \text{ki} \ \text{ra oaga}. \)  
   \( \text{he sit ART canoe} \)  
   \( \text{He sat in the canoe.} \)

2. (367) \( I \ \text{ruk} \ \text{ra pal}. \)  
   \( \text{he go-in ART house} \)  
   \( \text{He went into the house.} \)
2. (368) I ruk ta ra pal.  
he go-in ART house  
(369) He went into the house.  
(370) I irop ta ra pal.  
he get-out ART house  
He went out of the house.

3. (371) I vilau-ruk (ta) ra pal.  
he run- go-in ART house  
He ran into the house.  
(372) I vilau-irop ta ra pal.  
he run-get-out ART house  
He ran out of the house.

4. (373) I ki (ta) ra ul-a-davai.  
he sit ART head-C-tree  
He sat on the tree.

5. (374) I vana kan ra gunan.  
he go from ART village  
He went away from the village.

6. (375) I ki na-livuan ta ra ura davai.  
he sit C-middle ART two tree  
He sat between the two trees.

7. (376) I ki a= r= ama (ta) ra davai.  
he sit POS=there=up ART tree  
He sat on the tree there.

8. (377) I ki a= r= ama liu.  
he sit POS=there=up high  
He sat high up there.

9. (378) I ki a= r= ama liu ta ra davai.  
he sit POS=there=up high ART tree  
He sat high up there on the tree.  
(379) I ki a= r= ama liu ta ra ul-a-davai.  
he sit POS=there=up high ART ART head-C-tree  
He sat on (top of) the tree.

10.a. (380) I vana tuk a= ti ra valian.  
he go till POS=here ART beach  
He went, until he reached the beach here.

10.b. (381) I vana pap a= ti ra valian.  
he go from POS=here beach  
He went off from the beach here.

The translation equivalents of English prepositions:

- after  
  V₁ mur  
  (cf. p. 182)

- behind  
  (ta)ra muru-na- N  
  ART back-C- N  
  (cf. p. 181)
beside
(ta) ra papar-a-N
   ART side-C- N
   (cf.p.182)

between
(na-) livuan ta
   C middle
   (cf.p.189)

down
V1 irop
   go-down
   a= r= a, u= r= a etc.
   POS=there=down GOAL=there=down
   (cf.p.182)

from, off
kan
   from
   (cf.p.184)
papa (ta)
   from
   (cf.p.184)
ma= r= a, ma= r= o etc.
   SOURCE=there=down SOURCE=there=same level
   (cf.p.190)

in
(ta) ra bala-na-N
   ART belly-C- N
   (cf.p.182)

in front of
(ta) ra luai-na-N
   ART front-C- N
   (cf.p.182)
(ta) ra mata-na-N
   ART face-C- N
   (cf.p.182)

into
V1 ruk (ta)
   go-in
(ta) ra bala-na-N
   ART belly-C- N
   (cf.p.182)

near
pire
   near
   (cf.p.185)
V1 maravai ta
   be-near
maravai ta
   near
   (cf.p.188)

on
a= r= ama
   POS=there=up
(ta) ra ul-a-N
   ART head-C-N
   (cf.p.181)
4.9.7 Temporal adjuncts

In precolonial times the computation of time was very simple: the units of time were various times of day, the month and the seasons of various fruits and winds, e.g.
very early morning when the kau-bird cries (about 3 a.m.)
early morning about 5 a.m.
the time just before sunrise, between 5.30 and 6 a.m. (lit. the little morning)
morning
the time after 10 a.m. (lit. the sun)
noon (from a keake i tur the sun stands)
the time after noon (from a keake i ria the sun changes its appearance)
as early morning when the kau-bird cries (about 3 a.m.)
as early morning about 5 a.m.
the time just before sunrise, between 5.30 and 6 a.m. (lit. the little morning)
morning
the time after 10 a.m. (lit. the sun)
noon (from a keake i tur the sun stands)
the time after noon (from a keake i ria the sun changes its appearance)
very early morning when the kau-bird cries (about 3 a.m.)
very early morning about 5 a.m.
the time just before sunrise, between 5.30 and 6 a.m. (lit. the little morning)

Temporal adjuncts indicate when or for how long an action is performed or a state of being exists. They are formed by noun phrases, prepositional phrases or adverbs. While locational adjuncts only introduce a clause, when they are contrasted with what has been said before (cf. p. 191), temporal adjuncts are frequently found at the beginning of the clause for pragmatic reasons, since often the time of what is going to be told is of crucial interest.

4.9.7.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrases denoting a particular space of time during the day are used to express the point of time as well as to indicate the duration of time of the action or state of being spoken about, e.g.

(382) Ra ravien dir ga vut ...
    ART afternoon they/DU TA come
    They came in the afternoon ...

(383) M 258
    Ma dir va ra marum
    and they/DU sleep ART night
    And they slept during the night.

While in (382) ra ravien the afternoon denotes the period of time during which the event, i.e. the arrival, happens, the temporal adjunct ra marum the night in (383) signifies the duration of the event, i.e. the sleeping.

If it is to be expressed that some habitual action is done every day at a certain time, the daytime term is either reduplicated or combined with the reduplicated form of bung day, e.g.

(384) M 240
    Pa ave ga ian ta magit ra malamalana.
    not we/EXC/PL TA eat some food ART morning/RED
    We never ate something in the morning.
Every morning he fed the horse.

A bungbung without specification of the time of day means every day, day by day, e.g.

4.9.7.2 Prepositional phrases

There are four prepositions which introduce temporal adjuncts: ta in, at, pa for, during, papa since and tuk until. ta indicates that the event happens within the period of time denoted by the following noun phrase, while pa signifies that it lasts for a space of time, e.g.

The prepositional phrase ta ra ravien in (387) means the same as the noun phrase ra ravien in (382). But in contrast to absolute noun phrases, ta + NP is not used to denote the duration of an event. In other words, ta + NP is more explicit than absolute noun phrases. pa for, during is not used with daytime terms. Instead of

one can only say

papa since and tuk until are the same words as the locational prepositions papa (starting) from and tuk till, up to (cf.p.187) and are often combined, e.g.

They worked from this morning till this afternoon.
4.9.7.3 Adverbs

The temporal adverbs can be classified into deictic and non-deictic adverbs. Deictic temporal adverbs relate the time of the event to the speaker's time being, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam</td>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gori</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goieri</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ningene</td>
<td>tomorrow (Kokopo dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karagam</td>
<td>tomorrow (Northcoast dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabung</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oaria</td>
<td>the day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nari</td>
<td>the day before yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-marum</td>
<td>last night, tonight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kien</td>
<td>today, just now, a very short time ago, in the very near future, on the same day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amana</td>
<td>some time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amana lua</td>
<td>once upon a time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

go and nam are identical with the demonstrative pronouns go this and nam that; adverbs denoting a space or point of time within the same day the speaker speaks do not distinguish between past and future.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amana lua</td>
<td>a time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amana nari</td>
<td>some the</td>
<td>position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabung</td>
<td>time day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-marum</td>
<td>last before</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kien</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

For example:

(392) Ma kien iau tar igir-tabar tar Kl 211
and now I TA cook-with-vegetables give-food give
ia ma ra evu kakaruk.
But I have just cooked and given him two chickens.

(393) Ina ti ian u kien. Kl 117
I+TA TA eat you/SG now
I am going to eat you now.

Non-deictic temporal adverbs relate the time of the event to the time of some other event, e.g. lua before, namur then, later, mulai again, or they specify the duration of the event spoken about, vatikai always, forever, e.g.

(394) ma namur i ga vana
and then he TA go
and then he went

(395) i ga kiki boko
he TA sit/RED still
he was still sitting (there)
As some locational adverbs (cf.p.188), mulai again and lua before are multifunctional words, which are used as independent verbs, e.g. mulai to return, lua to go first, be first, as modifying verbs in verbal chains and as adverbs. When used as verbs, they are morphologically distinguished for transitivity and intransitivity. The transitive counterpart of mulai, which means to do again in verbal chains, is derived by the transitive suffix -e (cf.p.147), whereas the transitive counterpart of lua is derived by the causative prefix va- plus the transitive suffix to do something or affect something or someone first. Both mule and value cannot form the nucleus of a verbal phrase, but only function as a modifying verb in a verbal chain:

**Examples:**

(397) ...; dia ga mulai.  
they/PL TA return  
...; they returned.

(398) ... dia ga varait ma ra Amerika mulai TT 86  
they/PL TA come-together with ART A. again  
... they came again together with the Americans.

(399) "Ba una ga na- mule tama= m M 98  
PART you/SG+TA see-do-again/TR father=your/SG  
ma na= m."  
and mother=your/SG  
"You will see your father and mother again."

(400) Avat a lua!  
you/PL TA go-first  
Go first!

(401) "Avet a malagene lua."  
we/EXC/PL TA dance first  
"Avat namur, avet lua."  
you/PL later we/EXC/PL first  
"We will dance first." "You later, we first."

(402) ma i kait value go ra lima tuna ... M 24  
and she scratch affect first DEM ART hand right  
ma i kait va= mur go ra maira  
and she scratch CAUS=follow DEM ART left-hand  
she scratched the right hand first ... then she scratched the left hand.
As the last example shows, Tolai often expresses temporal relationships by means of verbal chaining where other languages such as English make use of adverbs.

If lu'a directly follows a verb, e.g. malagene lu'a, it is impossible to decide whether to classify it as an adverb or as a modifying verb. But in avet lu'a it is undoubtedly an adverb, for otherwise it would be preceded by the subject marker we/EXC/PL, and not by the independent pronoun avet. The same problem of classification arises with mulai following an intransitive verb. This shows that due to the technique of verbal chaining, verbs and adverbs do not form two disjunctive word classes, but rather a continuum.

4.9.8 Manner adjuncts

Manner adjuncts characterise the way in which the action expressed by the verb is performed. There are only very few manner adjuncts in Tolai, e.g. the adverbs bulu correctly, tana really, damana so, thus, in this way and the prepositional phrase dari like + NP. For example:

(403) U ti vakavakaina tuna kador tara na M 60
you/SG TA ruin/RED really our/INC/DU PL C
vara-gunan!
people
You really ruin our people!

(404) Pa iau nunurē bulu.
not I know+it correctly
I don't know it correctly.

(405) ..., i ga alir a gap dari ra tava.
   it TA flow ART blood like ART water
..., the blood flowed like water.

(406) Ma iau babali ta= na damana.
and I retaliate/ITR upon=him in-this-way
   And I wreaked my vengeance upon him in this way.

Usually actions are characterised by means of verb serialisation (cf.p.122) or by compounding with nouns (cf.p.120), e.g.

(407) ..., i ga vana lulu.
       it TA go be-quick
..., it went quickly.

(408) Dor a ki- na-gugu, ...
we/INC/DU TA stay-c- joy
   We will stay (here) joyfully, ...

(409) Ma To Kabinana i ga tata- na-inal, ...
and To K. he TA speak-c- ingal-bird
   And To Kabinana spoke like an ingal-bird, ...
4.9.9 Adjuncts denoting what the action is concerned about

Adjuncts denoting what the action is concerned about are introduced by the preposition concerning, about, in respect to. ure + NP is most frequently used with verba dicendi in order to denote what is spoken about. In some cases it has nearly the same meaning as upi for (cf.p.177), e.g.

(410) ... ma go ina pirpir ure To Bok. M 37
and now I+TA tell/RED about To Bok
... and now I am going to tell about To Bok.

(411) ... ma pa i do ra pi ure ra tarai. K1 72
and not it much ART earth for ART men
... and the earth is not large enough for the people (creation myth).

(412) U vakavakaina nin kaugu lubang ure ra ava?
you/SG spoil/RED DEM my garden for ART what
Why are you spoiling my garden?

4.9.10 Conclusion

Apart from the semantic and morphological classification of adjuncts given in the introduction, the adjuncts can be further classified into what might be called 'explicit' and 'implicit' adjuncts. 'Explicit adjuncts' differ from 'implicit adjuncts' in that the nature of the relationship between the adjunct and the predicate is overtly marked by prepositions other than ta, adverbs or local deictics. With 'implicit adjuncts' it is the predicate or the noun phrase forming the adjunct that carries the information of the nature of the relationship.

```
adjuncts
  implicit
    information given by the V
    beneficiary
    recipient
    addressee
    cause
  explicit
    information given by the NP
    non-deictic
    instrument
    concomitance
    purpose
    manner
    concern
    location
    time
```

While the beneficiary, the recipient, the addressee and the cause are always expressed by ta + NP and thus the nature of the relationship between them and the verb is not made explicit, instrumental, comitative, purpose, manner and concern adjuncts require explicit means of expression. Variation between implicit and explicit means of expression is found with locational and temporal adjuncts. The nature of locational relationships does not need to be made explicit, if the verb inherently contains reference to a position, goal or source of the action expressed by the verb, and if this position, goal or
source is specified by the adjunct. Secondly, locational adjuncts do not require explicit means of expression, if they themselves denote spatial relationships, e.g. a bala-na-pal the interior of the house.

In contrast to locational adjuncts, the construction of temporal adjuncts is not determined by the verb, but only depends on whether they denote the point of time or the duration of an event, and on whether the adjunct contains a daytime term or some other term.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>point of time</th>
<th>duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daytime term</td>
<td>NP or ta + NP</td>
<td>NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other terms</td>
<td>ta + NP</td>
<td>pa + NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The syntactic function of the so-called 'all-purpose' preposition ta is to connect those adjuncts to the nucleus of the clause which, due to the meaning of the predicate or the noun phrase forming the adjunct, do not need further specification.

Semantically, ta is basically an unspecific locative preposition, which is neutral in respect to position or direction. This becomes most evident when it is used without a verb as a means of introducing the predicate of locational clauses (cf. p. 162) or locational adjuncts in noun phrases, e.g.

(413) A taka parika ta ra kabe= diat. K1 205
      ART excrements all on ART chin+POSS.M.=their
      They had their chin full of excrements.
      (lit. excrements were all over their chins)

(414) Ma i biti na ra tabaran ta na ra burua: ... M 96
      and he say DEM ART spirit on DEM ART floating-
      tree-trunk
      And it, that spirit on the floating tree trunk, said: ...

(415) A vu- na-tarai ta ni ra ngenge M 20
      ART tribe-C- men from DEM ART yellow-coconut
      diat a tia kul ra varden ta ni ra makadao, ...
      they/PL TA TA buy ART women from DEM ART green-coconut
      The tribe of men originating from this yellow coconut will buy
      the women originating from this green coconut.

Furthermore, the fact that proper names of places, which are inherently locational, are not combined with ta suggests that the basic meaning of ta is to mark noun phrases as referring to places. The other functions of ta, namely that of marking the beneficiary, the recipient, the addressee, the point of time and the cause, are obviously derived from its basic locative function (compare Lyons 1977:718):
To conclude, the function of ta is to signify locational relationships and
relationships that are notionally related to locational relationships. But the
information about the nature of these relationships (i.e. position, goal, source
etc.) is either inherently contained in the verb or in the noun phrase following
ta, or it is indicated by additional means such as prepositions, adverbs or
local deictics.

A number of words functioning as adverbs and as prepositions are multi-
functional words that may also function as verbs forming the nucleus of verbal
phrases or as modifying verbs in verbal chains. As has been shown in the case
of maravut to help; with (cf.p.176), tatar to give (itr); to (cf.p.185), maravai
to be near; near (cf.p.187), lua to be first; first, before (cf.p.199) and
mulai to return; again (cf.p.199), the various functions of these multifunctional
words can be arranged on scales. In other words, multifunctionality is not
described in terms of multiple class membership, but by the means of continua
along which the language operates. As will be seen in the next paragraph,
these scales also provide a pattern according to which new prepositions are
developed from verbs in modern Tolai.

4.10 INNOVATIONS IN MODERN TOLAI

4.10.1 Verbal clauses

The greatest changes in the structure of verbal clauses result from the
introduction of English verbs. Young people and middle aged men frequently use
English loan words as a symbol of 'good' education. Obviously because of this
sociolinguistic function, the loan words are not adapted to the phonology of
Tolai, but are pronounced as English as possible.

Since Tok Pisin is held in rather low esteem by the Tolai people (Mosel
1979:169), they only use very few Tok Pisin words. The phonological structure
of Tok Pisin words is nearly the same as that of Tolai words (Mosel 1980:ff),
so that their integration does not cause any problems and does not result in
any changes of the Tolai syntax, as is the case with English loan words (see
below). But as will be seen later, the morphosyntax of Tok Pisin verbs does
play a role in that it serves as a model for the causativisation of English
loan words.

Though English is the language of instruction even in the primary school,
and consequently all young people know at least some English and those working
in town speak it quite fluently, they do not care about English word classes
when using English loan words in Tolai. Particularly English nouns are
frequently used in the function of verbs. This can certainly be explained by
the fact that it is usually the nouns that are acquired first in foreign
language learning (cf. Mosel 1980:83). For example:

(416) a *en* dat a breakfast ta-na (Kapi)
    ART fish we/INC/PL TA PREP-it
    the fish, let's have it for breakfast
    (the meaning of the preposition ta will be explained later)

(417) pi avat a double-pay (Boxing)
     so-that you/PL TA
     so that you will get double pay
Apart from a very few English loan words that sound like Tolai words, e.g. ring to ring, telephone, there are no English loan words which function as transitive verbs. Even English transitive verbs are morphologically intransitive in Tolai. The person or object directly affected by the action is denoted by the preposition ta + NP (cf.p.202), e.g.

(419) ave/exc/pl use ta ra generator kai To Robin
we/exc/pl of
we used the generator of To Robin

(420) i ga show ta nam ra film
he ta PREP DEM ART
he showed that film

(421) ave ga close down ta nam ra school
we/exc/pl ta PREP DEM ART
we closed that school

(422) ina repair ta ra typewriter
I-ta PREP ART
I'll repair the typewriter.

That the English loan words are intransitive is most clearly shown when they are constructed as the head of a verbal chain; for in this case the following verb is also intransitive according to the Tolai rule of verbal chaining. In the following example the speaker corrected himself and replaced a Tolai transitive verb by an English loan word:

(423) pa dia tumu vake - record vakai (Joe)
not they/pl write/tr hold-fast/tr hold-fast/itr

Whereas the transitive Tolai verb tumu to write must be followed by the transitive verb vake to hold fast, record is followed by its intransitive counterpart vakai.

The question of why English loan words are intransitive can perhaps be explained as a result of the fact that they are not phonologically adapted. Remember that all simple transitive verbs in Tolai have intransitive counterparts which are derived by partial reduplication (cf.p.141), e.g.

(424) kita (tr) to hit someone (who is obligatorily denoted by a following patient noun phrase)

kikita (itr) to hit (someone who is not referred to by a following patient NP, but whose identity is understood from the context.)

Now, if English loan words such as record and repair were transitive in Tolai, it should be possible to derive their intransitive counterparts by reduplication. But since the English loan words in modern Tolai maintain their English phonemic structure, the native speakers of Tolai refrain from reduplicating these loan words. On the other hand, the contrast between transitive and intransitive
verbs seems to be so dominant in Tolai that it cries for being overtly marked. Hence the problem of marking the contrast between transitivity and intransitivity is solved by treating English loan words as morphologically intransitive by means of the preposition ta.

In order to understand, why ta + NP is chosen to denote the notional patient of morphologically intransitive verbs borrowed from English, let us recall the function of ta. As has been outlined in 4.9.10, the basic meaning of ta is to mark noun phrases as being locational, i.e. as locational adjuncts or locational predicates, whereas the expressions of the point of time, the recipient, the addressee, the beneficiary and the cause are derived from the locational expressions introduced by ta:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>basic meaning</th>
<th>derived meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>point of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goal</td>
<td>recipient, addressee, beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>source</td>
<td>cause.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar to the recipient of actions of giving, the recipient of mental activities denoted by intransitive verbs is expressed by ta + NP, e.g.

(425) i ga kankan ta= gu
     he TA be-angry with=me
     he became angry with me.

In many cases this intransitive construction alternates with a transitive construction, whose transitive verb is derived from its intransitive counterpart by a transitive suffix (cf.p.173), e.g.

(426) i ga kankan= uane iau
     he TA be-angry=TR me
     he became angry with me.

This shows that ta + NP denoting the recipient of mental activities is closely related to the patient noun phrase of active transitive verbs, and that this construction obviously represents the turning point (compare Seiler 1978:321) on the continuum from locative goals to patients. While in traditional Tolai the end of this continuum is still open, it is now closed by the expression of the notional patient of morphologically intransitive verbs borrowed from English:

```
        locative
          | goal
            | addressee
            | beneficiary
            | recipient
            | 'recipient'
            | of mental
            | activities
            | notional patient
            | of actions denoted
            | by English loans
        functions of ta + NP

        patient
```

To conclude, the fact that the notional patient of verbs borrowed from English is expressed by ta + NP is not surprising, since this innovation follows a strategy which has its roots in genuine Tolai constructions.
That the semantic role of the patient is expressed by a prepositional phrase which primarily denotes location, is also found in Tok Pisin whose influence probably reinforced the development of this construction in Tolai. In Tok Pisin a number of verbs are either marked for transitivity by the transitive suffix -im, in which case they are directly followed by a patient noun phrase; or they are morphologically intransitive and are followed by the preposition long + NP, e.g. singautim or singaut long to call for; wetim or wet long to wait for (Dutton 1973:115, Mihalic 1971:174, 204). In Tok Pisin the so-called transitive marker -im is not only a means of deriving transitive verbs from intransitive ones, e.g. wet to wait, wet=im to wait for, await, but it also functions as a causative marker and thus corresponds to Tolai va= (Mosel 1980:78, 81), e.g.

(427) raus to get out raus=im to remove,
     to be out    to expel
lain to be standing lain=im to line up
     in a line
bruk to be broken bruk=im to break
Since English loan words in Tolai cannot be causativised by the causative prefix va-, the contrast between simple and causative verbs is marked in exactly the same way as the contrast between intransitive and transitive verbs, namely the preposition ta:

(428) Tolai                           English gloss
    transfer                           to change one's position
    transfer ta                        to transfer someone
    line                               to be standing in a line
    line ta                            to line someone up
    mix                                to be mixed
    mix ta                             to mix something.

For example:

(429) ami ga transfer uro Mosbi
     we/EXC/DU TA there-to M.
     we moved to Port Moresby

(430) di ga transfer ta= mimital uro Madang
     IND TA PREP=ua/EXC/TRI there-to M.
     we were transferred to Madang

(431) ave ga line
     we/EXC/PL TA
     we were standing in a line; we were lined up;
     we lined ourselves up

(432) ami ga line ta ra tarai
     we/EXC/PL TA PREP ART men
     we lined the men up

(433) ma nam ra clay i ga mix ma ra silver (Desi)
     and DEM ART it TA be-mixed with ART
     and that clay had been mixed with silver

(434) di ga mix ta ra clay ma ra gold
     IND TA PREP ART with ART
     they mixed the clay with silver.
If one compares the construction of Tok Pisin bruk/brukim to be broken/to break and lainlainim to be standing in a line/the line up with that of Tolai line/line ta and mix/mix ta, it becomes evident that the Tok Pisin causative constructions serve as a model for the causativisation of English verbs in Tolai. Consequently, the construction of English loan words in Tolai cannot be simply described as borrowing, but has to be ascribed to several linguistic and sociolinguistic factors:

1. The lexical items (e.g. mix) are borrowed from English.
2. The fact that the contrast between simple and causative verbs (e.g. mix to be mixed, mix ta to mix something) is expressed by a locative preposition which functions as a kind of transitive marker in modern Tolai (cf. p. 205) can be ascribed to the influence of Tok Pisin where the contrast between simple and causative verbs is morphologically marked by the transitive marker -im.
3. The choice of the locative preposition ta as a kind of transitive and causative marker can be explained as a result of natural development from genuine Tolai constructions.
4. The knowledge of the sociocultural background enables us to understand why the English word mix was preferred to the traditional Tolai word poto or the Tok Pisin expression tanim wantaim.

The data I collected in 1978 provides only two examples of inactive clauses whose verbs are borrowed from English, e.g.

(435) i on ra fridge mulai
    it ART again
    the fridge is switched on again

(436) i off ra light
    it ART
    the light is switched off.

Both words are also used to construct active clauses, which shows that the distinction between inactive and active verbal clauses is at least maintained with these words, e.g.

(437) i a off ta ra light
    I+TA ART
    I'll switch off the light.

There is, however, one case in which the inactive construction of a genuine Tolai word is given up. While in traditional Tolai par to be complete, to be finished is always inactively constructed, e.g.

(438) i par kaugu papalum
    it be-finished my work
    my work is finished

several young speakers use it as the predicate of an active clause:

(439) iau par ta ra papalum
    I be-finished PREP ART work
    I am finished with the work

which is evidently a loan translation of Tok Pisin:

(440) mi pinis long wok
    I be-finished PREP work
    I am finished with the work.
Middle aged people prefer to say:

(441) iau ngo ta ra papalum
    I rest from ART work
    I stopped working

or

(442) iau tar va= par ra papalum
    I TA CAUS=be-finished ART work
    I have finished the work

or they use the inactive clause quoted above.

Due to loan translation from English or Tok Pisin, the impersonal expression

(443) i tale iau pi ina pait ia
    it be-possible me that I-TA do it
    I can do it (lit. it is possible for me to do it)

is often replaced by

(444) iau tale pi ina pait ia
    I (be-able) that I-TA do it

which corresponds to Tok Pisin

(445) mi inap long mekim
    I be-able to do-it
    I can do it.

4.10.2 Non-verbal clauses

One of the subjects my informants were asked to talk about was their work. I expected them to use nominal and semi-verbal clauses, but instead of the expected nominal clauses, e.g.

(446) iau a tena- vartovo
        I ART expert-teaching
        I am a teacher

or semi-verbal clauses, e.g.

(447) iau ga tena- vartovo lua
        I TA expert-teaching before
        I have been a teacher before

they constructed verbal clauses, e.g.

(448) iau papalum dari ra typist (Nancy)
        I work as ART
        I work as a typist

(449) iau ga papalum lua dari tika na tena- vartovo (Joe)
        I TA work before as one C expert-teaching
        I have worked as a teacher before

(450) i ga puak ra papalum-na-president (news)
        he TA carry ART work- C-
        he carried the presidency
The authors of the mission paper A Nilai Ra Dovot (1909-1976) prefer the construction ki-na-N to be in the position of, which literally means to sit in the manner of what is denoted by N (cf.p.121), e.g.

(452) upi na ki-na-tena- vartovo
so-that he-TA sit-C- expert-teaching
in order to be a teacher (there)

(453) i ki-na-talatala-maramaravut
he sit-C- pastor- helping
he has been assistant pastor.

These constructions are innovations in Tolai resulting from loan translations. In traditional Tolai dari like only expresses comparison (cf.p.200), but does not correspond to English 'as'. The same holds true for the construction of ki-na-N (cf.p.121). Puak to carry is only used of things.

The reason why nominal and semi-verbal clauses are not used in this context is simply that these types of clauses only express equation, e.g. iau a vavina I am a woman (cf.p.157), and that the Tolai people do not identify themselves with their profession as Europeans do; consequently the notions of 'I am a woman' and 'I am a teacher' are expressed differently. Since division of labour was unknown in traditional Tolai society, there was no means of expressing that somebody did the job of a teacher etc.

4.10.3 Adjuncts

As far as adjuncts are concerned, the greatest changes can be observed with temporal adjuncts, since the traditional expressions do not suffice for the European way of life. The missionaries introduced the following expressions, which are nowadays often replaced by their English equivalents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ART</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a paka-na-bung</td>
<td>hour; lit. piece of the day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bung tabu</td>
<td>Sunday; lit. the sacred day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bung kubak</td>
<td>Monday; lit. the day after some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bung a urua</td>
<td>remarkable day, as after a feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bung a utul</td>
<td>Tuesday; lit. day two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bung a ivat</td>
<td>Wednesday; lit. day three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bung a ilima</td>
<td>Thursday; lit. day four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bung a ilima</td>
<td>Friday; lit. day five</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a bung-na-vaninara Saturday; lit. the day of
ART day- c- preparation preparation

The names of the months are borrowed from English or are signified by numerals, e.g.
a luain a gai January; lit. the first month
ART first month
a gai tikai January; lit. month one
ART month one

The time of the day is signified in the following way:
(454) na pot nagam ta ra vinun ma a urua (news)
he-TA come eventually in ART ten and ART two
paka- na-bung ningene- na-keake ma
piece-C- day tomorrow-C- sun during the daytime and
na vana kan mulai Rabaul ta ra lavuvat na
he-TA go off again R. in ART nine C
paka- na-bung ningene- na-marum
piece-C- day tomorrow-C- night
he will eventually come at twelve o'clock and he will leave
Rabaul at nine o'clock in the evening.

Go ra paka-na-bung this hour, nam ra paka-na-bung that hour and ta umana paka-
na-bung some hours are often used metaphorically in the sense of this time, now, nowadays; that time, then and sometimes respectively.

While in traditional Tolai temporal relationships between various events are expressed by the means of verbal chaining (cf.p.126), e.g.
(455) pait va= lu= e to do something first
do CAUS=be-first=TR
pait va= mur to do something later
do CAUS=follow

speakers of modern Tolai prefer prepositional phrases, many of which are recently developed constructions, e.g.
(456) lua ta nam iau ga vila vurvurbit (Pauline)
before PREP DEM I TA ran from-place-to-place
before that I travelled from place to place

(457) namur ta go ra paka- na-bung (news)
later PREP DEM ART piece-C- day
after this hour
vakir da kukutu- na-power-na-light
not IND cut/INTR-C- C-
from now there won't be any power cuts

(458) ta ra balai i ra kilala i par (news)
in ART belly=POSS.M. ART year it finished
during the year (which) is past
during last year

(459) a police i ga al diat mur tika na purpuruan (news)
ART it TA draw them/PL follow one C uproar
the police arrested them after an uproar
The preposition *mur after* has been developed from the verb *mur* to follow according to the scale by which the multifunctionality of those words has been described which function as independent verbs, as modifying verbs in verbal chains and as adverbs or prepositions (cf.p.203):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent V</td>
<td>he followed him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. V (itr)</td>
<td>he come-out following (ITR) out (of the sea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. V (tr)</td>
<td>they jumped following him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preposition</td>
<td>he did it after ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Turpaia since*, from originates from the verb *tur pa* to begin followed by the pronoun *ia it* and is obviously a loan translation of the English particle *beginning*.

The other types of adjuncts do not show many innovations. As in the case of temporal adjuncts, the new constructions are more explicit than the traditional ones. Especially in the radio news comitative adjuncts are frequently introduced by *varurung ma* together with and thus are distinguished from instrumental adjuncts (cf.p.174), e.g.

(461) *ra minister i tar takun ra umana vaira na* (news)  
*ART he TA accuse ART PL foreign C*  
*tutana varurung ma ra umana te* Papua New Guinea  
*man together with ART PL native P. N. G.*  
*the minister has accused foreigners and (lit. together with)*  
*Papua New Guineans.*

*Tuk up to, till, until, which introduces locational as well as temporal adjuncts (cf.p.187, 197) is often followed by *tar ta towards to* (cf.p.185), e.g.*

(462) *tuk tar ta ra form four* (Nancy)  
*till ART*  
*till form four (of the high school)*

and the preposition *pi for* (cf.p.177) is redundantly combined with *ure in respect to*, e.g.

(463) *di kul pa mule ra umana material* (Joe)  
*IND+TA buy E again ART PL*  
*pi ure ra umana car for in-respect-to ART PL*  
*they will buy spare parts for the cars.*
NOTES

* It is of interest to compare the listing of Tolai dialects compiled by Laycock (on the basis of Ann Chowning's 1976 map) for map 13 in Wurm and Hattori 1981.

1. The table below which is an abstract from Threlfall (1975:249-252) shows the date of appointment and the origin of Methodist Missionaries (wives and children not included):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975-1880</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1890</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1900</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Germany</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fiji</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Samoa</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1910</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1920</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>China</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Compare Mühläusler (1979:1-20) who shows that the technique of pairing synonyms is also applied in Tok Pisin for the very same reason. It may well be the case that the Tolai speakers borrowed this technique from Tok Pisin, all the more since all speakers in question are bilingual in Tolai and Tok Pisin.

3. The orthography of Fijian originates in that of Tongan (Schütz 1971:XI), which had established g for /ŋ/ without problems, since Tongan lacks the phoneme /g/. Nowadays /ŋ/ is rendered by ng (Churchward 1953:13).
4. The terms 'alienable' and 'inalienable' are used to distinguish different phrase types and not to label two noun classes. For there are nouns which may enter both types of constructions, so that it is not adequate to speak of two discrete, gender-like noun classes. As has also been put forward by Pawley (1973:54) and Lynch (1973:5f), the same problem arises with other Austronesian languages, and it is hoped that writers on Austronesian languages will not speak of 'alienable' and 'inalienable' nouns any longer.

5. An exception is the verbal prefix var-, which may be prefixed to verbs beginning with a consonant. But note that it has been vara- until recently (cf. Rickard under wara-).

6. Similar hierarchies are found in many Austronesian languages. In Kusaiean, for instance, different inalienable possessive constructions are chosen according to whether the possessor is a proper or a common noun (Lee 1975:104), whereas in Arosi it makes a difference, whether the possessor noun is a non-human noun or a human proper noun or a human common noun (Capell 1971b:60-62). The significance of these hierarchies is dealt with in Mosel 1983. See also Seiler 1983:26-27, 72.

7. Other Melanesian languages show up to four subclasses (compare Codrington 1885:128-131; Lynch 1978:80ff).


9. That the alienable possessive construction is used to express the agent of nominalised verbs is also found in other Austronesian languages.

10. Compare Buse's remarks on Polynesian languages (Buse 1960:131) and Lynch (1973:8): "The alienable constructions imply not only a less close relationship (than the inalienable ones - U.M.), but also a measure of control of the possessor over possessed, or a choice as to whether he has possession ... alienable constructions imply ... also some activity towards the possessed."

11. Since this function of the A-possessive construction prevails in Melanesian languages, it is called "the edible construction" by Lynch (1973:15); compare Pawley 1973:49.

12. The nature of this relationship is clearly seen by Lynch (1973:16), who states: "One quite common use of the edible construction is the possession of something to be used on the possessor, i.e. possession by a patient as opposed to possession by an actor." But since he regards the edible construction as being derived from the underlying sentence I eat X and the other alienable constructions as being derived from I have X, he fails to see that the principle determining the choice of construction is that of activeness vs. inactiveness, and that the possessive constructions are correlated to the construction of verbal clauses by this principle. Lynch did not investigate the construction of nominalised verbs.

13. Lynch (1973:17) also speaks of "degrees of inalienableness" and postulates a three-way division which is marked by the features (± control) and (± close connection):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regular inalienable</th>
<th>Extensional usages (of the edible constr.)</th>
<th>Regular inalienable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>control</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>connection</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. That the expression of separated bodyparts differs from that of bodyparts which are on the body, is also found in Tigak, a Melanesian language of New Ireland (Beaumont 1979:62).

15. Compare Kleintitschen (1924:196).

16. In many Austronesian languages spatial relationships are expressed by inalienable possessive constructions (Pawley 1973:44f; Schütz 1969:52f).

17. In many Austronesian languages generic patients are expressed by object incorporation, whereby the verb is treated as an intransitive verb. Compare Churchward 1941:19, Churchward 1952:76; Hopper/Thomson 1980:257-259).

18. The local deictics, which are morphologically very complex, are thoroughly described in Mosel (1982b).

19. In Tolai the subject is defined as the only actant of intransitive clauses or the actant denoting the agent of transitive clauses.

20. The primary function of the connective particle is to join modifying phrasal constituents to their head, such as numerals, quantifiers, adjectives and subordinated nouns to the head noun in noun phrases, and incorporated objects to the nuclear verb in verbal phrases. For further information cf. the index under connective particle.

**LIST OF SPEAKERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>m, 20,</td>
<td>works in town</td>
<td>Joyce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darusila</td>
<td>f, 19,</td>
<td>works in a</td>
<td>Kapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>book shop</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kepas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desi</td>
<td>f, 24,</td>
<td>secretary</td>
<td>Luisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doris</td>
<td>f, 59</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lulupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliab</td>
<td>m, 39,</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Magret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabi</td>
<td>m, 18,</td>
<td>student at the Malaguna Technical College</td>
<td>Maibe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Malaguna Technical College</td>
<td>Meli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goro</td>
<td>m, 45,</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia Peril</td>
<td>f, 40,</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennifer</td>
<td>f, 17,</td>
<td>student at Keravat Senior High School</td>
<td>Melki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Namaliu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>m, 50,</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>news</td>
<td>news of the National Broadcasting Commission, Rabaul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robin</td>
<td>m, 47, teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seri</td>
<td>m, ca. 80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarutia</td>
<td>m, ca. 40, works in town</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraide</td>
<td>f, ca. 50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauline</td>
<td>f, 32, works at the Dental Department, Port Moresby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiotam</td>
<td>m, ca. 60,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Lik</td>
<td>m, ca. 60, police officer in Rabaul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>f, 16, high school dropout</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Mago</td>
<td>m, ca. 55, shopkeeper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangrang</td>
<td>m, 40, official of the Provincial Government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Vuina</td>
<td>m, 40, teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal</td>
<td>m, 31, teacher, manager of the Community Hostel, Rabaul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinnie</td>
<td>f, 35, wife of Rangrang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinnie A.</td>
<td>f, 20, secretary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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