TAWALA GRAMMAR: A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

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I was fortunate to be the recipient of a Commonwealth Postgraduate Award and, when that expired, of an Australian National University Scholarship. Without the former I would never have embarked on the journey; without the latter, the landfall would have not been so graceful.

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ABSTRACT

Tawala is an Austronesian language spoken in Milne Bay Province on the easternmost tip of the Papua New Guinea mainland.

This thesis aims to present a general introduction and reference grammar for the Tawala language. Eight broad topics are handled.

1) The introductory chapter presents details of my involvement in the project and an assessment of the database.

2) The second chapter outlines the Tawala situation, including its relationship to other languages of the Pacific basin. Also outlined is some details of the study of Tawala by the scholarly world.

3) The third chapter gives some broad typological features relating Tawala to the broad spectrum of the world's languages. The recently proposed head-marking typology provides a unified explanation for what would otherwise be a number of curious facts in the Tawala language.

4) The fourth chapter summarises the broad features of Tawala phonology.

5) Three aspects of Tawala words are dealt with in separate chapters. Chapter 5 presents details of Tawala word classes and subclasses, which provides a semantic basis for the grammar presented in the remainder of the thesis. The strategies involved in changing word classes of items is the topic of chapter 6. Of particular significance is the discussion

on valence change (chapter 7) which lies at the heart of Tawala syntax.

6) Phrasal structure involves a study of the major consistituents of the clause: the verb phrase (chapter 8), noun phrases (chapter 9) and adpositional phrases (chapter 10), Of typological interest is the fact that Tawala has both prepositions and adpositions.

7) Ten different clause types are established for Tawala. Chapter 11 seeks to establish a model giving theoretical unity between the verbal and non-verbal clauses. The four verbal clause types are outlined in chapter 12, and the six non-verbal clause types are outlined in chapter 13.

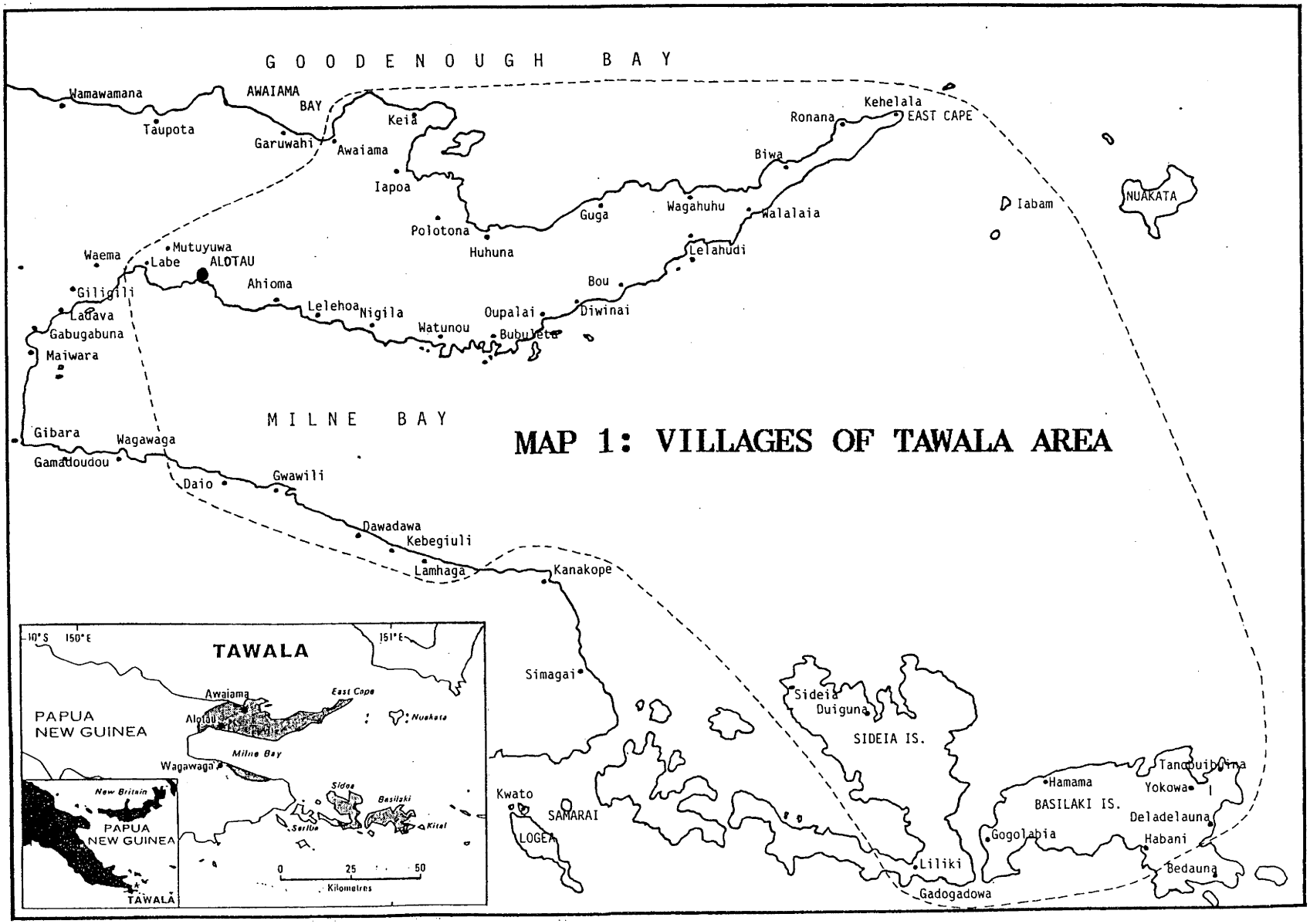
8) The final chapters discuss relationships between clauses: relative and nominalised clauses (chapter 14), complement clauses (chapter 15) and other combinations of clauses (chapter 16).

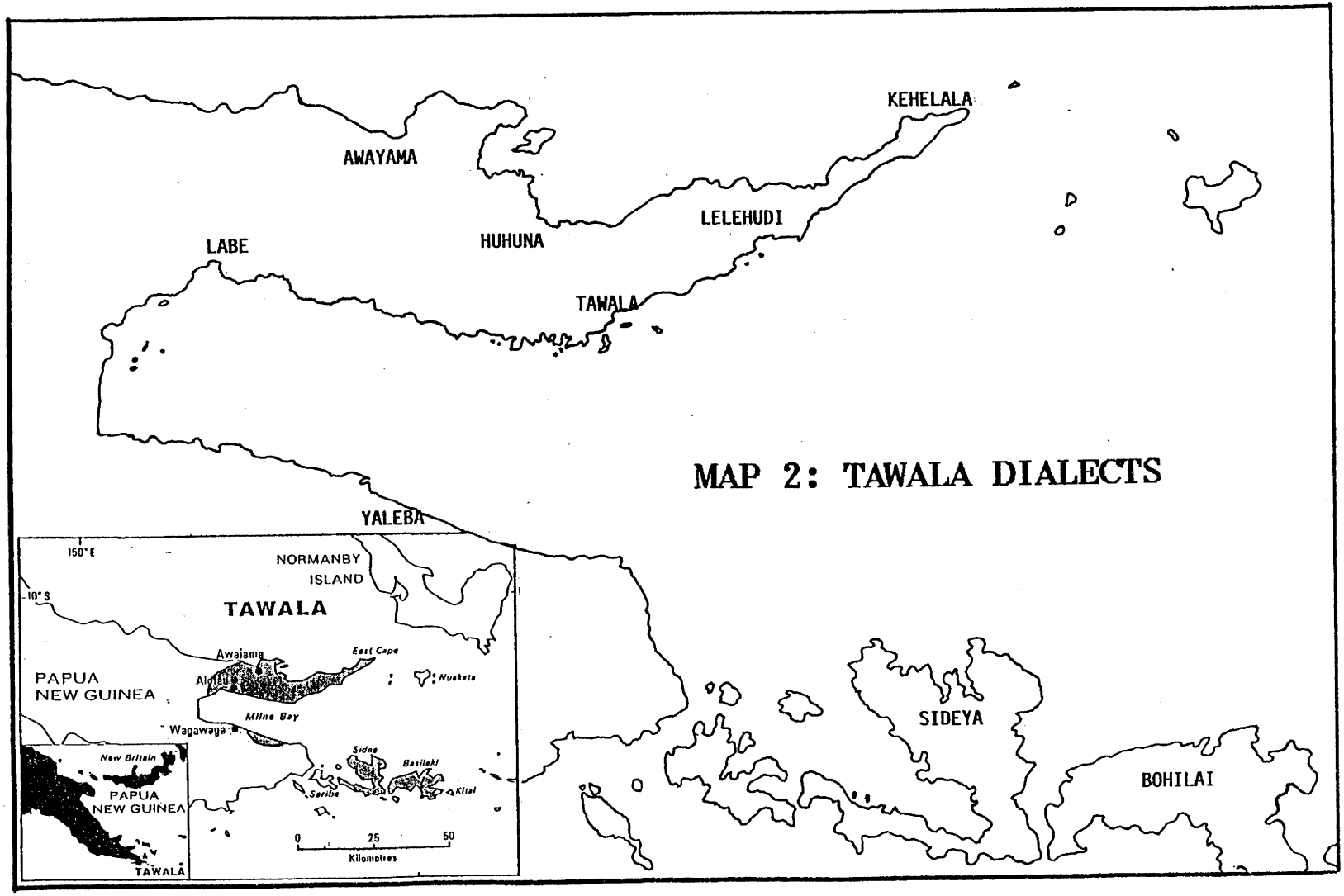
Stress throughout is placed on the function of the various consistuents and structures, hence the subtitle of this thesis.

ABBREVIATIONS & SYMBOLS

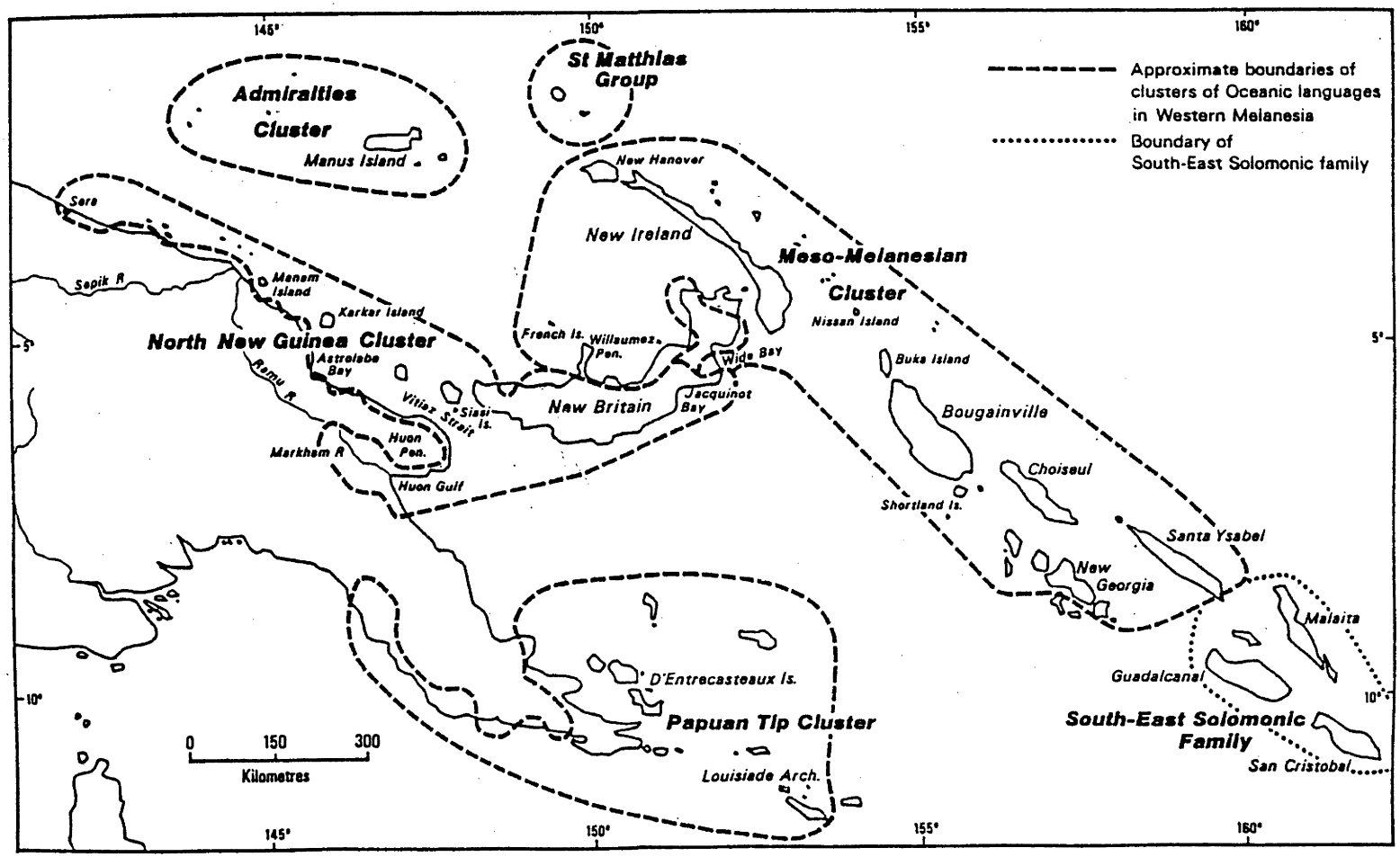
A	TRANSITIVE SUBJECT – a core grammatical function (7.1)
ABL	ABLATIVE enclitic – occurring with nouns and postpositions marking the functions of instrument, origin and path (9.11)
AT	*at* – proto-typical meaning of the locative postposition, other meanings are *to, with* (10.2.1)
BEN	BENEFACTIVE – postposition marking the functions of benefitter and reason (10.2.4)
C	COMPLEMENT – an extra core argument with some non-verbal predicates (13.5)
COM	COMITATIVE – preposition (10.1.5)
COND	CONDITION – preposition (10.1.6); adjectivising prefix (6.4)
CONTR	CONTRARY TO FACT – mood particle (5.6.10)
CP	CLASSIFICATORY PREFIX – (6.5.2)
CS	CAUSER – semantic function of valence-increasing derivational prefix (7.5.3)
DEF	DEFINITE MARKER – suffix marked for singular or plural indicating the noun is coreferential with the item already referred to (9.3)
DP	DERIVATIONAL PREFIX – a verbal prefix often involving valence increase (6.5.3 and 7.5)
DUR	DURATIVE – aspect normally marked by reduplication of verb stem indicating the action is durative, repetitive or progressive (8.6)
DX	DEICTIC item – a morpheme marking deixis (5.5.2 & 8.9.5)
EFF	EFFECTIVE MARKER – a morpheme denoting that the second verb in a serial construction expresses the result of the transitive action denoted by the first (8.9.4); also used with derivational prefixes (6.5.2 & 7.5.1.4)
E/EXCL	EXCLUSIVE – a first person plural pronominal reference excluding the hearer (5.6.1.1)
FUT	FUTURE – tense marked by the adverb apo which occurs before a verbal or non-verbal predicate (11.5.2)
HYPOTH	HYPOTHETICAL – mood particle (5.6.10)
I/INCL	INCLUSIVE – a first person plural pronominal reference including the hearer (5.6.1.1)
intr	intransitive
IRR	IRREALIS – mood marked by the verbal prefix ta- (8.7.2) and by the particle ipa (5.6.10)
L.	LABE – dialect form
LIG	LIGATURE – the morpheme -na which maintains cohesion within the verb phrase (8.11)
LOC	LOCATIVE – a preposition marking the head of a locative phrase – u marks a specified location (10.1.2) and hoi an unspecified one (10.1.3)

NEG	NEGATIVE – adverb **ega** occurring before a verbal or non-verbal predicate (11.5.3)
NOM	NOMINALISER – prefixed word-class-changing morpheme (6.3.5)
NP	NOUN PHRASE – (chapter 9)
O	OBJECT – a grammatical relation marked by a person/number enclitic on the verb complex (8.4.2)
<u>O</u>	OBJECT – a core grammatical function (7.1)
p	PLURAL – person-marking on pronominal morphemes (5.6.1.1)
P/PRED	PREDICATE – a grammatical function filled by either a verb (in a verbal clause) or a noun, adjective etc. (in a non-verbal clause) (11.2.2)
PL	PLURAL – singular and plural number is morphologically distinguished in Tawala (5.6.1.1)
POSS	POSSESSIVE – construction (9.10)
POSSD	POSSESSED – item marked for person and number of the possessor (9.10)
POSSR	POSSESSOR – the dependent NP of a possessive construction (9.10)
POT	POTENTIAL – mood marked by the verbal prefix **na-** (8.7.3)
PRS	PRESENT – tense marked by special set of person/number prefixes on the verb (8.5.1) – cf. adverb **ataima** (L. **amalai**) (8.5.2)
PRON	PRONOUN – a member of the set of pronouns (5.6.1.2)
REDUP	REDUPLICATED – morpheme with a variety of functions (3.6); forms are described in 4.4.
RFX	REFLEXIVE verb – the abbreviation marks the object enclitic of a condition verb as 'reflexive' because it has the same referent as the subject prefix (5.5.3)
s	SINGULAR – person marking on pronominal morphemes (5.6.1.1)
S	SUBJECT – a grammatical relation marked by a peron/number prefix on the verb (8.4.1)
<u>S</u>	SUBJECT – a core grammatical function (7.1)
SG	SINGULAR – singular and plural number are morphologically distinguished in Tawala (5.6.1.1)
SPON	SPONTANEOUS prefix – a valence-decreasing prefix resulting in a derived condition verb (7.6.3)
s.o.	*someone*
s.t.	*something*
tr	transitive
TR	TRANSITIVISER MARKER – the valence increasing suffix **-ge** (7.1.1)
UNSPEC	UNSPECIFIED – marker attached to the indefinite marker **gehou-** (9.8)
V	VERB
1	first person – marking on pronominal items (5.6.1.1)
2	second person – marking on pronominal items (5.6.1.1)
3	third person – marking on pronominal items (5.6.1.1)
#	zero morpheme

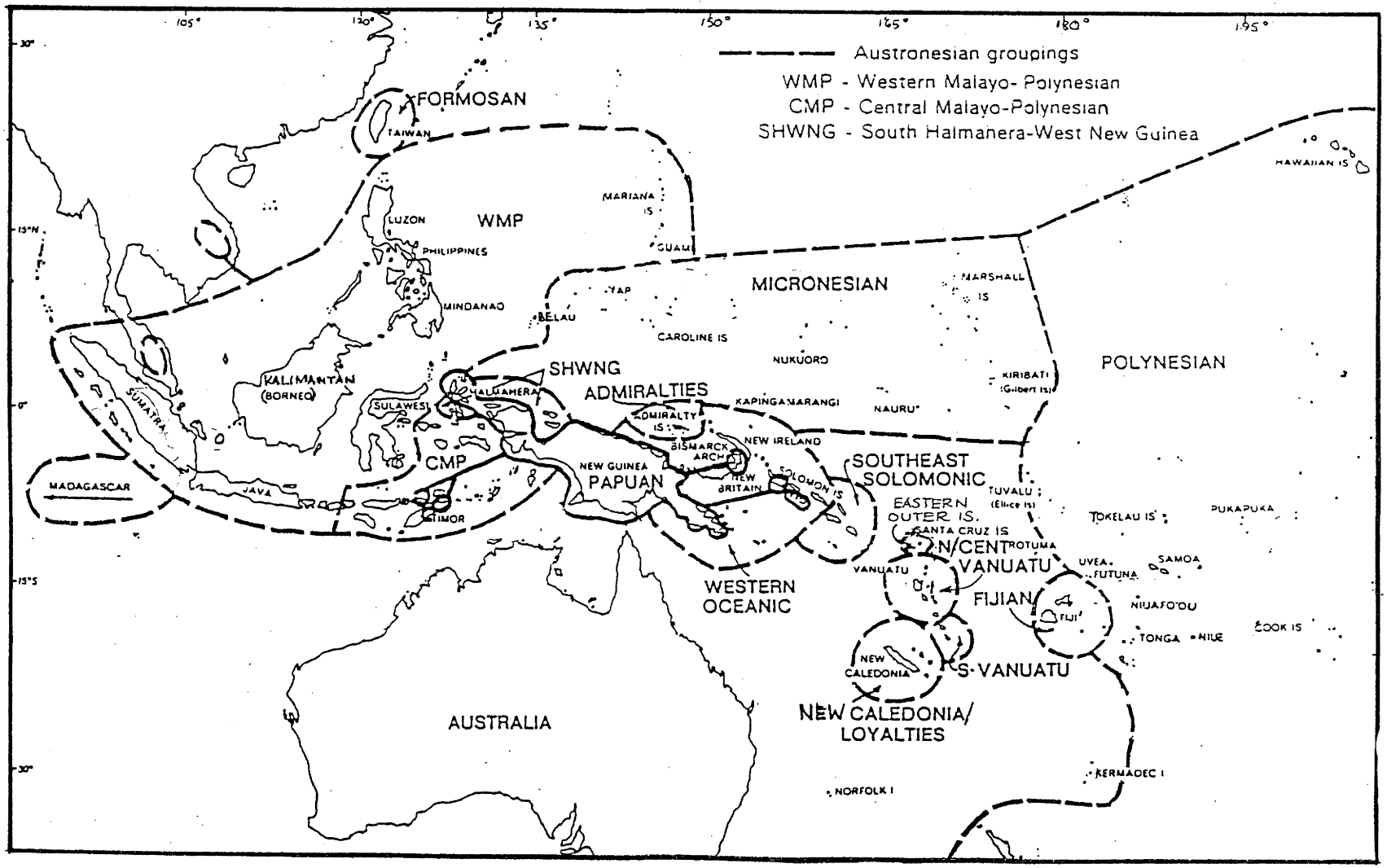

G O O D E N O U G H B A Y
Wamawamana
AWAIAMA BAY
Taupota
Garuwahi
Awaiama
Keia
Kehelala
Ronana
EAST CAPE
Biwa
Iapoa
Guga
Wagahuhu
Walalaia
Iabam
NUAKATA
Polotona
Huhuna
Lelahudi
Waema
Mutuyuwa
Labe
ALOTAU
Ahioma
Bou
Giligili
Lelehoa
Nigila
Oupalai
Diwinai
Ladava
Watunou
Bubuleta
Gabugabuna
Maiwara
MILNE BAY
MAP 1: VILLAGES OF TAWALA AREA
Gibara
Wagawaga
Gamadoudou
Daio
Gwawili
Dawadawa
Kebegiuli
Lamhaga
Kanakope
Simagai
Sideia
Duiguna
SIDEIA IS.
Kwato
SAMARAI
LOGEA
Hamama
Yokowa
BASILAKI IS.
Deladelauna
Gogolabia
Habani
Liliki
Bedauna
Gadogadowa
10°S 150°E
151°E
TAWALA
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Awaiama
East Cape
Alotau
Nuakata
Milne Bay
Wagawaga
Sidea
Basilaki
Kitai
Sariba
New Britain
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
TAWALA
0 25 50
Kilometres



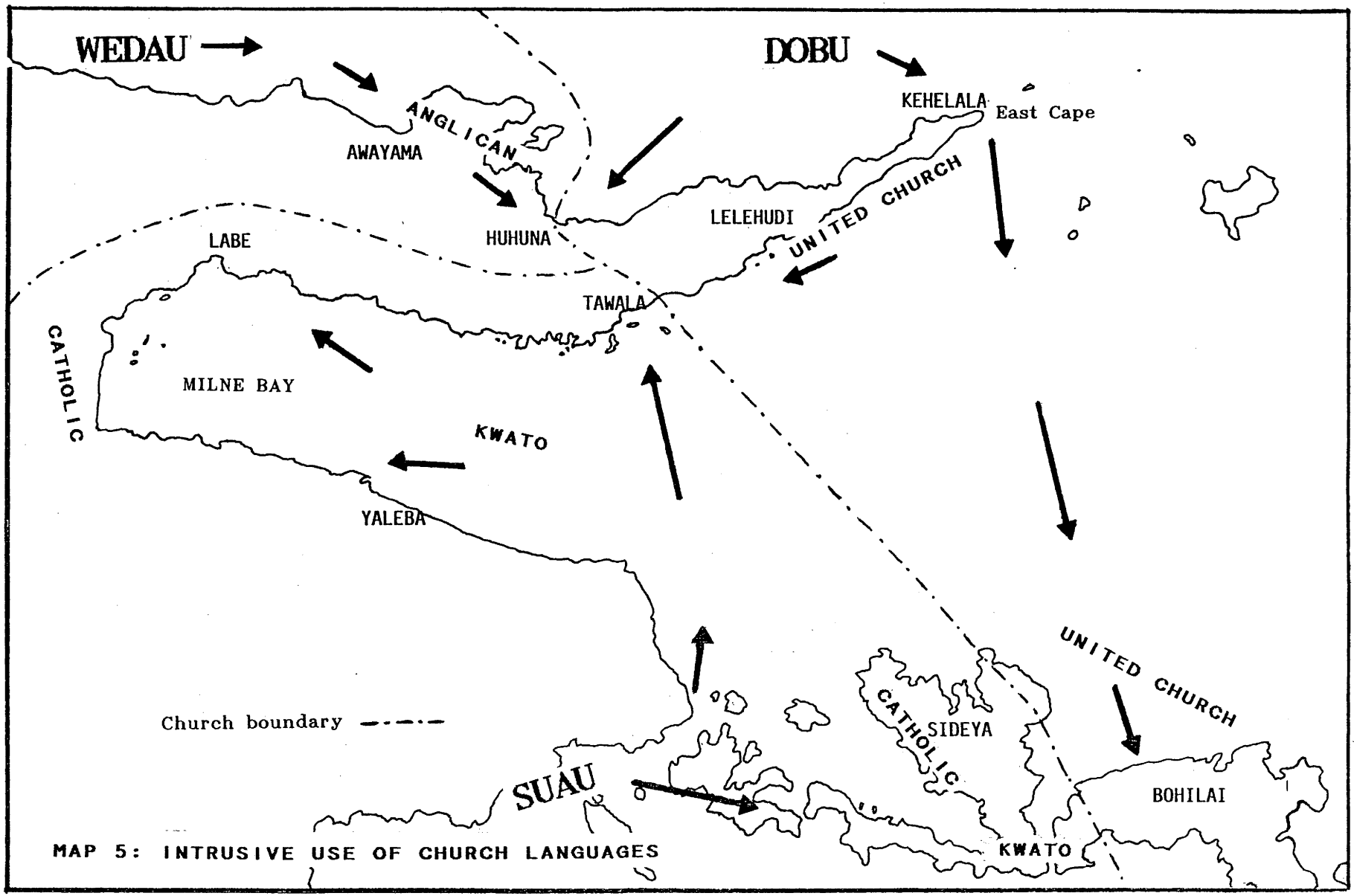
MAP 2: TAWALA DIALECTS



MAP 3: THE FOUR CLUSTERS OF WESTERN MELANESIAN (Ross 1986)



MAP 4: AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGE GROUPINGS



MAP 5: INTRUSIVE USE OF CHURCH LANGUAGES

1 INTRODUCTION

> Human languages are extraordinarily similar in terms of the meanings they encode, and the ways these are combined. They vary a good deal in the grammatical apparatus that is evolved to handle this matter of combination. It is from this that most apparent differences between languages stem. The linguist's task is to expose and analyse these differences, using whatever theoretical ideas are of most value in this task, and remembering that it is basically MEANING that a language (and the linguist) is concerned with.
>
> Dixon (1987:30)

1.1 LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

The linguistic approach taken in this thesis is eclectic. A word about my personal brand of eclecticism will help orient the reader to the view of language adopted in this grammar.

From my initial linguistic training in tagmemics I retain a strong sense of grammatical hierarchy — evident in the layout of this thesis; phonemes combine to form morphemes and morphemes combine to form words, which in turn combine to form phrases which are the building blocks of clauses (or sentences as some linguists refer to them). Clauses in turn combine to form sentences, the upper limit of this description. Sentences of course combine to form paragraphs and discourses.

While the hierarchical model gives a clear view of language structure it is not the whole picture. The model cannot be pushed rigorously. For example, the distinction between words, phrases and clauses is not always clear. Both words and phrases can function as non-verbal clauses in Tawala. As with other languages clauses can be embedded within phrases.

From tagmemics I also retain the terminology of functional 'slots' and class 'fillers'. Thus, for example, I claim that the action nominalisation consists of 'a possessive construction with a verb filling the head slot' (14.5.3).

The subtitle of this thesis indicates that I have adopted a functional approach. This approach comes originally from tagmemics, where items are viewed as units functioning within larger units, with utterances themselves having a communicational function. As Pike (1967:29) expresses it, "Analysis of the linguistic phase of events...is also seen to be heavily and essentially dependent upon its relation to nonlanguage behaviour". The functional approach has been reinforced by other approaches, and in particular by Givón's (1984 etc.) concept of functional domains.

It needs to be stressed that while units typically have a function on the next level of the hierarchy, this is frequently not their only function. Thus, while a pronoun may function as a constituent of an NP, it may simultaneously signal discourse topic and maintain discourse cohesion. The actual communicative function lies outside the scope of this thesis and ties in rather with "the sociolinguistic and social anthropological study of language in social interaction" (Van Valin & Foley 1980).

I am heavily indebted to Givón (1984) at many points in my analysis, as is evident from the number of quotes throughout the thesis. I have also been influenced by certain aspects of the Foley and Van Valin (1984) model of the clause. The

priority accorded to semantics by Dixon (1982, 1984) is seminal to my approach. Finally, the three Shopen (1985) volumes have proved a constant source of insight at many points in the thesis. In addition to these major influences, other authors are acknowledged within the text of the thesis for their contribution to my understanding of specific points.

I have avoided formalism and any strong theoretical orientation as a matter of policy. While formalism may have a useful function within linguistic theory, this usefulness does not extend to language description intended as a reference grammar. Mutu-Grigg (1988:69) notes that Polynesian grammars from the mid 1970s onwards have been somewhat eclectic, avoiding the formal models of the previous 15 years with their:

> ...plethora of symbols and formulae which were fine if the linguist was in the business of constructing formal algorithms for generating grammatical utterances in the language, but not so helpful if the reader wanted to know something about the language under discussion.

In a similar vein Dixon (1987:2), in discussing "two opposing attitudes to the interrelation of theory and description in linguistics", notes:

> In my grammar of Dyirbal (Dixon 1972) I separated off the straight syntactic description (in chapter 4) from an interpretation in terms of the then 'standard theory' of TG (in chapter 5). People still read chapter 4, but I'll bet most of them pass over chapter 5 today. (I'm awfully glad I did separate the parts like that.)

It has been my aim to describe the structure of the Tawala language itself and not to impose structure upon it or to describe it in terms of the latest universal theory. Besides being ephemeral the latter approach inevitably results in serious distortion, as noted in the study of Japanese:

> But Japan's growing familiarity with transformational-generative grammar over the past quarter century has left them - and us - with nothing more to show for it all than the evolution of ever more and more complicated and arcane methods for forcing square pegs into round holes...
>
> Miller (1986:87)

As far as possible I have endeavoured to limit my terminology to the terms most widely used by functionalist grammarians today. Many of these terms turn out to be tranditional ones such as nouns and verbs. Thus my aim is similar to that of role and reference grammar in providing a description

> that falls somewhere between the extremes of describing each language in its own terms, thereby making cross-linguistic comparison problematic, and describing each language in purely universal terms, which often results in the glossing over of the important grammatical distinctions in the language in favour of those imposed by theory.
>
> Van Valin and Foley (1980:33)

1.2 DATA BASE

My wife, Janet, and I commenced work on the Tawala language in 1974 under the sponsorship of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I have worked more or less non-stop on the language since that time, with perhaps five years total spent in residence within the Tawala language area. An initial six-month period of fieldwork was carried out in the village of Diwinai. Subsequently we lived on the Koeabule plantation (known as KB in the area) on the outskirts of Alotau while we built a house at Diwala nearby. This new situation brought me into daily contact with the Labe dialect, though I continued to also work with the Diwinai dialect through work with my co-translator Yailo and regular visits to his village.

It has been my aim to collect natural language. From the first day of fieldwork I have only worked monolingually even though this severely restricted my understanding for several months. By being an observer of village life and collecting data as the occasion arose, rather than having any artificial eliciting procedures, I learned what was important to the people themselves. In the early days I often found Tawala people assumed the role of language teachers, drilling me on material that they thought was crucial. As fluency increased and I began to communicate creatively, my investigation was always in terms of enquiring into activities and culturally relevant subjects, rarely in terms of substitution frames.

The transcription and annotation of text provided the next stage in cultural understanding and grammatical analysis. Transcribed texts continue to be a grammatical-analysis challenge, even as I add final touches to this thesis. It seems that scarcely a day goes by that I do not discover something new. It is said by artists that a great painting is never finished – it is simply laid aside. That is certainly how I feel about this grammar – it is far from complete but the time has come to lay it aside.

I found the challenge of Bible translation a great stimulus to language learning. At times, hours and even days were spent in thrashing out some point of biblical or Melanesian culture, with the by-product of growing fluency and an appreciation of some fine distinctions that I may well have overlooked without this particular challenge. Thus, for example,

I came to learn that the non-verbal construction **tewela dewadewana** could mean either *it is a good child* or *the child is good* (13.4).

The primary data base for this thesis is spoken and written texts. Perhaps 90% of examples come from the spoken texts. I have included very few elicited sentences – almost exclusively embedded structures – as my aim has been to give priority to the structures in common use. I have been aware that it would be all too easy to impose structure on the language by the bias I bring to the process of elicitation.

A number of different types of text have been used and are listed according to reliability, commencing with the most reliable texts.

i) Recorded texts – 32 texts totalling almost 20,000 words were transcribed and lightly edited from spoken texts, representing some ten speakers and both Diwinai and Labe dialects. A wide range of text types is included in this group: traditional stories, narratives of recent and long past experiences, descriptions of traditional customs and of new places and experiences, instruction on culture, procedural texts, prayers, sermons etc. A printed concordance of this material proved invaluable in the selection of suitable examples for this thesis as well as for checking hypotheses formed in the writing of the grammar.

ii) Letters – five short letters sent from educated Tawala people, living outside the area, to their parents were included

within the above concordance but have been treated with caution because of a slight bias towards English structure.

iii) Newspaper - a 22 page newspaper, **GEKA TUWEGA** *This is News*, published in 1981 by Tawala youth has proved a useful addition to my data at one or two points in the thesis.

iv) Notebooks — during my early language-learning days I filled five handwritten notebooks of snippets of conversation which impressed me at the time. These represent a particularly rich source of idiom and non-verbal clause as well as other normal 'everyday' constructions.

v) New Testament - I have used a concordance of the complete Tawala New Testament as a secondary source of examples, used only when examples from other sources were not suitable or were non-existent. I have treated these data with caution because they are translated. However, in defence of this material I would offer the following justification. Firstly, the drafts were all produced by native speakers. Secondly, while I had an input at the level of meaning, my co-translator Yailo was always responsible for the final form of the Tawala. Finally, Tawala speakers consistently testify to the naturalness of the text. Doubtless errors remain in the translation, but these are more likely to be at a discourse level, rather than the actual grammatical structure of the individual clauses and sentences which I have occasionally used in the thesis. The 'religious' sentences contained in the thesis always come from spoken sentences, never from the New Testament translation.

After all, the people are deeply religious and religion is a common topic of conversation.

1.3 INSIGHT INTO TAWALA LIFESTYLE

> Each language draws a magic circle round the people to which it belongs, a circle from which there is no escape save by stepping out of it into another.
>
> (Humboldt)

It has been my privilege to live with the Tawala people and learn their language and culture. This personal involvement in the people's lives has been the most enriching experience of my life and far outweighs the academic achievements I have gained in the process.

One feature that stands out above all others is that Melanesians have time – especially time to talk. Many hours are spent each day sitting in groups, talking. Even a work party includes several hours sitting around, chewing betel nut and talking. The evenings, uncluttered by TV and meetings are usually abandoned to talk - talk which will go on well beyond midnight if there is a visitor or a crisis situation. This aspect of their culture elevates the spoken word above anything I have experienced in the West and immeasurably enriches their lives.

A second aspect of their culture that has impressed me is the centrality of the clan, with its totem bird. During my early days in the Tawala area people kept asking me what my "bird" was. I soon learned that the answer "I don't have one" was too incredible to be believed, and mercifully an old man adopted me

into his clan, giving me **bunebune** *pigeon* as my bird. Any Tawala person can go to any village of any language in the southern Milne Bay area and announce his clan and someone of that clan will call him up to his verandah and provide for him for the duration of his stay. Of course the Tawala visitor will reciprocate when someone of his clan visits his village. That I can travel for thousands of kilometres in Australia, through town after town and not be offered bed and lodging at any one of these places is a total enigma to the Tawala people.

My turn for "unbelief" came when I came to understand that "matrilineal descent" means that the clan grouping is stronger than the nuclear family and that children belong to their mother's clan and regard their mother's brother as closer than their biological father. Their father is, in fact, clearly a stranger in his children's village and he often visits and provides for his sister's children.

Attitudes to work are radically different from those in the West. As with most cultures around the world, there are clear roles for males and females. An example would be that while both men and women can fish, only the men go out in canoes for this purpose. Another difference is that fishing and hunting are not considered recreational as they are in the West, but are just as much work as collecting firewood or gardening.

As an outsider I have been fascinated by people's view of themselves. Many changes have come to Milne Bay in the last 100 years. None is more important than the cessation of inter-tribal fighting and cannibalism. I have not heard any Tawala

person decry these changes. However, I have heard them talk about "the days of great darkness when people ate each other". On the other hand the loss of dancing and other aspects of pageantry is considered unfortunate, "We know Samoan[1] dances but not our own!".

The war had a powerful impact on the lives of the people. Those living in Milne Bay were moved across the mountains for several years to make way for 120,000 Allied troops. Stories abound of horrors seen and of experiences of friendships made with troops (by the men who acted as carriers and helpers). I have found it difficult to penetrate beyond the war years in talking with people. Stories from the "old" days are inevitably war stories rather than myths or exploits of the ancestors.

Missions have also played a major role in moulding today's culture - at least in the externals. In the Kwato area bells wake the villagers at dawn and indicate meeting times throughout the day. Washing is essential before a church service and clean clothes and even white shirts and ties are common. As most people are church-goers, rules for Sunday - no canoeing, fishing or gardening - are universally observed (at least in the Kwato and United Church areas). At a deeper level the old practices are still alive. Sorcery (by males) and witch activity (by females) are prevalent even in the highest church circles. Many people desire to escape these, their "big

---

[1] The area saw an influx of Samoan missionaries in the early mission days; they introduced not only dancing but also weaving and some superior varieties of breadfruit, bananas and pineapple, etc.

fears". Christianity and their old beliefs form a two-tier system, with Christianity dictating the externals, and traditional beliefs having an inner control on values and actions. An example of this two-tier system was expressed to me by one man: "Christianity taught us that it was wrong to kill people with a knife, but not that it was wrong to kill by sorcery".

Finally, I think the difference in attitude between the people of Milne Bay and the West can best be summed up in the words, reportedly of an Indonesian, "You Europeans are not human beings but human 'doings'". Above all else my years in Milne Bay have taught me that the important thing in being human is to be a human 'being'.

2 THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

This chapter explores some broad aspects of the Tawala language, including its origins, its relationship to other languages and a brief history of its study by the outside world. Some major typological aspects of Tawala are explored in chapter 3.

2.1 THE TAWALA LANGUAGE

According to details provided by the 1981 *Provincial Data System Rural Community Registrar* for the Milne Bay Province, the Tawala language is spoken by some 10,000 people. The Tawala-speaking people live in hamlets and small villages on the East Cape peninsula, along the shores of Milne Bay and on much of the islands of Sideia and Basilaki - map 1. In all, there are about 40 major centres of population, each with its own dialect[1], but in the accidental course of colonisation a number of these centres have played a larger role than others. The dialects (map 2) listed in table 1 have been recognised in the literature. Each dialect is presented with the major alternate spellings and names that have been encountered in the literature, along with the authority who first proposed the dialect in print, though not necessarily with the present name. The Tawala people recognise all these names as important centres.

---

[1] The question of what constitutes a dialect is outlined in 2.2 below.

I justify using the word **Tawala** for the whole language on the following grounds:

i) It is the name used by of the people of Milne Bay to refer to their language.[2]

ii) Diwinai is the central dialect of the language and these people refer to their language as **Tawala**.

iii) Considerable literature has appeared in **Tawala**, certainly more than any other dialect.

iv) The people generally recognise the unity of their language but have no other name for it.

DIALECT	ALTERNATE NAMES	AUTHORITY
Awayama	Awaiama, Awalama	MacGregor 1890
Huhuna		Ezard 1977
Kehelala	Keherara, East Cape	Armstrong 1923
Lelehudi		Ezard 1977
Tawala	Tavara,	
	Diwinai, Divinai	Ray 1907
Labe	Rabe	Lithgow 1976b
Yaleba	Wagawaga, Gwawili,	
	Gwavili, Ealeba	Ray 1907
Bohilai	Bohira'i, Basilaki	Armstrong 1923
Sideya	Sideia	Ezard 1977

TABLE 1: Major Tawala Dialects (cf. map 2)

The first intimation of the Tawala language received by the western world was in a list of some 650 items of the "aboriginal vocabulary of Awaiama", given in the *ANNUAL REPORT* of British New Guinea in 1890, by W. MacGregor. It would be almost a century before the relationship of the Awayama dialect to the

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[2] In Tawala folk etymology **Tawala** is considered to have derived from **ata lawa** *our friends.*

Tawala language came to be understood (but that is to get ahead of the story).

The linguistic procedure followded in the assembling of the *Awayama Vocabulary* contained a most unfortunate presupposition that resulted in considerable confusion. The presupposition was that three small coastal villages separated by only a few miles of almost straight beach would all speak the same language, or at least close dialects of the same language. The presupposition is evident in the sub-title: "Table showing certain Principal Words, etc., used by Aboriginals of Awaiama, Taupota, and Garua[3], British New Guinea".

There could be few worse places in the world in which to test such an assumption. The three villages, in fact, speak three separate languages, so that the people of that time may not have been able to actually communicate with each other, depending of course on their social contacts. Awayama has its relations with the Tawala language to the east; Taupota has its relationships to the west and south and 'Garua' is an isolate sandwiched between the two. From a comparative point of view these distinctions are not important; the three languages all derive from a single ancestor and are genetically 'closely' related. However, the view of this thesis is not comparative but descriptive — a synchronic description of the Tawala language. Though its name differs from place to place there is unanimity as to the borders of the Tawala language and they do not

---

[3] I am assuming that Garua is in fact Gweda, the language spoken at Garuwahi (the last syllable of Garuwahi is sometimes devoiced).

include the Taupota dialects or Gweda (the language spoken at Garuwahi).

The *Awayama Vocabulary* suffers from a number of deficiencies which need not detain us here, but one insurmountable problem lies in not knowing from which village each item was collected. Thus it is not possible to assess whether the numerous differences with the current Awayama dialect represent language change or were, even in 1890, forms used in the other languages.

In 1907 Sidney Ray published his *Melanesian Languages of British New Guinea*, modelled on the monumental *Melanesian Languages* of Robert Codrington (1885). Ray demonstrated the relationship that exists between the languages of coastal Papua and island Melanesia. Vocabulary together with grammatical and phonological detail are presented for 39 languages of Papua, including two Tawala dialects: **Tavara** spoken on the "east end of Milne Bay"; and **Awalama**[4] ("Chad Bay"), the Awayama we have already mentioned.

In referring to **Tavara** Ray simply mentions the "east end of Milne Bay". Was he aware that the dialects on the north and south shores of the bay are almost identical? Armstrong (1923) is the first to explicitly make this observation. No comment is offered by Ray as to the relationship between "Tavara" and "Awalama", but a count based on his vocabulary lists shows

---

[4] With regards to the spelling discrepancies, Ray(1907:418) notes that **v** "does not appear in Tavara"! (Ray 1938 has the spelling "Tawala" with Tavara in brackets). His comment on the Awayama dialect, "**l** has a tendency to the sound of **y**" (p.419); I would reverse this - see 4.1.1.

them to have only 70% of shared vocabulary items - a figure deflated by errors in both vocabulary lists and exacerbated by similar inaccuracies within the phonology and grammar. Both languages are listed within his "group 8", which corresponds to the modern Are-Taupota chain (Ross 1988). While many questions remained unanswered, the picture was emerging of Tawala as a language with its closest relatives on the north coast of Papua, and more distantly related to those of coastal and island Melanesia. Unnecessary division might have been spared had the internal relations of the Tawala dialects been similarly known. As we see in section 2.7 below, government, mission and educational policies were being enacted that would permanently splinter the Tawala people.

Meanwhile, the next landmark in the recognition of the Tawala language was a comparative wordlist of some 250 items in 14 languages published posthumously by the government anthropologist W.E. Armstrong in the *ANNUAL REPORT* of Papua 1923. On this occasion three Tawala dialects were presented - Bohilai, Tawala and Kehelala - though Armstrong recognised that they were "really better regarded as a single dialect, 'Tawala', in spite of its strange distribution". It was at now understood that the language was spoken over a wide geographical area, but half a century was to pass before the exact borders became known. Unfortunately, Armstrong followed his own advice of regarding Tawala as a "single dialect" and for the second half of his lists he omits the Tawala and Kehelala forms, making comparison with present-day data less meaningful.

Ray (1938) adds nothing to clarify the picture. In this work, the Tawala language as we know it is represented by five separate dialects, all of which are accorded the status of full languages: Awalama, Kehelala, Tawala, Bohilai and Wagawaga. Considerable confusion is introduced with the mention for the first time of Wagawaga. Ray presents two wordlists for Wagawaga – one that is similar to the other Tawala dialects, and another which is clearly a separate language. The source of confusion seems to be due to exogamous marriage practices. As Wagawaga is only a small language, most of the males come from the dominant language of the area – Tawala. However, Wagawaga is the mother tongue of the children and strictly speaking the language of the Wagawaga village (Lithgow 1976b, Ross 1988) belongs to the Suau network of languages.

Capell (1943) represents a departure from the previous studies in that he was the first to systematically apply the comparative method to the Austronesian languages of Papua, which he divides into eleven groups. Group 6 is devoted to four "languages" which are "really a matter of dialect, not language" (p.67). His four dialects are Tavara, Keherara, Bohira'i and Wagawaga. (Capell commented on the "flapped" nature of the /r/ in these names and wrote them with a superscripted dot.) Capell confirms the modern Are-Taupota chain when he notes the "relationships of Group 6 are essentially with those of Groups 7 and 8". However, he considers Awayama (based on Ray 1907) to be transitional between groups 6 and 7: "The difference [of Group 7] from the

languages south of East Cape is radical. A transition can be seen in Awalama, which resembles Keherara" (p.73).

In the 1950s, Swadesh developed a procedure for measuring the relationships between related languages by the method of lexicostatistics – the counting of shared cognates in basic vocabulary items. Problems were quickly encountered in the method and scholars came to distinguish glottochronology from lexicostatistics in the hope of salvaging the latter.[5]

McElhanon (1971) reviews the application of lexicostatistics in New Guinea, noting some of the reasons why the method had failed as a classificatory tool. What McElhanon failed to notice was the purpose and perspective of the linguist in the application of lexicostatistics as pointed out by Simons (1977). While few linguists would regard lexicostatistics as a suitable tool for unravelling genetic relationship between languages, lexicostatistics has another purpose:

> The linguist who wishes to use lexical similarity as an indication of how well groups could be expected to communicate with one another approaches lexicostatistics with a synchronic perspective.
>
> Simons (1977:14)

Within the Milne Bay Province, the synchronic perspective of the lexicostatistical approach is important because it correlates with the view of the people themselves. When the grammar between two dialects or languages is similar, as is

---

[5] Lexicostatistical studies of Milne Bay languages are Lithgow and Staalsen 1965 (D'Entrecasteaux Islands), Henderson and Henderson 1974 (Louisiades), Cooper 1975 (Suau chain) and Lithgow 1976b (total Milne Bay Province).

usually the case in Milne Bay, then lexicostatistics correlates to a high degree with mutual intelligibility. For the first time, Lithgow (1976b), using a lexicostatistical approach, placed language boundaries of Tawala and surrounding languages with a high degree of accuracy. However, as his work was largely based on lexicostatistics it must be treated with extreme caution or even ignored in tracing the genetic relationships between languages.[6]

Armed with Lithgow (1976b) the linguist can walk into many areas of the Milne Bay Province knowing what language the people speak and able to discuss dialects and language relationships with the people in an intelligent manner. Here at last the full extent of the Tawala language was recognised by the outside world. The border as drawn in map 1 differs from Lithgow (1976b:444) only at the eastern end of Basilaki Island. Lithgow comments that Tawala is not spoken at Pitt Bay, whereas it is on the peninsula to the south of Pitt Bay that Tawala is not spoken.[7]

One would have expected Lithgow's work to have been the last word on the matter; unfortunately, this was not so. In 1981 the brilliantly conceived and produced maps of the

---

[6] Lithgow (1976b) takes some cognisance of grammatical features, and his practice of visiting every village and discussing language relationships involves a degree of sociolinguistics in his methodology. Even so his family groupings are suspect at several points, cf. Ross (1988:191f.). Nonetheless, Ross (1983:8) acknowledges 'considerable correspondence' between Lithgow's and his groupings.

[7] This confusion possibly arose from Lithgow's habit of placing a number of wordlists side by side on the same page. His comment re Tawala and Pitt Bay may have become associated with the wrong column.

Language Atlas of the Pacific Area came off the press. It was with great disappointment that I viewed the Tawala area. Almost everything is wrong, even the name. Kehelala (a village name at East Cape) is the name given to the language, with the wrongly spelled Tavara in brackets. The Labe dialect is included with the Taupota family. The southern shore of Milne Bay (Yaleba coast) is not included in the Tawala area but has been subsumed under the Wagawaga language. The south-western peninsula of Sideia Island (Suau dialect) is included in Tawala, as is the peninsula south of Pitt Bay and the Kitai Islands (Tubetube language). The bibliography for the map includes Lithgow (1976b), but sadly it was not used for the Tawala area. Unfortunately, Ross (1988) – which promises to be the definitive work on the area for years to come – follows the Language Atlas boundaries, though the language names are thankfully correct.

2.2 THE TAWALA DIALECTS

In table 2 I present lexicostatistical relationships for the nine dialects found in table 1. Diwinai, of course, represents the central Tawala dialect. Lamhaga has been chosen to represent the Yaleba dialects. Because of the wide divergence of the dialects on Basilaki Island, both Deladelauna and Hamama have been chosen to represent the Bohilai dialect. Liliki represents the Sideya dialect.

Awayama									
91	Labe								
93	95	Diwinai							
90	90	95	Huhuna						
87	93	95	93	Lelehudi					
88	85	90	89	94	Kehelala				
86	93	93	91	91	91	Lamhaga			
80	87	87	86	85	86	86	Deladelauna		
79	85	85	86	86	86	86	92	Hamama	
78	85	85	86	87	85	86	93	93	Liliki

TABLE 2: Major Tawala dialects — lexicostatistical relationships

Ezard (1981) presents an examination of the data relating to these figures. In addition to the lexicostatistical data, phonological, grammatical and sociolinguistic aspects of the situation are also discussed. The figures are based on a new 100-word list I developed to avoid distortion due to the presence of couplets, cultural items etc. in the standard lists.

I have found lexicostatistics a useful guide to intelligibility, within Milne Bay. Swadesh (1954)[8] proposed 81% shared cognates as the cut-off point for language boundaries and this seems to reflect the situation as viewed by the people of Milne Bay fairly well. The Tawala dialects are mostly well above the 81% cut-off and Tawala people claim they have no difficulty in communicating with any of the other dialects. On the other hand, they classify nearby speech communities that are below this threshhold (eg. Gweda[9] at 75%) as being separate languages. As a speaker of the Diwinai dialect, I have had some initial problems in moving from dialect to dialect, but not to the

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[8] Data from Gudschinsky (1964).

[9] I found listening to Gweda, which shares 75% common vocabulary with Tawala, a strange experience. The language sounded like a distorted form of Tawala and I constantly felt I ought to be able to understand, but could not.

point where I doubted that the people were speaking Tawala (doubtless speakers aided me by moving towards the dialect I was using).

The figures predict that Awayama speakers would have some difficulty communicating with speakers of the Bohilai dialect, if they had had no contact with each others' dialects. I have not had occasion to observe the interaction of naive speakers from these dialects. Certainly, the sophisticated speakers I had observed have no trouble in communication and are agreed on the unity of their divergent dialects, but these are the opinions of widely travelled people.

2.3 LANGUAGES OF WESTERN MELANESIA

Within Melanesia all languages belong to one of two major groupings - Austronesian or Papuan[10] (Foley 1986). The Austronesian languages belong to one of the world's largest family of languages, both in extent and in number. They extend all the way from Hawai'i and Easter Island in the east, to Taiwan, Malaysia and Madagascar in the west (map 4). The Intercontinental Dictionary Series (Tryon ed.forthcoming) lists 1185 languages as belonging to this huge AN family. Tawala belongs to a grouping of 482 languages commonly referred to as the Oceanic subgroup. Oceanic is a genetic grouping that includes most of the Micronesian languages, all the Polynesian

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[10] Many linguists prefer the term non-Austronesian, as the term Papuan might be taken to imply that the languages have a genetic unity, which is not the case: "Papuan languages are not genetically related...On the basis of present knowledge, they belong to at least sixty different language families" (Foley 1986:3).

languages and all the AN languages of Melanesia[11]. "There are few if any scholars now active in Austronesian comparative linguistics who doubt the essential correctness of the Oceanic hypothesis" (Pawley & Green 1984).

Ross (1990:135) also notes that "Pacific linguists today generally agree that all the Austronesian languages of Oceania are descended from a single proto language, known as Proto Oceanic (POC)". On the evidence available, prehistorians have concluded that "POC broke up sometime around 2000 B.C., and the Austronesian settlement of the wider Pacific began" (Ross 1989:4). At that time the island of New Guinea was already occupied by non-Austronesian speakers, so that Austronesian languages are mainly "intrusive" coastal languages, with the original Papuan languages spoken in the interior and on the occasional "last stand" island (map 3 – areas not included within Papuan Tip Cluster). This situation is reflected in the Milne Bay Province, where a single Papuan language is spoken in the east on Rossel Island and a further 6 Papuan languages (constituting the Daga family (SIL 1973)) are spoken in the rugged mountains of the mainland. The remaining 40 languages of Milne Bay Province are all Austronesian, and included in these is Tawala.

Ross (1988) proposes that the area of Melanesia which includes Papua New Guinea should be called Western Melanesia (map 3). The Milne Bay Austronesian languages are included in

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[11] The term 'Melanesia' is meaningful in reference to geography, not to language types.

a subgrouping of Western Melanesian called the Papuan Tip Cluster, which also includes the Austronesian languages of Central and Oro Provinces. However, languages of the Papuan Tip Cluster have been so influenced by the original Papuan languages of the area that it is now difficult to know just when the movement of Western Oceanic (WO) speakers occurred; as Ross (1990:145) observes, "the WO dialect which became the Proto Papuan Tip underwent radical changes induced by contact with one or more (non-Austronesian) languages...such that features specifically diagnostic of the origins of the Proto Papuan Tip would have been obliterated".

2.4 EARLY MIGRATIONS

> Autronesian-speaking peoples migrated (perhaps from Taiwan) into the Philippine and Indonesian archipelagos, then through the island of New Guinea and other Melanesian islands into the wider Pacific...
>
> Ross (1989:1)

While the fine details are unknown, the broad sweep of Tawala roots can be traced back some 6,500 years (Blust 1985:54) to ancestors who probably lived in Taiwan and spoke proto-Austronesian (PAN). These early Austronesians not only developed considerable seamanship but also other cultural traits which admirably fitted their expansion into the island world of the Indo-Pacific:

> ...before 5000 BC, there had evolved a complex shoreline and also a mountain-top culture, with slash-and-burn agriculture with many cultivated tropical plants such as taro, yam, sago, banana and coconut, a wide range of useful plants for making string, medicine, torches and fish poisons, and a good knowledge of the uses of natural materials.
>
> Horridge (1986:1)

The Papuan Tip languages are descendants of this original PAN language and today still bear many traces of this relationship, in spite of convergence with Papuan languages. It is difficult to date the arrival and dispersion of the speakers of Proto Papuan Tip, but pottery evidence suggests that it took place some 2000 years ago (Ross 1979:22).

2.4.1 FAMILY TREE MODEL

In 1955 George Grace proposed a classification of the Oceanic languages into 20 subgroups. Table 3 presents Tryon's (1984:157) version of Grace's classification.

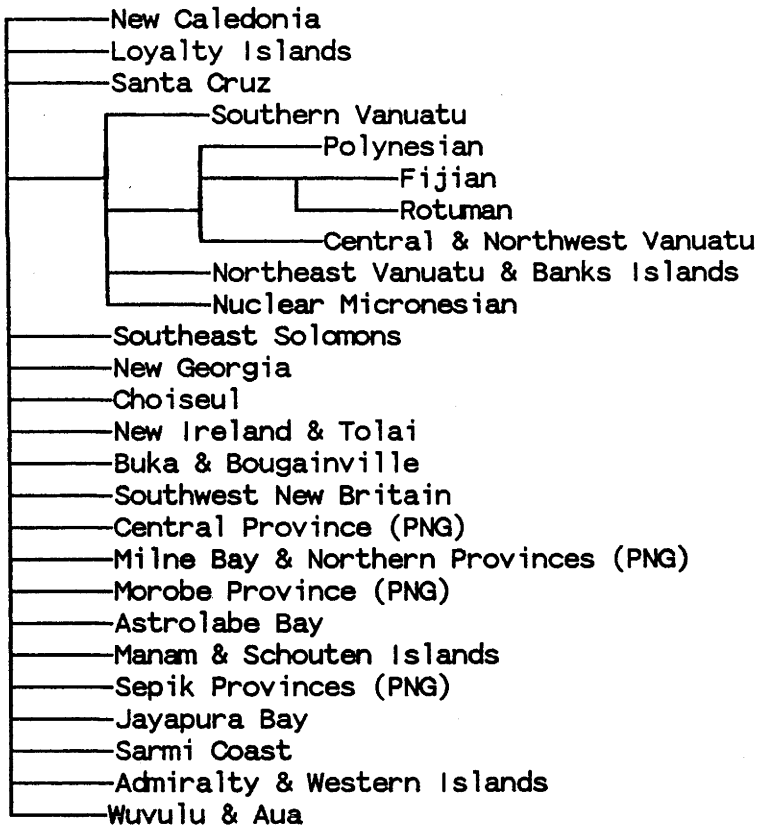

TABLE 3: Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian

Some scholars have assumed that Grace intended these to be first-order subgroupings; this has had important implications

for discussion of migration (Tryon 1984:156). On this assumption most of Melanesia was settled within a few hundred years, from a single, fairly defined area.

This, however, does not seem to have been Grace's original intention. Lynch (1981:113) points out that Grace nowhere claims his groups to be first-order subgroups of Oceanic, and that his real intention was to point out identifiable subgroups whose inter-relationships were a matter for further investigation. Grace (1986:6) confirms this: "Those were intended to be simply chains of varieties such that each chain was completely set off by boundaries from all outside varieties".

Lynch is convinced that larger subgroupings are beginning to emerge and he lists 8 of these. Similarly Ross (1988:25) reduces 13 of Grace's subgroups to just 4 clusters (Map 3). Relevant to our area of interest, the Papua Tip Cluster incorporates two of Grace's subgroups – the Central Province, and the Milne Bay and Northern (Oro) Provinces. Moreover Ross (1990:136) states that "recent studies indicate that there may be as few as three first-order subgroups".

The great attraction of the tree model is that discussion can be symbolised in convenient diagrams but, owing to the fact that it assumes direct descent from group to group, many see it as an inadequate model to capture the history of Pacific migration.

2.4.2 WAVE MODEL OF MIGRATION

The family tree model has increasingly been found inadequate for capturing the relationships among Oceanic

languages. Grace (1986) pictures the peopling of Oceania within a wave model. As I understand this model, migration is seen as a myriad of tiny steps forward. Typically a group of people near the periphery of the Oceanic-speaking area moved to a known island or area just beyond the limits of that speech community. Whereas the tree model assumes the homogenous nature of the parent language, the wave model assumes that each step forward is typically from a separate dialect. Hence two migrations to a given island may represent two divergent dialects moving to a situation where future contacts will result in language convergence rather than divergence. The wave model greatly increases the complexity of unravelling the past, yet I believe that it is closer to the truth than an unmodified tree model.

I would suggest the situation may be much more complicated than even the wave model suggests. I suggest that waves have not only functioned on the periphery of an Austronesian advance, but have continued to move in all directions all over the Pacific. I have personally observed two 20th century migrations in the Milne Bay Province[12], both of which promise to greatly increase the complexity of the language situation of the Papuan Tip Cluster.

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[12] The first is the migration of people from the overcrowded Wagifa Island to the western end of Fergusson Island. The second is the migration of people of various languages into the Naura area between Milne Bay and Mullins Harbour.

2.4.3 LANGUAGE MIXING

Dempwolff (1937), Capell (1943) and others have stressed the 'mixed' nature of the languages of Melanesia, where elements alien to Austronesian have been incorporated into the languages of an area. The SOV word order and postpositions of the Papuan Tip Cluster are likely candidates, as these are both features of the Papuan languages of the New Guinea area not generally associated with Oceanic languages.

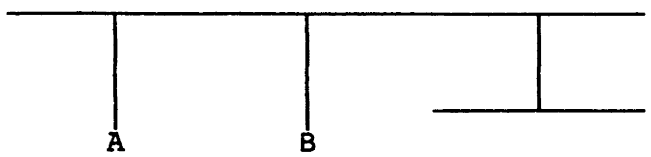
Lynch (1981) argues convincingly (against Pawley 1981) for a widespread 'mixing' – which I take to mean 'extensive borrowing' – having taken place in Melanesia. He illustrates his claim by pointing to several present-day examples of languages which show such strong elements of borrowing that linguists cannot agree whether they are basically Austronesian languages or not.

2.4.4 AN ECLECTIC MODEL

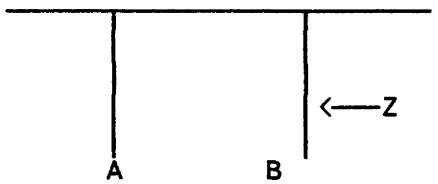
There is probably no single model which can capture all the details of Pacific migration. Different forces have been predominant at different times and in different places. Ross (1988:9) combines a number of models in his reconstruction work in a notable attempt to account for the complexities of the data:

> The assumptions outlined above are a rather eclectic mixture of schools of thought which have their origins a century ago in Schleicher's 'family tree' model, Schmidt's 'wave' model, and Schuchardt's 'language mixing' model. The eclecticism is justified by the fact that each offers useful insights into the ways in which the Oceanic languages of Melanesia have diversified.

Ross has adapted the family tree diagram to incorporate dialect and language chaining and networks (nw) by the use of horizontal lines[13] which extend beyond the vertical lines:



External influence is indicated by an arrow entering the system.



Both features are incorporated by Ross into Papuan Tip trees.

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[13] Ross (1988) uses double horizontal lines.

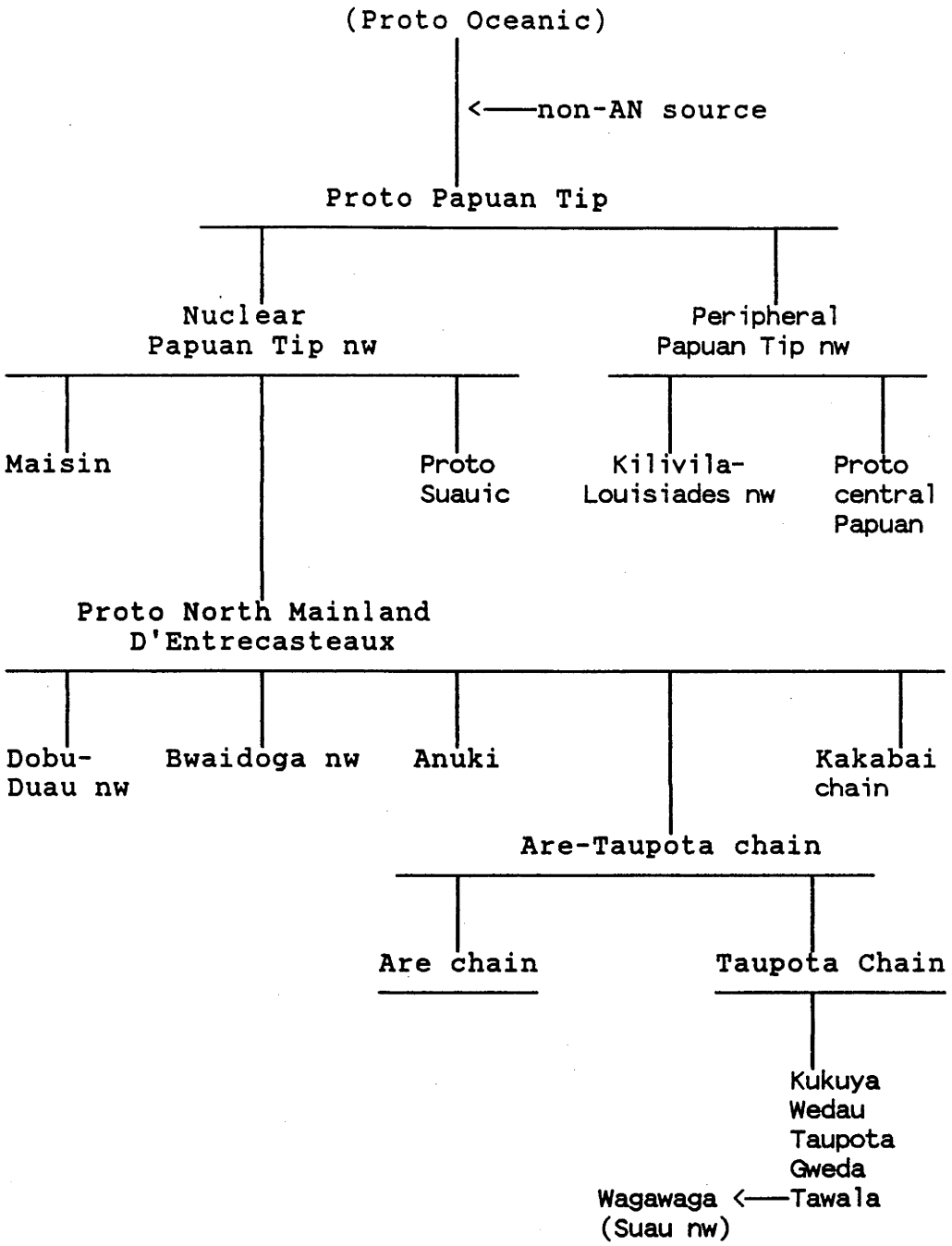

TABLE 4: Genetic relationships of Tawala to Papuan Tip languages (adapted from Ross 1988)

2.5 LANGUAGE RELATIONSHIPS IN MILNE BAY

Ross (1988) presents a modified family tree of the languages around Milne Bay (table 4). Two relationships are of special importance to the Tawala language - the Taupota Chain and the Are-Taupota Chain.

2.5.1 THE TAUPOTA CHAIN

To one familiar with the Tawala language, the similarities between it and the other members of the Taupota Chain are unmistakable. This is also reflected in the large number of shared cognates in common lexical items, as indicated in table 5 (data from Ezard 1990). These figures are clearly well below Swadesh's 81% cut-off point for separate languages, but they are in the 59-75% range as opposed to many Papuan Tip languages which would be in the 10-30% range.

Wedau			
63	Tawala		
59	75	Gweda (Garuwahi)	
60	71	66	Maiwara

TABLE 5: Languages of the Taupota Chain

These statistics reflect the synchronic relationship between the languages. However, the relationships correlate with the genetic relationships proposed by the comparative method (Capell 1943; Ross 1979, 1988). The sitution is futher confirmed by reference to extant grammars - Tawala parallels to Wedau grammar constantly come to mind as King's (1901) Wedau grammar is read. Parallels are much less frequent with grammars of other subgroups of the Papuan Tip Cluster.

2.5.2 THE ARE-TAUPOTA CHAIN

Ray (1907) proposed an Are-Taupota chain, which has been confirmed by the subsequent comparative studies of Capell (1943) and Ross (1988).[14] Ross (1983:37ff.) shows the innovations which the languages of the chain have in common. Features in which they differ from the proposed Proto Papuan Tip (PPT):

i) devoicing of the stops *b, *d, *g in certain words

ii) PPT *t > PROTO ARE-TAUPOTA *s/__i

iii) the formation of Agent nouns by suffixing the third person marker to the reduplicated verb:

ARE vera *run* > vera-vera-na *runner*

WEDAU vere *give* > vere-vere-na *giver*

This grammatical feature does not extend to Tawala. However, the Tawala agentive (6.3.5) nominalising particle is the same as the one used in Wedau.

TAWALA bagibagi *work* > tu-bagibagi *worker*

WEDAU nola *work* > tau-nola *worker*

Unless the Are form is confirmed in other languages of the Taupota chain, the Wedau evidence may reflect borrowing rather than a genetic relationship:

iv) The POC causative *va[ga]- has undergone an unusual vowel shift > PAT *vi:

---

[14] Lithgow (1976b) does not combine Are and Taupota as a sub-group, though his figure of 40% shared cognates would suggest a fruitful line of enquiry.

ARE bonua *full* > bi-bonua *fill* (tr)

WEDAU peu *fall* > vi-peu-ni *fall-it*

v) The use of an allative preposition:

ARE kau

WEDAU/UBIR/ARIFAMA au

TAWALA u

I propose a further innovation —

vi) PROTO ARE-TAUPOTA *vo- *verbal prefix* (Ezard 1988)

ARE bo-

WEDAU vo-

TAWALA wo-

This feature is limited to the Are-Taupota family.

2.6 PREVIOUS STUDIES OF TAWALA

The foundational work for the study of Papuan Tip Languages is R.H. Codrington's (1885) *The Melanesian Languages* in which 30 languages from the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji are outlined and compared. Although Codrington did not study any New Guinea languages his influence is obvious in the work of many who did. This is particularly true of the work of Sidney Ray, which is of seminal importance for the Papua Tip Cluster.

2.6.1 EARLY GLIMPSES OF TAWALA GRAMMAR

Most of the published data on the Tawala language are of an anecdotal nature, presented by the authors to illustrate their sundry comparative claims. "Tavara" data are occasionally encountered in Ray (1907), culled from translations of Charles

Abel and T. Matthew. No new Tawala data are found in Ray (1938).

Capell (1943) is the first to present some solid Tawala data, though thes are not always accurate. Lithgow (1976b) and Ross (1988 and others) have added to the overall understanding of the Papuan Tip languages, but added little to our knowledge of the Tawala language itself.

2.6.2 BALDWIN'S GRAMMAR (c.1950)

A manuscript grammar of the Bohilai dialect was prepared by Fr Baldwin, consisting of brief notes but containing some valuable insights on the morphology of Tawala. I have only viewed 23 pages of this work, but the index indicates that the original manuscript was well over 60 pages.[15]

2.6.3 WILLIAM'S DICTIONARY (c.1962)

This work is a manuscript dictionary of several thousand items for the Kehelala dialect of East Cape, by the Rev. H.T. Williams. The 19-page grammatical introduction lists many of the functional morphemes of Tawala. Much of the grammar consists of lists – e.g. 24 adjectives of quality. I found the material useful in my early days of language learning, but would now disagree with many of the categories and conclusions of this work. His dictionary, however, formed the basis of my Tawala

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[15] The grammar was in the last stages of disintegration, as is common with books kept in the tropics. The 'Syntax' page numbers are all missing, but consisted of at least four sections.

dictionary and I have no doubt that Williams was a good language observer and probably a fluent Tawala speaker.

2.6.4 PUBLISHED PAPERS

In my work on the Tawala language under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics I have endeavoured to make a number of data-based papers available on the language: 1978a, 1978b, 1980, in press and forthcoming. My MA thesis for the Australian National University (Ezard in press) is a study of Tawala derivational prefixes.

In addition a number of publications have been made available in the Tawala language: a learn-to-read primer; 40 pre-school story books; several editions of a Tawala hymnbook; and the complete New Testament, as well as earlier editions of separate books of the New Testament.

2.7 LANGUAGE USE

It has been the fate of the Tawala people to suffer fragmentation by the successive policies involved in the colonisation process. We have seen above that linguistic maps have also often divided the language, placing bits with other languages (2.1). To a large extent, however, such problems do not directly affect the people. Far more serious is the division engendered by mission and educational policies and the boundaries introduced by the colonial political process.

The first consistent contact with the outside world began in the last decade of the 19th century with the commencement of three Christian missions, converging on the Tawala language

area. According to an agreement reached under the leadership of Sir William MacGregor in 1890, the missions were allocated separate areas so that efforts would not be duplicated. The Anglicans were assigned the north coast of Papua; the Methodists (subsequently the United Church) were assigned the islands and part of the East Cape peninsula; the London Missionary Society (subsequently, the Kwato Extension) was assigned the south coast and the shores of Milne Bay. Undoubtedly this was a sensible working relationship, but, like many of the maps drawn by colonists, inadequate thought was given to the people involved. In this case boundaries dissected the Tawala language in several places, driving a wedge between kith and kin (map 5). The effects of the divisions thrust upon the people are still very much in evidence today, with Anglicans working in the Wedau language, the United Church in Dobu and Kwato in Suau. Though some efforts were made at producing Tawala literature, for generations work proceeded predominantly in the three church languages, which also began to be used as lingue franche, especially as education was also conducted in these same languages.

In the early 1930s Catholic work began in the area, centred at Sideia. Over the years some of their work was done in the Tawala language, but only in a token way in comparison with the literature available in the other church languages of the area.

Since the introduction of universal education in English, in the 1960s, the divisive barriers have been less extreme.

However, while this latter policy has helped to unite the youth from different areas, it has created a deep gulf between the generations. What is more, children have continued to be sent away to high schools in different areas, where the culture, language and church traditions are vastly different.

In recent years the situation has been exacerbated by the introduction of local government councils and election areas which reinforce the arbitrary boundary lines of map makers. Over the years the Tawala people increasingly looked on their own language as unimportant. This conclusion was reinforced by the government operations being centred nearby at Samarai in the Suau language area, with Suau or Motu (the lingua franca of Papua) commonly used by government officers in their contact with Tawala people. However, moves were afoot in government circles which were to change the scene.

The forces that militated against the language were so strong that the people themselves say their "language was dying", and today there are people of Tawala descent living in the area who do not speak their own language – this is particularly true of the area under Suau influence, as children were forbidden to speak Tawala at school. Other languages – Wedau, Dobu, Suau, Motu and English – were important; Tawala was not. This attitude is seen in the constant misspelling by outsiders of place names – e.g. Tawala is still commonly referred to as "Tavara" even though the language has no /v/ or /r/. I have even heard educated Tawala people referring to their own language as "Tavara", using two non-Tawala phonemes.

In recent years, however, the language is undergoing a revival, and may well become a lingua franca of the province in the years ahead. In 1968 the hopelessly overcrowded island of Samarai was abandoned as the administrative headquarters of the Milne Bay Province in favour of the mainland centre of Alotau on the north coast of Milne Bay. This changeover was completed in 1976 with the opening of the international wharf at Alotau. With the change of leadership at independence, in 1975, Samarai was relegated to the colonial past. Alotau, the new capital, is situated within the Tawala area. While there have been many results of the change of administrative location, none is more important than the effect it has had on the Tawala people, who have a new-found sense of the importance of their language, which is increasingly heard in the market place, the hospital, government departments and even on Radio Milne Bay. The Rev. Gray, a United Church minister active in the Alotau area during the early changeover period, reported a dramatic swing to the use of the vernacular in church services. Today the swing is almost complete, with Tawala hymns and New Testament available and popular, and church services throughout much of the language area conducted in the Tawala language. In 1981 some Tawala young people published the first Tawala newspaper – Geka Tuwega *This is News*. What is more, people from other language areas are increasingly using Tawala in their contacts with the local people.

The Tawala people are now proud of their language and welcome efforts on the part of outsiders to speak it. This

makes an ideal language-learning situation. Unlike some places in the world, the outsider only has to go to the nearest house, beach hut or garden shelter to find people ready to help in language learning.

2.8 LANGUAGE CHANGE

Borrowings are a fruitful source of new lexical items; modern borrowings are mainly from European languages. In listing some typical borrowings we can distinguish those roots which appear to have had no influence on Tawala phonetics from those which do.

a) Borrowings not influencing Tawala phonology:

NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

tapalolo	*worship*	(Tubetube: *let us bow*)
tautau	*photograph*	(Suau)
sagena	*fast*	(Suau)
dimdim	*European*	(Suau: *from the ocean*)

EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

masisi	*matches*	(English)
oniani	*onion*	(English)
siluba	*silver*	(English)
motaka	*car*	(English)
basileiya	*country*	(Greek: basileia *kingdom*)[16]
ekelesiya	*Christian*	(Greek: ekklesia *gathered*)

b) Borrowings introducing changes to Tawala phonology:

FINAL VOWEL OMITTED

Tawala words end in vowels (4.2) except for a syllabic m. Many borrowed items, including those in the following list, do not follow this norm.

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[16] Greek words were sometimes used by missionaries, when they could find no equivalent lexical item in the language.

amnos	*sheep*	(Greek: amnos *lamb*)
epot	*airport*	(English)
botol(o)*	*bottle*	(English)
buk(a)*	*book*	(English)
sikis(i)*	*six*	(English)
nain(i)*	*nine*	(English)

* Vowels in brackets are added by speakers who have had less contact with English.

TRANSITIONAL VOWEL OMITTED

Tawala has no consonant clusters (4.2) except following a syllabic m. Only the first word in the following list is used according to Tawala conventions.

sensi	*change*	(English)
bensin	*petrol*	(German: Benzin)
klak	*clerk*	(English)
diploma	*diploma*	(English)
Mosbi	*Moresby*[17]	

Nouns are thoroughly incorporated into the grammatical system as the following NPs demonstrate.

gawiya kapena-na	ita kampani-na	fael-gei
war captain-3s	our company-3s	file-INST
the fighting captain	*our business*	*with a file*

BORROWED VERBS

The above data are limited to nouns. While borrowed verbs are not as numerous as borrowed nouns (5.3.3), a considerable number of verbs are found in everyday use – normally where there is no Tawala word to express a particular notion.

wi-sikulu	*attend school*
wi-nesi	*practise nursing*
laki	*be lucky*
dalaeweya	*drive a car*
am-bulum	*sweep (with broom)*
am-printing	*work a printing press*

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[17] Tawala people vary in their spelling of place names and to a lesser extent other nouns, some using English spelling, others using their own orthography.

As verbs are always embedded within grammatical structures, the following examples are given within complete sentences.

(1) **Klak apo hi-na-sain-e-ya.**
clerk FUT 3p-POT-sign-TR-3s
The clerks will sign it.

(2) **I-wi-pensil-ge-ya.**
3s-DP-pencil-TR-3s
He made it into a writing implement.

(3) **Diploma bi-nei e-i-treining.**
d. BEN-3s 3s-DUR-training
He is doing the course to get a diploma.

(4) **U luhogala ipa motaka a-dalaew-e-ya.**
my desire IRR car 1s-drive-TR-3s
I want to drive the motor car.

3 TYPOLOGICAL PARAMETERS

> It is well known that contact between Austronesian-speaking and Papuan-speaking communities has brought about rather drastic linguistic change in at least some areas of Melanesia.
>
> Lynch (1981:104)

A number of the typological features expressed in the following sections are innovations Tawala shares with Papuan Tip languages generally, "which show characteristics of the Papuan (non-Austronesian) languages of mainland New Guinea: SOV order and postpositions...these features were acquired by either a *single* language, Proto-Papuan Tip, or by the two or three interstage languages immediately descended from Proto-Papuan Tip" (Lynch 1981:110f.). Taken together, these features build a strong case for the unity of the Papuan Tip Cluster (Ross 1988:208).

3.1 OV LANGUAGE

Most Oceanic languages have VO word order, a feature which "can be reconstructed for POC (and probably PAN)" (Lynch 1981:110). In contrast the Papuan Tip languages have SOV word order, with the exception of the Kilivila chain, Nimoa and Sudest (Ross 1988:208). It has long been recognised (Capell 1969:37, 1971) that they share this feature with the non-AN languages, which also have SOV word order. Ross (1988:15) claims the evidence points to borrowing from the non-AN languages: "When we encounter cases where the evidence

indicates a change from SVO to SOV, it is a reasonable inference that the change is an unnatural one due to borrowing".

While word order is clearly of diachronic interest, synchronically it also provides some insight into Tawala grammar. Tawala is what is sometimes termed a 'leaky' verb-final language, as some non-core NPs follow the verb.

(1) Tau a-hopu u niha.
I 1s-go.down LOC salt
I went down to the salt (beach).

(2) Kiu natu-na i-nei hauga i-gehou-na.
bird child-3s 3s-come time UNSPEC-other-3s
The bird's child came some other time.

This contrasts with Papuan languages, which are often strictly verb-final with a switch-reference system occurring both verb finally and clause finally. In the next section the question is raised as to why Tawala has both postpositions and prepositions; the answer seems to lie precisely in the area of word order – at present Tawala grammar is in a stage of transition.

We need to approach the typology of word order with some caution. Tawala has unmarked SOV word order (though within the verb phrase itself the morpheme order is SVO).

(3) Wagaloke ginahi i-lunagil-i.
lizard sago 3s-break.open-3s
SUBJECT OBJECT S VERB O
Lizard broke open the sago.

It is argued in this thesis that the person markers on the verb (12.2), and not clausal NP order, mark the grammatical relations of subject and object. Although Tawala is classed as an SOV language, NP order is free and OSV clauses are relatively common. In fact, the majority of clauses in narrative texts have no NPs present at all. The function of NP order is to

indicate clausal topic (12.2) and hence the marked OSV order indicates that the object is the primary clausal topic.

(4) Polo Kukuku ega i-ta-un-i.
pig pheasant NEG 3s-IRR-catch-3s
OBJECT SUBJECT S VERB O
Pheasant did not catch the pig.

It is thus better to refer to Tawala as having OV word order, rather than SOV. The generalisation is that if Tawala has NPs in the clause the order will always be OV, in contrast to the more usual Oceanic VO.

3.2 POSTPOSITIONS

Greenberg (1966:79) notes that "with overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional". Hence it is no surprise to find that Papuan Tip languages have postpositions, in contrast to the VO languages of Western Melanesia, which have prepositions. In particular, Ross (1988:208) points out that only Tubetube has no reflex of the POC locative proform *iai as a locative post-position. In Tawala the reflex -gei (allomorphs: -yei/-ei) has undergone a semantic shift and is now an ablative (including origin, path and instrument) rather than a locative marker.

(5) Nih-ei a-nei/*a-nae.
salt-ABL 1s-come/1s-go
I came from/via the salt (beach).

(6) Giu-n-ei i-mgoda.
tail-3s-ABL 3s-stir
He stirred it with his tail.

In addition, the ablative 'postposition' has become fused to the nominal item as an ablative enclitic (9.2.7). The evidence for this is that stress (4.5) on the noun ('niha and 'giuna in (5)

and (6)) moves to the ablative suffix in order to remain on the penultimate syllable (ni'hei and giu'nei).

Tawala has a mixed typology, with almost equal numbers of prepositions and postpositions (Chapter 10). It would seem that Tawala has not fully completed the change from an SVO to an SOV language, though Ross (pers. comm.) is of the opinion that "Tawala is moving towards a prepositional system again". But if this is the case it is not clear what the motivation for change is; certainly prepositions predate any English influence. As a set, the prepositions appear to be underived, whereas the post-positions are clearly in the process of grammaticisation (10.2).

3.3 PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS

Most Papuan Tip languages "reflect the possessive pronominal suffixes both in their original function and as object pronominal suffixes on the verb" (Ross 1988:208). In this thesis I refer to these as 'pronominal enclitics', as they generally attach to the last item of the phrase. In Tawala, pronominal enclitics function with adjectives, quantifiers, inalienably possessed nouns, postpositions, (with or without the ablative suffix) and object indexing on the verb (5.6.1.2). Table 1 illustrates these structures (apart from quantifiers) with first person singular examples.

POSSESSIVE	ADJECTIVE	POSTPOSITION	POSTPOSITION + ABLATIVE	OBJECT
ama-u father-1s *my father*	dewadewa-u good-1s *my goodness*	uyahi-u AT-1s *to me*	uyahi-u-gei AT-1s-ABL *from me*	i-gale-u he-saw-1s *he-saw-me*

Table 1: Range of pronominal enclitic functions

The object enclitics are a slightly different set, differing only in the third person singular (8.4.2). They represent a fusion of POC transitive suffixes and possessive person markers.

Pronominal enclitics introduce a high degree of cohesion in Tawala discourse by constant use of anaphora, though first and second person referents are usually exophoric.

The cover term 'enclitic' is problematical because post-positions take suffixes rather than enclitics. With possessives and adjectives the pronominal enclitic attaches to the phrase not the noun stem.

ama duma-u	dewadewa duma-na
father true-1s	good true-3s
my true father	*truly good*

Similarly the object enclitic attaches to the end of the verb phrase (8.10).

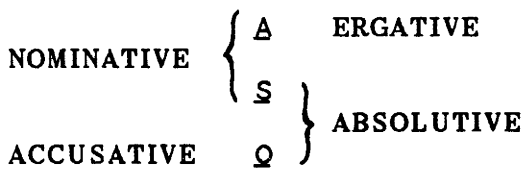
(7) I-na-gale-na imahi-ye-u.
3s-POT-see-LIG properly-TR-1s
She will look after me properly.

3.4 NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE LANGUAGE

Andrews (1985:69) claims that "identifying A, S and O is the first step in working out the system of grammatical relations in a language". The A, S and O symbols are a neutral way of

referring to the grammatical function of the core arguments of verbs. A is transitive subject (prototypically an agent), S is intransitive subject (either agent or patient) and O is transitive object (prototypically a patient).[1]

Dixon (1979:59ff.) considers these grammatical functions to be universal primitives that he terms "the three core semantico-syntactic relations". He points out that languages differ typologically in the grouping of these grammatical relations. Absolutive/ergative systems combine the S and O functions. Nominative/accusative systems combine the A and S functions.[2]



While S and A combine in many languages as 'subject', efforts by linguists to find a universal definition of subject were thwarted by ergative systems which split the S and A functions. The recognition of S, O and A as primitives was an essential step in understanding universal grammatical relations. In his definitive work *Ergativity* Dixon (1979:102) points out the importance of both his core categories and the term 'subject':

> The basic thesis of this paper is that A, S, and O are the universal categories, and that syntactic rules in every grammar are framed in terms of them. There is, as a further stage, a universal grouping of A and S as 'subject' - a category that plays an important role in every grammar. Some types of syntactic processes will always be statable in terms of 'subject', in every language.

---

[1] I use the convention of underlining the grammatical primitives to distinguish them from the Tawala surface relations of subject (S = A and S) and object (O = O).

[2] Note: some typologies (e.g. Comrie 1981) use the symbols S, A and P.

As a typical nominative-accusative language Tawala combines the S and A functions at both a morphological and a syntactic level. Thus in this thesis I refer simply to 'subject' irrespective of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. However, the A, S and O functions do play an important role in verbal valence, distinguishing different kinds of derivational processes (7.1).

3.5 DERIVATIONAL PROCESSES

Verb derivation is extremely important to an understanding of the Tawala language (Ezard 1978a, 1982), as outlined in chapter 6. Linguists have tended to treat derivation as a lexical rather than grammatical concern (Harlow & Vincent 1988:5) and hence of only minor grammatical importance. In my study of Tawala I have found that nothing could be further from the truth; an understanding of the highly complex field of derivational prefixes is central to an understanding of Tawala grammar.

Fundamental to an understanding of the meaning of Tawala derivational prefixes is to carefully keep track of the word class and subclass of the roots to which they are attached (Ezard 1982); hence I have come to deeply appreciate the 'semantics prior' approach of Dixon (1982).

The complexity of the subject precludes any adequate treatment within the scope of an overview and I merely list some examples of their use with the stative verbs i-dao *it is long* and i-gobu *it is dirty.*

(8) hai baha hi-wi-dao-ya
their talk 3P-DP-long-3S
OBJECT S CS VERB O
they talked on and on

(9) hai numa hi-li-dao-ya
their house 3P-DP-long-3S
OBJECT S CS VERB O
they extended their house

For this valence increasing function of wi- and li- see 7.5.1.

(10) lawa hi-lu-gobu
people 3P-DP- dirty
SUBJECT S INTENS VERB
they are an unkempt people[3]

For intensified action (lu-) see 6.6.2.6.

(11) nima-hi-yei hi-wo-i-gobu-ya
hand-3p-ABL 3p-DP-EFF-dirty-3s
INSTRUMENT S CS VERB O
they dirtied it with their hands

3.6 REDUPLICATION

Another very common pattern of word formation in Tawala is reduplication of all or part of a word. Reduplication is a productive derivational process (4.4) and also a grammatical category of both nouns and verbs encoding plurality or continuation of things and processes. The reason reduplication is so common in Tawala is that it performs a number of functions.

Many nouns are reduplicated in their basic form (6.3.1). Thus the dictionary contains many items like these:

bagibagi *work*
kewokewou *canoe*

---

[3] This is a reference to the state of a person who is in mourning.

Most nouns referring to humans are reduplicated for plural (6.3.3):

hewali	>	hewahewali
young man		*young men*
keduluma	>	kedukeduluma
woman		*women*

A large proportion of Tawala adjectives are derived by the process of reduplication (6.4).

dewadewa-na	*good*-3s
witewitei-na	*heavy/difficult*-3s

Many Tawala verbs can be reduplicated if the action is durative, repeated or progressive (8.6).

hi-woe-woe-ya	*they kept on paddling it*
hi-dewa-dewa-ya	*they were doing it*

We can combine these reduplicated words to form perfectly natural-sounding sentences – though it is not often that all the forms in the sentence would be reduplicated. I made up the next two sentences for the purpose of illustrating this point.

(12) Kedu-keduluma bagibagi dewadewa-na hi-dewa-dewa-ya.
PL-woman work good-3s 3p-DUR-do-3s
The women were doing good work.

(13) Hewa-hewali kewokewou witewitei-na hi-woe-woe-ya.
PL-young.man canoe heavy-3s 3p-DUR-paddle-3s
The young men are paddling the heavy (difficult) canoe.

3.7 DEFINITE NP MARKER

A feature of Tawala and other Papuan Tip (PT) languages gernerally is that none of them "reflects the POC common article *a/na, and no language has a common article" (Ross 1988:208). However Ross (1983:24) notes: "Languages in nine out of twelve PT groups distinguish between a definite NP, marked by a

suffix or enclitic, and an unmarked NP". Tawala, along with a number of other languages, has an enclitic which distinguishes between third person singular and plural, using the standard pronominal clitics (5.6.1.2).

lawa-na	lawa-hi
person-DEF:SINGULAR	person-DEF:PLURAL
that person (mentioned)	*those people (mentioned)*

Semantically this suffix is more like a demonstrative than a definite article, in that it is an optional morpheme, functioning to add 'emphasis' to the item. It is optional but can only be used if the item is pragmatically definite - the referent is already established (9.3) - hence the English glosses above. New NPs are marked with gehou<-na> *one/another* (9.8).

lawa gehou-na	lawa gehou-hi
person other-3s	person other-3p
one/another person	*some/other people*

3.8 ROLE-DOMINATED LANGUAGE

Foley and Van Valin (1984:123) introduce a typological distinction between 'reference-dominated' languages "in which discourse factors are syntacticized in clause internal grammar" and 'role-dominated' languages "which do not have this syntacticization...This typological cline of role- versus reference-dominated languages captures the degree to which the grammatical relations in a language are distinct from the semantic predicate-argument relations...". In the past, linguists have paid most attention to reference-dominated languages, particularly as European languages are included in this group.

It is crucial to ask what functional equivalents Tawala as a role-dominated language has for a typical reference-dominated grammatical category such as passivisation. In an examination of passives from a functional point of view Givón (1982) shows that passives are the conflation of three functional domains:

i) clausal topic assignment

ii) impersonalisation

iii) detransitivisation

As is pointed out in Ezard (1984) each of these functional domains is treated separately in the Tawala language.

i) Clausal topic assignment. As a role-dominated language, the most radical departure of Tawala from 'traditional' grammar is that it does not mark grammatical relations with NP order. In Tawala, NPs have pragmatic functions – marking clausal topic (12.2.3). The grammatical relations are indicated by person markers on the verb (12.2.2).

ii) Impersonalisation in Tawala is achieved by the use of the third person plural marker on the verb without any definite NP in the context. Thus in giving details of his life one informant stated:

(14) Hi-guni-u.
3p-birth-1s
They gave birth to me. (= I was born.)

And a report is shouted round the village:

(15) Puwaka hi-un'-i.
pig 3p-catch-3s
They caught a pig. (= A pig has been caught.)

iii) Detransitivisation. Of particular importance is the domain of detransitivisation or more generally of valence reduction.

Tawala has some derivational processes which involve valence decrease (7.6).

(16) Puwaka goila i-gwae-ya.
pig river 3s-murky-3s
A pig has murkied the river.

The agent of (16) can be 'deleted' and the object 'raised' to subject, as in (17)

(17) Goila i-wi-gwae.
river 3s-DP-murky
The river is murky.

The above relationship is rare and may well be idiomatic rather than grammatical. Note that the same prefix commonly increases valence, as in (8) above. However, other prefixes are more productive (7.6).

Of greater significance are derivational processes which involve increasing the valence of lexical items (7.4-7.5).

(18) Kedewa i-malagama.
dog 3s-tame
SUBJECT S VERB
The dog is tame.

The subject of (18) is 'demoted' to object in example (19) by the transitivising derivational prefix wi-.

(19) Kedewa i-wi-malagam-i.
dog 3s-DP-tame-3s
OBJECT S VERB O
He tamed the dog.

3.9 NON-CONFIGURATIONAL LANGUAGE

Hale (1983:5) lists the properties common to non-configurational languages as including i) free word order, ii) syntactically discontinuous expressions and iii) extensive use of null anaphora. Hale sets forth English and Warlpiri as prototypical

examples of configurational and non-configurational languages respectively, recognising "that many languages present mixed testimony in the extent to which they exhibit the superficial characteristics of non-configurational languages" (p.5).

Tawala lies somewhere near the Warlpiri end of the continuum. Hale's third category of null anaphora was shown to be invalid by Jelinek (1984:46f). Hale's examples of "null anaphora" are in fact third person singular forms unambiguouly marked by zero.

At the clause level Tawala does have "syntactically discontinuous expressions". For example, the future marker apo can occur in any clausal slot prior to the verbal predicate (but only one option can be selected).

(20) (Apo) tauna (apo) tano (apo) i-na-galenaitete-ya.
FUT he FUT garden FUT 3s-POT-look.after-3s
He will look after the garden.

While Tawala does not display free clausal word order to the extent of Warlpiri, the central issue at stake is that in no sense can the VP be said to include the object NP in Tawala. Core NPs are optional items with pragmatic rather than grammatical functions and can occur in any order prior to the verb (3.1). Grammatical functions are carried by person markers on the verb itself (12.2).

3.10 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Although often overlooked in grammars and typological studies of the area, Tawala, along with many Austronesian languages, is typologically interesting in the extensive use made

of non-verbal constructions - what Capell (1969:38f.) refers to as structurally verbless sentences. The following data are a few simple examples of non-verbal clauses. (Chapter 13 gives detailed treatment of these and other clause constructions; chapter 11 demonstrates the functional unity of non-verbal and verbal clauses; examples of non-verbal clauses embedded in sentences are given in chapter 14.)

(21) Polo hai am.
pig their food
The pigs have food.

(22) Tau geka.
I here
I am here.

(23) Tauyai uyahi-yai ega geno-na, ma tam tunawa-m
weE AT-1pE NEG worry-DEF but youSG alone-2s

am geno.
yourSG worry
For us it is not a worry, but it is your worry only.

3.11 POSSESSION CLASSES

Oceanic languages are distinguished by a proliferation of possession classes (Lynch 1973). Papuan Tip languages have either two or three classes (Lithgow 1976b). Having only two classes - alienable and inalienable (9.10) - Tawala does not reflect any Oceanic innovations, only the proto-Oceanic pattern. A person's possessions are marked by an alienable possessive construction and body parts and kinship terms are marked by an inalienable pronominal clitic.

> If the terms *alienable* and *inalienable* are fairly standard in the literature, their reference is highly variable. They are used to refer to the broad range of structural types described below, and a considerable range of syntactic properties, some of them ireducible to any common denominator. Despite this great diversity in formal

> and semantic reference, the terms are obviously believed to be well understood, since they are almost never defined.
>
> Nichols (1988:561)

When there is a choice in Tawala, alienable possession marks situations where the possessor has control over the relationship, and inalienable possession marks situations in which the possessor does not have control over the relationship. Many abstract nouns can be marked for alienable and inalienable possession, illustrating the contrast between plus or minus control.

INALIENABLE POSSESSION [-CONTROL]

(24) **bada bagibagi-na**
man work-3s
the work of the man (= work done for the man)

ALIENABLE POSSESSION [+CONTROL]

(25) **bada a bagibagi**
man his work
the work of the man (= work done by the man)

More typological parameters are included within the noun phrase chapter (9.10)

3.12 CASE ROLES

> Case grammar as it is understood today is a semantic valence system in which the number and kind of cases is dependent upon the meaning of the verb. Case grammar is not a full grammar; it describes one level of organization of the clause.
>
> Cook (1989:151f.)

Case roles, such as agent, patient, experiencer and locative, "are semantic relations which elements of a clause have in context with a particular verb" Cook (1989:152).

In Tawala, as with all languages, different verbs have different case frames. Each grammatical relation can express a

variety of semantic relations. The following examples illustrate some of the relations expressed with transitive verbs.

(26) I-houn-i. [SUBJECT=AGENT] [OBJECT=PATIENT]
3s-put -3s
He placed it.

(27) A-nonoli-hi. [SUBJECT=EXPERIENCER] [OBJECT=SOURCE]
1s-hear-3p
I heard them.

(28) (Botol ae-u) i-hap-i. [SUBJ=INSTRUMENT] [OBJ=PATIENT]
bottle leg-1s 3s-chop-3s
(The bottle) cut (my leg).

(29) (Goila) a-daman-i. [SUBJECT=AGENT] [OBJECT=LOCATIVE]
river 1s-cross-3s
I crossed (the river).

Similar semantic relations can be illustrated for intransitive verbs.

(30) I-bulili. [SUBJECT=AGENT]
h3s-run
He ran.

(31) (Kabudala) i-hopu. [SUBJECT=PATIENT]
sun 3s-set
(The sun) set.

(32) A-matouta. [SUBJECT=EXPERIENCER]
1s-fear
I am afraid.

(33) I-kokoe. [SUBJECT=PATIENT]
3s-finish
It is finished.

I shy away from setting up a system of case frames for several reasons. In the first place, scholars are far from agreed as to what the core cases might be – Cook (1989:160) lists seven systems that appeared in the 1970s alone. In the final analysis the argument of every verb has unique case roles; the degree of abstraction is very much a matter of individual taste and scientific training.

Secondly, case frames are fluid – sensitive to and interacting with the arguments themselves:

(34)	Goila i-hopu.	Kabudala i-hopu.	Bada i-hopu.
	river 3s-go.down	sun 3s-g.d.	man 3s-go.down
	S=PATH	S=PATIENT	S=AGENT
	The river flooded.	*The sun set.*	*The man descended.*

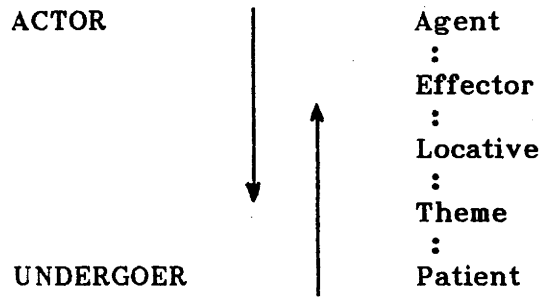
In (34) context determines the meaning of -hopu *go down*, as it also determines the case relation of the subject, which functions as path, patient or agent depending on context. It is evident that case frames are not static; a lexicon could only list prototypical frames. Even if we assume that the above data represent three separate case frames, to list the multiple frames of all items in the lexicon would be a formidable if not impossible task. Case frames along with many other aspects of grammar depend on an underlying semantic strata.

Thirdly, I feel that the process is essentially an etic exercise and should be included in a reference grammar only as the insights are reflected in formal distinctions. The semantic roles of Tawala verbs do not correlate with formal grammar in any insightful way that I have been able to discover; instead a more generalised set has proved valuable.

In this thesis I follow Foley and Van Valin (1984:30), who propose actor and undergoer as "*macroroles* which subsume particular groups of Fillmorean case roles or Gruberian thematic relations". In this scheme (p.32):

> actor and undergoer, the two arguments of a transitive predication, have both semantic and syntactic significance. In an important sense they constitute an interface between syntactic relations such as subject and semantic relations such as case roles...

In the hierarchy proposed by Foley and Van Valin they suggest that accessibility to actor and to undergoer macroroles form the opposite poles of a cline. If more than one semantic role occurs with a verb, the actor/undergoer hierarchy predicts which semantic role will be associated with actor and which with undergoer.



In my treatment of Tawala I consider the surface grammatical relations of subject (of both transitive and intransitive verbs) and object to be primitives (with surface marking on the VP), the macroroles of actor and undergoer being determined by the verb.

While Tawala does not mark case roles as such the subject prefix and object enclitic, being marked for person and number, are sensitive to the animacy hierarchy:

HUMAN > ANIMATE > INANIMATE

Only humans (including anthropomorphisms) are referred to in the first and second person.

(35) A-wele-m. To-hagu-mi.
1s-give-2s 1pE-help-2p
I gave (it) to you. *We helped you.*

Verbs fall into classes according to the prototypical object enclitic they take (5.5.7).

	CLASS	EXAMPLE	
1.	human/animate only	wele-ya	*give (to) s.o.*
2.	inanimate only	daman-i[4]	*cross over s.t.*
3.	non restricted	gale-ya	*see s.t./s.o.*

3.13 HEAD-MARKING GRAMMAR

> ...the literature generally recognizes the complementarity between certain morphological categories. What has not been recognized is that such complementarities neatly reduce to two polar possibilities - marking of heads vs. marking of dependents - and that a language is likely to make a consistent choice as to marking type throughout its morphosyntax.
>
> Nichols (1986:66)

In *Head-Marking and Dependent-Marking Grammar*, Nichols (1986) proposes a typology which is applicable across several levels of grammar. She points out (p.57) that linguists from "divergent theoretical persuasions are in almost complete agreement as to what is the head and what is the non-head in a given construction...the head is the word which governs, or is subcategorized for - or otherwise determines the possibility of occurrence of - the other word". Table 2 shows the dependency relations discussed by Nichols.

LEVEL	HEAD	DEPENDENT
Phrase	possessed noun noun adposition	possessor modifying adjective complement of adposition
Clause	predicate auxiliary verb	arguments and adjuncts lexical ('main') verb
Sentence	main-clause predicate	relative or subordinate clause

Table 2: Universal dependency relations

---

[4] Third person singular object enclitics alternate according to verbal subclass (5.5.6).

Languages differ as to whether they mark syntactic relations on the head or the dependent constituent. With possessive constructions English marks the dependent and Tawala the head. In the following examples the head is marked by capitals and the morphological marking is underlined.

ENGLISH

the man-'s SON

TAWALA

(36) bada NATU-na
man child-3s
the man's child

In the English example above, the possessive construction is marked by the genitive case on the dependent noun *man*; in (36) it is the head noun which is marked by a pronominal enclitic.

It is remarkable that this head-dependent typological distinction has remained unnoticed for so long. Nichols (1986:56) suggests that one reason for this is that "mainstream theory, despite considerable efforts to test ideas on exotic languages, happens to have looked almost exclusively at those languages which differ little from Indo-European with regard to the phenomenon at issue".

This approach offers considerable insight into Tawala grammar, Tawala being a head-marking language and hence an enigma for me as I grappled with modern linguistic approaches. Thus some 'curious facts', have acquired a coherent explanation as examples of head marking. Having worked on the Tawala language for a number of years before reading Nichol's (1986) paper, I can testify to the fresh insight gained from the new

approach. Viewing Tawala in the light of head-marking typology explains what were for me a number of idiosyncratic facts and in addition has given a theoretical framework for my intuition that grammatical relations are morphologically marked.

3.13.1 HEAD MARKING IN TAWALA

Nichols (1986:58) demonstrates that head/dependent marking can signal dependency in three ways:

i) The morphological marker may simply register the *presence* of syntactic dependency; as we have noted this can be either on the head or the dependent. The English genitive 's is of this kind; it simply marks the dependent possessor as dependent on the head. Tawala ligature is also this kind of marking, simply marking on the head that a modifier is following (8.8).

(37) Ma a-BAH-e-ya. > Ma a-BAH-e-na me-ya.
but 1s-say-TR-3s but 1s-say-TR-LIG again-3s
But I said it. *But I said it again.*

That ligature attaches to the head rather than the following dependent is indicated by penultimate stress (4.5) - aba'hena 'meya.

ii) The morphological affix can mark not only the presence but the *type* of dependency - its role or grammatical relation. For example, person markers on Tawala verbs identify an NP not just as a dependent but as the subject (or object) NP.

(38) Hewali ma kedewa hi-HILAGE LUWAGA.
youth and dog 3p-die two
The youth and the dog died together.

iii) "...the morphological affix may, in addition, index particular inflectional or lexical categories of either the head or the dependent, marking them on the other constituent." Thus

in Tawala clauses, person marking on the head gives the person and number of the dependent; compare (38) with the two sentences in (39).

(39) Kedewa-na gasi j-HILAGE. ...ta-HILAGE PAHI-ta.
dog-DEF also 3s-die 1pl-die completely-1pl
The dog also died. *...we might be destroyed.*

Table 3 summarises head- and dependent-marking stategies for Tawala.

GRAMMATICAL LEVEL	Place of marking	Type of dependency	Categories indexed
phrase:			
POSSESSIVE	head	possessor	person/number
ADPOSITIONAL	head	complement	person/number
MODIFIED NP	dependent	modifier	person/number
MODIFIED VP	head	modified	
clause:			
VERBAL	head	subject	person/number
	head	object	person/number
NON-VERBAL i.	head	subject	person/number
ii.	zero	none	

Table 3: Head/dependent-marking in Tawala

As this theoretical insight is extremely helpful in understanding Tawala, this thesis makes numerous references to the concept of head marking and the distinction between heads and dependents. The distinction is central to Tawala discourse pragmatics: the person markers found on most heads are the main *cohesive* element of Tawala discourse - "keeping track of old information" (Grimes 1975:113); the optionality of dependents makes them the prototypical markers of 'prominence', a term which "covers the entire area for which investigators have used such terms as theme, attention, focus, foreground, figure, topic,

and emphasis" (Callow 1974:50). I summarise in the remainder of this chapter the main features of Tawala head marking.

3.13.2 POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE

The head noun of a possessive phrase is marked for agreement with the possessor noun. Because the person and number of the dependent is marked on the head, the dependent noun is always optional in Tawala; the head is a phrase in its own right, capable of standing by itself as an NP.

(40) (tewela) HINA-na po AMA-na
child mother-3s and father-3s
the (child)'s mother and father

Even within NPs, dependents are used to mark pragmatic functions and not grammatical relations. In this, a head-marking system differs from a dependent-marking system. Replacing the head noun with a pronoun in a dependent-marking system does not remove the dependent – it simply replaces it with a pronoun, an option available to Tawala also (though the pronoun is emphatic in Tawala as it operates in combination with the person marker).

(41) (tauyai) GOG-iyai
weE ancestor-1pE
PRONOUN HEAD PERSON MARKER
our ancestor

The pronoun in the English gloss is not optional, whereas it is in Tawala.

3.13.3 POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE

The head of a postpositional phrase is head marked with a pronominal enclitic that agrees with the dependent noun or pronoun.

(42) meyagai UYAHI-hi
village AT-3p
at/in the villages

Again it should be noted that only the head needs to be present in the Tawala postpositional phrase; the dependent has an optional pragmatic function. However, although it can be omitted it seldom is, except in first and second persons, where it is normally absent.

(43) U-nei UYAHI-y.
2s-come AT-1s
You came to me.

3.13.4 MODIFIER NOUN PHRASE

Tawala noun phrases with modifying adjectives mark the dependent adjective rather than the head noun. The dependent adjective is marked for person and number agreement with the head noun by a pronominal enclitic.

(44) BA-BADA balubalu-hi BADA banei-na
PL-man bigPL-3p man big-3s
big men *big man*

This situation seems contrary to initial expections; a head-marking language, one would think, ought to mark the noun and not the adjective. Four observations need to be made in this regard.

Firstly, head marking within the modifier NP is typologically rare. In Nichol's core sample of 60 languages, only two have such marking. She comments (p.76): "Within phrases, NP's with modifying adjectives are least prone to be head-marked...Head-marked treatment of these phrases seems to occur only in languages that are generally head-marking at the phrase level... but it is extremely rare even in such languages".

Secondly, head marking of a modifier NP in Tawala would be largely vacuous: the noun would simply be marked to show a dependent adjective is present. Some languages mark the noun for class or gender, but this is not head marking in the same sense, as it says nothing about the dependent. The marking of the dependent adjective is, on the other hand, a meaningful process (indicating the person and number of the head), disregarding only the sensibilities of analysts, who recognise inconsistencies in head-marking patterns.

Thirdly, in Tawala dependent marking of adjectives results in surface strings similar to the head marking of other nominal phrases – in each case a pronominal enclitic is used.

(45)

POSSESSIVE	*POSTPOSITIONAL*	*MODIFIER*
keduluma NATU-na	keduluma UYAHI-na	KEDULUMA banei-na
woman child-3s	w. AT-3s	w. big-3s
the woman's child	*to the woman*	*a big woman*

(46)

habulu-we	muhomuho-hi
small-1s	smallPL-3p
my smallness	*the small ones*
(= when I was small)	

Fourthly, there is a sharp distinction in Tawala between the attributive use of the adjective as discussed in this section and the predicative use of the adjective (as discussed in 3.13.7.2). Although the surface string is identical in each case, the noun is the head of the modifier noun phrase, and the adjective is the head of the non-verbal clause (for a more detailed discussion see 13.4).

(47)

ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE	*PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVE*
WAM dewadewa-na a-gale-ya.	Wam DEWADEWA-na.
boat good-3s	boat good-3s
I saw a good boat.	*The boat is good.*

There is an alternative analysis. It is possible the adjective should be treated as a nominalised modifier and thus the head of the phrase. In support of this is the fact that an adjective in Tawala can occur without its head noun. Such a view would regard all modifier verb phrases as embedded nominalised clauses.

3.13.5 MODIFIER VERB PHRASE

It was noted above that the head of some verb phrases is head-marked with ligature, indicating that a dependent modifier follows. This construction is a further example of head marking, included at this point only for ease of reference (for discussion see 8.11).

(48)	Ma a-BAH-e-ya.	>	Ma a-BAH-e-na me-ya
	but 1s-say-TR-3s		but 1s-say-TR-LIG again-3s
	But I said it.		*But I said it again.*

The ligature is always -na – it never varies.

3.13.6 VERBAL CLAUSE

Within this thesis I argue that grammatical relations operate within the clause nucleus rather than the clause core (12.2.1) and that, in line with head-marking stategy, Tawala nouns are not dependent-marked for grammatical relations, but instead the grammatical relations are head-marked on the verb by person markers indexing subject and object (for forms see 8.4):

i) Subject – unstressed pronoun with an anaphoric function; the first prefix of the verb phrase is marked for person and number of the subject argument.

ii) Object - unstressed pronominal enclitic with a non-emphatic, referential function; the final clitic of the VP is marked for the person and number of the object argument.

(49) Polo a-MATUT-e-ya.
pig 1s-fear-TR- 3s
TOPIC:S S PREDICATE O
I feared (was afraid of) the pig.

(50) Ba-bada polo hi-GALE-ni.
PL-man pig 3p-see- 3s
TOPIC I:S TOPIC II:O S PREDICATE O
The men saw the pig.

Tawala has no auxiliary verbs, so that parameter discussed by Nichols is not relevant. However, more needs to be said about the nature of the Tawala clause, in particular with respect to grammatical relations.

3.13.7 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Tawala has non-verbal clauses, some of which are head-marked and others without any morphological marking at all. We look only briefly at the unmarked variety.

3.13.7.1 UNMARKED NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Equative clauses (13.1) consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases functioning as a dependent subject and a head predicate (underlined)

$NP^{SUBJECT}$ $NP^{PREDICATE}$

(51) Geka tau. Tau geka.
this me I here
This is me. *I am here.*

With these clauses there is no marking of either head or dependent; as shown in (51) grammatical relations are indicated by word order.

3.13.7.2 MARKED NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

The descriptive clause consists of a dependent 'subject' NP and a head adjective functioning as the predicate and marked for subject with a pronominal enclitic.

NP^{SUBJECT} ADJECTIVE<-na>^{PREDICATE}

The surface string of the descriptive clause is identical to the noun phrase but the underlying structures are different (13.4.1).

	NOUN PHRASE	*INDEPENDENT CLAUSE*
(53)	HOUGA gehou-na i-nei.	Houga GEHOU-na.
	time other-3s 3s-come	time other-3s
	Another time he came.	*Time was other.*
		(= It was another time.)

The NP (9.2) consists of a single clause-level constituent and the clause (13.4) has two clause-level constituents.

The main evidence for these two structures is the contrastive use of negatives (11.5.3), which are placed immediately prior to the non-verbal predicate – houga ega dewadewana *the time was not good.* Further evidence is the substitution of the non-verbal predicate by a verbal predicate.

(53) A dewa dewadewa-na. > A dewa i-dewadewa.
his custom good-3s 3s-good
His custom is good.

The structure of these two constructions is clearly distinct, as is their distribution and intonation, the clause having sentence-final intonation not found on the phrase. However, this is not just a case of simple constructional homonymity, since it seems likely that the clause is related to the NP.

4 PHONOLOGY

> ...the AN languages [of Western Melanesia] present no particular difficulties on the phonetic level.
>
> Capell (1969:36)

The orthography of Tawala presents no great difficulties, but the proposals of this thesis do differ from some writing conventions of some publications. As we noted in the introduction (2.7), several different traditions have been perpetuated by the different churches of the area. I have made the following changes in line with data I have recorded and the interpretations set out below:

i) the retroflex lateral written alternatively as l and r -> /l/

ii) the high front semivowel written as both e and i -> /y/

iii) the high back semivowel often written as u or v -> /w/

iv) labialisation g^{u} etc. -> /gw/; etc.

4.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The Tawala phonemes were established in Ezard and Ezard (1974); the details and evidence provided in that paper are not repeated in this thesis.

4.1.1 CONSONANTS

The following table presents a composite consonant chart for Tawala. No dialect uses all the consonants represented; the details of dialect differences are given below.

CONSONANTS		labial	alveo-dental	lateral	velar-	glottal
stop	voiceless	p	t		k	q
	voiced	b	d		g	
labialised stop	voiceless	pw			kw	
	voiced	bw			gw	
nasal		m	n			
labialised nasal		mw				
semivowels			y		w	
fricative			s			h
retroflex				l		

Table 1: Tawala Consonants

The placement of the semivowel /y/ within the alveo-dental column indicates the unusual nature of this sound which even has a fricative quality between low vowels, following a stressed syllable. The tongue is brought forward so the blade is below the upper teeth.

i-waya *he/she/it takes it*

This is the sound found in the place name of Awajama that led to some confusion in the literature (see 2.1 footnote 4).

In all there are nineteen consonants, though historically there were only eighteen, as /s/ was an allophone of /t/: /s/ preceding /i/ and /t/ elsewhere.

s /__i
t elsewhere

The dialect variation of some forms reflect this rule:

emota/emosi *one*
hota/hosi *only*

Today, some Tawala words have been universally changed, hence the common greeting tinani, formerly sinani – a form rarely heard these days. The word magisubu *eagle*, on the other hand, never occurs with the form *magitubu, to my knowledge. Other words fluctuate between speakers and utterances, e.g. tu-wiatatiyana/tu-wiatasiyana *teacher*.

Borrowings have often been in line with historical usage: masisi *matches*, pusi (L. simai) *pussy*, sipuni *spoon*, sipi *sheep*, pasi *putty*. Other borrowings have helped to reinforce the change or, more probably, helped initiate it: samane *tinned fish (salmon)*, sospani *saucepan*, lesa *razor*, batin *batten*, goti *goat*, siyeti *shirt*. An anomoly lies in the fact that at least one word has been borrowed using the 'wrong' consonant: sawelo *towel*.

There are no true consonant clusters in Tawala. However, borrowing (2.8) has resulted in the introduction of consonant clusters. Two consonants can occur together across word (and, in one case, morpheme) boundaries, but this is limited to the situation where a syllabic /m/ (historically mu) ends a word.

(1) Tam bada, naka om ginouli.
you man that your thing
You sir, that is your possession.

The derivational prefix om- also ends in a syllabic nasal, creating contiguous consonants in numerous derived words. The morphology of these forms is often rather opaque, so that true consonant clusters may be in the process of developing.

om-hoe	*leave*	(hoe *untie*)
om-boho	*selfish*	(boho *extinguish*)
om-boina	*meeting*	(boina *bundle*)

Two contiguous /m/ consonants also occur in this situation.

om-momota *hold tightly* (momota *tighten*)

Attempts to interpret labialisation as CV or CC sequences result in uncharacteristic phonological sequences: downglides and consonant clusters respectively (Ezard and Ezard 1974).

4.1.2 DIALECTAL DISTINCTIONS

The Tawala dialects are listed in 2.2, along with an indication of their lexicostatistical relationships. The following table lists a three-way distinction between the ten dialects. There appears to be no explicable relationship between the phonological distinctions and the lexicostatistical data.

DIALECT	CONSONANTS
ISLAND	p b t d k g pw bw mw kw gw m n w y l s h
CENTRAL	p b t d k g kw gw m n w y l s h
INLAND	p b t d k g kw gw m n w y l s h q

Table 2: Consonant inventory of Tawala dialects

The 'island' dialects of East Cape (Kehelala and Lelehudi) and the islands (Bohilai, Liliki and Deladelauna) have eighteen consonants with only the glottal stop missing from their inventory. The designation of 'island' is appropriate for these dialects, even though some are on the mainland, as the island languages of the Milne Bay Province generally have the extra labialised consonants, and they are presumably the result of language contact, though generally absent from the Are-Taupota chain (Ross 1988:198ff.).

Of the nineteen consonants in table 2, only fifteen are used in the present-day 'central' dialects of Diwinai, Yaleba, Huhuna and Awayama; the three bilabial labialised consonants and the glottal stop are not used. Synchronically these dialects, along with Labe, simply omit the labialisation.

gimwala	gimala	*trade*
umwa	uma	*drink*
mwateta	mateta	*doorway*
bwadebwade	badebade	*insane*
bwayobwayo	wayawaya	*crow*
pwaoli	paodi	*make compensation*

The presence of a labialised consonant in any dialect does not guarantee that the labialised form of a lexical item is employed. Thus the form for *doorway* at East Cape is **mateta** and not **mwateta**.

The 'inland' dialect of Labe has a glottal stop not found in other dialects. This occurs not only at certain morpheme boundaries but also between a few vowel sequences found within Diwinai vocabulary items. There are also vocabulary differences where /ŋ/ is replaced by the glottal stop (see explanatory note 5.6.2).

LABE	DIWINAI	
hi-qeno	hi-eno	*they slept*
wiqaloni	wialoni	*face a storm*
buquwa	buuwa	*crazy*
tuqawa-na	tunawa-na	*by him/her/itself*

4.1.3 VOWELS

Capell (1969:27) notes that most AN languages of Western Melanesia "fit into a five vowel system", and Tawala is no exception.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Table 3: Tawala vowels

The only vowel to display significant environmental variation is /a/.

i) It is fronted before /u/ in a stressed syllable:

/tulau/ [tulæu] *my friend*

ii) The tongue is raised slightly at the end of words:

/iyeta/ [iyetʌ] *day*

4.1.4 VOWEL SEQUENCES

Most possible vowel sequences occur. The two vowels involved in any sequence normally retain their individual character including their length, so that they must be regarded as a sequence of two vowels and not a glide. However the two vowels run together so that the boundary between them is indeterminate and has a glide-like character. When the sequence is descending, a semivowel is often clearly discernable (eya-na *his/her aunt*, meyagai *village*, gowa-na *his/her/its name*) and is always written even when the sequence is indeterminate (iyana

fish, labiya *sago*, iyeta *day*, buuwa *crazy*) helping to maintain the dominant CVCV syllable pattern of the language (cf. 4.2).

Vowel sequences are, in any case, rare in Tawala. In a random count of lexical items in the dictionary, well under 10% contained vowel sequences. The preferred CVCV sequence is normally maintained within the word, though VV sequences are much more plentiful across morpheme and word boundaries, because a high percentage of morphemes in use are single vowels (e.g. the singular subject agreement markers on verbs are all single vowels).

Sequences of more than two vowels only occur across morpheme and word boundaries.

(2) Hidomo, ae-u e-i-yuwa.
friend leg-1s 3sPRS-DUR-pain
Mate, my leg is paining.

4.1.5 IDENTICAL VOWELS

Sequences involving identical vowels are very rare in lexical items, well below 1% of words. The occurrence of two identical vowels is to be distinguished from length (4.6). These involve only a very small number of common vocabulary items.

buuwa	*crazy*
deewa	*custom*
diidiga-na	*beautiful*
huuhula	*spring*
umaala[1]	*goanna type*

[1] Some speakers umaqala.

Homorganic sequences are a little more common within texts, as two morphological features are marked by such sequences, though within a highly prescribed context (4.4.4).

goga-ta	>	go-o-ga-ta (PLURAL)	*our grandparent(s)*
totogo	>	to-o-togo (DURATIVE)	*be sick*

4.2 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Although not all linguists accept the syllable as an essential phonological unit, syllables are a useful construct, enabling us to describe certain phenomena in an economical way (cf. Hyman 1975:192f.). In Tawala the syllable is basic to a number of phonological processes, such as reduplication (4.4) and stress placement (4.5).

The basic syllable structure of Tawala consists of an onset (C) and a nucleus (V). A second, less common type consists of a nucleus without an onset. Both types are incorporated within the formula (C)V. The use of optional brackets should not be taken to imply that either syllable type occurs with the same frequency. By far the majority of syllables have a CV structure, with the result that V syllables are quite marked.

Both syllable types occur in initial, medial and final positions.

aeu	*my leg*
gowana	*his/her/its name*

Underived roots carrying the basic meaning of words typically have two syllables with a CV.CV pattern. Grammatical morphemes on the other hand are normally a single syllable with

a much higher proportion of V syllables, and are hence phonetically marked.

Tawala has no mu syllable; instead there are words ending with a syllabic m —> (C)V.m. The syllabic /m/ is given normal syllable length, which contrasts with a nasal used as a syllable onset.[2]

Many of these words ending in syllabic /m/ are inflectional or derivational prefixes.

tam	*you*(SG)
om	*your*(SG)
nam	*what's-his-name*

The syllabic /m/ follows the normal (C)VCV process (4.4) in reduplication.

bembem	*bean*
dimdim	*white person*

There is ample evidence that the syllabic /m/ is historically derived from mu. For example, during field work on Fergusson Island my wife (Ezard 1970) and I noticed that different dialects of Yamalele are synchronically involved in this same sound change, contrasted with Tawala in the following.[3]

SAIBUTU DIALECT	NAYE DIALECT	TAWALA	
tamu	tam(u)	tam	*you*(SG)
dimudimu	dim(u)dim(u)	dimdim	*white person*
kamukamu	kam(u) kam(u)	kamkam	*chicken*

While the semivowels /w/ and /y/ share phonological features with the corresponding vowels, they are distinguished

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[2] The distinction is very clear when Tawala is sung, creating an exotic sound of a greatly lengthened nasal continuant. The effect is especially pleasant when a whole choir is singing.

[3] The same distinctions are found in Kilivila dialects (Ross pers. comm.) In addition, Tawala **tom** *sugar cane* is related to Malay **tebu** and Fijian **dovu**.

by their syllabic distribution, as onsets to syllables rather than nuclei. Failure to distinguish between the two has resulted in some researchers recording uncharacteristic vowel clusters, e.g. Williams (c.1962) has waiawaiyau instead of wayawayau *fan.*

The Kwato Extension uses both /e/ and /i/ for /y/, hence the plantation name is Koeabule instead of Koyabule. Compare the spelling of a 1930 gospel of Mark in "Tawara" with the orthography I have promoted through literacy and translated materials.

KWATO	CURRENT SPELLING	
Ioane	Yowane (better Yoni)	*John*
guiau	guyau	*chief (lord)*
eabaeababa	yabayababa	*uninhabited*
tahaea	tahaya	*path*

Official government spelling shows similar confusion: Ealeba for Yaleba, Awaiama for Awayama and Sideia for Sideya.

One further factor of considerable importance is that stress patterns become very complex if the regular CVCV pattern is lost. Penultimate stress is clear with the spelling gu'yau, but rather opaque with the spelling gu'iau *chief*, where one would have expected gui'au as in a'eu *my leg.*

4.3 PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

In Tawala, phonological processes are mostly applied to a subset of the data; rarely does a rule apply consistently.

4.3.1 VOWEL ELISION AT MORPHEME BOUNDARIES

Elision involves the omission of a vowel at a morpheme boundary. This only occurs when two vowels are combined and then not consistently; it applies rather to a limited set of

common phrases, most of which are represented below. Sometimes the first vowel is elided, sometimes the second.

4.3.1.1 Elision of first vowel in sequence

V —> 0 /__V

meka e-nenae	>	mek'e-nenae	*where are you going*
amaka u-(w)am	>	amak'u-wam	*have you eaten*
geka u numa	>	gek'u numa	*this is my house*
nima i-tutu	>	nim'i-tutu	*five (a hand is joined)*
iyai ma iyai	>	iyai m'iyai	*whoever (who and who)*
apo eega	>	ap'eega	*it will not be so*
apo una-peu	>	ap'una-peu	*you'll fall!*

The limited extent of this process is seen in the fact that it is not extended to constructions involving other person/number prefixes, hence *ap'inapeu *he/she/it will fall*, *mek'onenae *where are you all going?* are unacceptable.

Some data seem to fit this pattern and may be the historical explanation, but the synchronic explanation is to be found in the presence of a transitional consonant (4.3.7), as the potential aspect is not found in first person constructions (8.7.3, 8.8.1).

*ta-na-eno	>	ta-(n)eno	*let's sleep*
*a-na-am	>	a-(n)am	*I am going to eat*
*ta-na-amhoe	>	ta-n'amhoe	*let's go*

The forms with the bracketed letter do not occur in all dialects.

One regular application of this rule applies to the class of transitive verbs which add -i clitics plus person markers to mark specific object (5.5.6.2). These verbs all have a final low central vowel a which is omitted when the object clitic is used.

*-himila-i	>	-himil-i	-send-3s
*-himila-i-hi	>	-himil-ihi	-send-3p
*-lupena-i	>	-lupen-i	-open-3s

4.3.1.2 Elision of second vowel in sequence

V —> 0 /V__

Deletion of the second vowel in a sequence is limited to the derivational prefix om-, which results in irregular verb paradigms (8.8.1), presumably because of its unique syllable structure, with a V syllable followed by a syllabic nasal. This form of deletion is regular and applies irrespective of which vowel precedes the prefix and irrespective of the grammatical function of the preceding morpheme.

ani-omgiluma	>	ani'mgiluma	*pen (writing thing)*
tu-omginoula	>	tu'mginoula	*builder*
hi-omhoe	>	hi'mhoe	*they left*
a-ompoya	>	a-'mpoya	*I apply heat (magic)*

4.3.1.3 Word-initial vowel elision

This form of vowel deletion is very specific and limited to a single grammatical context – second person singular imperatives. This is the only case of the omission of subject agreement, which is otherwise diagnostic of the verbal clause (8.1). In actual fact the absence of the vowel is compensated for by initial stress.

u-na-duhuna	>	'na-duhuna	*Sit down!*
u-na-nei	>	'na-nei	*Come here!*
u-na-lowo	>	'na-lowo	*Run away!*

4.3.1.4 Elision of identical vowel

In such situations it is not clear which vowel has been deleted. I have interpreted the situation in line with the most common deletion – the first of the two vowels. These deletions are automatic and apply in all cases. However, the Labe dialect often separates the vowels with a glottal stop. Thus the second

phrase in the following list becomes una-qam, even though the first and third phrases delete the vowel. As my main sphere of study has been the Diwinai dialect, I am not aware of the parameters under which the Labe dialect inserts the glottal stop.

ega awai	>	eg'awai	*no way (not what)!*
una-am	>	un'-am	*Eat!*
geka a numa	>	gek'a numa	*This is his/her house.*
iyai i-galehi	>	iya'i-galehi	*Who knows!* (idiom)
amaka a-amhiyogo	>	amak'a'mhiyogo	*I have eaten enough*

4.3.2 VOWEL ELISION WITHIN WORDS

A small number of basic vocabulary items have a two-vowel sequence which is reduced to a single vowel when followed by a morpheme that belongs to the same word or phrase. In the case of the motion verbs, this usage conforms with the reduplication rule (4.4.2.iv) in which the the first V of the root is deleted.

nae	>	ne-	*go*
gae	>	ge-	*go up*
mae	>	me-	*stay*
beiha	>	bihe-	*search-3s*
meiha	>	mihe-	*price-3s*

(2)

i-mae.	>	i-me duma.
3s-stayed		3s-stay very
He stayed.		*He stayed a long time.*

4.3.3 DISSIMILATION

An exception to the above identical-vowel assimilation rule (4.3.1.4) is a rule which avoids the loss of the first person pronominal enclitic -u by the application of a dissimilation rule following a high back vowel:

-u —> -we /u-__

natu-u	>	natu-we	*my child*
-hagu-u	>	-hagu-we	*help me*
habulu-u	>	habulu-we	*my smallness (childhood)*

4.3.4 VOWEL ALTERNATION

In some dialects a low-high sequence shows an alternation when a suffix is added:

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +lo \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +hi \\ \alpha\,back \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +mid \\ \alpha\,back \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +hi \\ \alpha\,back \end{bmatrix} \quad / __SUFFIX$$

As indicated, the rule applies to both front and back vowels:

au —> ou:

mayau	>	mayou-na	*that tree*
-wayau	>	wayowayou-na	*cold*-3s

ai -> ei:

meyagai	>	meyagei-na	*that village*
gaima	>	gi-geima-na	*stoney*-3s

The change could be related to stress (4.6), as the raised vowel is usually stressed. However, the final example in the above list is an exception. A further example which does not fit the rule, but is similar, involves the change:

a > ou

-maga	>	magomagou-na	*many*-3s

The rule applies across morpheme boundaries.

ama-u-na	>	amo-u-na	*that father of mine*

A very similar rule applies to a sequence involving the syllabic nasal /m̩/.[4]

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[4] While /u/ and /m̩/ share the distinctive feature of [+grave], this is not sufficient reason to collapse the two rules, as /o/ shares the same feature but does not follow the rule.

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +lo \end{bmatrix} + m \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +mid \\ +back \end{bmatrix} + m \quad /__SUFFIX$$

-wiwam-ge-ya > -wiwom-ge-ya *make it into a boat*
-witenam-ya > -witenom-ya *float it*

The above rules help explain the adjectival forms of some roots, though there are clearly other factors involved as well in the following data.

-witai	>	witewitei-<na>	*heavy*
-maga	>	magomagou-<na>	*many*
-tenam	>	tenotenom-<na>	*floating*
gaima	>	gigeima-<na>	*stony*

4.3.5 REPUPLICATION SYMMETRY

The examples which follow demonstrate the process of vowel harmony which spreads to both parts of a reduplicated form, from right to left.

dewa-dewa-ya	>	dewadewaya	DUR-make-3s
dewa-dewa-e-ya	>	dewedeweya	DUR-make-TR-3s
dewa-dewa-iyai	>	dewidewiyai	DUR-make-1pE
tona-tona-e-ya	>	tonetoneya	DUR-pierce-TR-3s
tona-tona-ya	>	tonatonaya	DUR-pierce-3s
baha-baha-e-ya	>	bahebaheya	DUR-say-TR-3s
wiwasawasa-e-ya	>	wiwasewaseya	enrich-TR-3s
pitapita-ei	>	pitepitei	bush-ABL

4.3.6 FURTHER SUFFIX-DERIVED CHANGES

Suffixes with the underlying form -ge(i) have three surface forms - -ge(i), -e(i) and -ye(i) - depending on the environment in which they occur. Two common suffixes are involved in this process:

i) the transitive marker -ge (7.1.1)

-pali-ge-ya	>	paliyeya	*scold*-TR-3s
-widakulege-ya	>	widakuleya	*spread.gravel*-TR-3s
-wiwom-ge-ya	>	wiwomgeya	*make.boat*-TR-3s

ii) the ablative enclitic -gei (5.3.3)

kadidili-gei	>	kadidiliyei	*by strength*
niha-gei	>	nihei	*from the beach*
uyahi-m-gei	>	uyahimgei	*from you*(SG)
dewa-gei	>	dewei	*following the custom*

Rules applying to the ablative suffix -gei and transitiviser -ge can be collapsed into a single set. However, the synchronic similarity in the operation of these two morphemes blurs the diachronic situation - namely, that their origins are distinct.

-gei < *iai	locative proform	(Ross 1988:208)
-ge < *-aki	remote transitive	(Ross 1988:101)

Ordered rules:

i) -ge(i) —> -ye / $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +hi \\ +front \end{bmatrix}$ —

ii) -ge(i) —> -e / $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -back \end{bmatrix}$ —

These rules are really only a rough guide, as dialects differ in their rules of application and one speaker can even use more than one form within a single text. The above rules generally apply to the Diwinai dialect. Labe dialect speakers tend to use the -ge(i) forms in all situations.

The postpositional relator uyahi-, with a full range of pronominal enclitics and the ablative suffixes, illustrates these processes and also introduces one or two exceptions.

uyahi-u-gei	>	uyahiugei	*from me*
uyahi-m-gei	>	uyahimgei	*from you*(SG)
uyahi-na-gei	>	uyahinei	*from him/her/it*
uyahi-ta-gei	>	uyahitiyei[5]	*from us*(INCL)
uyahi-iyai-gei	>	uyahiyei[6]	*from us*(EXCL)
uyahi-mi-gei	>	uyahimiyei	*from you*(PL)
uyahi-hi-gei	>	uyahihiyei	*from them*

Table 4: Postpositional relator with ablative suffix

Even at Diwinai exceptions to the above general rules are heard, so that the following forms are common, possibly as a result of constant contact with other dialects.

odubona-gei	*from olden times*
koyama-gei	*by his/her lies*
moni-gei	*with money*
woe-gei	*by paddle*

Note that all these changes are in the direction of the -gei form and hence in line with the Labe dialect.

The following examples demonstrate the variety of phonetic processes involved with the transitivising suffix -ge; the loss of a stem-final vowel is indicated by an apostrophe. As indicated in the previous section, the alternate third person singular object forms are largely a dialectal distinction.

otu-ge-ni/ya	*call to s.o.*
geno-ge-ni/ya	*worry about s.t.*
wibaabani-ye-ni/ya	*discuss s.t.*
bagibagi-ye-ni/ya	*work at s.t.*
pali-ye-ni/ya	*scold s.o.*
bah'-e-ni/ya	*speak to/about s.o.*
gigim'-e-ni/ya	*invite s.o.*
nehal'-e-ni/ya	*leave s.o.*
widakul'-e-ni/ya	*spread gravel over area*

---

[5] I have no explanation for this exception to the above rules, unless it is by analogy with the exclusive form.

[6] This deletion avoids the rather difficult sequence *uyahiyaiyei.

4.3.7 TRANSITIONAL CONSONANT

The Diwinai dialect has a transitional consonant between certain morphemes where Labe speakers use a glottal stop. Many of these situations involve semivowels.

u-(w)am	*you*(SG) *dined*
hi-(y)ani	*they ate s.t.*
ami-(y)u numa	*to your*(PL) *houses*

That these transitional consonants are psychologically 'real' is seen by the fact that they are usually written, and they can affect the reduplicated form where no transitional consonant is needed, e.g. yaniyani *vegetables*, which is commonly aniani in the languages of Milne Bay. The final proof comes from their presence in forms where they are in no way transitional glides, but separate consonants. Contrast the final example in the above data with the following.

ata (y)u tano	*to our*(INCL) *garden*
u (y)u numa	*to my house*

One would be tempted to think that the locative u becomes yu following a possessive pronoun, but this is not always the case. There is no transitional consonant following the second person singular possessive pronoun - am u. Also another transitional consonant /n/, which does not seem to have any phonetic explanation, follows the third person singular possessive pronoun - a nu (though some speakers use a yu). The normal paradigm of forms for the Diwinai dialect is as follows, though speakers differ as to the form used.

u yu ala	*in my g-string*
om u numa	*to your*(SG) *house*
a nu tupo	*to his/her/its region*
ata yu tano	*to our*(INCL) *garden*
i yu meyagai	*to our*(ECXL) *village*
omi yu tapalolo	*in your*(PL) *church service*
hai yu oya	*at their garden (mountain)*

The third person form is possibly derived by analogy from a further set of situations in which the transitional consonant /n/ is found.

A morpheme (C)a when followed by a vowel takes the transitional consonant /n/. The most frequent examples of this are when the third person possessive pronoun is followed by the nominaliser ani, and the first person subject prefix is followed by a verb root commencing in a vowel.

kabudala a (n)ani geleta	*east* (sun its place arrive)
a (n)uma	*his/her/its drink*
a-(n)am	*I have eaten*
ta-(n)eno	*let's sleep*
ta-(n)am	*let's eat*

4.4 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is used in Tawala in a productive way. The reduplicated morpheme often carries a specific meaning which can be contrasted with the non-reduplicated form. Reduplication is a process that operates in several areas of the morphology. Adjectives are usually reduplicated, being derived from unreduplicated verb stems. Reduplication also is used to mark plural on nouns and durative aspect on verbs. In addition, some lexical items have reduplicated forms clearly dependent on the semantic domains to which they belong (6.3.1), some still having a clear relationship to an unreduplicated form.

The pattern of reduplication operates to a large degree independently of syntax or semantics.

Reduplication consists of the repetition of the initial part of the stem, and can be complete - repetition of the first two syllables - or partial - repetition of the first syllable or lengthening of the first vowel. In addition, one form of partial reduplication disregards syllable boundaries. The following rules are needed to account for reduplication patterns in Tawala.

4.4.1 COMPLETE REDUPLICATION

By far the most common pattern of reduplication is the repetition of the first two syllables, termed 'complete' reduplication. In this Tawala differs from languages where 'complete' reduplication means the repetition of the whole stem, sometimes termed 'compounding'. Tawala reduplication rules are generally sensitive to the syllabic shape of the root, and there are four syllable types which show complete reduplication.

i) CVCV

hopu	hopu-hopu	*to go down*
geleta	gele-geleta	*to arrive*
huneya	hune-huneya	*to praise*
keduluma	kedu-keduluma	*woman - women*
hewali	hewa-hewali	*unmarried man/men*
kaya	kaya-kayana	*red* (verb - adjective)
dewa	dewa-dewa	*custom - good*

ii) (C)VC - cf. 4.2

bam	bam-bamna	*slow* (verb - adjective)
dum	dum-dum	*dark paint - deep ocean*
am	am-am	*to dine*

iii) CVV

Words with CVV structure show a good deal of irregularity, as is seen by comparing these regular constructions with their irregular counterparts below (4.4.2.iv and 4.4.3). There does not appear to be any phonological explanation for class membership, which must simply be learnt. Fortunately, there are only a small number of these words.

dao	dao-daona	*long* (verb – adjective)
gao	gao-gao	*gap – week*
woe	woe-woe	*to paddle*
bui	bui-bui	*to turn over*

iv) VV

oi-u	oi-oi-u	*my aunt(s)*

4.4.2 REDUPLICATION OF FIRST 'SYLLABLE'

This pattern is mainly limited to words where the first syllable has no consonant onset, and demonstratives (though a few other items are also involved).

i) VCV

Vowel-initial forms are completely regular across all word classes in repeating the initial VC. In so doing, this form of reduplication cuts across the syllable pattern of the language. The durative form has a regular syllable pattern (for example, a.pa.pu) in spite of its morphological analysis.

apu	ap-apu	*to bake*
eno	en-eno	*to sleep*
uma	um-uma	*to drink*
ama-u	am-ama-u	*my father(s)*
iwa-u	iw-iwa-u	*my brother(s)-in-law*
odubo	od-odubo-na	*old*

One adjective follows this pattern even though the underlying verb no longer exists.

–	ap-apoe	*be bad*

ii) DEMONSTRATIVES

The closed class of demonstratives reduplicate the first syllable even though they have a **CVCV** structure (see 5.6.3.1 for grammatical description).

geka	ge-geka	*(exactly-)this*
naka	na-naka	*(exactly-)that*
noka	no-noka	*(exactly-)that* (distal)

iii) $(CV)^2$

When a root has two identical syllables the one-syllable reduplication rule applies.

dede	de-dede	*root - story*
kuku	ku-kuku	*skin - pheasant coucal*[7]

iv) IRREGULAR ITEMS

Some CVV verbs reduplicate the first syllable rather than the consonant and second vowel – these can only be regarded as irregular (cf. 4.4.1.iii).

nei	ne-nei	*to come*
gei	ge-gei	*to come up*
	ko-koe	*to finish*
mae	ma-mae (L.)	*stay* (noun – verb)

One **CVCV** noun also uses reduplication of the first syllable only, instead of both syllables (4.4.1).

bada	ba-bada	*man – men* (title of respect)

[7] There is probably no derivational relationship between these two items.

4.4.3 CONSONANT AND SECOND VOWEL REDUPLICATION

Although we have seen two patterns for reduplication of CVV words above their most common form is in fact to repeat the second vowel with the consonant, as in the following:

gae	ge-gae	*go up*
houni	hu-houni	*put it*
beiha	bi-beiha	*search*
tou	tu-tou	*weep*
teina	ti-teina	*pull*
mae	me-mae (D.)	*stay* (noun - verb)[8]

One example also introduces a new vowel:

peu	pipeu	*to fall*

4.4.4 LENGTHENED VOWEL

Verbs that begin with two identical syllables - $(CV)^2$ - lengthen the first syllable in their reduplicated form to mark durative aspect.

SIMPLE	DURATIVE	
totogo	tootogo	*be sick*
guguya	guuguya	*preach*
tatawa	taatawa	*tremble*
tete	teete	*cross (bridge)*
kiki	kiiki	*strangle*

One noun that has the potential to follow this pattern is guguhini *maiden*, but the form *guuguhini does not occur - there is in fact no plural form of the word, making it unique among human referent terms (6.3.3). The reason may lie in the fact that the first syllable of a four-syllable word receives secondary stress, making length difficult to hear. Oddly enough, the noun goga-na *grandparent/grandchild-3s* has the plural form googa-na even though its vowels are dissimilar.

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[8] This pattern contrasts with the Labe form given above.

4.5 STRESS

Stress includes not only increased volume but also increased length and a rise in pitch. Thus a stressed syllable is pronounced more like the English *Mary* than *merry*. There is a distinction between primary stress (penultimate) and secondary stress (word or root initial etc.), the latter showing little increase in length. Stress is not normally marked, but in this section I mark primary stress with a single stroke – 'CV – and secondary stress with a double stroke – "CV. For convenience it is marked at the beginning of the syllable, whereas its influence is chiefly on the syllable nucleus – the vowel.

Stress rules are applied after all the preceding rules have been applied.

The phonological word in Tawala is a group of syllables attached to a primary stress. The word nucleus is marked by a primary-stressed syllable and it has optional prenuclear margins and a single postnuclear margin. Hence stress is placed on the penultimate syllable: $[CV^n]'CVCV$.

'bada	*man*
kedu'luma	*woman*
te'wela	*child*

Secondary stress is applied (counting leftward) to the first of every two syllables prior to the primary stressed syllable, subject to the rule: $("CVCV)^n"CVCV$.

i-"dewa'dewa	*it is good*
i-"hopu"hopu'mai	*he/she/it was coming down here*

Secondary stress always applies to the beginning of a reduplicated form. This rule overrides the previous rule.

i-"dewade'waya	*he/she/it is doing it*
ina-"bulibu"lili'mai	*he/she/it will be running here*

When the syllable to be stressed (primary or secondary) is the second vowel in a VV sequence, if it is a higher vowel than the preceding one the stress moves to the preceding syllable and the double vowel becomes a glide.

'nou-na	*his sister; her brother*
'kaoha	*joy*
ba'nei-na	*big-3s*
'ae-na	*leg-3s*
'bauli	*north wind*

This also happens with some regular CVCVCV words, so that when stress would occur on a high vowel it is taken by the preceding low vowel:

'bolima	*year*
'halima	*outrigger*

This contrasts with numerous three-syllable words which have penultimate stress.

hi'puli	*earth*
ka'dau	*journey*
be'lana	*blossom*

4.6 LENGTH

Mention is made above of two types of lengthening operational in Tawala: a slight lengthening of the vowel is involved in stressed syllables (4.5), and reduplication results in a vowel becoming approximately double its normal length and hence being written as two vowels (4.4.4). In addition to marking durative aspect, length distinguishes the predicative negative from the negative particle (13.3).

Apart from the lengthening associated with stress, vowel length has been interpreted as the presence of homorganic

vowels (4.1.5). A small number of vocabulary items have this feature as part of their lexical form, including: ee *yes, and so*; oo *or*; umaala (some speakers umaqala) *small goanna type*; geegehana *awake*; deewa *custom*; diidiga *beautiful*; huuhula *spring*.

Stress confirms this analysis as secondary stress suggests the syllable pattern is, for example, i-"di.i'diga *it is beautiful*.

4.7 PHONOLOGICAL VERSUS GRAMMATICAL WORD

The phonological word was established on the basis of primary stress placement and the reluctance of native speakers to break that unit – returning right to the beginning of the word if a mistake is made, rather than the beginning of the stem etc. A problem lies in the fact that the borders of the phonological word do not always coincide with the grammatical word consisting of its root plus affixes (for discussion see 5.1).

i-nae po	>	i-'na-po	*he/she/it went and*
-gale-na imahi	>	-galenai'mahi	*look properly*
ani omgiluma	>	animgi'luma	*pen (thing carve)*

5 WORD CLASSES

> One of the most significant shifts in the last decade or so...has been the return of morphology as a separate domain of inquiry.
>
> Harlow and Vincent 1988:5

Tawala nouns, adjectives and verbs are open word classes in that "they cannot be exhaustively listed, and new members may readily be added" (Dixon 1988:234).

Apart from the open word classes of nouns (5.3), adjectives (5.4) and verbs (5.5) there are a number of closed word classes (5.6). The inflectional morphology of verbs is outlined in chapter 8, and the inflectional morphology of nouns and adjectives is outlined in this chapter. Because of the complexity of the data, the derivational morphology of nouns, adjectives and verbs is presented separately in chapters 6 and 7.

5.1 WORD BOUNDARIES

The linguistic concept of 'word' is an abstraction difficult to apply consistently to the full range of Tawala data. Dixon (1988:21) gives guidelines for a set of universal criteria needed for determining words, that would "differ only in detail from language to language". These involve three main lines of analysis[1]:

GRAMMATICAL CRITERIA – including cohesiveness and order
PHONOLOGICAL CRITERIA – including stress and phonotactics
GENERAL CRITERIA – including isolability and psycholinguistic factors

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[1] I suggest another - a lexical criterion - in point iii) below.

Application of these criteria gives us the following definition of the word in Tawala: Grammatically, a word is any sequence of morphemes which must occur together and in the same order, with the exception of sequences involving ligature or structures parallel to those that employ ligature (see 8.11). Phonologically, words are associated with stress (4.5) and juncture features. With respect to isolability, not only are words units that have a degree of independence – minimal free forms – but they also have 'psychological reality' for the native speakers of a language.

Considerable conflict exists between these three sets of criteria, so that the borders of words will differ depending on the relative importance placed on respective features. Perhaps the best way to outline the conflict between these principles is to point out some systematic differences from the writing conventions of this thesis that are evident in a 22-page newspaper, GEKA TUWEGA *This is News* (published independently by Tawala people in 1981) where the following principles are at work.

i) Subject and other inflectional prefixes of verbs (ch. 8) are generally (but not invariably) separated from the root or stem. In this feature English has probably had a strong influence on the writers, who have all had their main education in it. However, the phenomenon shows that there is a clear psychological appreciation of the distinction between stems and affixes.[2]

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[2] In writings published for use by the Tawala people I follow this convention also. However, it requires the use of apostrophes where vowel deletion (3.3.1) occurs – **tan' omhoe** *let's go*, etc.

GEKA TUWEGA	THESIS FORM	
hina haguhi	hi-na-hagu-hi	*they'll help them*
hi nei	hi-nei	*they came*
i dewaya	i-dewa-ya	*he did it*

However, this rule is not applied consistently. If there is a single prefix with a basic motion verb (-nae *go*, -nei *come*) the word is mostly written as a single word - evidently phonological criteria (initial /n/ or CVV?) over-ride the psychological criteria at this point. The first three words in the following data are single grammatical words, but the fourth example consists of two grammatical words but only a single phonological word.

GEKA TUWEGA	THESIS FORM	
inei	i-nei	*he came*
inae	i-nae	*he went*
inapa	i-na-pa	*he will say*
hinepo	hi-ne'-po	*they came and*

ii) The root has a strong psychological reality[3], so that it is most often separated from its prefixes - both inflectional and derivational - destroying both the phonological and grammatical unity of the word.

GEKA TUWEGA	THESIS FORM	
ata wi maamala	ata wi-maamala	*our greetings*
hi wi haguhagu	hi-wi-haguhagu	*they were helping*
tu wi baabani	tu-wi-baabani	*speaker*
li dumalu	li-dumalu	*correctly*

This rule is also not applied consistently, and 25% of derivational prefixes are connected to their roots. The following forms occur in successive sentences within the same paragraph: tu wimulitago, tuwi mulitago, tuwimulitago *follower*. The form tu wi mulitago does not occur, however the parallel tu wi baabani

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[3] It is not the prefix which people respond to, as it is omitted in some situations - hi-(i)muli *they follow* - and combined with prefixes in others *D* ai-muli *I follow*.

speaker does. Grammatically this construction consists of two words, phonologically of one, but psycholinguistically of three.

iii) Principle ii) gives rise to numerous isolated items that would be difficult to give meaning to in the lexicon, because derivational prefixes (6.5 & 7.5) are attached to the person/number as aspect prefixes rather than to the root and would not always have a consistent meaning:

him...	*they always..., they are able to...*
iwi...	*he/she/it cause/make/do...*
hinai...	*they* (IRR) *cause/make/do...*

This problem seems to demand an extra criterion, in addition to those suggested by Dixon (1988:21) for word level analysis – a semantic criterion which would maintain the lexical unity of the word: Derivational prefixes must not be separated from their root because the combined meaning is often not predictable and needs to be listed in the lexicon.

Lexical words are a further abstraction in which the part of the word carrying the distinctive meaning is stripped of grammatical morphemes.

iv) GEKA TUWEGA writers mostly follow grammatical criteria in separating inflectional prefixes from the causative prefix wi- (7.5.3), even when its durative (8.8.1) form (i-) is used.

GEKA TUWEGA	THESIS FORM
ina i mulitagoya	i-na-i-mulitago-ya
	3s-POT-DP.DUR-follow-3s
he/she/it will follow him/her/it	
hina i maamala	hi-na-i-maamala
	3p-POT-DP.DUR-greet
they send their greetings	

The phonological bond here is strong – not with the root but with the prefixes – with secondary stress (") moving back from

the beginning of the stem to the inflectional prefixes when the durative is employed:

ina"wimu"lita'goya—> i"naimu"lita'goya

With the stem **wimulitago** the grammatical bond is strong between the prefix (wi-/i-) and the remaining segment, which has no meaning by itself, though it is made up of meaningful roots (**muli+tago** *behind+over*). In this thesis I have attempted a degree of consistency by never separating derivational prefixes from roots or inflectional prefixes from stems. Because of the lexical nature of derivational prefixes, examples are frequently given with the stem not broken into morphemes.

i-na-wimulitago-ya
3s-POT-follow-3s
he/she/it will follow him/her/it

However, because the form of the derivational prefix changes for durative aspect (8.8.1) I often mark the durative form accordingly.

i-na-i-mulitago-ya
3s-POT-DUR-follow-3s
he/she/it will be following him/her/it

v) The forms **geka-pite** *like this*, **noka-pite** *like that* etc. are consistently written as single words, reflecting the strong phonological unity of these two-grammatical-word forms – a head and modifier. While **pite** rarely occurs with anything other than demonstratives (5.6.4 & 9.2.3), **hota** *only* not only occurs with demonstratives – **noka-hota** *only that* – but is also used to modify verbs (8.10.1.1), where the pressure of grammatical criteria is to separate the items. I have chosen to consistently separate modifiers (8.10) from their head, even though they are

often phonologically a single word. Other modifiers in GEKA TUWEGA are usually separated off from the head, as they are in this thesis, for example **himaga duma** *they are very many*, **i wi tulana imahi** *he was extremely friendly*. However, there is not complete consistency; for example, contrast **banei dumana** *very big* (SG) and **baneidumahi** *very big* (PL).

vi) Apart from the above problems, GEKA TUWEGA generally confirms the writing conventions and word breaks adopted in this thesis. For example, the possessive pronouns (5.6.1) are always free forms and never prefixes. The locative preposition **u** *to/at* is mostly a separate word. However, in GEKA TUWEGA they are mostly joined in the form **umulina** *afterwards* (LOC-*behind*-3s). The nominalisers **tu-** *person who...* and **ani-** *thing for...* (6.3.5) are often joined to root though they also occur as free forms.

Enough has been said to show the difficulty in drawing consistent word boundaries.

5.2 DISTINGUISHING OPEN WORD CLASSES

> Word classes must be set up on internal grammatical criteria within any language. They may then be identified between languages through similar (but never absolutely identical) semantic scopes.
>
> Dixon (1988:234)

While noun and verb classes each have a prototypical core which is clearly distinguished from the other class, the two classes do overlap on their borders, with some roots taking both verbal and nominal affixes without any class-changing morphology being involved. Confusion results from failing to

distinguish typical from atypical items and in the past led me to postulate "fluid" word classes. Then in a detailed study of derivational prefixes (Ezard in press) I discovered that a careful treatment of the underlying classes and subclasses of the derived forms enabled me to predict both the semantics and syntax of the derived verbs. I was led by this experience to concur with Dixon's (1982:8) priority-of-semantics principle:

> We work from the assumption that the syntactic properties of a lexical item can largely be predicted from its semantic description. Semantics is thus held to be prior to syntax. The ways in which syntactic properties can be predicted on the basis of semantic representation are complex, and are not yet fully understood...

One aim of this thesis is to further investigate these syntactic properties for the Tawala language; hence this chapter is of fundamental importance as a starting place for Tawala grammar.

As the functions of the major word classes overlap it is important to gain a clear picture of the distinction between the open word classes on internal grammatical criteria. Word classes are distinguished on a multi-dimensional basis – morphological and syntactic – with a recognisable semantic scope, parallel to other languages.

DISTINCTION	NOUNS	VERBS	ADJECTIVES
i) MORPHOLOGICAL			
a) Reduplicated form	15%	1%	98%
b) Derived form	25%	50%	90%
c) Subject prefix	–	+	*
d) Pronominal enclitic	(+)	-	+
ii) SYNTACTIC			
e) Head of VP	-	+	*
f) Head of NP	+	(+)	-
g) Modifier of NP	*	-	+

Table 1: Criteria for open word classes

KEY

+	primary function
(+)	function of subclass
-	absence of the function
*	grammatical relationship involved

i) MORPHOLOGICAL CRITERIA

The morphological data presented here are based on about 1,000 items of Tawala vocabulary included in the International Dictionary Series (Ezard forthcoming). Approximately 500 nouns, 350 verbs and 50 adjectives are represented.

a) Reduplicated form – 98% of adjectives are reduplicated, many having the reduplicated form of the corresponding verb (6.4).

i-dao	>	daodao-na
3s-long		long-3s
it is long		*lengthy*
i-gae	>	gege-na
3s-go.up		high-3s
he/she/it went up		*exalted*

The inherent lexical form of some nouns is reduplicated (6.3.1), but only a handful of items functioning as verbs have an inherently reduplicated form (e.g. **bagibagi** *work*). With most verb classes reduplication marks durative aspect (8.6).

(1) Motaka a-ga-gale-hi ma hi-buli-bulili.
car 1s-DUR-see-3p and 3p-DUR-run
(From the air) I was seeing cars and they were running along.

With some noun subclasses reduplication marks plural (6.3).

bada	>	ba-bada
man		PL-man
man		*men*

Reduplication is important as one indicator in distinguishing adjectives from the noun subclass of quantifiers (5.4.3).

b) Derived form – Within basic vocabulary 25% of nouns, 50% of verbs and 90% of adjectives are derived[4]. We note above that adjectives are derived by reduplication. Verbs are derived by classificatory prefixes (6.5.2), derivational prefixes (6.5.4 - 6.5.6 & 7.5) and compounding (6.5.7). Nouns are derived by compounding (6.3.4) and nominalising clitics (6.3.5). About 50% of underived roots of both verbs and nouns are disyllabic. This criterion will not distinguish word classes in isolation, but combined with other criteria it is useful.

c) Subject person marker – Only verbs take a prefix indexing the person and number of the subject (8.4.1).

(2) I-hopu mai.
3s-come.down DX
She came down (towards speaker).

Nouns require a verbalising prefix to be eligible for such a prefix (6.5.4).

(3) Amaka i-wi-bada.
already 3s-DP-man
He has become a man.

A subclass (6.4) of adjectives can be used predicatively, in which case they function as stative verbs.

---

[4] 100% of non-basic adjectives derived from verbs are reduplicated.

d) Pronominal enclitic - Adjectives are always marked with a pronominal enclitic (5.6.1.2) which marks the person and number of the head.

(4) mawa daodao-na
distance long- 3s
HEAD DEPENDENT PRONOMINAL ENCLITIC
a long way, a lengthy distance

Certain classes of noun also take the pronominal enclitic though with varying functions (5.3.2); however, the pronominal enclitic is always marked on the head and never on the dependent (3.13).

(5) (kamkam) natu-na
fowl child-3s
DEPENDENT HEAD PRONOMINAL ENCLITIC
a chicken

That (5) consists of a noun+noun and not a noun+adjective is shown by the fact that natu-na can be made plural natu-natu-na *its children* (5.3.1).

ii) SYNTACTIC CRITERIA

e) Head of a VP - This item is the syntactic counterpart of c). Only verbs can occur as the head of the verb phrase (8.3); other parts of speech require verbalising prefixes.

f) Head of an NP - The head of a simple NP is normally a noun (9.2) or a nominalised form (see 6.3.5). Adjectives rarely occur as the head of an NP and only when a noun is understood.

g) Modifier of NP - The post-head modifier of a simple NP is an adjective (9.5). A similar surface string is found when a possessive noun phrase has a possessed NP following the possessor noun (9.10), however, in this case the possessor noun is the head (cf. note on heads and dependents 3.13.4). If a

noun modifies a noun then a different structure is used; the pronominal enclitic is absent.

(6) gaima Bou
stone B
the Bou stone

5.3 NOUNS

Nouns fill the head slot of noun phrases and they require a derivational prefix in order to function as verbs. Semantically they belong to the class of words whose core members refer to concrete 'objects'. There are four major classes of nouns, corresponding to the appropriate response to four basic interrogatives. Each class contains a number of subclasses.

CLASS A. PERSONAL NOUNS – response to question word: iyai *who*
a) personal names – Peuka, Keudi, Dalila
b) human reference – bada *man (respect)*, tewela *child*
c) kinship terms – ama-na *his father*, natu-na *his child*

CLASS B. PLACE NOUNS – response to question word: meka *where*
a) place names – Huhuna, Bubuleta, Diwala, Bou
b) locational nouns – niha *sea, beach,*
oya *garden, mountain*[5]

CLASS C. TIME WORDS – response to question word: meyanai *when*
a) relative time – pom *yesterday*, amalai/ataima *now*
b) absolute time – malatomtom *morning*, uguwa *night, dark*

CLASS D. COMMON NOUNS – response to question word: awai *what*
a) body parts – ae-na *his leg*, lugu-na *its leaf*
b) relationship – baba-na *base*-3s,
gabouli-na *underneath*-3s
c) quantifiers – tupo-na *part*-3s, gehou-na *other*
d) cultural items – beda *betelnut*, polo *pig*
e) other nouns – hipuli *ground, earth*, gatowa *roof*

Table 2: Classes and subclasses of nouns

[5] Most gardens are built on mountain slopes.

These classes and subclasses should not be regarded as rigid formal classes but rather as prototypical grammatical classes with fluid borders. Some nouns, for instance, belong in two separate classes, e.g. **tepa-na** *its top* (relationship term) as opposed to **tepa-na** *his face/forehead* (body part).

Nouns can stand alone as the sole constituents of their NPs. Each noun class functions typically within the core and peripheral constituents of the clause. Personal nouns function as core constituents, including associative phrases (9.13) and also as constituents of benefactive phrases (10.2.4). Place nouns are constituents of locative phrases (10.1.1); other items require special marking when they fill this slot (**uyahina** (10.2.1) instead of **u** or **hoi**). Time words typically fill the time margins. Common nouns typically fill the object NP slot of active verbs.

The derivation and the morphosyntax of nouns are sensitive to the above noun classes and subclasses – rules do not apply generally across all classes, but to semantic subclasses. Hence, the numerous semantic subclasses of noun are distinguished on the basis of the morphosyntactic functions they can fill. In table 3 the classes (capital letters) and subclasses correspond to those listed in table 2. Table 3 summarises the morphology and normal functions of each subclass along a number of parameters: function as verbs with derivational prefixes, aspects of inflectional morphology and possession, and various syntactic frames.

FUNCTION	CLASS A a b c	CLASS B a b	CLASS C a b	CLASS D a b c d e
i) DERIVATIONS				
a) verbal derivation	- + +	- -	- -	+ + - + -
ii) INFLECTIONS				
b) pronominal clitic	- - +	- -	- -	+ + + - -
c) possessed	- +(+)	- -	- -	- - - + +
d) plural form	- + +	- -	- -	+ + - - -
e) ablative suffix	- - -	+ +	- +	+ - + -(+)
iii) SYNTACTICS				
g) with locative	- - -	(+)+	- -	- + - - -
h) with adjective	- + +	- +	- +	- - - + +

Table 3: Selected functions of noun subclasses

i) DERIVATIONAL POTENTIAL

a) The formation of verbs from various noun subclasses by means of derivational prefixes is outlined in section 6.6.2.3.

ii) INFLECTIONAL FUNCTIONS

b) The presence of a pronominal enclitic with nouns marks the person and number of the dependent possessor noun (9.10.1).

(7) (kamkam) natu-na
fowl child-3s
DEPENDENT HEAD PRONOMINAL ENCLITIC
a fowl's child (= chicken)

c) Alienable possessive pronouns mark the person and number of the dependent possessor noun which semantically has a controlling relationship over the possessed noun (9.10.2).

(8) (wasawasa) a gapola
rich.man his riches
DEPENDENT POSS.PRON HEAD
the rich man's possessions

d) Only human nouns, relationship terms and body-part terms are marked for plural (6.3.1-2).

hewali	>	hewa-hewali	natu-na	>	natu-natu-na
youth		PL-youth	child-3s		PL-child-3s
a youth		*youths*	*her child*		*her children*

e) The ablative suffix (-gei) has different functions with different subclasses of noun (9.11).

INSTRUMENTAL	wam-gei	*by boat*
LOCATIONAL	Bou-gei	*from Bou*
TEMPORAL	malatomtom-gei	*in the morning*

Within the subclass of common nouns it marks instruments and hence does not apply to the whole subclass.

iii) SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

f) The locative prepositions (u, hoi) only occur with place and locational nouns (10.1.1-2) and relationship terms (10.1.3).

PROPER NOUN	u Bou	*at Bou*
RELATIONSHIP	u gabouli-na	*underneath it*

g) Only certain subclasses of noun occur with adjectives to form the simple noun phrase (9.2.1).

(9) numa dewadewa-na
house good-3s
a good house

It is not my purpose to describe the noun subclasses per se, rather they are distinctions useful in the description of the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns.

5.3.1 PLURAL MARKING ON NOUNS

With the noun subclass 'kinship terms' there is productive reduplication marking the nouns as plural. Some other subclasses of noun are reduplicated for plural marking (6.3.2-3). However the data are so irregular and the functioning so distinct that many forms are regarded as lexical reduplication rather than grammatical (6.3.2).

5.3.2 BOUND AND FREE NOUNS[6]

Common nouns belong to one of two basic morphological types: i) bound nouns, marked for person and number by pronominal enclitics (5.3.2); and ii) free nouns that have no such marking. Included among the bound nouns are kinship terms, relationship terms and body parts. If listing such items, a native speaker always includes an enclitic person marker, though it is possible to excise the pronoun under rare conditions; for example, the kinship term **ama-na** *his father* can become the abstract **ama** *a father, fathers, fatherhood.* Similarly, an indefinite body-part term **ae** *a leg* occasionally occurs in texts without the possessive enclitic. Quantifiers form a transition between the bound and free nouns, as some of them (e.g. **guta** *part,* **tupo** *region*) occur optionally with an enclitic person marker, though others are bound nouns (e.g. **atapu-na** *all-3s*).

5.3.3 ABLATIVE ENCLITIC

The Papuan Tip languages "reflect the POC locative proform *iai as a locative postposition" (Ross 1988:208). In Tawala the reflex is a nominal enclitic **-gei** (allomorphs **-ei/-yei** (4.3.6)) with a general ablative meaning; functioning with different noun subclasses it has different meanings.

Note that the ablative enclitic, by a process of convergence (through analogy?), has come to share some of the formal characteristics of the transitive marker **-ge** (7.1.1). In each

---

[6] Relative location is indicated by combining the locative preposition with a relationship term: **u gabouli-na** (LOC under-3s) *underneath it.*

case the basic form is now -ge(i), and the rules for use of the other forms are identical (4.3.6).

i) INSTRUMENTAL

With body-part nouns the ablative enclitic marks the noun as instrumental.

ae-u-gei	*with my feet/by foot*
nima-hi-yei	*by their hands*
giu-n'-ei	*with his tail (he stirred it)*

The ablative enclitic is also used with a number of other nouns – possibly an instrumental subclass – to mark instruments or means of transport.

wam-gei	*by boat*
kwasikwasi-yei	*with a machete*
gaim-ei	*with a stone*

ii) TEMPORAL

With the absolute-time subclass of nouns the ablative enclitic indicates time during which the predication occurs.

malatomtom-gei	*in the morning*
iyet-ei	*during the day*
uguw-ei	*during the dark (night)*

iii) LOCATIONAL

With all subclasses of place nouns – place names, locational nouns, relationship terms – the ablative enclitic indicates the point of origin.

Bou-gei	*from Bou*
Dimdim-gei	*from Europe*
nih'-ei	*from the beach*
pitepit'-ei	*from the bush*
tepa-n'-ei	*from its top*
muli-hi-yei	*from their backs*

With locational nouns and occasionally with relationship terms the ablative enclitic indicates path of motion.

nih'ei *via the beach*
goil'ei *via the river*

If there is an adjective present in the NP then the ablative is attached to the pronominal enclitic (9.11).

5.4 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are a derived class of words (6.4) that modify nouns. They are marked for agreement in person and number with the head noun by pronominal enclitics (5.6.1.2) – a distinguishing feature of Papuan Tip languages (Ross 1988:208).

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	-u	-ta INCL -iyai EXCL
2	-m	-mi
3	-na	-hi

Table 4: Person/number enclitics used with adjectives

As a class, adjectives are generally derived by reduplication of the verb root (6.4).

5.4.1 PLURAL MARKING

As was mentioned above, all adjectives are marked for number agreement, which means they are marked for plural number if the head noun is plural and human. In addition, one antonym pair is unique in that human plural is marked by reduplicated forms; these are suppletive forms and not based on the singular forms. Interestingly, these are the first two items of the universal adjectival hierarchy proposed by Dixon (1982).

habulu- (singular) > muhomuho- (plural) *small*
banei- (singular) > balubalu- (plural) *big*

The distinction between human and non-human referents is indicated with this class.

ba-bada balubalu-hi	bulumakau banei-hi
PL-man bigPL-3p	cattle big-3p
big men	*big cows*

5.4.2 CONDITION MARKER wai-

A subclass of adjectives is derived by the condition proclitic **wai-** (6.4). The same form is used with some adjectives as an intensifier or marker of a more permanent or extreme condition.

gigeima-	*stony*	>	wai-gigeima-	*covered with stones*
gomugomu-	*broken*	>	wai-gomugomu-	*hinged, swinging*
holiholi-	*wound up*	>	wai-holiholi-	*springing*
bigabiga-	*muddy*	>	wai-bigabiga-	*swampy*

Three colour terms also employ this distinction, to draw the distinction between a general and exact colour, e.g. between a red cow (unmarked) and a red car (marked). Interestingly, they are the first three members of the universal colour term hierarchy proposed by Berlin and Kay (1969); other colour terms are derived using the prefix **wai-** (6.4).

wakewakeke-	*whitish*	>	wai-wakewakeke-	*intense white*
dubaduba-	*blackish*	>	wai-dubaduba-	*pitch black*
kayakaya-	*reddish*	>	wai-kayakaya-	*bright red*

5.4.3 ADJECTIVES AND QUANTIFIERS

It is important to distinguish adjectives from the noun subclass of quantifiers (5.3) - **atapu-na** *entire/whole/all*-3s, **tapu-na** *different*-3s, **gehou-na** *one/another*-3s, **tupo-na** *part/segment*-3s, **tunawa-na** *alone*-3s. Within the NP the two subclasses function in separate slots (9.5). The two classes overlap in meaning and morphology and yet are quite distinct - formally

and functionally. Example (10) demonstrates the overlap in meaning between the two classes. The meaning of the adjective magomagou- *many, all* is very close to that of the noun atapu- *all, the whole.*

(10) Lawa magomagou-hi hi-nae.
person many-3p 3p-go
Many/all the people went.

Lawa atapu-hi hi-hopu.
person all-3p 3p-go.down
All the people went down.

Table 5 summarises the similarities (a, b) and differences (c, d) that exist between adjectives and quantifiers.

FEATURES	QUANTIFIER	ADJECTIVE
a) Pronominal enclitics	+	+
b) Modify noun	+	+
c) Reduplicated form	-	+
d) Modify an adjective	+	-

Table 5: Quantifiers and adjectives compared

a) Pronominal enclitics – Quantifiers and adjectives employ identical sets of pronominal enclitics (5.6.1.3), marked for person and number agreement, giving the superficial impression that the two word classes are functioning identically (10).

b) Modify noun – both items modify the noun they follow (10).

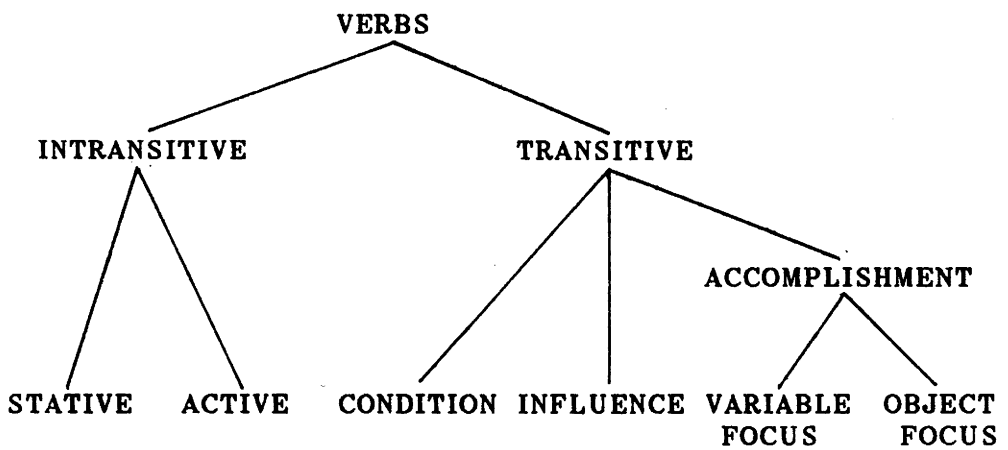
c) Reduplication – Other features must be examined in order to correctly identify them. The most obvious feature indicating that quantifiers are nouns rather than adjectives is their unreduplicated form (10). As noted above, very few adjectives are not reduplicated. Of course, this criterion is only indicative and not definitive of word-class membership; corroborative evidence is required.

d) An examination of the the constituent structure shows that quantifiers fill a second order modifier slot within the NP (9.5).

(11) Meyagai apapoe-hi gehou-hi to-gale-hi.
village bad-3p other-3p 1pE-see-3p
We saw other bad villages.

5.5 VERBS

Verbs are words that take a person/number prefix agreeing with the subject NP. Only a verb can function as the head of a VP (8.3); other word classes require derivational prefixes in order to function as verbs. In order to discuss the syntax of Tawala verbal clauses we need to distinguish six classes of verb.



At the most fundamental level, Tawala verbs are either intransitive or transitive. Intransitive verbs form a continuum, with two prototypical poles: stative (5.5.1) and active (5.5.2). There are three basic types of transitive verbs: condition (5.5.3), accomplishment (5.5.4) and influence (5.5.5). Accomplishment verbs form two classes: variable focus and object focus. These classes are discussed in detail here and are of vital significance in subsequent chapters. The following examples

illustrate the five basic types (without the object-focus/variable-focus distinction.

STATIVE	ACTIVE	CONDITION
I-kapala.	I-tou.	I-hogo-ya.
3s-hard	3s-cry.out	3s-full-3s
It is hard.	*He cried out.*	*It is full.*

INFLUENCE	ACCOMPLISHMENT
I-hagu-ya.	I-yaga-ya.
3s-help-3s	3s-scrape-3s
He helped him.	*He scraped it.*

The distinguishing features of these five basic verb types are displayed in table 6.

	INTRANSITIVE		TRANSITIVE		
FUNCTION	STATIVE	ACTIVE	COND.	INFLUENCE	ACCOMP.
Valence	1	1	1	2	2
S macro-role	U	A	U	A	A
O macro-role	–	–	U	U	U
Scope of O	–	–	–	+HUMAN	-HUMAN
Durative	–	+	–	+	+

Table 6: Basic types of verbs

a) Valence – For purposes of the above classification verbal valence indicates the number of person markers on a verb and not the potential NPs within the clause. Intransitive verbs take a single subject marker (8.4.1). Transitive verbs take the same subject marker and also an object marker (8.4.2). Ditransitive verbs which take three core NPs, and condition verbs which only take one, are not distinguished at this point, since they each have subject and object markers on the verb (valence in relation to core NPs is discussed in chapter 12).

b) and c) Macro-roles – Verbs differ in the macro-roles (3.12) they assign to core NPs. Actor (A) and undergoer (U) are the

two prototypical arguments of transitive verbs. However, condition verbs have an undergoer subject which is copied from the object (5.5.3) – the subject takes the same person and number as the object and the verb is thus formally (though not semantically) reflexive.

d) Semantic scope of object – An examination of the semantic scope of objects enclitics (5.5.7) helps to distinguish between transitive verbs – between verbs that have objects that have human or potentially human referents [+human] and verbs that have inanimate referents [-human].

e) Durative aspect – Most verbs are reduplicated for durative aspect (8.6), an option not available to prototypical stative verbs; instead the corresponding adjective has a reduplicated form (6.4).

5.5.1 STATIVE VERBS

The first subclass of intransitive verbs is stative verbs. Prototypical statives have no durative form, though like most verbs they have a related adjective stem that is normally a reduplicated form (6.4) of the stem. The semantic distinction between the two forms is that the adjective indicates a greater degree of permanence than the verb.

(12) A gala hi-gobu. Ani-mae gobugobu-na u-duhuna.
his clothes 3p-dirty place-stay dirty-3s 2s-sit
His clothes are dirty. *You sat in a dirty place.*

The examples below follow normal reduplication patterns (4.4) except for the final four examples, which are slightly irregular in that the adjective has undergone vowel alternation (cf. 4.3.4).

STATIVE VERB —> TEMPORARY	ADJECTIVE PERMANENT	
-gota	gotagota-	*arrived*
-gobu	gobugobu-	*dirty*
-gupouma	gugupouma-	*cold*
-haki	hakihaki-	*good*
-hilage	hilahilage-	*dead*
-kam	kamkam-	*sharp*
-kapala	kapakapala-	*hard*
-kokoe	kookoe-	*finished*
-moyagahu	moyamoyagahu-	*sweating*
-mae	meme-	*stayed*
-maga	magomagou-	*many*
-tenam	tenotenom-	*floating*
-witai	witewitei-	*heavy*

Some stative verbs have an inherently reduplicated form and hence differ from the adjectival form only in affixation. In one case (dewadewa) the form has a diachronically related root that is not reduplicated (bracketed).

STATIVE VERB = ADJECTIVE	
apapoe	*bad*
bigabiga	*muddy*
dewadewa	*good* (dewa *custom*)
habulu	*small*
niginigi	*wet*

ADJECTIVE	STATIVE VERB
tahaya dewadewa-na	Tahaya i-dewadewa.
path good-3s	path 3s-good
a good path	*The path is good.*

The dimension adjectives are both irregular: -habulu *small* has a non-reduplicated adjective; the adjective banei- *big* is related to a stative verb with a suppletive form: -lata *grow.* A further irregularity with the dimension statives is that the semantics of the two verbs are not symmetrical. Thus while -habulu means *to be small,* -lata means *to become big, to grow.*

Some stative verbs have a derived form (7.6.2)

Along the continuum between active and stative verbs are a number of transitional subclasses. Process verbs, for example,

have undergoer subjects, but are reduplicated for durative action.

I have not set up process verbs as a separate class because there are too few items and the characteristics of the individual members are too variable – hence the need for a continuum.

REGULAR SIMPLE	>	REDUPLICATED DURATIVE	ROOT MEANING
-gou		-gugou	*ripen*
-hahana		-haahana	*(be) swollen*
-totogo		-tootogo	*be sick*
-pou		-pupou	*lay (eggs)*

Psychological verbs also have undergoer subjects but can be reduplicated for durative aspect.

-matouta	-mato-matouta	*be afraid*
-lowo	-lowo-lowo	*be fleeing*
-hanapu	-hana-hanapu	*be wise*
-kaoha	-kao-kaoha	*be happy*

Other transitional verbs are the posture verbs. The subject is normally an undergoer, but if animate it may be an actor because of potential control.

REGULAR SIMPLE	>	REDUPLICATED DURATIVE	ROOT MEANINGS
-towolo		-towo-towolo	*stand – be standing*
-tugula		-tugu-tugula	*sit – be sitting*
-eno		-en-eno	*lie – be lying*
-tagela		-tage-tagela	*swivel – be swivelling*

The derived class of automatic-action verbs (7.1.2) are unique in that they are motion verbs but have undergoer subjects.

(13) Polo i-m-lupalupa.
pig 3s-DP-jumpDUR
The pig jerked (automatic response).

5.5.2 ACTIVE VERBS

The subclass of active verbs is the other pole on the intransitive continuum. The distinguishing features of active verbs is that they have actor-subjects and can be reduplicated for durative aspect (8.6).

REGULAR SIMPLE	>	REDUPLICATED DURATIVE	ROOT MEANING
-kadau		-kadakadau	*travel*
-kilolo		-kilokilolo	*urinate*
-togo		-togotogo	*bathe*
-tou		-tutou	*cry out*
-wao		-wowao	*plant (by digging holes)*
-woe		-woewoe	*paddle (canoe)*

Included within active verbs are the subclass of verbs of motion, which have a distinctive morphology not shared by other active verbs.

-nae	-nenae	*go*
-gae	-gegae	*go up*
-nei	-nenei	*come*

These motion verb are marked for deictic direction of the action in relation to the speaker and addressee. Some verbs of speaking also share this feature but as yet no clearly defined classes have emerged.

direction	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE	AWAY
come/go	ne-i*	ne-hi	nae
come/go up	ge-i*	ge-hi	gae
arrive	geleta-i	geleta-hi	geleta

Table 7: Deixis with motion verbs

* Normally written without the hyphen as these are the basic lexical items meaning *to come.*

(14) Polo e-ge-ge-hi.
pig 3sPRS-DUR-come.up-DX
The pig is coming towards you.

Verbs of transfer involve the bringing or taking of an item(s). The modifier is again an enclitic following the object enclitic, when one is present.

direction:	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE	AWAY
send s.t.	himili yai	himili ya-hi	himili
carry s.t.	ne-i yai	nei ya-hi	niye-ya
carry them	nei-hi* mai	nei-hi* ma-hi	niye-hi

Table 8: Verbs of transfer

* Some dialects use ne-hi.

(15) Ginouli anai tapu-hi e-ni-niye-hi.
thing COND all-3s 3sPRS-DUR-carry-3p
He is always carrying everything.

(16) Natu-we a-himi-himili-yahi uyahi-mi.
child-1s 1s-DUR-send-DX AT-2p
I am sending my son to you.

(17) O-na-nei-hi mai uyahi-u.
2s-POT-come-3p DX AT-1s
Bring them to me.

Another distinctive subclass has been established on the basis of the distinctive part they play in verbal derivation and manner-of-motion verbs (7.3).

-peu	-pipeu	*fall*
-dala	-daladala	*crawl*
-lupa	-lupalupa	*jump/fly*
-geleta	-gelegeleta	*arrive*

Verbs of speaking are active verbs that require a transitivising suffix in order to take an object (7.4.1.1).

-lupali	*beg,make a request*
-bowi	*make a denial*
-baha	*speak*
-gagayo	*make a vow*

I-baha. > *I-bah-e-ya.*
3s-say 3s-say-TR-3s
He spoke. *He said it.*

Adjectives can be made from most of these verbs, as with other verbs.

logaloga togotogo-hi
children bathe-3p
bathing children (= swimmers)

However, the form of the adjective is sometimes different from the durative form of the verb.

DURATIVE	ADJECTIVE	ROOT MEANING
-nenae	nene-	*go*
-gegae	gege-	*go up*
-wowao	wowo-	*paddle*

5.5.3 CONDITION VERBS

Condition verbs are unique in that subject and object have the same referent. But while they are reflexive in form they are not in function. It would appear that these verbs have a single undergoer argument assigned to the object, and because all verbs must be marked for subject the identical person and number is copied on the verbal prefix.

(18) Koiba-hi hi-hogo-hi.
stomach-3p 3p-full-3pRFX
Their stomachs are full. (= They are pregnant.)

The verb -hogo cannot mean *to fill s.t.* and there is no form *i-hogo; these verbs require derivational prefixes to make them causative.

(19) I wam a goila hi-wi-hogo-ya.
ourE boat its water 3p-DP-full-3s
They filled our boat (tanks) with its water (fuel).

From a clausal point of view these verbs are monovalent in that they take only a single actant[7], but morphologically they

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[7] The term is that used by Apresjan in a seminar given at the ANU in 1990.

are transitive, with both subject and object marked on the verb.

a-goholi-u	*I jumped (with surprise)*
i-hogo-ya	*it is full*
i-dumol-i	*it is calm*
i-ala-hi	*it burns (itself)*
i-luwotow-i	*it is broken*
i-libelibe-ya	*it is floating (flotsam)*
i-tein-i	*it is pulled*

A number of derivational processes actively produce condition verbs: the guna- prefix (7.6.3).

hi-guna-lupeni-hi
3p-SPON-open-3pRFX
they (knots) opened themselves

The derivational prefix lu- together with the transitivising suffix productively derive automatic-reflex condition verbs from intransitive stance verbs (7.5.2) and one or two other roots.

(20) A-lu-towolo-ge-u.
1s-DP-stand-TR-1sRFX
I jerked up (automatic response).

Finally, the derivational prefix li- used with cultural-item nouns often results in condition verbs.

i-li-gaima-ya	*it is rock-covered*
i-li-polo-ya	*it became a pig*

The adverbial modifier meme *again* (8.10.2.2) often has 'reflexive' meaning. However this construction involves the verb phrase and lies beyond the scope of this present chapter.

5.5.4 ACCOMPLISHMENT VERBS

Accomplishment verbs fall into two major classes: those with optional enclitics – variable focus verbs; and those with obligatory object enclitics – object focus verbs.

5.5.4.1 VARIABLE FOCUS VERBS

Something like 20% of underived Tawala verbs are variable focus verbs. I use the term focus as that pragmatic function which characterises a constituent which presents relatively the most important information (cf. Dik 1978). Without the object marker these verbs are predicate focus – the speaker stresses the activity; with an object marker the verbs become object focus – the object is referential. Some typical Tawala examples follow.

PREDICATE FOCUS		OBJECT FOCUS	
a-awala	*I carried*	a-awal-i	*I carried s.t.*
a-buhu	*I drilled*	a-buhu-ya	*I drilled s.t.*
a-buyo	*I squeezed*	a-buyo-ya	*I squeezed s.t.*
a-danene	*I stole*	a-danene-ya	*I stole s.t.*
a-gelu	*I embarked*	a-gelu-ya	*I embarked s.t.*
a-giluma	*I wrote*	a-gilum-i	*I wrote s.t.*
a-guluwa	*I buried*	a-guluw-i	*I buried s.t.*
a-higu	*I drew (water)*	a-higu-ya	*I drew s.t.*
a-hepa	*I beached (boat)*	a-hepa-ya	*I beached s.t.*
a-houna	*I put*	a-houn-i	*I put s.t.*
a-kamota	*I caught*	a-kamo-hi	*I caught s.t.*
a-teina	*I pulled*	a-tein-i	*I pulled s.t.*
a-woe	*I paddled*	a-woe-ya	*I paddled s.t.*
a-lui	*I enter*	a-lui-ya	*I enter s.t.*[8]

Verbs of consumption form a special subclass of variable focus verbs on syntactic grounds (7.5.3).

a-kima	*I chewed*	a-kima-ya	*I chewed s.t.*
a-uma	*I drank*	a-uma-ya	*I drank s.t.*
a-am	*I ate*	a-an-i	*I ate s.t.*

Variable-focus verbs occur with four pragmatic degrees of transitivity (see 12.2.5 for further discussion).

i) With both an object enclitic and an object NP.

(21) Hai pugole hi-awal-i.
their pignet 3p-carry-3s
OBJECT NP-- *0*
They carried their pignet.

---

[8] a-lui-ya *I enter it* also means *I put it (clothing) on* - i.e. *I get into it.*

ii) With an object enclitic but no object NP.

(22) Ta-hopu ta-awal-i.
1pl-go.down 1pl-carry-3s
O
Let us go down in order to carry him (a youth washed up on the shore).

iii) With an object NP but no enclitic on the verb. This construction is semantically akin to object incorporation, but there is no grammatical incorporation.

(23) Bada a gapola u-na-awala po u-na-hopu
man his possessions 2s-POT-carry and 2s-POT-go.down
OBJECT NP----------

u niha.
LOC salt
Carry (some of) the man's bags down to the beach.

iv) Constructions with neither morphological marking nor an object NP. The surface form of these constructions is indistinguishable from intransitive verbs. The focus is on the predicate.

(24) U-na-nei po u-na-awala po ta-hopu.
2s-POT-come and 2s-POT-carry and 1pl-go.down
Come and (help) carry (the pig) and we will go down.

It appears that variable focus verbs, such as **awala**, remain transitive even when there is zero marking for object. Even Tawala motion-goal verbs do not appear to have a transitive versus intransitive distinction. The morphologically unmarked forms are not unambiguously intransitive; an object is always implied.

-lui	*enter (building)*	-lui-ya	*enter s.t.*
-damana	*cross (bay/river)*	-daman-i	*cross s.t.*
-tagona	*cross (hill)*	-tagon-i	*cross over s.t.*

Tawala variable focus verbs are semantically transitive, even when they formally lack an object enclitic or an object NP; an

object is always implied. When an NP occurs with the predicate-focus form it is generic, a kind of object incorporation.

Verbs such as a-oga *I washed (s.t.)* (cf. a-oga-ya *I washed it*) cannot mean *I bathed*; that is the meaning of a-togo, a separate lexical item. Similarly, a-gowada *I hid (s.t.)* (cf. a-gowad-i *I hid it*) cannot mean *I was hiding*; that meaning requires a derivational prefix: a-lu-gowadi-u *I was hiding* (-RFX).

Only one item included above has a clearly intransitive counterpart: gelu *embark* which can occur with its 'object' as an oblique NP - in this case the object enclitic is obligatorily absent.

(25) Bada hoi wam i-gelu/*-ya.
man LOC boat 3s-embark
The man boarded (onto) the boat.

While the verb gelu shows the same degrees of transitivity as awala, it seems to have a truly intransitive form.

There are two verbs for *eat* in Tawala: am and ani. These are predicate focus and object focus forms respectively (am is also the noun *food*).

(26) Ta-nae ta-am.
1pl-go 1pl-eat
Let's go and eat.

Amaka u-am?
already 2s-eat
Have you eaten?

(27) Ago-m a-un-i po a-an-i.
spouse-2s 1s-kill-3s and 1s-eat-3s
I will kill and eat your wife.

5.5.4.2 OBJECT FOCUS VERBS

Some 20% of underived verbs are object focus verbs and are thus unambiguously transitive, as they never occur without an object enclitic. In order to derive the predicate-focus

counterpart of these verbs the valence-decreasing derivational prefix am- (7.1.2 & 7.6.1) is applied.

Object focus verbs are verbs with highly affected objects; they are high on the transitivity scale (Hopper & Thompson 1980) – verbs of *cutting, striking, tearing, wrapping, removing* etc. Condition verbs (5.5.3) and influence verbs (5.5.5) have bound object enclitics but they are semantically distinct from object-focus verbs in that with them the objects are not highly affected.

OBJECT FOCUS	
a-bol-i	*I cut s.t. off*
a-gugu-ya	*I suck s.t. (breast)*
a-hap-i	*I chop s.t.*
a-hapu-ya	*I pull s.t. up*
a-kik-i	*I strangle s.t./s.o.*
a-kila-ya	*I scratch s.t.*
a-lolo-ya	*I tear s.t.*
a-poha-ya	*I put s.t. in a basket*
a-un-i	*I overcome/kill s.t./s.o.*
a-laun-i	*I hit/kill s.t./s.o.*
a-wah-i	*I remove s.t.*

The verb waya *take s.t.* is irregular in that its form in all but the third person singular is the suppletive form: wini<-hi> *take<-them>*[9].

(28) Polo i-waya.
pig 3s-take
He took a/the pig.

Presumably the final syllable -ya was originally a third person suffix which has become fused to the root and is no longer a productive object enclitic.

(29) Iyana magou-hi wohepali i-wini-hi.
fish number-3p four 3s-take-3p
She took four fish.

---

[9] The verb tami(-hi) *take (them)* is used when a number of different types of items are selected to be taken.

(30) U-na-wini-u po mei am tu-bagibagi gehou-na.
2s-POT-take-1s and like yourSG person-work other-3s
Take me and (I will be) like one of your servants.

Derived object focus verbs are very common (7.4.2 & 7.5.1).

5.5.5 INFLUENCE VERBS

Influence verbs have bound object enclitics and are thus similar to object focus verbs (5.5.4.2) except that the objects of influence verbs are not fully affected (as they are with object focus verbs). With influence verbs the object is potentially an experiencer and the object is typically marked for first or second person, which is not possible with most accomplishment verbs.

a-gale-ya	*I see s.t./s.o.*
a-himil-i	*I send s.t./s.o.*
à-hune-ya	*I praise him/her*
a-pego-ya	*I hold s.t./s.o. in my arms*

Morphologically, ditransitive verbs belong to this class, as only two arguments are marked on the verb. However they form a unique subclass, as three NPs occur in the clause core (12.6). The object enclitic with a ditransitive verb always indexes the human (animate) recipient – the experiencer. The secondary object (marked in brackets in the glosses of the following examples) is not indexed on the verb.

-wi-atatiy-e-ya	*show s.t./s.o.*
-wele-ya	*give s.t./s.o.*
-pali-wele-ya	*tell s.t./s.o.*
-hagu-ya	*help s.o. (with s.t.)*

The transitivising suffix with verbs of speaking derives influence verbs (7.4.1).

-gagayo-ge-ya	*swear s.t./s.o.*
-bowi-ye-ya	*deny s.t./s.o.*
-bah-e-ya	*say s.t. about s.o.*

Other influence verbs are similarly derived from 'relationship' and psychological verbs (7.4.1).

-taniwag-e-ya *rule s.t./s.o.*
-matout-e-ya *fear s.t./s.o.*

5.5.6 FORMS OF TRANSITIVE MARKING

Marked transitive verbs belong to one of three subclasses, depending on the morphological marking of the object enclitic. There are four ways in which verbs mark the third person singular object enclitic – **-i, -ya, -ya/-ni or -hi.**

The following statistics are based mainly on the non-derived verb roots. Derived stems normally follow the pattern of the root. Which enclitic is used depends on i) the phonological shape of the root – the number of syllables – and ii) the nature of the final syllable – usually just the final vowel. Table 9 summarises the possibilities, giving percentages of three types of transitive marking in specific phonological environments.

	TRANSITIVE ENCLITIC		
SHAPE OF STEM	-i	-ya/ni	-hi
ending in ta	0	0	100
polysyllabic ending in a	0	41	0
disyllabic ending in a	48	0	0
ending in i	52	3	0
ending in e	0	22	0
ending in o	0	15	0
ending in u	0	19	0

Table 9: Percentage distribution of third person singular object enclitics

5.5.6.1 Stems taking -hi

This is by far the smallest subclass of transitive verbs. In each case the stem is a trisyllabic intransitive verb with the final syllable ta being replaced by hi in the transitive form of the verb.

VERB FOCUS	>	OBJECT FOCUS	
-alata		-ala-hi	*burn (s.t.)*
-mamota		-mamo-hi	*hold (s.t.) tightly*
-ugota		-ugo-hi	*plant (s.t.)*

Diachronically this group is a subclass of stems taking -i (5.5.6.2). Ross 1988:199 gives the rule that POC *t became h/__i in Tawala. However, this rule is no longer productive (cf. 4.1.1) and we must treat these -hi enclitics as a separate class.

The remarkable thing about this class is that the singular enclitic has the same form as the plural pronominal enclitic (5.6.1.1). When marked with a plural enclitic this class repeats the suffix.

(31) A-mamohi-hi.
1s-hold-PL
I hold them (tightly).

5.5.6.2 Stems taking -i

Two types of stems are involved in this subclass of transitive verbs. Firstly, there are polysyllabic stems ending in /a/, where -i is substituted for the final vowel of the stem. Ross 1988:97 notes that some languages in Oceania have transitive verbs which "are distinguished from intransitive by the presence of a transitivising suffix, usually a reflex of *-i".[10]

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[10] Roviana has a similar distinction sensitive to syllable shape (Pawley 1973:122).

VERB FOCUS	>	OBJECT FOCUS	
-himila		-himil-i	*send (s.o.)*
-nonola		-nonol-i	*hear (s.t.)*
-hiyawa		-hiyaw-i	*count/read (s.t.)*
-ulona		-ulon-i	*cook (s.t.)*
-lupena		-lupen-i	*release (s.t.)* (lupa *jump*)
-geina		-gein-i	*climb (s.t.)* (gei *come up*)

In the second group are words in which the stem form is a transitive verb ending in /i/, with no evidence of any other underlying intransitive stem: bagibagi *work*, pani *bind s.t.*, boli *chop s.t.*, uni *strike/kill s.t.*, lupali *ask for s.t.*

When non-third person pronominal enclitics are added to these verbs it is clear that the transitive focus form actually ends in /-i/. (Stress is added to the following list.)

i-himi'li-u	*he/she/it sends me*
i-himi'li-m	*he/she/it sends you*(SG)
i-hi'mili	*he/she/it sends him/her/it*

It would seem that the underlying form of the third person singular is -himili-i, with elision of the identical vowel (4.3.1.4) in the surface form.

5.5.6.3 Stems taking -ya

Included in this class are two-syllable words ending in /a/ as well as words ending in the other vowels, though rarely with /i/. The normal morpheme is -ya, though the Awayama dialect has the distinctive form -iya for this morpheme.

a-gale-ya/-iya
1s-see-3s
I saw it/her/him

This variant has spread along the north coast to East Cape, as Williams (c1962) gives it as an alternative form for some words.

Many stems are variable focus verbs (5.5.4.1). However, in other cases the stem does not occur without the object enclitic.

VERB FOCUS	>	OBJECT FOCUS	
-yaga	*chase*	-yaga-ya	*scrape (s.t.)*
-uma	*drink*	-uma-ya	*drink (s.t.)*
-bui	*turn over*	-bui-ya	*turn (s.t.) over*
-(am)huna	*praise*	-hune-ya	*praise (s.o.)*
-walo	*be trapped*	-walo-ya	*trap (s.t.)*
-gelu	*embark*	-gelu-ya	*board (s.t.)*

It is likely that, historically, this enclitic has developed as a reflex of the POC transitive marker *-i (mentioned in the previous section) with a second suffix -a[11], with the rule -i-a > -ya).

5.5.6.4 Stems taking -ni/-ya

This 'remainder' class is also the largest class, especially as most derived verbs (7.4 & 7.5) fit into this class. It would appear that the alternative pronominal enclitics (-ni/-ya) are both reflexes of the POC transitive marker *-i (see comments in both previous sections). The two forms are dialectal, with Kehelala using -ni and Labe -ya.

(32)	A-gale-ni.	A-gale-ya.
	1s-see-3s	1s-see-3s
	I saw it.	*I saw it*

This grammar is primarily based on the Diwinai dialect, which is midway between Kehelala and Labe. Diwinai speakers prefer the Kehelala form, though the Labe form is used and acceptable. During a period of years when Yailo lived at Labe I noted that he increasingly used the Labe form in this and other alternative morphemes (e.g. uyahi-/ugoli-), hence the object enclitics in this thesis are often the Labe forms.

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[11] Lichtenberk (1983:36) mentions a "proto-Oceanic 3sg object suffix *-a".

A large proportion of these stems require the transitivising suffix -ge (7.1.1) before the object enclitic is added. Stems or modifiers ending in /-e/ follow the same pattern.

LABE	KEHELALA	
-gale-ya	-gale-ni	*see-s.t.*
-tahae-ya	-tahae-ni	*precede-s.t.*[12]
-wiqatati-ye-ya	-wiyatati-ye-ni	*show-TR-s.t.*
-houna hopu-n-e-ya	-houna hopu-n-e-ni	*put down-LIG-TR-s.t.*
-bah-e-ya	-bah-e-ni	*say-TR-s.t.*
-hanapu-ge-ya	-hanapu-ge-ni	*know-TR-s.t.*
-ROOT woloe-ya	-ROOT woloe-ni	*VERB finish-s.t.*
-ROOT imahi-ye-ya	-ROOT imahi-ye-ni	*VERB properly-TR-s.t.*
-ROOT me-ya	-ROOT me-ni	*VERB again-s.t.*

DIWINAI	LABE
Om tano u-na-gale-ni.	Am oya u-na-gale-ya.
yourSG garden 2s-POT-see-3s	yourSG mountain 2s-POT-see-3s
Look at your garden.	*Look at your garden.*

Other verbs offer this same pattern, though without this same phonological basis.

LABE	KEHELALA	
-dewa-ya	-dewa-ni	*do/make s.t.*[13]
-hanapu-ya	-hanapu-ni	*know s.t.*
-wigowa-ya	-wigowa-ni	*name s.o.*

The most common stem involved in this class are polysyllabic[14] stems, often ending in /-a/.

wigaigaima	-wigaigaim-e-ni/ya	*stoney (s.t.)*
luodubona	-luodubo-ge-ni/ya	*follow (tradition)*
wimeiha	-wimih-e-ni/ya	*pay back (s.t.)*
winugokaoha	-winugokaoha-ni/ya	*cheer (s.o.)*

5.5.7 SEMANTIC SCOPE OF OBJECT ENCLITICS

Verbs differ in the semantic scope of their object enclitics.

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[12] The alternation seems to be sensitive to a stem-final /e/ for some speakers.

[13] Even Kehelala use both forms, according to the dictionary (Williams c1962).

[14] I am using the term here in reference to stems with more than two syllable.

i) HUMAN/ANIMATE

-hagu-ya	*help s.o.*
-wele-ya	*give to s.o.*
-himil-i	*send s.o.*
-paliye-ya	*scold s.o.*
-nehale-ya	*leave s.o.*

ii) INANIMATE

-hiyaw-i	*count/read s.t.*
-ugo-hi	*plant s.t.*
-yaga-ya	*scrape s.t*
-uma-ya	*drink s.t.*
-gelu-ya	*board s.t.*

iii) NON RESTRICTED

These often involve verbs marked with the transitiviser -ge (7.1.1).

-hanapu-ge-ya	*know s.t./s.o.*
-lupali-ye-ya	*beg s.t./s.o.*
-bowi-ye-ya	*deny s.t./s.o.*
-bah-e-ya	*say s.t./speak to s.o.*
-matout-e-ya	*be afraid of s.t./s.o.*
-gale-ya	*see s.t./s.o.*

5.6 CLOSED WORD CLASSES

The closed word classes in Tawala are pronouns (5.6.1), demonstratives (5.6.3), modifiers (5.6.4), adverbs (5.6.5), numerals (5.6.7), interjections (5.6.8), conjunctions (5.6.9), conditional mood particles (5.6.10) and interrogatives (5.6.11).

5.6.1 PRONOUNS

Pronouns are often a clear-cut category in languages, involving only free forms. In Tawala however, the functional domain of personal reference includes not only free forms but details of verb morphology, possessive clitics, marking on bound nouns and even postpositions.

5.6.1.1 NUMBER AND PERSON INDEXING

Three persons are distinguished in Tawala: first (speaker), second (hearer) and third (other(s) – irrespective of gender or animacy. Only two grammatical numbers are distinguished: singular and plural. First person plural makes an inclusive (including hearer) versus exclusive (excluding hearer) distinction.

A possessive construction is used to express dual and trial (etc.) meaning: a numeral follows the appropriate (plural) possessive pronoun – hai luwaga *the two of them*, ata tonuga *the three of us (inclusive)* etc. – and functions in addition to either an optional noun or an emphatic pronoun.

(tauta) ata luwaga
us1 our1 two
we two, us two

Person and number marking is found on emphatic and possessive pronouns, on verbs, (both subject and object) on bound nouns, and on adjectives, quantifiers and postpositions.

Third person plural forms are commonly used to encode impersonalisation (3.8), a function commonly associated with passive constructions in many languages.

(33) Board gehou-na hi-gilum-i uyahi-na to-geleta.
b. other-3s 3p-write-it AT-3s 1pl-arrive
We arrived at a board on which something was written.

5.6.1.1 PRONOUN FORMS

Table 10 sets out the forms of all five classes of personal reference, demonstrating the considerable overlap that exists between the various classes. The third person singular forms show the highest degree of distinction. Only one set consists

of pronouns proper: the emphatic pronouns (though possessive pronouns are also free forms). The remaining four classes of person markers can occur with emphatic pronouns within the phrase: possessive pronouns, object enclitics, subject prefixes and pronominal enclitics.

PRONOUN CLASS	1s	2s	3s	1pI	1pE	2p	3p
EMPHATIC PRONOUN	tau	tam	tauna	tauta	tauyai	taumi	tauhi
POSS. PRONOUN	u	om	a	ata	i	omi	hai
OBJECT ENCLITIC	-u/we	-m	-ni/-ya	-ta	-yai	-mi	-hi
SUBJECT PREFIX	a-	u-	i-	ta-	to-	o-	hi-
PRONOM. ENCLITIC	-u/we	-m	-na	-ta	-yai	-mi	-hi

Table 10: Pronominal forms (simplified) compared

Ross (1988:279) observes that the emphatic pronouns are "based on a reflex of the noun POC *tau *body, person*...with a pronominal possessive suffix". The original meaning of the noun is lost in present-day Tawala.

Example (34) illustrates four pronominal forms, three of which are coreferential.

(34) Tauhi hai mae hi-nonogo-ge-ni.
they their stay 3p-prepare-TR-3s
They prepared their residence.

5.6.1.2 PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS

These are unstressed possessive clitics marking the person and number of the dependent or 'possessor' NP by a pronominal enclitic (9.10.1) on the head or bound noun. They are classed as clitics in that they move to the end of the phrase, though only with general modifiers.

ama-u>	ama duma-u
father-1s	father very-1s
my father	*my true father*

Pronominal enclitics are used to mark inalienable possession with kinship terms (above), relationship terms (35), body parts (36) and postpositional relators (37).

(35) numa u gabouli-hi
house LOC under-3p
under the houses

(36) polo ae-na
pig leg-3s
a/the pig's leg

(37) lawa uyahi-hi
person AT-3p
to/with/at the people

Most of these forms are transparently reflexes of POC possessive pronominal enclitics, in both form and function. The reconstructions in table 11 are culled from Ross (1988).

	1s	2s	3s	1pI	1pE	2p	3p
POC	*-gu	*-mu	*-na	*-da	*-mami	*-m[i]u	*-dra[15]
TAWALA	-u	-m	-na	-ta	-iyai	-mi	-hi

Table 11: Possible Tawala reflexes' of POC possessive enclitics

Some of the Tawala enclitics are clearly reflexes of POC, others are doubtful. We note elsewhere (3.3 & 8.4.2) that one of the innovations of the Papuan Tip cluster is the use of a similar set of enclitics for object indexing on the verb. In addition, the set of pronominal enclitics is employed in personal pronoun derivation (5.6.1), adjective phrasal agreement (9.5) – including numerals (9.6) and limiters (9.7) – as well as marking inalienable

[15] The Proto Western Oceanic form is *-dri[a].

possession (9.10.1) and postpositions (10.2). Thus pronominal enclitics form a highly cohesive reference system marked within noun phrases; nothing is more central to gaining an insight into the operation of Tawala noun phrases than an understanding of the operation of these pronominal clitics.

Tawala shows no reflexes of the POC classifiers (Pawley 1973). The possessive enclitics are the equivalent of Pawley's "zero marking" (inalienable possession). The *na- (dominant possession) and *ka- (edible possession) classes are not distinguished, though the fact that Tawala has a preposed possessive particle distinguishes them from the postposed clitic form.

5.6.1.3 PRONOUN FUNCTIONS

There are five distinctive functions assigned to pronouns in addition to those listed in the previous section. The relevant pronouns are underlined in examples accompanying this section.

i) EMPHATIC PRONOUN – stressed independent pronoun having an emphatic function.

(38) Tau geka.
I here
I am here.

(39) Tauna i-na-yabiyabi.
he 3s-POT-steer
He (not the other) will steer.

With non-verbal clauses they also function as non-verbal predicates (13.1.1).

(40) Geka tau.
this I
This is me

As a set the emphatic pronouns are used for human referents; demonstratives are used for non-humans as well as humans.

ii) SUBJECT PREFIX – unstressed pronoun with an anaphoric or exophoric function – the first prefix of the verbal predicate marked for person and number and indexing clausal subject (8.4.1).

(41) Apo a-nae a-wisili.
FUT 1s-go 1s-fish
I will go fishing.

iii) OBJECT ENCLITIC – unstressed pronoun with a non-emphatic, referential function – the final clitic of the VP (8.4.2) marked for person and number and indexing definite object.

(42) Paloma a-matut-e-ya.
witch 1s-fear-TR-3s
I feared (was afraid of) the witch.

iv) INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUN – stressed possessive pronoun indexing the following head (possessed) noun for the person and number of the possessor NP (9.10.2).

(43) Lawa hai tano hi-dewa-hi.
person their garden 3p-make-3p
The people made their gardens.

v) ADJECTIVAL ENCLITIC – a further function of the adnominal enclitics is to mark adjectives and quantifiers for agreement with the head noun.

bada dewadewa-na	>	bada dewadewa duma-na
man good-3s		man good very-3s
a good man		*a very good man*

In marking the dependent rather than the head the adjectival enclitic is quite distinct from the pronominal enclitic functions listed above (5.6.1.2), though the surface string is identical.

Example (42) contains both an adjective and a quantifier modifying the noun.

(44) logaloga mohomuho-hi atapu-hi
children smallPL-3p all-3p
all the small children

5.6.2 PROBLEMS IN CLASSIFYING PRONOUNS

There is historical evidence that the emphatic pronouns have developed from an inalienably possessed noun (5.6.1.2). A similar process has taken place with other nouns that have also lost their original nominal function. Thus nugo-n-ei *by itself (automatically)* is derived from nugo-n(a)-ei *mind-3s-ABL* often carrying the connotation of 'without thought'. This set only occurs in the third person singular or plural.

(45) Geka mateta-na nugo-n-ei i-guna-hoe-ya.
this door-DEF mind-3s-ABL 3s-SPON-open-3sRFX
The door opened by itself.

The form tunawa-na (L. tuqawa-na) *by itself* is probably derived from the nominalising proclitic tu- (6.3.5) and the modifier awa *only* (5.6.4) - *tu-awa-na *person-only-3s*; recall that Labe dialect normally only uses glottal stops across word and morpheme boundaries (4.1.2) and that these often coincide with transitional consonants at Diwinai. This set is in common use and is inflected for all persons and numbers.

(46) Tau tuqawa-u a-tagona.
I alone-1s 1s-cross
I went across (the mountains) by myself.

The form of these two sets is that of inalienably possessed nouns; the function is 'automatic' and 'limiting' pronouns respectively.

A similar construction is found with the 'possessive pronoun' gali-n-ei *belonging to him, from him* (literally *from/via his fence* (fence-3s-ABL)).

(47) K25 gali-m-gei...ma K10 walehi-ta gali-n-ei.[16]
kina25 fence-3s-ABL and kina10 brother-1pl fence-3s-ABL
25 'dollars' (will be) from you...and 10 'dollars' from our brother.

The non-verbal clause tam gali-m-gei *it is your responsibility* (13.2.2) parallels the use of the limiting pronoun tau tunawa-u *it is only me.* Is this just an idiomatic use of an inalienably possessed noun or are we looking at another pronoun set in the process of development?

Another set of similar problems is involved with the analysis of postpositional relators (10.2). It seems that with a head-marking language the functional domain of personal reference becomes somewhat fuzzy.

5.6.3 DEMONSTRATIVES

Tawala demonstratives are stressed emphatic free forms that function as both spatial deictics – *here , there* and *away there* – and demonstrative pronouns – *this one, that one* and *the absent one.* Their status as free forms is well established, as they frequently occur as the only word in non-verbal sentences (13.3) – where the function is predicative and there is no subject.

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[16] This non-verbal sentence is taken from a letter, hence the form here parallels the written original.

5.6.3.1 DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

Tawala demonstratives are reflexes of the "set of POC demonstratives/spatial deictics *e/*ne[17] *near speaker*, *a/*na *near addressee*, and *o/*no *distant from both speaker and addressee*" (Ross 1988:100). The Tawala reflexes have undergone both phonological and semantic change, as is evident in the following data.

PROXIMAL	geka	*near speaker or hearer*
NEUTRAL	naka	*not near speaker*
DISTAL	noka	*out of sight of speaker or hearer*

I have no suggestions as to the origin of the particle -ka, though it is also found with locational interrogative meka *where* and the conjunction yaka[18].

The neutral form includes the POC meaning of *near hearer*, overlapping the meaning of the proximal forms. Speakers can thus use deictic forms appropriate to themselves or their hearers.

Demonstratives each have a partially reduplicated form which repeats the first syllable: ge-geka, na-naka, no-noka. The reduplicated form specifies exact location or time.

(48) E-tugu-tugula no-noka.
hePRS-DUR-sit RED-there
He has been sitting right there (in the exact position we put him).

The demonstrative may also be marked for directional deixis (5.5.2 & 8.9.5) – near the hearer:

---

[17] ge- is not obviously a reflex of POC *e/ne, though the other reflexes are clearer.

[18] However, the Maiwala (Taupota dialect) form is yana.

(49) Polo e-ge-ge-hi na-naka-hi.
pig 3sPRS-DUR-come.up-DX RED-there-DX
The pig is coming up right towards you.

5.6.3.2 DEMONSTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

Only an overview of demonstrative functions is presented here. A more detailed treatment is given in subsequent chapters (9.4): demonstratives function within discourse to maintain topic and prominence; the neutral demonstrative naka *that* is commonly used in complex sentences to indicate sentence expansion (14.4 & 16.6).

Demonstatives may modify nouns (9.4).

(50) geka dobu
this village
this village

They also function as heads of NPs (9.2.3).

(51) Geka amaka a-howa-tepa-ni.
this already 1s-spit-top-3s
I have already worked magic on it.

A demonstrative may function as a non-verbal predicate (13.1)

(52) Tau geka
I this
I am here.

When a speaker finishes his discourse he will often conclude with the following non-verbal clause.

(53) ...na-naka noka pite.
RED-that that like
...it is exactly like that.

5.6.4 GENERAL MODIFIERS

There is a set of five general modifiers functioning with the major parts of speech, though different word classes and even words have their own distinct preferences. The range of word

classes with which each modifier is identified is listed in table 12.

MODIFIER	NOUN	VERB	ADJ	DEM	QUEST
duma *very*	+	+	+	-	-
hota/hosi *only, just*	+	+	+	+	+
awa/nawa *only*	+	+	-	-	+
gasi *also*	+	+	-	-	-
pite/pete *similarly*	-	+	-	+	+

TABLE 12: General modifiers

Note that alternative forms are dialectal in origin, but 'stylistic' in synchronic usage, with a single speaker often using different forms in close proximity.

These general modifiers are referred to a number of times throughout the thesis, but at this point their full range of functions is illustrated with the modifier hota/hosi:

+ noun	ega lawa hota	*not a person only (= not a real person)*
+ verb	I-dewadewa hota.	*It is only good. (= it is really good)*
+ adjective	houga kuku hota-na	*just a short time*
+ demonstrative (most common usage)	geka hota	*just here (= right here)*
+ question word	meka hota	*where only (= whereabouts)*

5.6.5 ADVERBS

For a listing of verbal modifiers see 8.10. In contrast to these verbal modifiers (which are post-head clitics of the verb phrase) adverbs are free forms, clausal items, occurring in any position before the predicate - either verbal or nominal - often

favouring a clause-initial position following the conjunction, or (with non-verbal predicates) immediately prior to the predicate. They are clause operators, "concerned with grounding the reported event in the real world" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:209).

Only a few items are involved, belonging to a number of functional domains.

i) TENSE ADVERBS - The main item involved here is the future-tense operator **apo** (FUT), however **amaka** *already* and **ataima** (Labe: **amalai**) *today, now* are used as supplementary tense markers (8.5.2).

(54) **Apo ta-nae po gulawa ta-boli.**
FUT 1pl-go and twine 1pl-cut
Let's go and cut twine.

ii) TEMPORAL ADVERBS - Two relative time markers - **yohola** *later, eventually* **lolowa** *before,* earlier - are used in combination with the tense adverbs.

(55) **Yohola apo i-na-nei.**
later FUT 3s-POT-come
She will come later

(56) **A kadau tahaya-na amaka lolowa i-dewa-ya.**
his journey first-3s already earlier 3s-make-3s
He had already made his first journey earlier.

iii) NEGATIVE ADVERBS - The main function of **ega** (NEG) is as the marker of negative polarity.

(57) **Ega a tano po puwaka.**
NEG his garden and pig
He has no garden or pigs.

It often combines with the irrealis (8.7.2) mood.

(58) **Ma lawa ega hi-ta-tu-tou duma.**
but person NEG 3p-IRR-DUR-cry very
But the people did not weep much.

The negative and future adverbs combine to form a single phonological and grammatical word **ap-ega** *FUT-NEG* which combines with irrealis or potential mood (8.5.2-3).

(59) **Apega toleha-na a-ta-dewa-ya.**
FUT.NEG feast-DEF 1s-IRR-make-3s
I will not provide the feast.

iv) TRUTH-VALUE OPERATORS - **nugote** *perhaps*, **moina** *truly.*

(60) **Ma moina a-kokoma duma.**
and truly 1s-apprehensive very
And truly I was very apprehensive.

5.6.6 SENTENCE INTRODUCERS

i) INTERACTION MARKERS - **heki** *on the contrary*, **embateka** *try to, dare to.*

(61) **Heki, u-na-ludadan-i.**
contrary 2s-POT-test/try-3s
On the contrary, give it a try.

ii) MODALITY MARKERS - **hilaki** *if only*, **kidahi** *surely.*

(62) **Hilaki pona Tawala uyahina buka hi-ta-dewa-ya.**
if.only voice T. AT-3s book 3p-IRR-make-3s
Oh that there were (3p impersonal) *books in the Tawala language.*

5.6.7 NUMERALS

Tawala numerals differ from adjectives in that i) they are not marked for agreement with the head, ii) they do not have a reduplicated form and iii) they can modify adjectives. They can function as the head of an NP, though their normal function is as a second-order nominal modifier (9.6). There are only four basic numerals:

emosi/emota	*one*
luwaga	*two*
tonuga	*three*
wohepali	*four*

Other 'cardinal' numerals are constructed by forming sentences, from basic numerals plus several nouns - nima *five (hand)*, ae *five (leg)*, oloto/lawa *twenty (male/person)* - and two verbs - tutu *hit*, hilage *finish*. They are included at this point for ease of reference and because they function as embedded clauses within the number slot of the NP (9.6).

five	nima i-tutu --> nimitutu[19]
	(hand 3s-hit)
six	nimitutu po emosi
	(five and one)
seven	nim'itutu po luwaga
eight	nim'itutu po tonuga
nine	nim'itutu po wohepali
ten	nima luwaga hi-tutu
	(hand two 3p-hit)
eleven	nima luwaga hi-tutu po emosi
twelve	nima luwaga hi-tutu po luwaga
thirteen	nima luwaga hi-tutu po tonuga
fourteen	nima luwaga hi-tutu po wohepali
fifteen	nima luwaga hi-tutu po ae emosi i-tutu
	(hand two 3p-hit and leg one 3s-hit)
sixteen	nima luwaga hi-tutu po ae emosi i-tutu po emosi
seventeen	nima luwaga hi-tutu po ae emosi i-tutu po luwaga
eighteen	nima luwaga hi-tutu po ae emosi i-tutu po tonuga
nineteen	nima luwaga hi-tutu po ae emosi i-tutu po wohepali
twenty	oloto/lawa emosi i-hilage
	(male/person one 3s-finish)
twenty-one	oloto/lawa emosi i-hilage po emosi
etc.	
ninety-nine	oloto/lawa wohepali hi-hilage po nima luwaga hi-tutu po ae emosi i-tutu po wohepali

The literal translation of 99 is *four men are dead and two hands/arms are hit and one foot/leg is hit and four.*

Distributive numerals are formed by conjoining identical numerals with po *and*:

emosi po emosi	*each one*
luwaga po luwaga	*two by two*

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[19] The latter form is a basic number, derived from the former constructed number.

Only basic numerals form ordinal numerals – derived forms using the derivational prefix wi- plus the third person singular pronominal enclitic -na[20].

wiemosina	*first*[21]
wiluwagana	*second*
witonugana	*third*
wiwohepalina	*fourth*
winimtutuna	*fifth*

(63) Ma gima-na wiluwagana Bilobilolo.
and stone-DEF second B.
And the second stone is Bilobilolo.

5.6.8 INTERJECTIONS

i) RESPONSES

ee	*yes*	Ee.	*It is.*
eega	*no*	Eega.	*It is not.*
ega'wai	*no way, definitely not*		
apeega	*not* (FUT)	Apeega.	*It will not.*
		Iyaigalehi?	*Who knows?* (lit. *Who sees them?*)

ii) ASSESSMENTS

palapa!	*incredible, fantastic!*
hawena!	*forget it!*
amaka!	*enough!*
moina!	*true!*

iii) GREETINGS AND FAREWELLS

tinani	*thankyou, hello*
kihoni	*farewell, goodbye*

iv) EMOTIONAL RESPONSES

oo	*oh* (surprise)
aiyoi	*ouch* (pain)
aee	*woe* (danger)
uu	*see you* (sorrow at parting)

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[20] The plural -hi is never used.

[21] The adjective **tahatahaya-na** *first* is used for order on a track and in some other contexts.

v) SEEKING CONFIRMATION

(ee)mbo? *right?* (discourse final particle)

Some items that function as exclamations can also occur as interrogative or declarative utterances; they thus merge with existential clauses (13.3); for example, the exclamation Moina! *True!* can also be the question Moina? *Is that so?* or the statement Moina. *It is true.*

5.6.9 CONJUNCTIONS

All Tawala conjunctions occur between the elements they conjoin (9.12 & 16.8).

po	*and* – COUPLING
ma	*and, then, but* – CONTRAST
bo, oo	*or* – ALTERNATIVE
tamogi	*but, on the other hand* D ADVERSATIVE
apom(a)	*then* – SEQUENCE
(ega) yaka	*so, consequently* – CONSEQUENCE
baba-na	(also mata-baba-na) *because* – CAUSAL
meka po	*lest* – AVOIDANCE

With the composite forms ega yaka (NEG *so*), meka po (*where and*) and mata-baba-na (*eye-base-3s*), the meanings are not a combination of the parts involved in the sequence.

Sequences of conjunctions have meanings which are the combined meanings of the conjunctions involved.

ma/*po tamogi	*but on the other hand*
ma/po ega yaka	*and so*
ma/po apoma	*but/and then*
etc.	

There is evidence that the conjunctions po and ma are often more closely associated with the previous conjunct than the following one, particularly when clauses are combined. (Postposed conjunctions is the expected norm with verb-final

languages - Schachter 1985:47.) The evidence is phonological: there is often (though not always) a greater potential for pausing after the conjunction than before. With motion verbs the conjunction actually becomes part of the same phonological word as the verb. Thus i-nae po *he went and* becomes i-na-po with stress (marked) remaining on the antepenultimate syllable. This fused form can then end a sentence, having largely lost its connective function.

(64) Naka i-ne-po, i-ne-po, i-ne-po. Omhilage
that 3s-come-and 3s-come-and 3s-come-and hunger

i-tapeun-i.
3s-grab-3s
He came and came and came. Hunger consumed him.

The po versus ma distinction is fundamental to Tawala discourse pragmatics; po signifies a 'close' connection and ma a 'loose' connection. The contrast operates at each level - word, phrase, clause and sentence - with the same force. In some situations only one option is available, thus with two identical items the connection is seen as close.

(65) Iyeta emosi po/*ma emosi...
day one and one
Everyday...

Most situations present a choice. When two items are to be coordinated the speaker must decide whether the conjuncts are to be seen as a unit (po) or as separate entities (ma). Thus amau po hinau means *my father and mother* or simply *my parents* (there is no general term). On the other hand amau ma hinau means *(both) my father and my mother.* The situation can be viewed from either point of view and speakers would differ as to the appropriate form to use in a given context. It might be

thought that because of its meaning **po** would not be a suitable conjunction to join sentences, and generally this is so; however, I have a handful of what appear to be exceptions.

(66) ...hi-me-mae. Po houga gehou-na ma lawa atapu-hi...
3p-DUR-stay and time other-3s and person all-3p
...they lived (at that village). It was another time and all the people...

5.6.10 MOOD PARTICLES

The irrealis particle **ipa** marks uncertainty or unrealised action. It is usually used in combination with the potential mood (8.7.3).

(67) Hewa-hewali ipa hi-na-gae u Naula, ma ega petrol.
PL-youth IRR 3p-POT-go LOC N. but NEG p.
The youths wanted to go to Naula, but there was no petrol.

The particle **ipa** itself seems to be related to the direct quote particle **pa** *say*.

(68) I-otu i-pa, Bada, u-na-hagu-we.
3s-call 3s-say man 2s-POT-help-1s
He called out saying, 'Master, help me'.

As Schachter (1985:50) notes, "A good many languages have a complementizer that is rather transparently derived from the verb meaning 'say'". This would appear true of the particle **ipa**, which has as one of its most common functions the irrealis complementiser.

The following mood markers are only used in conditional sentences and appear to be based on the singular and plural person markers (i- 3s, hi- 3p) and mood markers (na- POT and ta- IRR – cf. 8.7).

TRUTH CONDITIONS	POTENTIAL	IRREALIS
ALWAYS TRUE	hinapa	hitapa
UNCERTAIN	inapa	itapa

Table 13: Tawala conditional particles

The potential particles mark hypothetical sentences (16.6.2) and the irrealis particles mark contrary-to-fact sentences (16.6.3).

5.6.11 INTERROGATIVES

i) BASIC INTERROGATIVES

awai	*what*
meyanai	*when*
meka	*where*
iyai	*who* (singular)
iyawoi	*who* (plural)
iyowai (L.iyowaka)	*how, how's things*
wabihaga (L.ibihaga)	*how many*
miyei	*from where*

The basic forms can be used as indefinites within an NP (9.2.5).

(69) Apo awai i-na-wiatatiye-ta?
FUT what 3s-POT-teach-1pI
What will he teach us?

ii) INDEFINITES

Indefinites are also formed by repeating the respective basic interrogatives; most are optionally joined by po. The implication of the complex form is that more than one item is involved.

awai (po) awai	*whatever*
meka (po) meka	*wherever*
iyai (po) iyai	*whoever* (singular)
iyawoi (po) iyawoi	*whoever* (plural)
wabihaga wabihaga	*however many*
bihaga bihaga	*however many*

(70) awai awai he-gele-geleta
what what 3pPRS-DUR-appear
whatever things happen

(71) meka po meka he-gele-geleta
where and where 3pPRS-DUR appear
wherever places they go

iii) SENTENTIAL INTERROGATIVES

Namane?	*What is it?*
Nam?	*What's his name?*

iv) COMPLEX INTERROGATIVES

There is no word for *why*; instead a number of constructions are used.

me-houga-na	*whatever time*
stay-time-DEF(cataphoric)	
baba-na awai	*what reason*
base-3s what	
hai baba awai	*what are their reasons*
their base what	
awai bi-nei	*for what reason*
what BEN-3s(ABL)	
awai bi-hiyei	*for what reasons*
what BEN-3p(ABL)	

6 DERIVATIONAL PROCESSES

The main motivation for separating the chapters on word derivation and word classes has been the advantage of a more simple presentation. The decision has not been without a certain cost, however. While there is a sharp distinction between derivational and inflectional morphology in Tawala, the two classes do overlap at a number of points (e.g. the morpheme wai- has both inflectional and derivational functions).

Some may well query the detailed treatment given to derivational processes within this thesis purporting to be a reference grammar. After all:

> ...classical transformational grammar shares the Bloomfieldian view that the lexicon is the repository of idiosyncracies and irregularities - as it were, the waste products of syntax and phonology rather than material fit for investigation in its own right.
>
> Harlow and Vincent (1988:5)

Increasingly, however, I have come to appreciate the important role played by derivational processes in Tawala; some of which are crucial to an understanding of Tawala syntax.

6.1 DERIVATIONAL VERSUS INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Derivational morphology cannot be simply assigned to the lexicon as there are certain generalisations that are lost in a mere listing of words. Numerous such features are noted later in the chapter, but at this point it should be noted that derivational, like inflectional, processes are all agglutinative in

nature[1], involving "simple juxtaposition of formatives" (Anderson 1985:11) and hence usually have transparent meaning (to Tawala minds).

Table 1 summarises the differences between derivational and inflectional morphology for Tawala.

DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES	INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES
i) PHONOLOGICAL	
a) Often two syllable	Single syllable
b) Never single vowels	Often single vowels
ii) MORPHOLOGICAL	
c) Prefixes only	Prefixes and suffixes
d) Involve core of words - operate on the roots	Periphery of words - operate on the stems
iii) SYNTACTIC	
e) Change subclass and valence of verbs	Do not change word classes
f) Operate within the word	Index exterior items
g) Operate on restricted subclasses	Operate on all items
iv) SEMANTIC	
h) Have multiple meanings	Have constant function
j) Change root meanings	Do not change root meanings
v) LEXICAL	
k) Unpredictable	Predictable
m) Operate within the lexicon	Operate within the grammar

Table 1: Features distinguishing affixes

While the persuasive power of the individual distinguishing features varies tremendously, taken together they present powerful motivation for the derivational-inflectional distinction. Various

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[1] I follow Anderson (1985:24) in his premise "that it is the individual word formation processes, not languages" that are described by the traditional typological types.

levels of analysis are involved – phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and lexical. Some features are complementary, involving overlap with different levels of analysis. Some features are secondary, resulting from the model I have adopted; for example, the distinction between lexicon and grammar (m) is theory-dependent.

i) PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

a) Inflectional affixes are almost entirely single syllables. This is also true for strict derivational prefixes (7.5-7.6) – most other types of derivation (e.g. the classificatory prefix underlined in (1)) involve two syllables.

(1) I-na-pali-wele-u.
3s-POT-CP-give-1s
She will inform me.

b) A number of inflectional affixes employ a single vowel (cf. 5.6.1.1) - all Tawala vowels are so employed[2]. No derivational prefix involves a single vowel except the durative aspect (8.6 & 8.8.1) form of wi- (causative prefix) which is i-.

(2) A-i-bagibag-i.
1s-DUR-work-3s
I am using it.

ii) MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES

c) Derivational affixes are mostly prefixes, whereas inflectional affixes include numerous clitics as well as prefixes.

d) Derivational affixes operate within the core of the word, combining with the root to form a stem. Inflectional affixes combine with the stem (or root) to form words. Two levels

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[2] Most Tawala vowels have more than one function: e.g. contrast the first person singular possessive pronoun **u** in **u nae** *my going* with the second person singular subject prefix **u-** (**u-nae** *you go*)

below word level are distinguished (cf. Nida 1949; Matthews 1974, etc.).

ROOT the part of the word carrying basic meaning

STEM (a) compound stem – a root combined with a second root – hopu.mai *come down*, giu.dao *scorpion* (tail.long).

(b) derived stem – a root combined with a derivational affix – lu-mayau *collect firewood* (go-fire/firewood). Stems often have a basic meaning difference from the root and must be listed separately in the lexicon – haba *red pigment* > -lu-haba *chew betelnut* (cause-red).

The following words (verbs) show some typical combinations of roots with derivational prefixes (DP) and inflectional affixes.

a-wi-nugo.kaoha-ya	a-li-peu-ya	a-hopu mai
1s-DP-heart.joy-3s	1s-DP-fall-3s	1s-go DX
I make her happy	*I dropped it*	*I came down*

iii) SYNTACTIC FEATURES

e) Derivational affixes often involve a change in word class. Adjectives are formed from verbs and nouns (6.4). Verbs are formed from nouns (6.5.4).

(3) i-wi-bada
3s-DP-man
he became a man

Verbs are also formed from some closed word classes (6.5.5).

(4) i-lu-tonug-e-hi
3s-DP-three-TR-3p
he got (= speared) three

Verbs derived from other verbs usually involve a valence change (chapter 7).

(5) i-towolo > hi-wi-towol-i
3s-stand 3p-DP-stand-3s
it was standing *they stood it up*

On the other hand, inflectional affixes only change word class in a functional sense: verb stems can function as nouns taking the corresponding inflectional affixes or possessive pronoun.

(6)	hi-bagibagi	>	hai bagibagi
	3p-work		their work
	they work		*their working*

f) The domain of the derivational affix is limited to the word, with a change in the fundamental meaning of the core itself, often involving an increase in the valence of the core. Inflectional affixes normally have the clause as their domain: person/number 'agreement' with the NPs; tense/aspect/mood related to the contextual situation etc. Pluralisation of nouns is an inherent relationship and hence overlaps with derivational processes. Interestingly, it has the same morphology (reduplication) as some derived forms.

g) Derivational affixes operate on a limited number of verb subclasses. Subject prefixes operate on all verbs. Actually the object suffixes operate only with transitive verbs and are therefore limited. However, this limitation is not nearly as specific and restrictive as the derivational prefixes, e.g. the li- causative prefix is never used with basic motion verbs.

iv) SEMANTIC FEATURES

h) Inflectional affixes have a constant meaning with all classes of stem, whereas derivational prefixes tend to have a variety of meanings dependent on the subclass of word involved. Thus the causative prefix lu- (6.5.3.1.ii) used with cultural items means *to collect the item.*

(7) a-lu-mayau
1s-DP-firewood
I collected firewood

Used with body parts it means *to hit the item.*

(8) a-lu-giu-ni
1s-DP-tail-3s
I hit its tail

j) Derivational prefixes involve a basic change in the meaning of the core of the word: polo *pig* becomes wo-polo *to steal (a) pig* or lu-polo *to go pig hunting.* Inflectional prefixes never function in this manner.

v) LEXICAL FEATURES

k) The meaning of derived stems is often unpredictable or idiomatic. The semantics involves more than a simple combination of the parts and must be individually listed in the lexicon. On the other hand, inflected forms are quite predictable to the person who knows the component meanings of all the morphemes involved.

m) Anderson (1985:4) calls the lexicon "the repository of what is idiosyncratic and unpredictable about linguistic forms". Even though derivational prefixes show regularities within severely confined contexts the fact that there are so many of these contexts requires each derived form to be placed in the lexicon. Failure to do so would result in too great a reliance on a highly distinguished grammar. At the same time the fact that regularities are observed within subclasses and across word classes needs to be recorded in the grammar itself. Thus derived forms are a grey area between the grammar and the lexicon and need to be included in both. Inflectional prefixes on the other hand are clearly part of the grammar and are

included in the lexicon only to point the novice to the appropriate grammatical section.

Following an outline of the nature of the basic and derivational morphology (6.2), we proceed to an examination of the derivation of nouns (6.3), adjectives (6.4) and verbs (6.5-7.6). Verb morphology is presented in chapter 8.

6.2 LEXICAL COMPOSITION

> Our focus is less on the arbitrariness of lexical information than on the possibility of finding some systematic internal structure to the list of forms...
>
> Anderson (1985:4)

While it is recognised that the lexicon contains much that is idiosyncratic and unpredictable, the majority of lexical items "involve isolable parts combined in principled ways" (Anderson 1985:5). A number of isolable parts are discernable in Tawala lexical items:

compounding – root plus root (6.3.4):

natu.oloto	*son* (child.male)
niu.domo	*nostril* (nose.hole)

derivational prefix plus root (6.5.4):

lu-bogahu	*smoke cigarette* (make-smoke)
wi-awali	*load someone up* (cause-carry)

classificatory prefix plus root (6.5.2):

pali-hale	*permit* ('proclaim'-throw)

reduplication (6.3.1):

hale-halewa	*pineapple* (halewa *pandanus palm*)

The processes involved in the derivation of the three major word classes differ fundamentally from each other. Table 2

contrasts selected common elements involved in compounds (a-c), derived forms (d) and productive reduplication (e).

TYPE OF DERIVATION	RESULTANT WORD CLASS		
	NOUNS	VERBS	ADJECTIVES
a) noun + noun	+	-	-
b) noun + verb	-	+	-
c) verb + verb	-	+	-
d) wi-/lu-/li- + root	-	+	-
e) reduplication	-	-	+

Table 2: Contrasting types of word composition

NOTE – reference to nouns and verbs in the left side of the table is to roots only.

More details of derivational processes are given under the respective word classes below.

Anderson (1985:22) surveys "a variety of dimensions on which word formation processes can be classified". Some dimensions are now listed along with comments on where each process is best described.

i) Formal nature of derivations – surveyed above in this section as well as under the respective word classes below.

ii) Semantic nature of inputs and outputs – Ezard (in press) gives detailed treatment; a summary is given in the respective sections.

iii) Syntactic relations – verbalising processes are summarised in this chapter; valence changes are outlined in chapter 7.

iv) Degree of productivity – outlined in the remaining paragraphs of this section.

'Productivity' is used in three senses, and we look at each of these in turn. In the first place, productivity "refers to the

absolute number of forms included in the scope of a word formation process" (Anderson 1985:16). In this thesis I largely restrict comment to those forms which are highly productive. An examination of the lexicon reveals items with compositional elements not discussed.

Secondly, productivity refers to "the extent to which a morphological process applies to the forms that constitute its input range" (Anderson 1985:16f.). Obviously, derivational processes differ a good deal in their productivity in this sense. Thus derivational prefixes (6.5.3-6.5.6, 7.4-7.6.2) are more productive than classificatory prefixes (6.5.2); wi- is more productive than li- etc. Nevertheless, all the processes described in this chapter are highly productive, typically applying to dozens of items.

Finally, productivity is used in the sense of "the extent to which a process is semantically 'compositional'" (Anderson 1985:22). The general tendency is for Tawala derivation to be semantically transparent. The least transparent items are those which employ derivational prefixes, but even these show a high degree of homogeneity when the subclass of the root is accounted for (6.5.3.2). Tawala derivational processes are highly productive in every sense of the word, and an understanding of the processes involved is vital to an appreciation of the grammar. However, the subject is so vast that only a summary can be presented in a volume of restricted size attempting to handle the complete grammar.

6.3 DERIVATION OF NOUNS

A number of derivational processes are observed with nouns. They have a varying degree of productivity, ranging from fossilised items to fully productive derivation.

6.3.1 INHERENT REDUPLICATION

Many Tawala nouns have an inherently reduplicated form – with many roots only the reduplicated form exists; if there is a non-reduplicated root its meaning is unrelated and is listed as a separate lexical item. Even though the reduplicated forms are no longer productive they follow the same productive reduplication processes outlined above (4.4).

Ezard (1980:150-153) lists the semantic domains of nouns with inherently reduplicated form. The following is a summary of the data in that paper, presented in a revised format.

i) CONDITION NOUNS

A number of separate categories should perhaps be distinguished under this category.

a) Problem-condition nouns: **badebade** *deaf-and-dumb person*, dayadayabu *poor person*, **apapula** *boil/abcess*.

b) Multiple-part nouns: **apape-** *wing*, **nudanuda** *rubbish*, **tolotolo-** *ribs*.

c) Repetitive-condition nouns: **bolibolima** *southeast trade winds*; bagibagi *work*, **guhuguhu** *earthquake*, **lepolepo** *wake of boat*, **gaogao** *week* (from **gao** *gap*).

d) Instruments in constant use, including means of transport: **kewokewou** *outrigger canoe*, **kwasikwasi** *machete*, **nakanaka** *shelf*, **wekiwekilala** *sign (of ownership)*, **yabiyabi** *rudder*.

ii) NATURAL SPECIES

Many natural kinds have names with reduplicated forms. This is by far the largest class of reduplicated nouns and it is possible to further subdivide them and give a tentative rationale for their form. It should be stressed that no productive processes are posited in the following data, even though related forms of an unreduplicated nature are included for comparison.

Again a number of semantic classes are evident.

a) Diminution[3]: halehalewa *pineapple* (cf. halewa *pandanus*), kapekapeu *moth* (cf. kapeu *butterfly*), motamota *worm* (cf. mota *snake*).

b) Onomatopoeia: mukumuku *pigeon*, kukou *dog* (Kehelala dialect), kukuku *pheasant coucal*.

c) Continuous state: gumaguma *hermit crab* (cf. guma *empty*), yuwayuwa *poisonous cone shell* (cf. wiyuwa *to pain*), buhubuhu *borer beetle* (cf. buhu *to bore*).

d) Multiple Parts: habohabo *sea urchin (many spikes)*, botoboto *spotted cuscus (many spots)*, goigoi *mango (much fruit)*.

e) Multiple Items: diwidiwi *ants*, yakoyako *shells*, gidagida *kunai grass*.

6.3.2 SEMIPRODUCTIVE REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is employed to mark plural in some subclasses of noun – such as nouns of human reference, relationship terms, body parts. Even though the process involves inflectional

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[3] This category is also found in Island Melanesia and elsewhere in Austronesian languages (Codrington 1885:147).

morphology, productive reduplication of relationship terms and body parts belongs to the lexicon for a number of reasons. Firstly, reduplication does not apply to the whole subclass. Secondly, many of the reduplicated forms are irregular and must be listed separately. Thirdly, one often hears the plural form used for the singular – **leduledu** *coconut cup*, **hiwahiwape** *widow*, etc. With this class it is the unreduplicated form that is marked for singular reference; the reduplicated form is unmarked and is either singular or plural. This process presumably accounts for the reduplicated form of many inherently reduplicated lexical items; they have simply lost the marked form.

As is true of a number of areas of Tawala grammar, pluralisation is sensitive to the animacy hierarchy (3.12), with human referent and relationship terms being pluralised. In addition, many body-part members can also be pluralised. Other nouns make no distinction for number, relying on number marking on possessives, pronouns and pronominal enclitics (5.6.1.2), adjectives, number phrases, postpositions and nominals, and person markers on verbs. Plural is also marked by reduplication in the following noun classes (see 4.4 for patterns).

i) HUMAN REFERENCE

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
keduluma	*woman*	**kedukeduluma**	*women*
hewali	*youth*	**hewahewali**	*youths*
hiwape	*widow*	**hiwahiwape**	*widow(s)*
oloto	*male*	**olololoto**	*males*

The following forms have irregular reduplication patterns, including partial reduplication, no reduplicated form and suppletion.

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
wawine	*female*	wiwine	*females*
bada	*man*	babada	*men*
guguhini	*maiden*	guguhini	*maidens*
tewela	*child*	logaloga	*children*

ii) BODY PARTS

Some animal and human body parts are reduplicated to mark plural. They occur with a pronominal enclitic marking the 'possessor' of the part in question. Not all body parts are pluralised, even when they occur in twos, hence mata-na means *his eye* or *his eyes*, probably because, unlike limbs, they do not operate independently.

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
nima-na	*his hand*	nimanima-na	*his hands*
ae-na	*its leg*	aeae-na	*its legs*

Some body parts have inherently reduplicated forms: ahahe-na *his jaw*; ununu-na *his head*; apape-na *wing*; deledele-na *his shin*; tolotolo-na *his ribs/side*, etc.

A wide range of the parts of living things can be marked for plural. With body parts of animals and humans the pronominal enclitic is bound, however, with inanimate items it is optional – forms are presented here without 'possessive' marking. In each case the reduplicated form may be used for singular referents.

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
lugu	*leaf*	lugulugu	*leaf/leaves*
laga	*branch*	lagalaga	*branch(es)*
hilili	*coral finger*	hilihilili	*coral finger(s)*

A small number of unconnected parts (not seen in relationship to a specific entity) are also pluralised. These cannot take the pronominal enclitic; that is, they cannot be inalienably possessed.

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
galu	*new shoot*	galugalu	*new shoot(s)*
heya	*piece of coral*	heyaheya	*piece(s) of coral*
ledu	*coconut cup*	leduledu	*coconut cup(s)*

The word **guta** *share/portion* is unique in that it belongs to both the above categories and operates with a reduplicated and non-reduplicated form in each – corresponding to alienably and inalienably possessed items (9.10). In both cases it is the plural which is the marked form.

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
guta	*share of food*	gutaguta	*shares of food*
guta-na	*its (body) part*	gutaguta-na	*its parts*

6.3.3 FULLY PRODUCTIVE REDUPLICATION

With the noun subclass of relationship terms we have a fully productive inflectional process – reduplicated form marks plural; this is the 'kinship terms' subclass. Strictly, this belongs in the previous chapter because it is an inflectional rather than a derivational process. It is included at this point to keep all nominal reduplication together.

As relationship terms are bound forms (with pronominal enclitics marking the person and number of the 'possessor'), the data are presented here in the inclusive form **-ta**, the most natural form for a group of people discussing kinship. As relationship terms mostly follow regular reduplication patterns, only a representative sampling is presented here.

natu-ta	*our child*	natunatu-ta	*our children*
ama-ta	*our father*	amama-ta	*our fathers*
oi-ta	*our cousin*	oioi-ta	*our cousins*
nou-ta	*our 'sister'*	nounou-ta	*our 'sisters'*[4]

The following form is irregular.

goga-ta	*our ancestor*	googa-ta	*our ancestors*

6.3.4 COMPOUND NOUNS

Mithun (1984:848) notes: "Compounding is done for a reason. Some entity, quality or activity is recognized sufficiently often to be considered name-worthy in its own right...". In Tawala, compounding combines uniflected stems, thus naming items by identifying qualities they have in relationship to other more common items. They follow the normal typology of the language by placing the descriptive stem following the head – as both verb modifiers and adjectives follow the head they 'modify'.

A small number of Tawala nouns (about 10%) are made up of noun+noun compounds. Some of these have become fossilised and, even though meanings can often be assigned to the root nouns which form the compound, these are no longer productive because the resultant meanings are not compositional and many of the component root nouns are no longer used as nominal stems: **pilipou** *trousers* (**pili** *fishline holder*, **pou** *egg*), **guguwepo** *frigate bird* (**gugu** *breast*, **(w)epo(?)**), **dedewaga** *box* (**dede** *tell a story*, ***waga** *boat*[5]).

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[4] nou- is actually *a sibling of the opposite sex.*

[5] The POC *waga *canoe* has the reflex **wam** *boat* (generic) in Tawala. The root is also found in in fossilised form in compounds such as the noun **koko-waga** *grave* (testicle-boat).

On the other hand, many compounds are productive in the sense that they are compositionally transparent and could presumably be readily added to:

NOUN + NOUN	> NOUN	
tala.oloto	*statue*	(blood.male)
natu.oloto	*son*	(child.male)
natu.lagalaga	*twins*	(child.branches)
yako.nelunelu	*snail*	(shell.mucous)
ununu.pou	*brain*	(head.egg)
mata.tutu	*eyebrow*	(eye.joint)
mata.keyaka	*eyelid*	(eye.cup)
mata.ipi	*eyelash*	(eye.lip)
niu.domo	*nostril*	(nose.hole)

There are a few compound nouns in which the second root of the compound is verbal rather than nominal.

NOUN + VERB	> NOUN	
giu.dao	*scorpion*	(tail.long)
tepa.pani	*headband*	(forehead.bind)
kamna.dewadewa	*healthy*	(disposition.good)

6.3.5 PRODUCTIVE DERIVATION OF NOUNS

Four fully productive processes are involved in deriving nouns. The first two do not involve a change in class membership – nouns are derived from nouns; in the third and fourth types, nouns are derived from underlying verbs. In each case a pre-stem nominaliser is involved.

6.3.5.1 NOUNS DERIVED FROM NOUNS

i) INHABITANTS – mi

The nominalising proclitic mi-[6] is used with the noun subclass of place names to refer to the inhabitants of the place named (5.3).

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[6] Probably related to the verb **mae** *live, stay.*

mi-Tubetube	*people from Tubetube*
mi-Papua	*Papuans*
mi-Diwinai	*people from Divinai*
mi-Tawala	*Tawala-speaking people*
mi-dimdim[7]	*Europeans*

ii) REGION/QUADRANT - tupo

The noun tupo *region* is related to the body-part noun tupo-na *part-3s*. It is also used in alienable possessive phrases (gavman a tupo *governmental authority*). In its nominalising function it occurs as a proclitic without possessive marking.

tupo-bauli	*north*	(bauli *north wind*)
tupo-yalasi	*south-west*	(yalasi *s-w wind*)
tupo-wohepali	*the four quadrants*	(wohepali *four*)
tupo-Suau	*the Suau region*	
tupo-geha	*another region*	(gehou-na *other*-3s)

6.3.5.2 NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERBS

For a grammatical analysis of nominalisation see 14.4.

i) THINGS AND PLACES - ani

The proclitic ani- is used with a verb stem to indicate the place at which an action takes place, or the thing which is used for the action. This combined meaning is often referred to by separate lexical items in English.

ani-ulona	*kitchen*	(ulona *cook*)
ani-tugula	*chair*	(tugula *sit*)
ani-goda	*wooden spoon*	(goda *stir*)
ani-gimala	*shop*	(gimala *exchange*)

Often the stem is a derived form itself.

ani-lu-wayawayau	*fan*	(wayau *cold*)
ani-m-giluma	*pen/pencil*	(om-giluma *DP-carving*)
ani-me-gowada	*fortress*	(me-gowada *stay-hide*)
ani-uma-buuwa	*beer*	(uma-buuwa *drink-crazy*)

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[7] Dimdim is a word commonly used in Milne Bay languages. Originally it seems to have meant people from the ocean - cf. dumdum *deep sea*.

ii) PERSONS – tu

The proclitic **tu-**[8] is used with a verb to indicate the person who does the action indicated by the verb, or who is in the condition indicated by the verb.

tu-hilage	*dead person*	(hilage *die*)
tu-meuputa	*foreigner*	(me-uputa *stay outside*)
tu-danene	*thief*	(danene *steal*)
tu-wi-baabani	*speaker*	(baha *word*)[9]

Some nouns are derived from verbs that have been derived from nouns by the use of a derivational prefix.

tu-wi-tuwega	*news spreader*	(tuwega *news*)
tu-wi-gawiya	*soldier/enemy*	(gawiya *fight*)
tu-wi-pakulo	*poet*	(pakulo *riddle*)
tu-lu-mulamula	*doctor*	(mulamula *medicine*)

Some nouns are derived from other nouns with this proclitic.

tu-balau	*sorcerer*	(balau *sorcery*)
tu-wasawasa	*rich person*	(wasawasa *riches*)
tu-panipani	*prisoner*	(panipani *bond*)
tu-taniwagena[10]	*the ruler*	(taniwaga *rule*)

6.4 DERIVATION OF ADJECTIVES

Almost all adjectives have a reduplicated form, most derived (synchronically or diachronically) from underlying verbs. The process is fully productive and at least one introduced word has been adjectivised **patipati-** *patched* (**pati** *to apply putty*).

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[8] A reflex of POC ***tau** *person*.

[9] It is likely that **wi-baabani** is historically derived from **baha**, however there is no longer any active relationship.

[10] The form **taniwage-na** includes the definite marker, which is not part of the derived stem.

Adjectives fall into a number of groups with respect to derivation.

i) By far the most common form of derivation is where adjectives are derived by reduplication of a wide range of verb roots, of which the following list is representative.

ADJECTIVE		ROOT
gwae-gwae-	*murky*	(-gwae *be made murky*)
gobu-gobu-	*dirty*	(-gobu *be dirty*)
wite-witei-	*heavy*	(-witai *be heavy*)
hopu-hopu-	*humble*	(-hopu *go down*)
ge-ge-	*elated*	(-gae *go up*)
towo-towolo-	*standing*	(-towolo *stand*)
eno-eno-	*lying*	(-eno *lie down*)
pi-peu-	*fallen*	(-peu *fall*)
dala-dala-	*crawling*	(-dala *crawl*)
baha-baha-	*spoken*	(-baha *speak*)
bowi-bowi-	*denied*	(-bowi *make a denial*)
hogo-hogo-	*full*	(-hogo-yaRFX *be full*)
ti-teina-	*pulled*	(-tein-i *pull s.t.*)

(9) gulawa titeina-na
twine pulled-3s
a tight rope

ii) Adjectives derived by reduplication of a noun root – this is relatively rare.

ADJECTIVE		ROOT
palo-palouma-	*witchish*	(palouma *witch*)
siga-siga-	*final*	(siga *end*)
gi-geima-	*stony*	(gaima *stone*)
guyo-guyou-	*princely*	(guyau *chief*)
tani-taniwaga-	*ruling*	(taniwaga *rule*)

iii) Some adjectives are derived by the use of the proclitic wai- without any reduplication of the root. A variety of underlying roots are observed.

ADJECTIVE		ROOT
wai-muli-	*last*	(wi-muli- *be last*)
wai-poya-	*hot*	(wipoya- *be hot*)
wai-goila-	*watery*	(goila *water*)
wai-hagu-	*helpful*	(hagu- *help s.o.*)

A subclass uses body parts to form adjectives describing classes of animal.

ADJECTIVE		ROOT
wai-hopu-	*marsupial*	(hopu- *pouch*)
wai-pape-	*winged*	(pape- *wing*)
wai-apala-	*hairy*	(apala- *hair*)
wai-ae-	*legged*	(ae- *leg*)

iv) Some adjectives employ both reduplication and the proclitic wai-. These adjectives are derived from noun roots.

ADJECTIVE		ROOT
wai-wawi-wawine-	*effeminate*	(wawine *female*)
wai-dona-dona-	*horny*	(dona- *tusk*)
wai-dubu-dubu-	*sandy*	(dubudubu *dust*)
wai-goi-goila-	*watery*	(goila *water*)
wai-pelo-pelo-	*decorated*	(pelopelo *streamers*)[11]

v) Most colour terms also employ the proclitic wai- along with reduplication.

ADJECTIVE		ROOT
wai-didibale-	*black*	(didibala *dark/night*)
wai-ida-idaga-	*green/blue*	(idaga *raw/uncooked*)
wai-gomi-gomida-	*green*	(gomida *unripe*)
wai-kani-kaniyoga-	*yellow*	(kaniyoga *turmeric*)
wai-kuli-kuli-	*mottled*	(kulikuli *mottle*)

vi) Some adjectives no longer demonstrate a productive derivational process. These all have regular reduplicated forms except for the first item.

ADJECTIVE		ROOT
banei-	*big*	(*banei)
apapoe-	*bad*	(*apoe)
bigabiga-	*muddy*	(*biga)
gugou-	*sweet*	(-gou *fault*)
dewadewa-	*good*	(-dewa-ya *do/make-it*)[12]

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[11] Made from strips of pandanus.

[12] The root **dewa** is also a noun *custom*; the three word classes are possibly related: it is Tawala *custom* (noun) *to do/make* (verb) *good* (adjective) *things*.

vii) A few 'adjectives' do not have reduplicated forms though they are related to stative verbs.

ADJECTIVE		VERB
odubo-	*old*	(-odubo *be old*)
wou-	*new*	(-wou *renew*)
habulu-	*small*	(-habulu *be small*)

6.5 DERIVATION OF VERBS

As the head of the VP (8.3), a verb takes a person/number prefix, indexing clause subject, as well as a number of optional affixes (8.4-8.7).

The data base for this and the next chapter consists of a corpus of just over 250 underived verb roots. In this sample 52% are intransitive, 48% are transitive (22% being variable focus verbs). Verbs not involved in the actual statistics include 60 compound verb roots and hundreds of derived verbs. Many intransitive and transitive stems change valence by the application of derivational affixes (ch. 7).

(10)

I-hilage.	>	I-li-hilage-ni.
3s-die		3s-DP-die-3s
He/She/It died.		*He killed it.*

Within texts, at least 50% of Tawala verbs have derived stems. By far the most productive manner of forming new verb stems is with derivational prefixes (10). They are employed both in deriving verbs from other word classes (6.5.4-6.5.5) and in the formation of verb stems from verb roots (7.4-7.6). Contrasting with derivational prefixes is a set of less productive classificatory prefixes (6.6.1).

(11)

I-hedal-i.	>	I-tupa-hedal-i.
3s-break-3s		3s-CP-break-3s
He-broke-it.		*He broke it (by knocking it).*

That -tupa-hedali is not regarded as a serial verb is due to the fact that tupa- is no longer a free form. Serial verb constructions (8.9) are not considered compounds but part of the verb phrase.

(12) I-lupa hale-ya.
3s-jump throw-3s
She flew and escaped it (the island).

Compound verbs (6.5.7) are a special class of idiomatic verbs, consisting of a body-part root plus a verb. These are so prolific, with grammar so distinctive, that they are a major subclass of verbs in their own right.

(13) I-taniga-pota.
3s-ear-block
He is disobedient.

6.5.2 CLASSIFICATORY PREFIXES

Classificatory prefixes are distinguished from derivational prefixes in a number of ways. Firstly, the derivational prefixes have one syllable and the classificatory prefixes have two. Secondly, the derivational prefixes are highly productive, functioning with a large number of subclasses, whereas the classificatory prefixes by comparison function within a limited framework, with just a few roots – some are possibly en route to fossilisation. Thirdly, the derivational prefixes have a special form for durative aspect (8.8.1), whereas the classificatory prefixes follow normal reduplication patterns (4.4). Finally, the derivational prefixes often have a causative sense, whereas the classificatory prefixes simply indicate the manner in which the action is done (cf. Capell 1943:236-53) – a special effective marker is required for the construction to express causation.

The effective marker (EFF) is a morpheme used following classificatory and derivational prefixes (and the main verb in a serial verb constructions – 8.9.4), indicating that the verb which follows the marker is the result of the classificatory prefix (or verb) which precedes it.

(14)	Hi-kawa-moina.	Hi-kawa-i-moin-e-ya.
	3p-CP-true	3p-CP-EFF-true-TR-3s
	They declared (it) true.	*They established it as true.*

None of the classificatory prefixes is an independent verb root; in this they differ from serial verb constructions (8.9.2). While it seems plausible that classificatory prefixes are the result of grammaticisation of serial verbs, I have found little evidence in support of this. The forms only occur as the prefixes outlined in this section. The equivalent free forms show no relationship to these prefixes. Thus tape- *to do by hand* bears no resemblance to nima *hand*, and kawa-[13] *to proclaim* and pali-[14] *to speak* are not related to baha *to speak*.

As the classificatory prefixes indicate the manner in which an action is done it is helpful to group the prefixes together according to functional types. (For a slightly different classification and also more detail see Ezard 1978a.)

i) INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

These involve doing an action by means of a body part or particular action.

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[13] cf. POC *gama *mouth, opening* (Ross pers. comm.); the Tawala reflex is gamo- *mouth*.

[14] The Tawala word pali *'sing', chant magic formula* is, synchronically, a different root from the classificatory prefix.

hana-hedali *break s.t. with teeth*
tape-hedali *break s.t. with hands*
tupa-hedali *break s.t. by knocking*[15]

These classificatory prefixes frequently occur with the effective marker.

(15) Hi-tape-i-lowo-ya.
3p-CP-EFF-run-3s
They grabbed-fled it. (= They scared it off.)

ii) DECLARATION PREFIXES

The verbs of speaking are often causative, not just 'declaring something...' but 'making it...'. Two prefixes are involved: kawa- *to proclaim* and pali- *to speak.*

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
moina	*be true*	kawa-moina	*proclaim true*
apapoe	*be bad*	kawa-i-apapoe[16]	*proclaim bad*
wele-	*give*	pali-wele	*inform*
lougo	*sing*	pali-lougo	*heal by magic*

(16) Amaka i-pali-hale-ya.
already 3s-CP-throw-ya
She has already permitted it.

iii) MODAL CLASSIFICATORY PREFIXES

These verbs stress various modes of action – change in state by the sudden appearance or disappearance of an item, multiple or ordered action. Three prefixes are involved: welu- *(dis)appear,* hulu- *to happen together* and yei- *do first.*

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
lui	*enter*	welu-lui	*disappear inside*
waya	*take it*	welu-waya	*bring forth*
geleta	*arrive*	hulu-geleta	*spill over, flood canoe*
niyeya	*take it*	hulu-niyeya	*cast lots*[17]
lupa	*jump*	yei-lupa	*jump ahead*
togo	*wash*	yei-togo	*washed earlier*

---

[15] Note the similarity of this class to the derivational prefixes outlined in section 6.5.6.3; e.g. **tu-hedali** *break with feet.*

[16] This form does not occur without the effective prefix.

[17] Involves a number of sticks thrown simultaneously to the ground.

(17) Hi-ne-nei u tahaya hi-welu-powa.
3p-DUR-come LOC path 3p-CP-mistake
While coming along the path they disappeared.

(18) Ma houga gehou-na naka o-na-yei-lubayada.
but time other-3s that 2p-POT-CP-ask
Next time ask first.

6.5.3 DERIVATIONAL PREFIXES

Derivational prefixes (wi-, lu-, li- and wo-) attach to roots to form a wide range of verbs. Words of almost any class can fill the root slot, and an elaborate system of word subclasses is required to account for the intricacies of grammar and the nuances of meaning involved. Without doubt this is the most difficult and highly productive area of Tawala grammar.

Each of the Tawala derivational prefixes has more than one form. Durative aspect is marked by change of form rather than reduplication as found elsewhere in the language.

	SIMPLE FORM	DURATIVE FORM
Valence Increasing	wi- lu- wo- li-	i- lau- woo- lai-
Valence Decreasing	am-	yam-

Table 3: Durative forms of derivational prefixes

6.5.3.1 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF DERIVATIONAL PREFIXES

The origin of each Tawala prefix is unique and consequently each needs separate investigation.

i) wi-

Several problems are associated with the origin of this prefix. The first is that it has been easier to consider it a reflex of PAN *pa (Capell 1943) than of the POC *paka-. Ross (1988:391) suggests that rather than *pa- being a reduction of *paka-, "POC inherited both morphemes". He suggests the situation may have been even more complex in that there is evidence for a further POC causative prefix *pi-. This new solution suits the Tawala data admirably making wi- a regular reflex of *pi-. However, we need to proceed with caution as there is little evidence in the daughter languages of the alleged complex of causatives in POC. Wherever the truth may lie we may safely assert that the Tawala causative wi- has its roots in a POC causative.[18]

ii) lu-

This prefix seems to have its origin in relatively recent times, within the Papuan Tip Cluster. Ezard (1988:6f.) presents evidence that it derives from a serial verb construction PPT *rao-VERB *to do by going*. This suggestion was first made by Ray (1907:459) and is certainly consistent with Tawala data, where a meaning for lu- can often be understood in a general sense as action involving 'going', e.g. lu-mayau *collect firewood* (mayau *tree/firewood*).

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[18] Ezard (1988 suggests that Tawala wi- might be a merger of *paki- *do together* and *pa-, following the line of reasoning in Ross (1988:284).

iii) wo-

Ezard (1988:8) gives evidence that this prefix developed with the Are-Taupota chain, with no evidence for this prefix beyond the confines of the north coast of Papua. It is suggested that the origin of this derivational prefix may have been from a classificatory prefix wo- *to do by hand* (cf. tu- *to do by foot*, etc.) as that meaning still persists with a number of roots.

The prefix wo- has only a minor syntactic role (7.5.1.4.); however, it is a very productive source of lexical items, where one of its major functions is to specify repeated action (6.5.6.2).

wo-lupa *keep going up* (lupa *jump/fly*)

iv) li-

Even though this prefix seems to be a development from within the Tawala language itself, its origins are vague and can only be guessed at. It has a more consistent causative meaning than the other prefixes and may have developed because of the general loss of causative meaning among the other prefixes (see Ezard 1988 for discussion).

One interesting observation, though possibly of no consequence, is the symmetry formed by the four valence-increasing Tawala prefixes; li- fills a gap in the system:

wo-	wi-
lu-	li-

Table 4: Symmetry of Derivational Prefixes

The prefixes wi- and li- are primarily valence-increasing (7.5.1.1-7.5.1.2) derivational prefixes and wo- and lu- are

primarily employed in the derivation of new lexical items (but cf. 7.5.1.3–7.5.1.4), though there is considerable overlap between the two functions.

Table 5 presents a summary of the various time depths attested for each of the prefixes.

	POC	PPT	PAT	Tawala
wi-	*pa˜pi	---------->		wi-
lu-		*rao	---------->	lu-
wo-			*po---->	wo-
li-				li-

Table 5: Time depths attested for valence-increasing prefixes

6.5.3.2 SEMANTIC CLASSES AND VERBAL DERIVATION

> We work from the assumption that the syntactic properties of a lexical item can largely be predicted from its semantic description. Semantics is thus held to be prior to syntax.
>
> Dixon (1982:8)

Although Tawala derivational prefixes are exceedingly complicated, a large degree of order was discovered when the usages of the prefixes were examined from the perspective of word classes and subclasses. An extensive study of several hundred verbs revealed a general principle: Insofar as two words share significant semantic components so their syntax overlaps.

The data presented in the remaining part of this chapter, and in the next, are sensitive to the semantics of the root. Accordingly the word class of the root from which the form is

derived is mentioned in each case. The semantic aspects of these prefixes are treated extensively in Ezard (in press).

6.5.4 VERBS DERIVED FROM NOUNS

Five noun subclasses are a fruitful source of verbs when combined with the derivational prefixes wi-, lu-, li- and wo-. Each subclass is unique both in semantics and grammatical relations. The semantics involved are summarised in table 6 (see Ezard in press for further details) and the grammatical relations are set out in the discussion following the table. Items in brackets are not productive with all roots.

	wi-	lu-	li-	wo-
NOUNS	*become like...*	*'go' and do...*	*become new...*	*hold...*
Body part (hand, head)	cover, protect or aid noun	hit noun	-	hold noun
Kinship (child, father)	enter or adopt new relationship	-	(multiply well)	-
Human reference (youth, man)	become/behave like noun - socially	act like noun - physically	change someone into noun	-
Cultural item (stone, wood, pig)	area covered by n. spread area with noun	collect/catch noun	be transformed into noun	a. hold n. b. steal n. c. carry n.
Relationship (in,after)	relative motion	pile in location	-	put hand in location

Table 6: Derivational prefixes with nouns

Derived verb stems are formed by prefixing one of the derivational prefixes to a noun subclass; the meanings of the resultant verbs are presented in table 6. In cases where a derived verb form has not been encountered this fact is marked

with a dash (-). The following data present examples of each of the derived forms. An indication of the grammatical class of the derived verb is to be found in the codes following the root (in the second column):

O	-	object enclitic - transitive verb
RFX	-	object enclitic - condition verb
TR	-	transitiviser[19]

i) BODY PART

wi-	wi-ae-TR-O	*put shoe on*	(ae- *leg*)
lu-	lu-ae-O	*hit leg*	
wo-	wo-ae-O	*hold leg*	

(19) Am kwasikwasi-gei u-na-lu-giu-ni.
yourSG machete-ABL 2s-POT-DP-tail-3s
Hit its tail with your machete.

ii) KINSHIP TERM

wi-	wi-natu-na[20]	*have/adopt a child*	(natu- *child*)
li-	li-natu-TR-O	*have many children*	

(20) Ega nou-we, ma a-wi-nou-na.
NEG sister-1s but 1s-DP-sister-3s
She is not my sister, but I adopted her as a sister.

iii) HUMAN REFERENCE

wi-	wi-bada	*become a man*	(bada *man*)
lu-	lu-ba-bada	*act like men*	
li-	li-bada-RFX	*turn into a man*	

(21) Bada e-lau-hewa-hewali.
man 3sPRS-DP-PL-youth
The man is acting like a teenager.

---

[19] The main function of the suffix -ge is transitiviser, which normally involves valence increase (7.4.1).

[20] The plural form is wi-natu-natu-na *adopt children.*

iv) CULTURAL ITEM

wi-	wi-gai-gaima	*be stoney*	(gaima *stone*)
lu-	lu-gaima	*collect stones*	
li-	li-gaima-RFX	*turn into stone*	
wo-	wo-gaima	*hold stone to throw*	
	wo-mayau	*steal firewood*	(mayau *tree/wood*)
	wo-polo-RFX	*be loaded with pork*	(polo *pig*)

(22) Ta-nae ta-lu-mayau.
1pl-go 1pl-DP-tree
Let's go and collect firewood.

v) RELATIONSHIP TERM

wi-	wi-muli-	*follow s.t.*	(muli- *behind*)
lu-	lu-hine-	*pile s.t. inside*	(hine- *inside*)
wo-	wo-hine	*put hand inside*	

(23) Yaniyani hi-lu-tepan-e-ya
staples 3p-DP-top-TR-3s
They piled food up on top.

6.5.5 VERBS DERIVED FROM CLOSED WORD CLASSES

i) NUMERALS

Although the processes involved in deriving verbs from numerals are strictly derivational, they are fully productive. This demonstrates the fact that grammar operates on a semantic basis - if the semantics are constant then the grammatical operations will be identical. The problem lies in the fact that two roots are seldom identical in meaning; however, with numerals semantics are identical apart from the number specified. The following processes involving the derivational prefixes are productive for the cardinal numbers.

wi-	wi-emota-TR-O	*unite s.t.*	(emota *one*)
lu-	lu-emota-na	*grow in bunch*	
wo-	wo-emota-TR-O	*gather together*	
lu-	lu-luwaga-TR-O	*spear two*	(luwaga *two*)
lu-	lu-tonuga-TR-O	*spear three*	
lu-	lu-wohepali-TR-O	*spear four*	

(24) Iyana i-lu-tonug-e-hi.
fish 3s-DP-three-TR-3p
He speared three fish (with one throw).

Numerous other productive derivational morphemes operate with the cardinal numbers and with the adverb **gogona** *together*: **om-** *number caught on hook*; **ona-** *number caught in net*; **hage-** *number going alone*; **tu-** *step on a number*; **ne-RED-** *number going along together*.

hi-m-tonuga	*three were caught together on a hook*
hi-ona-tonuga	*three were caught together in a net*
hi-hage-tonuga	*three went alone*
hi-ne.tonu-tonuga	*three were going together*

In addition, numbers are productive with some classificatory prefixes: **tape-** *break a number*; (see Ezard in press for further details).

ii) RESPONSES

The response **ee** *yes* is verbalised with the derivational prefix **lu**: **lu-ee-na(-TR-O)** *to make an affirmation (affirm s.t.)*. The negative response **eega** *no* is never verbalised; *to make a denial, deny s.t.* is handled by the verb **bowi(-TR-O)**.

iii) ADVERBS

Two adverbs combine with derivational prefixes to give a number of verb stems: **imahi** *properly* > **wo-imahi(-TR-O)** *look after (s.t.)*; and **yagiyagina** *quickly* > **wi-yagiyagina-TR-O** *bring s.t. quickly*, **lu-yagiyagina** *act quickly*; **wo-yagiyagina-TR-O** *carry s.t. quickly*.

iv) COLOUR TERMS

Colour terms are involved in two types of verbal derivation. Stative verbs are derived with **wi-** plus a colour term: **wi-idaidaga** *be green* (from **idaga** *raw*), and the concept of

'wearing uniform colours' lu-wakewakeke *be dressed in white* (from wakewakeke *white*). In addition there are a number of idiomatic uses, such as lu-idaidage-O *make s.t. green* and wo-kayakaya *hold fire-brand* (kayakaya- *red*).

(25) Tu-wipanipani hi-lu-kayakaya.
PERS-bound 3p-DP-red
Prisoners are dressed in red.

6.5.6 VERBS DERIVED FROM VERBS

Verbs derived from other verbs fall into two classes: those that involve a valence change and those that do not. Only the latter are presented in this section; those involving valence change are presented in chapter 7.

6.5.6.1 INTENSIFIED ACTION

Verb roots with the derivational prefix lu- are lexicalised forms resulting from the lexicalisation of serial motion verbs. Nowhere is the original meaning of the *rao *go* serial-verb constructions retained more clearly than in the use of lu- to derive the intensified forms listed in this section. The meaning *to go (along)...* captures the meaning in many if not most of the derived forms. I set out the following lists on the basis of the semantic classes of the roots, as in each case this gives insight into the resultant meaning.

i) INTRANSITIVE FORMS

a) Motion verbs form an important subclass of this derivational process. The meaning of the derived form is unpredictable and often context specific, however it again usually involves a permanent condition.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
dala	*crawl*	lu-dala	*creep forward*
hala	*dance/skip*	lu-hala	*scratch (chicken)*
tutu	*pound/hit*	lu-tutu	*be promiscuous*

Motion verbs are used with the derivational prefix lu- in the context of shooting, often to indicate the direction in which the shot went wrong.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
nae	*go*	lu-nae	*shoot*
gae	*go up*	lu-gae	*shoot high*
hopu	*go down*	lu-hopu	*shoot low*

There are some related metaphorical uses with the root gae, where two separate derived forms are based on different aspects of the verb: simple and durative.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
gae	*go up*	lu-gae	*be ambitious*
gegae	*be going up*	lu-gegae	*be proud*

b) Several verbs of speaking are also derived.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
baha	*talk*	lu-baha	*boast*
lupali	*ask, request*	lu-lupali	*beg*
hiyawa	*count/read*	lu-hiyawa	*wail/recount*[21]

c) Verbs of posture are also intensified using this construction, though the original meaning of *go* is lost.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
towolo	*stand*	lu-towolo	*stand poised with spear*
tugula	*sit*	lu-tugula	*sit fishing*
eno	*lie down*	lu-eno	*rest head on hand*

d) The derivational prefix lu- intensifies some further intransitive verbs, indicating a permanent or long-lasting condition. Note that the first word in the following list relies on a different meaning for the word eno from that of the previous list.

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[21] Lu-hiyawa involves *recounting* past glories and shared experiences.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
eno	*be sleeping*	lu-eno	*be lazy*
hilage	*be finished*	lu-hilage	*be exhausted*
gobu	*be dirty*	lu-gobu	*be unkempt*
gudu	*be shut*	lu-gudu	*be blocked*

e) An intensified form of human propensity verbs is derived by the use of the prefix lu- together with a reduplicated verb root, except where it is already reduplicated.

STEM		DERIVED FORM	
upudodola	*be idle*	lu-upudoodola	*be intractable*
nugodewadewa	*be untroubled*	lu-nugodewadewa	*be kind*
nugohegoya	*be placid*	lu-nugohegoya	*be peaceloving*[22]

b) TRANSITIVE FORMS

The derivational prefix lu- intensifies object focus verbs, usually indicating an irreversible action. These verbs are all transitive.

STEM		DERIVED FORM	
momohi	*pull s.t. tight*	lu-momohi	*bind s.t. tight*
popoya	*knot s.t.*	lu-popoya	*join s.t.*
lawi	*hit/jerk s.t.*	lu-lawi	*snap s.t. off*
gomuya	*snap s.t. shut*	lu-gomuya	*snap s.t. off*
guduya	*shut s.t.*	lu-guduya	*block s.t.*

(26) Bada a polo i-lu-momo-hi.
man his pig 3s-DP-bind-3s
The man secured his pig.

6.5.6.2 REPEATED ACTION

Tawala uses the prefix wo- to derive words which are distinguished from the underived root by a meaning of repeated or iterative action (cf. 6.5.6.4). Again it is useful to distinguish the semantic and grammatical classes of the root.

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[22] To be **lunugohegoya** is to be incapable of retaliation - a highly admired quality.

i) INTRANSITIVE VERBS

a) With consumption and motion verbs, the prefix wo- indicates that the action is carried out in stages. With verbs of motion, the implication is that the activity is done by hand. Two additional prefixes function with these roots: tu- *persistent action done by foot* and hu- *persistent forceful action.*

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
am	*eat*	wo-am	*'nibble' food*
uma	*drink*	wo-uma	*'sip' drink*
eno	*sleep*	wo-eno	*sleep in catnaps*
nae	*go*	wo-nae	*move a little*
hopu	*go down*	wo-hopu	*move down a little*

(27) Hi-wo-uma po hi-buuwa.
3p-DP-drink and 3p-crazy
They kept drinking and they are drunk.

(28) Hanali uyahi-na yaniyani u-n'-upum-i ma
foodhouse AT-3s staples 2s-POT-pile-3s and

u-na-wo-am.
2s-POT-DP-eat
Pile food in your foodhouse and steadily eat (it over the following months).

b) The wo- prefix with stative verbs indicates a permanent result of an action.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
dewadewa	*be good*	wo-dewadewa	*be fixed*
apapoe	*be bad*	wo-apapoe	*be worn out*

c) Verbs of speaking involve not only the prefix wo- but also a reduplication of the stem. Intense action is involved here.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
otu	*call out*	wo-otuotu	*have an outcry*
baha	*speak*	wo-bahabaha	*continually complain*

d) Verbs of posture indicate the taking of a position.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
tugula	*sit*	wo-tugula	*assume sitting position*
towolo	*stand*	wo-towolo	*assume standing position*

e) With a number of intransitive verbs the prefix wo- is used to indicate persistent action. These appear to be isolated examples.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
lupa	*jump/fly*	wo-lupa	*keep going up*
bagibagi	*work*	wo-bagibagi	*keep working*
houna	*put*	wo-houna	*keep blowing (wind)*
gawiya	*fight*	wo-gawiya	*keep fighting*
mamae	*stay*	wo-maamae	*stay longer*

ii) TRANSITIVE VERBS

a) With object focus verbs the prefix wo- is used in its basic meaning of repeated action. The subclasses included in my data are verbs of *carrying, cutting, breaking, manipulating;* one example of each is given.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
awali	*carry s.t.*	wo-awali	*keep carrying things*
hapi	*chop s.t.*	wo-hapi	*keep chopping s.t.*
gomuya	*snap s.t.*	wo-gomuya	*keep breaking things*
kahaya	*divide s.t.*	wo-kahaya	*keep dividing things*

b) With the following roots the meaning is a permanent result of an action.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
buiya	*turn s.t. over*	wo-buiya	*change s.t.*
haleya	*throw s.t.*	wo-haleya	*let s.t. go*

6.5.6.3 HAND AND FOOT ACTION

The prefixes wo- *by hand,* tu- *by foot* and hu- *by force* operate with verbs of transfer to indicate action done by the appropriate means. I illustrate their force with examples of the first prefix only.

ROOT OR STEM		DERIVED FORM	
niyena	*take s.t.*	wo-niyeni	*push s.t. by hand*
neiyai	*bring s.t.*	wo-neiyai	*pull s.t. by hand*
damani	*cross bay/river*	wo-damani	*hand s.t. over*
tagoni	*cross mountain*	wo-tagoni	*follow s.o.*

The prefix **wo-** derives verbs which indicate *feeling the unseen with the hands.*

ROOT OR STEM		DERIVED FORM	
dala-nae	*crawl-go*	wo-dalanae	*grope forward*
beiha	*search*	wo-beiha	*search in the dark*
ludadani	*try s.t.*	wo-dadani	*try by feeling*

6.5.6.4 ITERATIVE ACTION

The distinctive feature of this derivational type is the use of the prefix **wi-** along with a reduplicated verb stem. (The last member of the following list may not belong here as the verb stem is intrinsically reduplicated, however the semantic relations are suggestive.[23])

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
nae	*go*	wi-ne-nae	*try to go*
gae	*go up*	wi-ge-gae	*argue (try to go up)*
holi	*pull s.t. in*	wi-hola-hola	*sexual intercourse*
kaha	*divide*	wi-kaha-kaha	*fight/be separated*
tala	*cut*	wi-tala-tala	*cut grass*
bagibagi	*work*	wi-bagibagi	*use a tool*

(29) Kasi-gei i-wi-talatala.
knife-ABL 3s-DP-cut
He was cutting (the grass) with a grass-knife.

6.5.7 IDIOMATIC VERBS

A highly productive area of Tawala lexical items involves the use of body-part idioms. Emotions, attitudes and psychological states can hardly be talked about without the use of these verbs. They match closely the 'human propensity' adjectival class of Dixon (1982:19), but in Tawala they are clearly verbal, with a distinctive syntax of their own.

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[23] A possible member of this class is **gawiya** *fight*, **wi-gawiya** *be fighting, be at war.* I have omitted this example from the list as the derived verb lacks reduplication.

Idiomatic verb stems consist of two roots: i) a body-part and ii) a verb root. Whereas serial verbs have verbal roots as both elements in the compound (verb+verb), human propensity compounds have a noun as the initial item of the compound (noun+verb). These nouns are a restricted list of body parts: nugo- *heart/mind*, mata- *eye*, taniga- *ear* and hini- *skin*. The second element of the compound is normally a stative verb root, e.g. -apapoe *to be bad*, -kadidili *to be hard*, -dumoli *to be calm*. But it can be an active verb, e.g. -guluwi *to bury*. Some compounds are fossilised with no meaning able to be supplied to the second element, e.g. nugo-neina *to be ignorant*, nugo-tuhu *to think*.

mata.maga	*be promiscuous*	(eyes.many)
nugo.gohola	*be surprised*	(heart.jump)
upu.dodola	*be lazy*	(back.unbending)
gamo.bagibagi	*be talkative*	(mouth.work)
kamna.apapoe	*be poorly*	(disposition.bad)
taniga.pupu	*be disobedient*	(ear.block)

(30) i-nugo-gohola
3s-heart-jump
he was surprised

nugo-na i-gohola
heart-3s 3s-jump
his heart jumped

(31) i-nugo.apapoe
3s-heart.bad
he was angry

nugonugo-na i-apapoe
heart-3s 3s-bad
he was angry [-control]

Semantically, the class as a whole probably represents a metaphorical extension of physical condition clauses, some of which still bear an active derivational relationship.

(32) taniga-na i-pota
ear-3s 3s-block
his ear is blocked

i-taniga.pota
3s-ear.block
he is disobedient

Of course once the semantic domain of human propensity compound verbs became a viable category in languages of the area, the way was open for the creative use of new metaphors

which have no resemblance to physical conditions. While typical examples are given within this section, exhaustive listing is restricted to the lexicon because of the idiomatic nature of the compounds, e.g. **nugo-kadidili** *to be resolute* (heart-hard); **hini-maya** *to be ashamed* (skin-feeling); **mata-maga** *to be promiscuous* (eye-many).

Idiomatic compounds combine with derivational prefixes, giving a range of causative meanings.

wi-	lu-	li-	wo-
demonstrate state - by words	cause state - physically	a. cause state - empathy b. (idiomatic)	persistently demonstrate state

Table 7: Derivational prefixes with human propensity stems

An example of each of these is given in the following list.

wi-	wi-nugo.dubu	*speak of sorrow*	(wi-mind.dust)
lu-	lu-nugo.tootogo	*show mercy*	(lu-mind.sick)
li-	li-nugo.guluwa-O	*cause to forget, be forgotten*	(li-mind.bury)
	li-nugo.emota-O	*unite*	(li-mind.one)
wo-	wo-nugo.dubu	*keep mourning*	(wo-mind.dust)

7 VERBAL VALENCE

> ...there are in most languages, and probably in all, grammatically productive mechanisms for decreasing or augmenting what might be referred to as the intrinsic valency of a verb.
>
> Lyons (1977:487)

Chapter 6 presents details of verbal derivation – processes which create new lexical items or introduce new shades of meaning to existing ones. In other words, chapter 6 discusses changes within the verb stem that involve semantic changes of the verb itself. However, processes of verbal derivation can also involve changes in verbal valence – the number of arguments associated with a predicate. In Tawala, changes in verbal valence involve not only the use of derivational prefixes (6.5.3) but also a transitivising suffix (7.1.1) and a detransitivising prefix (7.1.2). The presence of one of these affixes may signal important syntactic processes – including transitivisation, detransitivisation and causativisation.

It is the usual practice of grammars to give detailed treatment of grammatical relations and syntactic roles as part of the explication of the clause. This is undoubtedly the right course of action for a dependent-marking grammar, where the clausal NPs are marked for such relationships. However, in a head-marking grammar such as Tawala these relationships are marked on the head item of the clause – the verbal predicate. The VP (which is typically just the verb itself with its affixes) is the clause in miniature. Accordingly, it is difficult to separate the

analysis of verbal clauses (chapter 12) from the verb phrase (chapter 8) or even from the discussion of verbal valence as contained in this chapter.

7.1 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS AND VALENCE CHANGE

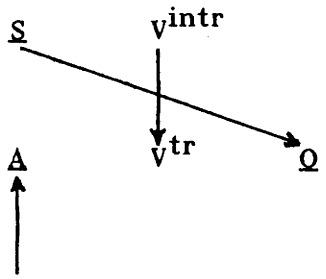
In the chapter on typology "three core semantico-syntactic relations" (Dixon 1979:61) are introduced (3.4):

Intransitive	subject:	S function
Transitive	subject:	A function
Transitive	object:	O function

Recall that Tawala morphology and syntax makes only a two-way distinction in grammatical relations – subject and object; in other words no formal distinction is made between transitive subject and intransitive subject. However, the three universal grammatical relations are needed to account for the relationships that exist between transitive and intransitive verbs. Accordingly I use the convention of underlining to signify the universal grammatical relations S, A and O. I reserve the symbols S and O for the marked grammatical relations of subject and object; thus S = S and A, O = O.

When verbal derivation involves change of valence, it is essential to keep track of the underlying grammatical relations. It is also essential to distinguish valence increase from valence decrease. For verbs involving valence increase two patterns emerge: for some verbs S of the derived verb coincides with O of the basic verb; for others it coincides with A.

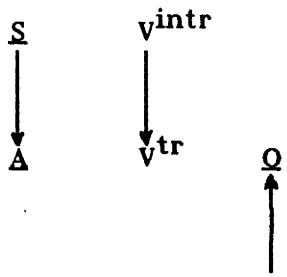
i) S COINCIDES WITH O – valence increase 1 > 2



(1)	l-kam.	>	A-li-kam-ya.
	3s-sharp		1s-DP-sharp-3s
	S		A O
	It is sharp.		*I sharpen it.*

In (1) the S of the intransitive verb coincides with the O of the transitive verb with an A introduced. The change in valence is marked by the the derivational prefix li-.

ii) S COINCIDES WITH A – valence increase 1 > 2



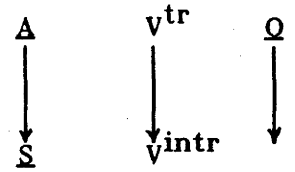
(2)	A-matouta.	>	A-matout-e-ya.
	1s-fear		1s-fear-TR-3s
	S		A O
	I am afraid.		*I fear it.*

In (2) the S of the intransitive sentence is identical with the A of the transitive sentence with an O introduced. The valence increase is marked by the transitivising suffix -ge (7.1.1 – for allophonic variation see 4.3.6).

Dixon (1988:204) refers to these as O-type verbs and A-type verbs respectively and notes that Fijian has an almost even split between the two. Tawala has both A-type and O-type verbs, but the situation is not just a two-way split; a number

of valence-changing verb classes emerge (7.2) with different types of transitivity and focus. Firstly, however, we need to look at other patterns of valence change.

iii) A COINCIDES WITH S – valence decrease 2 > 1



(3) a-apu-ya
1s-bake-3s
A O
I baked it.

a-m-apu
1s-DP-bake
S
I was baking.

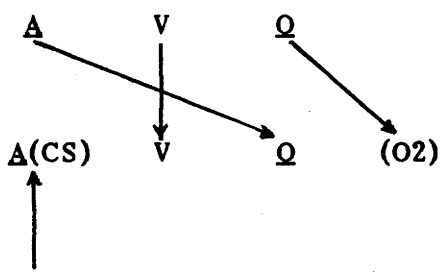
In (3) the A of the transitive sentence is identical with the S of the intransitive sentence with an O deleted. The valence decrease is marked by the derivational prefix om- (7.1.2). This type is the mirror image of the previous class.

AOV + om- —> SV

SV + -ge —> AOV

iv) A COINCIDES WITH O – valence increase 2 > 3

O-type causative verbs are derived from transitive verbs with the derivational prefix (6.5.2) wi-.



(4) Iyana hi-ani-hi.
fish 3p-eat-3p
A O
They ate fish.

Iyana a-wi-ani-hi.
fish 1s-DP-eat-3p
A CS O
I fed them fish.

In (4) the A of the underived verb coincides with the O of the derived verb. The O of the underived verb is made a secondary object (not marked on the verb) with the derived verb. The A of the derived verb is introduced.

Valence increase is marked by derivational prefixes wi-, li-, lu- and wo- (6.5.3) and the transitivising suffix -ge (7.1.1). Derivational prefixes result in O-type verbs and the transitiviser in A-type verbs. Valence decrease is marked by the prefix -om (7.1.2).

7.1.1 THE TRANSITIVE MARKER -ge

The transitive marker -ge is a reflex of the POC *-aki, a 'remote' object marker (see below). The morpheme is mostly a transitivising suffix in present-day Tawala (glossed TR); however some verbs do have two contrasting transitive forms, e.g. -daman-i *cross* LOC > -daman-e-ya *take s.t. across* (for allophonic variations see 4.3.6).

Such contrast is rare in Tawala, where transitive verbs normally fall into two classes: those that simply append the object enclitic to the verb stem, and those that add the transitive marker -ge before appending the object enclitic. These two alternatives are reflexes of the two POC transitive suffixes reconstructed by Pawley (1973; cf. Ross 1988:375ff.): i) corresponding to the 'remote' transitives marked in POC by *-aki, and ii) corresponding to the 'direct' transitives marked in POC by *-i.

Objects marked with the transitive marker are higher on the transitivity scale (Hopper & Thompson 1980) than morpho-

logically unmarked objects; in particular, the object is more affected when the transitivising suffix is used, as illustrated in the following data.

-daman-i	*cross* LOC	-daman-e-	*take s.t. across*
-gei-ni	*climb* LOC	-gi-ye-	*take s.t. up*

(5) Neula i-gei-ni.
coconut 3s-ascend-3s
He climbed the coconut palm.

In (5) the object is not affected by the action; however, in (6) the object is totally affected in that it is moved to a new location.

(6) Oya ugoli-na i-giye-ya.
mountain AT-3s 3s-take.up-3s
He took it up to the mountain.

The transitive marker operates in conjunction with derivational prefixes. The following list illustrates the complete set of options available combining derivational prefixes with the verb -damana *to cross a bay/river.* In these examples, the transitive marker does not increase the valence but again indicates that the object is more affected.

-daman-i	*cross bay*	-daman-e-	*take s.t./s.o. across*
-widaman-i	*bridge gap*	-widaman-e-	*take s.t./s.o. across*
-ludaman-i	*cross bridge*	-ludaman-e-	*pour s.t./s.o. across*
-wodaman-i	*carry across*	-wodaman-e-	*hand s.t./s.o. across*
-tudaman-i	*step across*	-tudaman-e-	*push s.t./s.o. across*
-hudaman-i	*jump across*	-hudaman-e-	*swing s.t./ s.o. across*

(7) Goila a-widaman-i.
river 1s-cross-3s
I crossed the river.

Kewokewou a-widaman-e-ya.
canoe 1s-cross-TR-3s
I took the canoe across.

When the locative argument occurs in a clause in which a transitive marker occurs it is an oblique argument (6).

The following data bring together two further roots which seem to be reflexes of the POC 'direct' and 'remote' object

forms. In each case the two forms are synonyms sensitive only to fine distinctions of context.

-tona-ya	*'spear'-3s*	-ton-e-ya	*pierce-TR-3s*
-dewa-ya	*do-3s*	-dew-e-ya	*do-TR-3s*

The difference between a-tona-ya *I speared it* and a-ton-e-ya *I pierced it again* seems to be the degree to which the object is affected. However, in this case the object is less affected when the transitive marker is used. In (8) the object is totally affected - in each case it died.

(8) Motamota hi-tona-ya. Iyana a-tona-ya.
worm 3p-spear-3s fish 1s-spear-it
Worms entered him. *I speared a fish.*

In (9) the object is only partially affected; it was injured but not destroyed.

(9) Hoi gaema ae-u a-ton-e-ya.
LOC rock foot-1s 1s-pierce-TR-3s
I pierced my foot on a rock.

Similarly with -dewa-ya; the object in (10) is effected by the verb - it did not exist before. With the transitive marker (11) the object is only partially affected - a custom is merely followed.

(10) Toleha banei-na i-dewa-dewa-ya.
feast big-3s 3s-DUR-do/make-3s
He was making a big feast.

(11) Popopo a dewa i-dewe-dew-e-ya.
goanna his custom 3s-DUR-do/make-TR-3s
The goanna was doing his custom (making s.t. according to custom).

7.1.2 THE DETRANSITIVISING PREFIX am-

The prefix am- attached to a transitive verb marks a reduction in valence. Am- is probably a reflex of the POC verb

formative *ma- *stative prefix* (Ross 1988), as it has both form and meaning related to that reconstruction.

-bulum-ya	*sweep s.t.*	-am-bulum	*be sweeping*
-gei-ni	*climb s.t.*	-am-geina	*be climbing*
-hiyaw-i	*count s.t.*	-am-hiyawa	*be reading*
-popo-ya	*join s.t.*	-am-popo	*be joined*

That the process is at least partially productive is seen by the presence of a borrowed item (bulum *broom*) and an introduced concept (-amhiyawa *reading*) in the above list (cf. 7.6.1 for a longer listing of items).

(12) Buka he-yam-hiyawa.
book 3pPRS-DP.DUR-read
They are reading books.

We noted above that these are A-type constructions in that the derived S corresponds to A in the underived verb. However, (12) has an object NP and, as we see below, the derived verb is not a true intransitive.

The semantic shift involved in the following items probably means that there is no longer any active relationship between these two forms.

-gamu-ya	*snap s.t.*	-am-gamu	*to miscarry*
-hoe-ya	*open s.t.*	-am-hoe	*to depart*
-boin-i	*bundle s.t.*	-am-boina	*to meet together*

(13) Wagaloke i-m-hoe po i-nae tula-na uyahi-na.
possum 3s-DP-depart and 3s-go friend-3s AT-3s
Possum left and went to his friend.

The following examples seem to be idioms; any derivational relationship which may have existed is now lost.

-boho	*be extinguished*	-am-boho	*be greedy*
-poipoi	*be dried up*	-am-poipoi	*be processed*[1]

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[1] This gloss needs to be checked as I have only one context in which this verb occurs.

The following data represent a special subclass involving the 'detransitive' marker. In that the prefixes are used with intransitive verbs there is no change in valence involved. Instead there is a change in macrorole (3.12) of subject. The subject of the derived verb is an undergoer in that the derived verbs are used to refer to the automatic actions of animals.

-hopu	*go down*	-om-hopu	*move down*
-gae	*go up*	-om-gae	*move up*
-lupa	*jump*	-om-lupalupa	*jerk*

(14) Iyana he-yam-gae.
fish 3pPRS-DP.DUR-go.up .
The (school of) fish have gone up.

(15) Polo i-m-lupalupa.
pig 3s-DP-jumpDUR
The pig jerked (back after tasting the poison).

7.2 CLASSES OF VALENCE CHANGE

Combining various derivational patterns we find that in Tawala there are five basic classes of valence variation.

i) A-TYPE DERIVED TRANSITIVES – 1 > 2 valence

In this type, various classes of intransitive verbs (7.4) employ the valence-increasing transitivising suffix **-ge** (7.1.1) to derive transitive verbs in which the A of the derived verb coincides with the intransitive S of the underived verb.

INTRANSITIVE		->	TRANSITIVE	
-geleta	*arrive*		-gelet-e-	*take s.t. up*
-kaoha	*be happy*		-kaoh-e-	*welcome s.o.*

With this construction both influence (7.4.1) and object-focus (7.4.2) verbs are derived.

ii) A-TYPE DERIVED INTRANSITIVES – 2 > 1 valence

In this class, transitive verbs employ the valence-decreasing prefix -am to derive predicate-focus (7.6.1) verbs. The intransitive S of the derived verb coincides with A of the transitive verb.

TRANSITIVE		>	INTRANSITIVE	
-apu-	*bake s.t.*		-am-apu	*be baking*
-kaha-	*separate s.t.*		-am-kaha	*be separated*

iii) O-TYPE DERIVED TRANSITIVES – 1 > 2 valence

In this class, transitive verbs (7.5.1) are derived from intransitive verbs employing the derivational prefixes wi-, li-, lu- and wo-. The S of the underived intransitive verb is identified with O of the derived transitive verb, with an A introduced.

INTRANSITIVE		>	TRANSITIVE	
-hopu	*go down*		-wi-hopu-	*put s.t. down*
-towolo	*be standing*		-wi-towolo-	*stand s.t./s.o.*

iv) O-TYPE DERIVED CAUSATIVES – 2 > 3 valence

O-type causative verbs (7.5.3) are derived from transitive verbs with the derivational prefix (6.5.2) wi-. The A of the underived verb coincides with O of the derived verb. The O of the underived verb is made a secondary object (not marked on the verb).

TRANSITIVE		>	CAUSATIVE	
-lui-ya	*put on s.t.*		-wi-lui-ya	*dress s.o.*
-awal-i	*carry s.t.*		-wi-awal-i	*load s.o. up*

v) O-TYPE UNMARKED VALENCE CHANGE – 1 > 2 valence

Tawala has a small sample of O-type verbs which have no marker to indicate valence change, in which intransitive S is identified with transitive O. This type accounts for less than

half-a-dozen examples, of which only three have transparent relationships.

INTRANSITIVE		>	TRANSITIVE	
i-gobu	*it is dirty*		a-gobu-ya	*I dirtied s.t.*
i-pili	*it is rolled up*		a-pil-i	*I rolled s.t. up*
i-boho	*it went out*		a-boho-ya	*I extinguished* s.t.

This is scarcely a large enough corpus to build any adequate theory on. However, the scarcity of examples points away from any clear A-type/O-type distinction in underived Tawala verbs; the data may be fossils from a historical distinction of the kind found in present-day Fijian. However, synchronically, Tawala verb roots require a derivational affix to effect a comparable change of verbal valence. As we have seen, derivational prefixes normally result in O-type verb derivation and the transitivising suffix normally results in A-type verb derivation – examples above.

7.3 THE SEMANTICS OF VALENCE INCREASE

Valence-changing affixes operate within certain defined word classes. There is little overlap between A-type and O-type verb classes. The transitivising suffix operates only with intransitive verbs: verbs of speaking, relationship verbs, psychological verbs and motion verbs. Derivational prefixes derive transitive verbs from intransitive verbs: motion and manner-of-motion verbs, posture verbs and stative verbs. In addition the derivational prefix derives causative verbs (ditransitives) from transitive verbs: consumption verbs and transportation verbs.

The semantic classes operating with the derivational prefixes and transitivising suffix are summarised in table 1.

SEMANTIC CLASS	-ge	wi-	li-	lu-	wo-
speaking	+	-	-	-	-
relationship	+	-	-	-	-
psychological	+	-	-	-	-
motion	+	+	-	-	-
manner of motion	-	-	+	+	-
posture	-	+	+	+	+
stative	-	+	+	+	-

Table 1: Derivational prefixes with intransitive verbs

Overlap between the transitivising suffix and derivational prefixes is found only within derivations involving motion verbs. The two classes involve clear morphological and semantic distinctions:

i) Verbs derived with the transitivising suffix involve transportation - a change of location of both subject and object

(16) Mayau hi-giye-ya.
wood 3p-go.up-3s
They took the wood up.

On the other hand, ii) verbs derived with derivational prefixes involve manipulation only - a change in the position of the object.

(17) Mayau hi-wi-gei-ni.
wood 3p-DP-go.up-3s
They stood the wood up.

The majority of derived verbs belong to one of the major transitive classes established in chapter 5:

condition verbs	(5.5.3)
object-focus verbs	(5.5.4.2)
influence verbs	(5.5.5)

That there are no derived variable-focus verbs (5.5.4.1) is not suprising since they already function as the equivalent of either intransitive or transitive verbs - recall that variable-focus can function as either predicate focus or object focus. Significantly, however, a new class of predicate-focus verbs derived from object-focus verbs is introduced (7.6.2). Table 2 lists the various classes of derived verb giving the class from which each is derived and the derivational affix involved in each case.

UNDERIVED VERB CLASS	>	DERIVED VERB CLASS
speaking relationship psychological	-ge	influence (7.4.1)
motion	-ge	object focus (7.4.2)
motion manner-of-motion posture stative	wi- li- lu- wo-	object focus (7.5.1)
stance	lu-	condition (7.5.2)
object focus	-guna	condition (7.6.3)
object focus	-aṃ	predicate focus (7.6.1)

Table 2: Derivation of transitive verb subclasses

7.4 A-TYPE VALENCE INCREASE

Verbs in this section involve transitive verbs derived from intransitives, in which the A of the transitive verb is identical to the S of the intransitive. Valence increase is marked by the transitive marker (7.1.1).

7.4.1 DERIVED INFLUENCE VERBS

Here the derived transitive verbs belong to the influence verb subclass. Verbs of speaking are well represented in this group, but other subclasses are also involved.

i) VERBS OF SPEAKING

-lupali	*make request*	-lupali-ye-	*beg for s.t./s.o.*
-bowi	*make a denial*	-bowi-ye-	*deny s.t./s.o.*
-baha	*speak*	-bah-e-	*say s.t. to s.o.*
-gagayo	*make a vow*	-gagayo-ge-	*vow s.t./vow to s.o.*

(18) Lawa magomagou-hi u mata-hi ma i-bowi.
person many-3p LOC eye-3p and 3s-deny
It was before many people and (= that) he made a denial.

The underived intransitive verb in (18) corresponds to the derived transitive in (19).

(19) Pita Yesu i-bowi-ye-ya.
P. Y. 3s-deny-TR-3s
Peter denied Jesus.

With -lupali-ye- the addressee is the primary object - marked by the object enclitic on the verb; the secondary object is a core NP (20). (With the intransitive form of the verb the thing requested is oblique - tapake binei i-lupali *he asked for tobacco*.)

(20) Tapake a-lupali-ye-hi.
tobacco 1s-ask-TR-3p
I asked them for tobacco.

However, with -bah-e- the addressee is an oblique NP. The message is the secondary object.

(21) Lugagayo atapu-hi bada i-bah-e-hi lawa uyahi-hi.
law all-3p man 3s-say-TR-3p person AT-3p
OBJECT SUBJECT OBLIQUE
The official recited all the laws to the people.

ii) RELATIONSHIP VERBS

-taniwaga	*rule*	-taniwag-e-	*rule s.t./s.o.*
-gimala	*trade*	-gimal-e-	*trade (s.t.) with s.o.*
-beiha	*seek*	-bih-e-	*seek s.t./s.o.*
-luhogala	*desire*	-luhogal-e-	*desire s.t./s.o.*

(22) Guyau i-taniwaga.
chief 3s-rule
The chief ruled.

Lawa atapu-hi i-na-taniwag-e-hi.
person all-3p 3s-POT-rule-TR-3p
He will rule everyone.

(23) Hai lawa hi-gimala.
their person 1p-trade
Their friends traded.

Hipuli a-gimal-e-ya.
land 1s-trade-TR-3s
I purchased a property.

iii) PSYCHOLOGICAL VERBS

-matouta	*be afraid*	-matout-e-	*be afraid of s.t./s.o.*
-lowo	*be fleeing*	-lowo-ge-	*'run' from s.t./s.o.*
-hanapu	*be wise*	-hanapu-ge-	*know about s.t./s.o.*
-kaoha	*be happy*	-kaoh-e-	*welcome s.o.*

(24) A-matouta duma.
1s-fear very
I was very afraid.

Polo a-matut-e-ya.[2]
pig 1s-fear-TR-3s
I was afraid of the pig.

(25) Apo to-kaoha.
FUT 1pE-happy
We will be happy.

Ega o-ta-kaoh-e-u.
NEG 2p-IRR-happy-TR-1s
You did not welcome me.

7.4.2 DERIVED OBJECT-FOCUS VERBS

Object focus verbs – in this case verbs of transportation – are derived from motion and motion-goal verbs using the transitive marker **-ge**; however there is a degree of morphological irregularity with each of the forms derived from motion verbs.

-nae	*go*	-ni-ye-	*take s.t. on*
-gae	*go up*	-gi-ye-	*take s.t. up*
-hopu	*go down*	-hopu-ne-	*take s.t. down*

(26) Beda i-niye-hi.
betel 3s-take-3p
She took the betel nut.

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[2] For an explanation of the form **matut-** see 4.3.3.

(27) Bandolo ta-ni-niye-ya.
bundle 1pI-DUR-take-3s
Let us bring bundles (of coconuts).

Two further transportation verbs are derived from motion-goal verbs.

-geleta	*appear/arrive*	-gelet-e-	*take s.t./s.o. up*
-damana	*cross over*	-daman-e-	*take s.t./s.o. across*

(28) Lae[3] to-geleta. Tewela-na hi-gelet-e-ya u numa.
L. 1pE-arrive child-DEF 3p-arrive-TR-3s LOC house
We arrived at Lae. *They took the child to the house.*

More commonly verbs of transfer such as -daman-e-ya and -gelet-e-ya appear in serial verb constructions (8.9) with -houna *put*, -bahena *speak* or -awala *carry*, for example -houna geleteya *place s.t. in view*, -bahena geleteya *reveal s.t.*, -awala geleteya *carry into view*.

7.5 O-TYPE VALENCE INCREASE

Verbs in this section involve transitive verbs derived from intransitives in which the O of the transitive verb coincides with the S of the intransitive. Valence increase is marked by a derivational prefix (6.5.3).

7.5.1 OBJECT FOCUS

Object-focus verbs are derived with each of the derivational prefixes: wi-, li-, lu- and wo-.

7.5.1.1 THE PREFIX wi-

i) MOTION VERBS

The prefix wi- is a productive morpheme with motion verbs and involves the movement of an item in the direction indicated

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[3] The location occurs without a preposition because it is a place name.

by the verb; that is, the object is caused to take a new insition. These are derived verbs of manipulation – a change in the position of the object.

-gei	*come up*	-wi-gei-	*put s.t. up*
-hopu	*go down*	-wi-hopu-	*put s.t. down*
-damana	*go across*	-wi-daman-	*put s.t. across*
-peu	*fall*	-wi-peu-[4]	*drop s.t.*

(29) Numa ta-wi-gei-ni.
house 1pI-DP-come.up-3s
Let us put the thatch on.

The verb -peu *fall* differs from the others in the class in that it has an undergoer, rather than an actor, subject. Data such as these make it clear that Tawala derivational processes are not sensitive to macroroles.

ii) POSTURE VERBS

With posture verbs the wi- prefix again derives verbs of manipulation – the object is caused to take a position.

-towolo	*be standing*	-wi-towol-	*stand s.t/s.o.*
-tugula	*be sitting*	-wi-tugul-	*seat s.t./s.o.*
-eno	*be lying down*	-wi-eno-	*lie s.t./s.o.*
-tagela	*swivel*	-wi-tagel-	*turn s.t./s.o.*

(30) Hewali-na hi-wi-eno-ya.
youth-DEF 3p-DP-lie-3s
They lay the (sick) youth down.

These verbs are often used metaphorically.

(31) Tewela hi-wi-towol-i po tauna tu-wisili.
child 3p-DP-stand-3s and he PERS-fishing
They elected the child to be a fisherman.

iii) MANNER OF MOTION

These derived verbs are influence rather than object-focus verbs in that the object is potentially an animate agent.

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[4] Note that this derived verb is not a verb of manipulation.

-lupa	*jump/fly*	-wi-lupa-	*let s.o. go*
-dala	*crawl*	-wi-dala-	*get s.o. to crawl*

With manner-of-motion verbs the prefix wi- is used to indicate the causing of an item to act. It is important to note that the object is an animate actor in contrast to li- constructions in which the object is an undergoer.

(32) Kapeu hi-wi-lupa-ya.
butterfly 3p-DP-fly-3s
They let the butterfly go.

iv) STATIVE VERBS

Stative verbs are a productive source of transitive verbs with wi-. The A causes the state to come about. These verbs are often used in reference to metaphorical states, whereas those derived with li- (7.5.1.2) are more often physical.

-dao	*be long*	-wi-dao-	*lengthen s.t.*
-kapala	*be hard*	-wi-kapala-	*harden s.t.*
-apapoe	*be bad*	-wi-apapoe-	*destroy s.t.*

(33) A baha i-wi-dao-ya.
his word 3s-DP-long-3s
He lengthened his talk. (= He spoke at length.)

(34) Nugonugo-na i-wi-kapala-ya.
heart-3s 3s-DP-hard-3s
He hardened his mind. (= He remained resolute.)

7.5.1.2 THE PREFIX li-

The prefix li- is fully productive with stative verbs – the A of the derived transitive verb is a causative – effective in bringing a physical state about (35).

i) STATIVE

-kam	*be sharp*	-li-kam-	*make s.t. sharp*
-dumalu	*be straight*	-li-dumalu-	*make s.t. straight*
-kapala	*be hard*	-li-kapala-	*make s.t. hard*
-yeuyeu	*be clean*	-li-yeuyeu-	*make s.t. clean*
-dewadewa	*be good*	-li-dewadewa-	*make s.t. good*

(35) Fael-gei a-li-kam-ya.
file-ABL 1s-DP-sharpen-3s
I sharpened it with a file.

This prefix can also be used metaphorically (36).

(36) Om yaga uyahi-u u-na-li-dumalu-ya.
yourSG debt AT-1s 2s-POT-DP-staight-3s
Pay off the debt you owe to me.

The stative verb gobu *be dirty* with the derivational prefix li- has its root reduplicated, suggesting derivation from the derived adjective rather than from the stative verb.

-gobu *be dirty* -li-gobugobu- *make s.t. dirty*
(Adjective: gobugobu-na *dirty-3s*)

ii) POSTURE

With posture verbs the prefix li- is used to indicate that an item is caused to take a position (forcefully).

-towolo	*be standing*	-li-towol-	*force s.t. up*
-tugula	*be sitting*	-li-tugul-	*force s.t. down*
-eno	*be lying down*	-li-eno-	*force s.t. down*
-tagela	*swivel*	-li-tagel-	*knock s.t. over*
-peu	*fall*	-li-peu-	*topple s.t.*

(37) Kiwou-gei a-li-towol-i.
stick-ABL 1s-DP-stand-3s
I stood it up with a stick.

(38) Kedewa mayou-gei a-li-eno-ya.
dog tree-ABL 1s-DP-lie-3s
I knocked the dog down with the firewood.

(39) Premier hi-li-peu-ya.
P. 3p-DP-fall-3s
The Premier has been toppled (from office).

iii) MANNER OF MOTION

-lupa	*jump/fly*	-li-lupa-O	*spring s.t.*
-dala	*crawl*	-li-dala-O	*knock to crawling position*

These verbs contrast with wi- constructions, where the object of the derived verb is animate. We have here a clear contrast between a derived object-focus verb (li-) and a derived influence verb (wi-).

(40) Walo a-li-lupa-ya. Kiu a-wi-lupa-ya.
trap 1s-DP-jump-3s bird 1s-DP-jump-3s
I sprung the trap. *I let the bird go.*

7.5.1.3 THE PREFIX lu-

Linguistic categories are rarely discrete. While the lu- prefix is primarily a non-valence-changing derivational prefix (6.5.6.1) indicating intensified action, examples to the contrary do exist. At times lu- is a valence-changing prefix, though some examples should be regarded as idioms rather than productive derivations.

i) STATIVE

-bigabiga	*be muddy*	-lu-bigabiga-	*make s.t. muddy*
-odubo	*be old*	-lu-odubo-ge-	*follow s.t. (traditional)*

ii) MANNER OF MOTION

This class and the following employ both the derivational prefix lu- and the transitive marker -ge.

-dala	*crawl*	-lu-dala-ge-	*drop one's hand*
-bulili	*run*	-lu-bulili-ye-	*hit s.t. fast*

iii) MOTION-GOAL

The motion-goal verbs also require the transitive marker in addition to the lu- prefix.

geleta	*arrive*	lu-gelet-e-	*comprehend s.t.*
damana	*cross over*	lu-daman-e-	*inherit s.t.*

(41) A wipoya u-lu-daman-e-ya.
his heat 2s-DP-cross-TR-3s
You inherited his power.

These lu- constructions have subjects with [-control]. They contrast with wo- constructions (7.5.1.4) which have subjects with [+control].

(42) Amaka to-lu-gelet-e-ya.
already 1pE-DP-arrive-TR-3s
We already comprehend it.

(43) Yaubada i-wo-gelet-e-ya uyahi-ta.
God 3s-DP-arrive-TR-3s AT-1pl
God revealed it to us.

7.5.1.4 THE PREFIX wo-

In the previous chapter (6.5.6.2.i) we noted that the prefix wo- with posture verbs derives forms with the meaning of taking a position. These verbs undergo a valence change when used with the effective marker i- (6.5.2).

-towolo	*be standing*	-wo-i-towol-	*stand s.t.*
-tugula	*be sitting*	-wo-i-tugul-	*seat s.t.*
-tagela	*swivel*	-wo-i-tagel-	*move s.t. aside*
-eno	*be lying down*	-wo-i-eno-	*lay s.t. down*

(44) Tewela i-wo-i-towol-i po mitehi hi-towo-towolo.
child 3s-DP-EFF-stand-3s and together 3p-DUR-stand
She stood the child up and they stood together.

7.5.2 DERIVED CONDITION VERBS lu-

Here the derived verbs are condition verbs with the usual reflexive morphology.

-towolo	*be standing*	-lu-towolo-ge-*RFX*	*jerk upwards*
-tugula	*be sitting*	-lu-tugul-e-*RFX*	*jerk downwards*
-tagela	*swivel*	-lu-tagel-e-*RFX*	*jerk sidewards*
-eno	*be sleeping*	-lu-eno-ge-*RFX*	*jerk from sleeping*

(45) Gaima a-lu-tugul-e-u.
stone 1s-DP-sit-TR-1sRFX
I ducked the stone.

7.5.3 DERIVED CAUSATIVE VERBS wi-

In contrast to the other types listed above, this class of derivation involves the derivation of ditransitive from transitive verbs. The A of the underived verb becomes the O of the derived verb; the O of the underived verb becomes a secondary object in the clause in which the derived verb operates; the A

of the derived verb is an introduced causer. Causative verbs are derived from variable focus verbs.

i) CONSUMPTION VERBS

-ani	*eat (s.t.)*	-wi-ani-	*feed s.o.*
-uma(-ya)	*drink (s.t.)*	-wi-uma-	*cause s.o. to drink*
-lui-ya	*put on s.t.*	-wi-lui-	*put clothes on s.o.*

(46) Logaloga laisi a-wi-ani-hi.
children rice 1s-DP-eat-3p
I fed the children rice.

The verb lui *enter* is an A-type motion verb with a transitive meaning, for example meyagai a-lui-ya *I entered the village.* It also has the meaning *entering clothes*, which functions similarly to verbs of bodily consumption and suggests a verb subclass of 'bodily needs'.

(47) Am pilipou u-na-lui-ya.
yourSG trousers 2s-POT-enter-3s
Put your trousers on.

(48) Guyau hi-wi-lui-ya.
chief 3p-DP-put.on-3s
They dressed the chief.

ii) VERBS OF CARRYING

Both the underived and the derived verbs are variable focus verbs within this subclass.

-awali	*carry on shoulder*	-wi-awali	*load s.o. on shoulder*
-naba	*carry on head*	-wi-naba	*load s.o. on head*
-gedu	*carry on back*	-wi-gedu	*load s.o. on back*

With verbs of carrying, the A of the underived verb becomes the Q, as a new actor, the causer, loads him/her up.

(49) Kopala u-na-wi-awali-u.
copra 2s-POT-DP-carry-1s
Put the copra (bag) on my shoulder.

7.6 VALENCE DECREASE

A number of distinct features of Tawala grammar are involved in valence decrease.

7.6.1 DERIVED PREDICATE-FOCUS VERBS -om

As we have noted this class involves a reduction of transitivity and A-type verbs (7.1.2).

ACCOMPLISHMENT		ACTIVITY	
-apu-ya	*bake s.t.*	-om-apu	*be baking*
-dewa-ya	*do s.t.*	-om-dewa	*be working*
-gei-ni	*climb s.t.*	-om-geina	*be climbing*
-hap-i	*chop s.t.*	-om-hapi	*be chopping*
-hepa-ya	*beach canoe*	-om-hepa	*be beached/grounded*
-himil-i	*send s.t.*	-om-himila	*be sent(?)*
-hiyaw-i	*count s.t.*	-om-hiyawa	*be reading*
-hune-ya	*praise s.o.*	-om-huna	*be praising*
-kaha-ya	*separate s.t.*	-om-kaha	*be separated*
-popo-ya	*join s.t.*	-om-popo	*be joined*
-tein-i	*pull s.t.*	-om-teina	*be persuading*

(50) Amaka hi-m-hapi woloe.
already 3p-DP-chop finish
They have already finished chopping (sago).

(51) Lolowa United Church ma Kwato hi-m-kaha
before U. C. and K. 3p-DP-separate
Earlier the United Church and Kwato became separated.

However, the derived verb is not intransitive but rather a predicate-focus transitive (compare 5.5.4.1) with two actacts, only one of which can be indexed on the verb. An object NP can occur within the clause, however it is a generic object, the semantic equivalent of object incorporation.

(52) Gulawa i-yam-dewa.
rope 3s-DP.DUR-do
He is making rope.

(53) Wam hi-m-hepa.
boat 3p-DP-beach
They had beached canoes.

7.6.2 DERIVED INTRANSITIVES wi-

We noted above that the wi- prefix derives transitive (7.5.1.1) and causative (7.5.3) verbs. There are a few reduced-valence derivations also involving this same prefix. Both A-type and O-type verbs are involved.

i) O-TYPE

TRANSITIVE		>	INTRANSITIVE	
-poya-ya	*heat s.t.*		-wi-poya	*be hot*
-gwae-ya	*muddy s.t.*		-wi-gwae	*be murky*
-wila-ya	*mix s.t.*		-wi-wila	*be going round*

(54) Polo goila i-gwae-ya.
pig water 3s-muddy-3s
The pig muddied the water.

(55) Goila i-wi-gwae.
river 3s-DP-murky
The river is murky.

ii) A-TYPE

TRANSITIVE		>	INTRANSITIVE	
-gun-i	*give birth to s.o.*		-wi-gunaguna	*nurse*
-tona-ya	*pierce s.t.*		-wi-tona	*fight*
-heda-ya	*wean s.t./s.o.*		-wi-heda	*adopt*
-kaha-ya	*divide s.t.*		-wi-kaha	*decide*[5]

(56) Iyana a-tona-ya.
fish 1s-spear-3s
I speared a fish.

(57) Polo he-i-tona.
pig 3pPRS-DP.DUR-spear
The pigs are fighting.

These verbs are a minor 'class' contrasting with the main classes. They should probably be regarded as irregular lexical patterns, rather than actual derivational classes.

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[5] **Wi-kaha** also has a transitive form **wi-kaha-ya** *decide it.*

7.6.3 DERIVED CONDITION VERBS guna-

Verbs derived by the spontaneous prefix belong to the class of condition verbs, in which the person/number of the object is copied to the subject prefix, both having the same referent. Thus in terms of marked grammatical relations these verbs do not change their valence, but semantically the predicates are reduced from taking two to taking one argument.

ROOT		DERIVED FORM	
-hedal-i	*break s.t.*	-guna-hedal-RFX	*break by itself*
-lolo-ya	*tear s.t.*	-guna-lolo-RFX	*tear by itself*
-gudu-ya	*close s.t.*	-guna-gudu-RFX	*close by itself*
-lupen-i	*open s.t.*	-guna-lupen-RFX	*open by itself*
-hoe-ya	*untie s.t.*	-guna-hoe-RFX	*open by itself*

(58) Amaka gudu i-guna-hoe-ya...
already door 3s-SPON-untie-3sRFX
The door was already open...

Belonging to this class is the common verb **gunawile-** *to return, to be back*[6].

(59) Kikina ma apo a-guna-wile-u.
little and FUT 1s-SPON-round-1sRFX
I will be back in a little.

7.7 CONCLUSION

The data of this and the previous two chapters witness to the truth of the following assertion.

> The extreme neatness of structuralist and transformational generative formalizations is an illusion; we suspect the analyses of being more rigorous, more well defined, than the reality which they represent. This is not an argument against striving for precision. The claim is merely that sometimes reality is two-faced and sometimes it is fuzzy. A model which views language structure solely in terms of absolutes, which sees a process as one thing or another, never something in

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[6] It is difficult to assess whether the subject of this verb is truly an undergoer rather than an actor. Certainly, there is a parallel construction in which the subject is unambiguously an actor: **Apo a-ne-neme.** (FUT 1s-come-again) *I will come again.*

> between, or which sees a rule either as present and productive or as entirely absent...
>
> Pawley and Reid (1980)

Analyses of some data is messy. In one case a single prefix (wi-) is found to both increase (7.5.1.1 and 7.5.3) and decrease (7.6.2) verbal valence as well as to derive stems which do not involve valence changes (6.5.6.4). That this situation is not unusual is seen by comparing the Tawala analysis with other more detailed analyses. For example, Gross reports on a ten-year study of 12,000 French lexical items which were examined in the light of about 600 rules and conditions of application. He and his co-workers "observed that no two lexical items have identical syntactic properties" (Gross 1979:860).

There are, however, two facts which greatly alleviate the Tawala situation: i) statistically each prefix has a prototypical use, which I have tried to formulate in this study; and ii) invariably the semantic class of the root plays a crucial role in the output syntax - note for instance the distinctive use of the transitive marker with motion verbs (7.4.2). Even so, the analysis presented in the previous chapters has been simplified by the expedient of omitting exceptions where only one or two examples are found in the data.

8 VERB PHRASE

Following Crowley (1982:118) I use the term 'verb phrase' as it is "most usually used in descriptions of Oceanic languages, where it simply includes the verb and all its associated verbal adjuncts and modifiers (but not the nominal arguments associated with it)".[1]

The defining characteristic of the verb phrase in Tawala is a head slot filled by a verb indexing the person and number of the subject by a pronominal prefix. Containing as it does both subject and predicate, the verb phrase may stand as a complete sentence in itself.

(1) Hi-gelu.
3p-embark
They embarked.

Excluded from this chapter is a systematic description of adverbs (5.6.5), which are clausal rather than phrasal in scope. The exception to this is the tense adverbs (8.5), which are included in this chapter for convenience.

8.1 CONSTITUENTS OF THE VERB PHRASE

The constituents of the verb phrase are always contiguous and function as a unit. While the order of items is fixed, there is a distinction between the tightly bonded prehead items with minimal stress which are written as prefixes (and are

[1] This is in contradistinction to the transformational usage which includes the object NP and other items within the VP (see 12.3.3 for justification of the rejection of this usage).

obligatorily present) and the more loosely bonded optional posthead modifiers which receive word-level stress and are written as separate words.

[[[S-mood-aspect-V (serialV)] (mod)^1] (mod)^2] (-O) (mod)^3

The constituents of the verb phrase are (in order):

i) SUBJECT PREFIX – a bound pronoun indexing the person and number of the subject (8.4.); sometimes a portmanteau form marked also for present tense (8.5).

ii) MOOD – three moods are distinguished: realis, irrealis and potential (8.7).

iii) ASPECT – two aspects, simple and durative (8.6), are distinguished.

iv) HEAD – a verbal stem (8.3) or serial verb (8.9).

v) MODIFIER(S) – up to three modifiers occur (8.10). The second order of modifiers is a more restricted set than the first; the third order of modifiers is even more restricted and is further distinguished as the only phrasal item to occur after the object enclitic.

vi) OBJECT ENCLITIC – a morpheme attached to the final item of the phrase (apart from the exception noted above), indexing the person and number of the clausal object (8.4).

There are a number of additional morphemes, not included in the above formula, mainly of a deictic nature. These are only employed with a limited class of verbs, particularly motion verbs (8.9.5). In addition, ligature is used on heads ending in /e/ and on a limited set of modifiers (8.11).

8.2 WORD BREAKS WITHIN THE VERB PHRASE

There is a distinction between the tightly bonded prehead morphemes and the more loosely bonded posthead modifiers.

The 'tightly bonded prehead' morphemes are considered prefixes for the following reasons. Firstly, they do not receive word stress. Word stress (') normally falls on the penultimate syllable of words (4.5). As Tawala verb stems typically have two or more syllables stress falls naturally on the head.

(2) 'Apo i-na-'lata 'duma.
FUT 3s-POT-grow very
It will be very big.

Single syllable heads cannot occur without a modifier following.[2]

(3) 'Apo i-na-'me i'mahi.
FUT 3s-POT-stay properly
He will live well.

In (3) normal stess patterns are broken, with stress on the ultimate syllable in order to maintain stress on the head. When the modifier contains only two syllables (i.e. with a stessed first syllable) the preceding one-syllable head is lengthened to fill a normal two-syllable rhythm pattern (4).

(4) 'Apo i-na-'me(e) 'duma.
FUT 3s-POT-stay very
He will stay for a long time.

Secondly, in normal conversation it is not possible to pause between prehead items; any mistake will result in the speaker repeating the whole word from the subject prefix. Thirdly, under no circumstance can these morphemes be interrupted by

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[2] Single syllable verbs are reduced CVV motion and stance verbs that only occur with modifiers – **nei** and **nae** > **ne** *come,go*; **gei** and **gae** > **ge** *come up, go up*; **mae** > **me** *stay*.

any other morpheme. Finally, the order of these morphemes is absolutely fixed.

Some justification also needs to be given for the above claim that the posthead modifiers are 'more loosely bonded', receiving word-level stress. Hinging on the claim is whether these items should be written as separate words. As with other word-division problems there is a bracketing problem between the phonological, morphological, psychological and lexical evidence (5.1).

i) Every word receives separate stress, which normally falls on the penultimate syllable. Without word breaks secondary stress will tend to fall on every second syllable (4.5). This pattern is not followed with verbal modifiers, and hence they are written as separate words.

-'mae	>	-'me 'duma	*stay (long)*
-'mae	>	-'me wa'haga	*stay (forever)*
-'hopu	>	-'hopu 'duma	*go down (deep)*
-tu'gula	>	-tu'gula i'mahi	*sit (properly)*

In contrast, the object enclitic is part of the phonological word, so that word-final stress on the head changes position when a modifier is added (except when ligature replaces the enclitic), keeping stress on the penultimate syllable.

-ha'gu-ya	>	-'hagu du'ma-ya	*(really) help s.o.*

ii) The initial vowel of a modifier is not turned into a glide as it is within the word.

-galena imahi	>	-ga'lena i'mahi	*(watch properly)*
-galena+itete	>	-galenai'tete	*(care for)*[3]

The contrast is quite marked within the phrase

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[3] The morpheme itete only occurs with **galena**.

igalena^{i}tetena imahi *he cared for him properly*

where the underlined vowels receive normal vowel length in contrast to the sequence marked as a glide.

iii) With some transitive words the clitic boundary between the head and the object enclitic is not a natural word break. The object enclitic cannot be removed without violating the word.

-ha'gu-ya/hi *help*-3s/3p > *-'hagu

However, this boundary can be interrupted by a modifier.

-hagu duma-hi *really help* 3p

The interruption is marked by ligature when the verb stem ends in /e/ - presumably with the function of allowing the incomplete form to stand alone, by indicating that there is more to follow.

-hanapuge-ya > -hanapuge-na imahiye-ya *understand-3s (properly)*
-luhogale-ya > -luhogale-na duma-ya *love-3s (truly)*

Even with ligature present the head forms are incomplete (they cannot stand alone). However, it would be difficult to see any function for the ligature if it is not to mark a word break.

iv) The 'psychological reality' of a word break, as revealed in Tawala writings, is ambivalent at this point, as at other questionable borders. Although verb modifiers are rare, one writer (*GEKA TUWEGA* p.8) used both the following forms within a few sentences:

to hanahanapugenameiyai *we are understanding ourselves*
i wi tulana imahi duma *he was really completely friendly*

Presumably the object suffix -iyai resulted in the transitive modifier being attached to the stem.

v) Verb heads with modifiers should not be regarded as lexical entries in that their combined meanings are always predictable

(see discussion 5.1). The same applies to the two elements of serial verbs (8.9), which contrasts with compounds (6.2).

I conclude that the evidence is in favour of positing the posthead modifiers as belonging to a class of more loosely bonded items than one would expect to find within a lexical word – I have thus chosen to write modifiers and serial verbs as separate items[4].

The remainder of this chapter details each of the constituents of the verb phrase listed above. For convenience, the various strands of tense, aspect and mood are brought together with the clause operators in 8.8, completing the presentation of the verb phrase.

8.3 VERB PHRASE HEAD

At the head of a verb phrase stands a verb stem or serial verb which may consist of a simple verb root (5.5), a derived verb (6.5) or an idiomatic compound (6.5.7). There is a basic division between two different constructions, depending on the potential presence of the object enclitic within the verb phrase.

i) TRANSITIVE PREDICATE – marked by the potential presence of an object enclitic.

ii) INTRANSITIVE PREDICATE – shown by the obligatory absence of an object enclitic.

Morphological devices are available that enable a verb stem to change membership between these two predicate types

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[4] Verb phrases are an aid to the practical orthography, avoiding such long and difficult-to-read words as **hinagalenaitetenaimahiyenadumaya** *they will care for him extremely well.*

(7.4–7.6). Verbal valence determines not only the potential presence or absence of the object enclitic, but also the potential NPs in the clause.

8.4 PERSON AND NUMBER INDEXING

In this section the 'pronouns' found within the verb phrase are discussed; these are bound morphemes: a subject prefix and an object enclitic. These pronominal affixes are distinct from personal pronouns (5.6.1).

(5) Tauyai to-hanapu-ya.
weE 1pE-know-3s
We know it.

In (5) the subject person marker to- is an obligatory morpheme within the VP; on the other hand, the emphatic pronoun tauyai is an optional morpheme used in addition to the (coreferential) person marker for pragmatic reasons.

Subject prefixes and object enclitics mark the person and number of the arguments involved in the predication. This cannot be regarded as either true agreement or cross-referencing for the following reasons.

Firstly, the subject/object NP is often not present in the clause. While the NP may be present in the context – an anaphoric reference – the referent may be present only in the extra-linguistic context – an exophoric reference.

(6) Numa i-buda.
house 3s-rot
The house is rotten.

Amaka i-buda.
already 3s-rot
It has already rotted.

While it makes sense to speak of the subject prefix cross-referencing the subject NP in the first sentence of (6), it does

not in the second sentence, where the referent is exophoric – my informant and I were walking past the rotting remnants of a house. The subject prefix refers to a real-world entity and not to a grammatical NP.

Secondly, the NP is usually not marked for number (only a few nouns are marked for plural – 6.3.2.3). As a head-marking language, Tawala marks pluralisation on the head clausal item – the verb phrase – rather than on the dependent NP.

(7) **Numa i-buda.**
house 3s-rot
The house is rotten.

Numa hi-buda.
house 3p-rot
The houses are rotten.

Thirdly, reference is rarely made to person in NPs; such situations are highly marked and relatively rare.

(8) **Ama-mi i-paliwele-mi...**
father-2p 3s-tell-2p
Your father tells you...

In (9) two sentences are given in which the person of the object is clearly marked on the verb and not the NP.

(9) **Tula-u awai a-wele-ya?**
friend-1s what 1s-give-3s
What will I give my friend?

Tula-u awai a-wele-m?
friend-1s what 1s-give-2s
What will I give you, my friend?

With both first and second persons, person is marked on the verb and normally on the verb alone.

(10) **Geka ginouli-na apo to-wele-m.**
this thing-DEF FUT 1pE-give-2s
We will give this thing to you.

Texts in my corpus carefully identify most third person referents, but rarely first and second person referents.

The above data show that it is the verbal affixes which are the prime indicators of subject person and number within the clause. Lichtenberk (1983:108) proposes the term 'indexing' to

capture this insight – a form is said "to 'index' the number or person of a participant, whether that participant is overtly expressed [in an NP] or not".

Lichtenberk points out that indexing is found in a number of constructions in Manam. Similarly, in Tawala indexing is broader than its application to subject and object on verbs (3.13, 5.6.1).

8.4.1 INDEXING OF SUBJECTS

The subject prefix is the distinguishing feature of the verb phrase, and ultimately of the verbal clause (12.1). It is the only morpheme that must overtly occur with the head, and accordingly plays an extremely important role in Tawala syntax, though it is a third order verbal prefix following aspect and mood.

	SUBJECT PREFIX
1s	a-
2s	u-
3s	i-
1pI	ta-
1pE	to-
2p	o-
3p	hi-

Table 1: Subject prefixes

The subject prefix must occur whether or not an NP is present in the clause.

(11) **Wam** i-gota. I-gota.
boat 3s-arrive. 3s-arrive
The boat arrived. *It arrived.*

The only exception to the rule that a subject prefix must occur with every VP is in the imperative mood, where the second person singular prefix is normally omitted.

(12) '-na-bulili.
-POT-run
Run (fast)!

8.4.2 INDEXING OF OBJECTS — TRANSITIVE VERBS

One of the distinguishing features of the Papuan Tip cluster languages is the object pronominal suffixes on the verb (3.3). In Tawala the set of object enclitics is identical to the adnominal enclitics except in the third person singular forms.

PERSON/ NUMBER	OBJECT ENCLITICS	ADNOMINAL ENCLITICS
1s	-u/-we	-u/-we
2s	-m	-m
3s	-ya/-ni/-i/-hi	-na
1pI	-ta	-ta
1pE	-(i)yai	-(i)yai
2p	-mi	-mi
3p	-hi	-hi

Table 2: Object and adnominal enclitics

The following rule applies to the first person singular form:

-u —> -we/u_

The various third person singular object enclitics are largely a matter of verb class (5.5.6). but the -ya/-ni distinction is also dialectal (5.5.6.4). Owing to the frequency of occurrence of third person singular object enclitics in Tawala verb phrases, this is an important point of morphological divergence between the Labe and Kehelala dialects.

LABE	KEHELALA
a-gale-ya	a-gale-ni
1s-see-3s	1s-see-3s
I saw him	

The transitive verb phrase differs from the intransitive verb phrase in a number of respects: the presence of an object enclitic (as above), a transitivising clitic (7.1.1) and ligature (8.11).

The complex relationship between transitive and intransitive verbs is discussed in previous chapters (5.5 & 7). Enough to recall that the object enclitic is sometimes an optional morpheme. Its absence does not mark a verb as intransitive, as the following data demonstrate (for discussion see 12.2.5).

(13) Niha i-higu-ya.
salt 3s-draw-3s
She drew the salt water.

(14) Goila e-higu-higu.
water 3sPRS-DUR-draw
She is drawing water.

With influence verbs (5.5.5), the object indexed on the verb is the undergoer highest on the animacy hierarchy:

HUMAN > ANIMATE > INANIMATE

Thus Tawala treats as a direct object what is often referred to in English as the 'indirect object'. For Tawala I simply refer to object (the object indexed on the verb) and secondary object (the object occurring as an NP but never marked on the verb – in square brackets in the following example).

(15) Ega [aniani po muhala] hi-wele-u.
NEG vegetables and game 3p-give-1s
They didn't give me vegetables and meat.

8.5 TENSE

In this section we draw together three separate systems for marking tense: the alternative set subject prefixes and a set of tense adverbs.

8.5.1 TENSE PREFIXES

Tawala has two sets of subject prefixes: the regular set and a set marked for present tense. Both sets function to index the person and number of the subject.

	REGULAR	PRESENT
1s	a-	a-
2s	u-	e-
3s	i-	e-
1pI	ta-	ta-
1pE	to-	to-
2p	o-	o-
3p	hi-	he-

Table 3: Subject/tense prefixes

(16) E-nae i-na-togo.
3sPRS-go 3s-POT-wash
He is going he will wash (= to wash).

Neutralisation of tense in the first person is illustrated in (17).

(17) A-nae a-togo.
1s-go 1s-wash
I am going I will wash (= to wash).

The present tense set is only morphologically marked in the second and third person singular (18) and third person plural. The regular set is used with past (19) and future (20).

(18) Awai i yam e-an-an-i?
what ourE food 3sPRS-DUR-eat-3s
What keeps eating our food?

(19) A yam madimadi ma tuwoya i-an-ani-hi.
his food grasshopper and honey 3s-DUR-eat-3p
He would eat grasshoppers and honey.

(20) Ma pegapega-hi i-na-an-ani-hi.
but corn-DEF.PL 3s-POT-DUR-eat-3p
But let it eat the corn.

The present tense forms are only used with realis aspect, never with irrealis or potential aspect. The loss of distinction between second and third person singular in the present tense does not involve excessive ambiguities as contexts seldom overlap.

It is not possible to isolate tense from aspect and mood because the subject prefixes themselves combine with various other morphemes in a complex tense/aspect/mood system that is given thorough treatment below (8.8). Further examples of the present tense (21) are followed by an unmarked example (22).

(21) Mek e-ne-nae? Bada e-me-mae.
where 2sPRS-DUR-go man 3sPRS-DUR-stay
Where are you going? *The man is staying.*

In the first person, present tense is unmarked – the regular prefixes are used with durative aspect (22).

(22) To-i-gohagoha nae.
1pE-DUR-play DX
We are just walking about.

8.5.2 TENSE ADVERBS

Three adverbs (5.6.5) are used to mark tense:

apo	FUTURE (FUT)
amaka	*already*
ataima (L. amalai)	*today, now*

Only the first of these is unambiguously a tense marker, as the other forms have lexical rather than a functional meaning.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, these items have clausal rather than phrasal scope and are outside the verb phrase, but are included within this chapter for the expedient of viewing tense, aspect and mood concurrently. The three tense adverbs – past, present and future – are illustrated in (23–25) respectively. In (23) it is clear that the tense adverb is not part of the verb phrase (cf. 27).

(23) Amaka numa gatowa-na ta-wikokow-i.
already house roof-3s 1pl-finish-3s
We have finished the roof.

(24) Ataima a-paliwele-m amaka gawiya i-geleta.
today 1s-tell-2s already war 3s-arrive
I now tell you war has arrived.

(25) Apo a-nae a-wisili.
FUT 1s-go 1s-fish
I will go fishing.

8.5.3 SENTENTIAL ADVERBS

Temporal nouns often place a clause or sentence within a spatial context, thus indirectly marking it for tense. The tense adverbs are often omitted in such situations, though less often in the future.

(26) Pom a-nae u pitapita.
yesterday 1s-go LOC bush
Yesterday I went into the bush.

(27) Apo hoimalatom ta-nae u animae uyahi-na.
FUT tomorrow 1pl-go LOC residence AT-3s
Tomorrow we will go to my residence.

8.6 ASPECT

> Aspect marking indicates whether the action of the verb is regarded as complete or incomplete, durative or momentaneous, etc.
>
> Schachter (1985:10)

Every verb has its own inherent aspectual properties. However, in this section we are concerned with the morphological marking of aspect on verbs, rather than their inherent aspect. In Tawala, durative aspect is normally marked by the reduplication of the verb stem (see 4.4 for details of the phonological processes involved) – a first order of verbal prefixes.

SIMPLE ASPECT		>	DURATIVE ASPECT	
-baha	*speak*		-baha-baha	*be speaking*
-uma	*drink*		-um-uma	*be drinking*
-nae	*go*		-ne-nae	*be going*
-geleta	*arrive*		-gele-geleta	*be arriving*

An unmarked stem (without reduplication) indicates simple or completed action – the situation is viewed as a single whole (Comrie 1976:16). Durative aspect indicates that the situation described by the verb was repeated, was in progress or remained constant; it endured through time.

(28) Motaka a-ga-gale-hi ma hi-buli-bulili.
car 1s-DUR-see-3p and 3p-DUR-run
I was seeing cars and they were running along.

Contrast the progressive use of the durative aspect in (28) with the repetitive use in (29).

(29) Hi-ne-po hi-dane-danene.
3p-come-and 3p-DUR-steal
They came and kept stealing (many times).

One unusual use of the durative aspect is its use in marking restrictive relative clauses (14.1). The distinguishing feature of Tawala relative clauses is the marking of the restrictive clause with durative aspect, regardless of the actual aspect required by the clause.

(30) Kwasikwasi pom u-gima-gimal-e-ya i-tutuma.
machete yesterday 2s-DUR-buy-TR-3s 3s-blunt
The bush-knife that you bought yesterday is blunt.

Aspect is sensitive to the inherent aspectual properties of verbs. For example, stative verbs are not marked for durative aspect (5.5.1). The state of affairs described by the stative verb remains constant through time. In other words, the situation is inherently 'durative' and is accordingly not marked for durative aspect.

(31) U mae hi-witai duma. / *U mae hi-wita-witai.
my stay 3p-heavy very DUR
My life was very heavy (i.e. *I faced many difficulties*).

We note above that durative aspect is normally marked by reduplication of the first syllable(s) of the verb stem. When the stem is formed with a derivational prefix, the stem begins with a derivational prefix which does not reduplicate, but instead is replaced.

	SIMPLE ASPECT		DURATIVE ASPECT
a.	wi-	>	i-
b.	lu-	>	lau-
c.	li-	>	lai-
d.	wo-	>	woo-
e.	am-	>	yam-

Table 4: Durative forms of derivational prefixes

An example of each type is contained in the following list:

a.	-wi-dagudagu	*struggle*	-i-dagudagu	*be struggling*
b.	-lu-pali	*ask, pray*	-lau-pali	*be asking, praying*
c.	-li-bolu	*talk together*	-lai-bolu	*be talking together*
d.	-wo-bagibagi	*keep working*	-woo-bagibagi	*be keeping working*
e.	-am-boho	*be greedy*	-yam-boho	*be being greedy*

(32) Mota ega kikina e-i-dagudagu.
snake NEG little 3sPRS-DUR-wriggle
The snake is not wriggling at all.

(33) Logaloga he-yam-datu.
children 3pPRS-DUR-low.tide
The children are collecting shell-food.

In this feature derivational prefixes are distinguished from classificatory prefixes, which are reduplicated in the normal manner.

(34) Dimdim hai dewa a-pali-paliwele-mi.
European their custom 1s-DUR-tell-2p
I am telling you of the white man's custom.

8.7 MOOD

> Mood characterizes the actuality of an event by comparing the event world(s) to a reference world, termed the actual world...Whereas there is basically one way for an event to be actual, there are numerous ways that an event can be less than completely actual.
> Chung and Timberlake (1985:241)

Three moods are distinguished by Tawala verbal morphology – a second order of verbal prefixes.

REALIS	–	morphologically unmarked (#)
POTENTIAL	–	-na-
IRREALIS	–	-ta-

The three moods can be contrasted with a single motion verb. (In order to make (35–37) clear I mark the absence of a mood morpheme with # and gloss it R; this convention is not followed elsewhere in the thesis.)

(35) Meka i-#-nae? Ega i-ta-nae. Apo i-na-nae.
where 3s-R-go NEG 3s-IRR-go FUT 3s-POT-go.
Where has he gone? *He didn't go.* *He will go.*

In the following subsections the forms and basic functions are simply listed. (The full interplay of mood with tense and aspect is given detailed treatment in 8.8).

8.7.1 REALIS MOOD

In realis mood the event is characterised as actual or real. The reported world and the actual world are identical – traditionally the indicative mood. The main function of the realis mood is the reporting of past events.

(36) **To-#-gelu po to-#-ne-nei ma dobu a-#-ga-gale-hi.**
1pE-R-embark and 1pE-R-DUR-come and field 1s-R-DUR-see-3p
We got on board (the plane) and coming along I saw the fields.

(37) **Bada i-#-bahe-na gelete-u.**
man 3s-R-say-LIG appear-1s
The bada *nominated me.*

8.7.2 IRREALIS MOOD ta-

Irrealis mood characterises an event as non-actual. The reported world has no correspondence to the actual world. The irrealis prefix is often used with the negative adverb; both simple (38) and durative (39) aspects occur with irrealis mood.

(38) **Hai dewa ega i-ta-dumalu.**
their custom NEG 3s-IRR-straight
Their custom is not right.

(39) **Ma lawa ega hi-ta-tu-tou duma.**
but person NEG 3p-IRR-DUR-cry very
But the people did not weep much.

Without the negative adverb the construction becomes contrary-to-fact.

(40) **A-gei-ni po a-ta-peu.**
1s-climbed-3s and 1s-IRR-fall
I climbed it and almost fell.

(41) **Geka bagibagi-na uyahi-na a-ta-me-mae, apo nugote**
this work-DEF AT-3s 1s-IRR-DUR-stay FUT perhaps
If I had stayed with this work,

numa geka uyahina a-ta-wobagibagi.
house this AT-3s 1s-IRR-work
I would possibly work in this building.

8.7.3 POTENTIAL MOOD na-

With potential mood the event is characterised as one which may become real. The real world may come to correspond to the reported event. Potential mood is used to express events in the future - the free-form future tense marker apo is often used in conjunction with potential mood.

(42) Ata ba-bada apo hi-na-guta-ya po hi-na-wele-ta.
our1 PL-man FUT 3p-POT-share-3s and 3p-POT-give-1pl
Our big men will share it out and give it to us.

Potential mood readily occurs with durative aspect.

(43) Ega i-ta-geno duma apo i-na-kada-kadau.
NEG 3s-IRR-worry very FUT 3s-POT-DUR-journey
He won't worry much if he is journeying.

Potential mood is used to express imperatives. With singular imperatives the subject prefix is usually omitted.

(44) O-na-lowo! '-na-bulili!
2p-POT-run 2s-POT-run
Run away you (lot)! *Run (fast)!*

With most verb stems there is no separate marker of potential mood in the first person - neutralisation with the realis has taken place.

apo a-nae	*I will go*
apo u-na-nae	*you(SG) will go*
apo i-na-nae	*he will go*
apo ta-nae	*we(INCL) will go*
apo to-nae	*we(EXCL) will go*
apo o-na-nae	*you(PL) will go*
apo hi-na-nae	*they will go*

Table 5: Potential mood marking with -nae *go*

(45) I-na-lupali apo ta-hagu-ya.
3s-POT-ask FUT 1pl-help-3s
If he asks (us) we will help him.

Accordingly, the hortatory function remains unmarked.

(46) Ta-womahili.
1pl-leave
Let's go.

However, when potential mood is combined with the derivational prefix om- we get vowel elision (4.3.1) nom-, which remains constant for all persons singular and plural (8.7.1). Example (47) illustrates this morpheme with the Labe equivalent of (46).

(47) Ta-nom-hoe.
1pl-POT-leave
Let's go.

One final example in which potential mood would be required in second and third person constructions is (48).

(48) Apo hoimalatom ta-nae u ani-mae uyahi-na.
FUT morning 1pl-go my place-stay AT-3s
In the morning we will go to my place.

8.8 COMBINING TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD

The forms and basic functions of tense (8.5), aspect (8.6) and mood (8.7) have been introduced. This section outlines various changes in form involved when these systems are combined (8.8.1) and gives examples of the various possible combinations (8.8.2).

In a recent grammatical study of an Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea, Bugenhagen (1990:26) questions the validity of treating tense aspect and mood (TAM) together.

> There is no evidence for such a grouping in Mangap-Mbula. Modal notions are encoded by a variety of formal devices, including: 1) auxilliary verbs, 2) sentence final adverbs, 3) complementizers, and 4) intonation, while aspect is encoded by 1) reduplication, 2) various verb phrase internal adverbs, and 3) a number of verb serialization constructions. Temporal notions, on the other hand, are encoded by temporal adverbial constructions. To conflate such a menagerie of formal encoding together under a single heading, however hyphenated, would be a colossal mistake.

As the Tawala situation resembles this description the warning should not go unheeded, for analysis should always rest primarily on the forms of a language. However, to demonstrate the combinatory potential of the three systems gives insight into the inner functioning of the verb phrase and verbal clause. In addition TAM operate in Tawala with a degree of overlapping forms, necessitating, to a degree, a combined approached.

In the following sections I do not discuss the full range of items affecting TAM; discussion is limited to verbal morphology, adverbs and mood particles (5.6.10).

8.8.1 TAM FORMS

Table 6 (8.6) lists the irregular forms which derivational prefixes take when marked for durative aspect. Because these prefixes contrast with regular reduplication the table sets out a complete paradigm of both regular and irregular patterns. In addition both potential and realis moods are included to illustrate the neutralisation in first person forms introduced above (8.7). The durative aspect forms are given in the present tense to illustrate the fusion of tense with the person and number subject prefixes introduced above (8.5). The vowel elision in simple aspect and potential mood of the stative derivational forms illustrates the phonological process described in 4.3.

The three verbs chosen to illustrate these aspects of Tawala TAM are the regular verb **baha** *speak*, the valence-increasing

(7.5.1) wi-gei- *put s.t. up* and the valence-decreasing (7.6.1) am-boina *meet together.*

	SIMPLE ASPECT	DURATIVE ASPECT (PRESENT TENSE)	POTENTIAL MOOD
1s	a-baha	a-baha-baha	a-baha
2s	u-baha	e-baha-baha	u-na-baha
3s	i-baha	e-baha-baha	i-na-baha
1pI	ta-baha	ta-baha-baha	a-baha
1pE	to-baha	to-baha-baha	to-baha
2p	o-baha	o-baha-baha	o-na-baha
3p	hi-baha	he-baha-baha	hi-na-baha
1s	a-wi-gei-	a-i-gei-	a-wi-gei-
2s	u-wi-gei-	e-i-gei-	u-na-wi-gei-
3s	i-wi-gei-	e-i-gei-	i-na-wi-gei-
1pI	ta-wi-gei-	ta-i-gei-	ta-wi-gei-
1pE	to-wi-gei-	to-i-gei-	to-wi-gei-
2p	o-wi-gei-	o-i-gei-	o-na-wi-gei-
3p	hi-wi-gei-	he-i-gei-	hi-na-wi-gei-
1s	a-m-boina	a-yam-boina	a-nam-boina
2s	u-m-boina	e-yam-boina	u-nam-boina
3s	i-m-boina	e-yam-boina	i-nam-boina
1pI	ta-m-boina	ta-yam-boina	ta-nam-boina
1pE	to-m-boina	to-yam-boina	to-nam-boina
2p	o-m-boina	o-yam-boina	o-nam-boina
3p	hi-m-boina	he-yam-boina	hi-nam-boina

Table 5: Verbal morphology

Note that with the wi- prefix, vowel elision (4.3.1) results in the loss of durative marking in the third person non-present tense and hence neutralisation with simple aspect.

i-i-gei > i-gei- *he was putting s.t. up*
hi-i-gei > hi-gei- *they were putting s.t. up*

8.8.2 TAM FUNCTIONS

Potential combinations of TAM are explored in table 7. Not all combinations are possible (-). Those combinations which are possible (+) are illustrated in examples (49–77).

TENSE:	PAST		PRESENT		FUTURE	
ASPECT:	SIM	DUR	SIM	DUR	SIM	DUR
MOOD:						
REALIS	+	+	+	+	-	-
POTENTIAL	+	+	-	-	+	+
IRREALIS	+	+	-	-	+	+

Table 7: Combinations of TAM

In the following subsections we look at each of these categories, stating the meaning briefly and giving examples as appropriate. In the following description I give priority to tense even though tense receives minimal morphological marking within the verb phrase.

8.8.2.1 PAST FUNCTIONS

i) PAST REALIS

Past realis is used to express situations that actually happened.

(49) (Pam) i-nae u pitapita.
yesterday 3s-go LOC bush
Yesterday he went to the bush.

When two clauses are combined in a sentence, durative aspect in the first marks temporal overlap (50) and simple aspect marks succession (16.9).

(50) Houga-na i-ne-nae wagaloke i-gale-ya.
time-DEF 3s-DUR-go possum 3s-see-3s
While he was going along he saw a possum.

Combined with the tense adverb amaka *already*, the construction indicates completed aspect.

(51) Bada amaka i-nae. Amaka i-tugu-tugula...
man already 3s-go already 3s-DUR-sit
The man has/had gone. *He was already sitting...*

ii) PAST IRREALIS

The most common use of past irrealis is in clauses with negative polarity expressing situations that did not eventuate.

(52) Ega wam i-ta-nei.
NEG boat 3s-IRR-come
The boat did not come.

The irrealis with durative aspect, used with negative polarity, indicates an ongoing situation; contrast (53) and (54).

(53) Ega lawa i-ta-hagu-hagu-hi.
NEG person 3s-IRR-DUR-help-3p
He doesn't help people.

(54) Ega lawa i-ta-hagu-hi.
NEG person 3s-IRR-help-3p
He didn't help people.

The past irrealis is also used to express events that almost happened.

(55) (Kikina ma) a-ta-peu.
little but 1s-IRR-fall.
I almost fell.

Contrary-to-fact constructions often use past irrealis with the mood particle itapa. The following Tawala joke (54) uses an interplay of durative and simple aspect (cf. 41).

(56) Itapa i-ta-ne-nae po palouma hi-ta-wiyaga-ya
CONTR 3s-IRR-DUR-go and witch 3p-IRR-chase-3s

apo iyowaka i-ta-lowo?
FUT how 3s-IRR-run.away
If he was going and witches chased him, how would he escape?

iii) PAST POTENTIAL

In these constructions context determines the tense, and the irrealis particle **ipa** is used in conjunction with potential mood.

(57) **Lolowa hai luhogala ipa hi-na-ma-mae.**
before their desire IRR 3p-POT-DUR-stay
Previously, it was their desire to stay.

In (57) durative aspect is used and in (58) simple aspect. (For the use of the historic present see 8.8.2.2.ii.)

(58) **Keduluma-na ipa i-na-uni-hi po e-ne-nae.**
woman-DEF IRR 3s-POT-kill-3p and 3sPRS-DUR-go
The woman was going along intending to kill them.

If used in a conditional clause the durative combined with potential applies to an ongoing situation in the present.

(59) **Apo lawa ega i-na-woo-bagibagi...**
FUT person NEG 3s-POT-DUR-work
If a person won't work...

Negative durative potential constructions indicate a command to stop an activity.

(60) **Ega u-na-tu-tou.**
NEG 2s-POT-DUR-cry
Don't cry.

8.8.2.2 PRESENT FUNCTIONS

The simple present realis is marked by the present tense subject prefix (8.5.1). The functions of simple and durative aspects are rather divergent with the present realis and are thus treated separately. The simple aspect is not used at all with irrealis and potential moods.

i) SIMPLE PRESENT REALIS

The simple present realis views an action as though it was currently taking place in its entirety as a unit.

(61) I-lupa po e-hopu po e-na-po boga u
3s-jump and 3sPRS-go.down and 3s-go-and sea LOC

sipoli-na.
middle-3s
He jumped and goes down and goes into the depths of the sea.

The most common usage of the simple present realis is in the first clause of purpose constructions (15.9), where it is used in place of durative aspect.

(62) E-nae i-na-togo.
3sPRS-go 3s-POT-wash
He goes to wash.

The present tense is only morphologically marked in the second and third person singular and third person plural (8.5.1). Compare (62) with (63) which demonstrates both neutralisation of present tense and potential aspect in the first person singular.

(63) A-nae a-togo.
1s-go 1s-wash
I go to wash.

Present tense is also used to express the customary aspect.

(64) Lawa hilahilage-na he-guluw'-i po i-kokoe.
person finish-3s 3pPRS-bury-3s and 3s-finish
They bury the dead person and it is finished.

ii) DURATIVE PRESENT REALIS

The present realis is normally used with the durative aspect to refer to actions that are still progressing.

(65) Wam e-ne-nei.
boat 3sPRS-DUR-come
The boat is coming.

(66) Meka e-ne-nae?
where 2sPRS-DUR-go
Where are you going?

Habitual actions are also expressed by the durative realis present.

(67) Houga magomagou-na e-ne-nae u Alotau.
time many-3s 3sPRS-DUR-go LOC A.
He often goes to Alotau.

Combined with the tense adverb amaka *already* the construction indicates that the action has already begun.

(68) Ata lawa amaka he-ne-nae.
our1 person already 3pPRS-DUR-go
Our friends are already going.

The present tense can be used in a story, in which case it indicates a lively historic present.

(69) Polo he-telen-e-ya po he-un-i po he-hopu
pig 3pPRS-net-TR-3s and 3pPRS-kill-3s and 3pPRS-go.down

po he-yam-hapi.
and 3pPRS-DUR-chop
They net the pig and kill it and go down and are chopping (it).

iii) Present tense marking never occurs with irrealis or potential aspect marking.

8.8.2.3 FUTURE FUNCTIONS

Future tense is usually marked by the tense adverb apo which becomes apega with negative polarity.

i) FUTURE REALIS

There are no examples of future realis. When referring to the future a verb must be marked for either irrealis or potential aspect.

ii) FUTURE IRREALIS

The future irrealis is used to express contrary-to-expectation situations.

(70) Apo i-ta-nae...
FUT 3s-IRR-go
Were he to go...

iii) FUTURE POTENTIAL

The main use of the future is to express situations that are likely to happen or, with negative polarity, unlikely to happen.

(71) Apo hi-na-nei.
FUT 3p-POT-come
They will come.

Ap-ega hi-na-nei.
FUT-NEG 3p-IRR-come
They won't come.

The future potential is readily used with durative aspect.

(72) Apo hi-na-ne-nae.
FUT 3p-POT-DUR-go
They will be going along.

The future potential is used to express warning.

(73) Ap u-na-peu.
FUT 2s-POT-fall
You'll fall.

Commands employ only the potential marking on the verb and not the tense adverb.

(74) O-na-lowo.
2p-POT-run
Run away (you lot)!

Hypothetical constructions (15.4.2) employ the mood particle inapa.

(75) Inapa ega u-na-ne-nae apo hi-na-pani-m.
HYPOTH NEG 2s-IRR-DUR-go FUT 3p-POT-tie-2s
If you don't go they will imprison you.

The negative used with the potential mood indicates lack of compulsion.

(76) Ega u-na-an-ani-hi.
NEG 2s-POT-DUR-eat-3p
You don't have to eat them.

Ega u-na-ne-nae.
NEG 2s-POT-DUR-go
You don't have to go.

Negative commands use the future adverb with the negative.

(77) Ap-ega u-na-nae.
FUT-NEG 2s-IRR-go
You must not go.

8.9 SERIAL VERBS

Serial verbs are productive constructions, with the main verb and the serial verb retaining a degree of independence as free forms.

In that the distinguishing feature of the verb phrase is the presence of a subject prefix marked for person and number, the fact that the second verb in Tawala serial construction lacks this prefix requires some comment. In fact, intransitive serial constructions consist of a main verb plus a verb stem used as a modifier. However, with transitive constructions it is the modifying verb which determines transitivity (8.9.3) and it is therefore not a modifier. Thus transitive constructions provide circumstantial evidence that intransitive constructions are also to be regarded as serial verbs. The dividing line between serial verbs and modifier constructions is therefore the ability of the modifier to function independently as a verb.

8.9.1 INTRANSITIVE SERIAL VERBS

Not all subclasses of verbs can modify a main verb to form a serial verb construction. Motion verbs and stative verbs, in particular, are productive as modifying verbs, but other subclasses are also represented. As far as possible I illustrate serial verbs with the main verb -baha *say*.

i) MOTION VERBS

MODIFIER ROOT		>	SERIAL CONSTRUCTION	
-gae	*go up*		-baha gae	*speak towards hills*
-ge-gae	DUR-*go up*		-baha gegae	*boast*
-bulili	*run*		-baha bulili	*talk quickly*
-geleta	*arrive*		-lupa geleta	*jump arrive (flee)*

(78) Kukuku i-lupa geleta didiyala u toya-na.
pheasant 3s-jump arrive pampas LOC overgrown-3s
The pheasant coucal escaped into the tall pampas grass.

ii) STATIVE VERBS

MODIFIER ROOT	>	SERIAL CONSTRUCTION	
-tahaya	*be first*	-baha tahaya	*speak first*
-kadidila	*be strong*	-baha kadidila	*speak firmly*
-apapoe	*be wrong*	-baha apapoe	*speak abusively*
-dumalu	*be straight*	-baha dumalu	*speak frankly*
-uyogigae	*be angry*	-baha uyogigae	*speak angrily*

(79) Tula-m uyahi-na u-na-lidumalu tahaya...
friend-2s AT-3s 2s-POT-straighten first
Straighten (things) with your friend first..

(80) U-na-baha dumalu, tam palouma?
2s-POT-speak straight youSG witch
Tell us frankly, are you a witch?

A number of other roots also function in the modifier slot – as yet no clear subclasses have emerged.

iii) OTHER VERBS

MODIFIER ROOT	>	SERIAL CONSTRUCTION	
-tu-tou	DUR-*cry*	-baha tutou	*wail*
-winama	*joke*	-baha winama	*speak jokingly*
-towolo	*stand*	-baha towolo	*stand to speak*
malitom	*daybreak*	-baha malitom	*talk till day*
momota	*tighten*	-towolo momota	*stand firm*

(81) Hi-eno malitom.
3p-sleep day.break
They slept till daytime.

Serial verbs have a single subject marker prefixed to the head. Mood and aspect are also only marked on the head, never the modifying verb.

A subject marker before the second verb in the chain would automatically signal two clauses, rather than a single serial verb.

(82) A-nae a-togo.
1s-go 1s-bathe
I go (in order) to bathe.

8.9.2 TRANSITIVE SERIAL VERBS

Transitive serial verb constructions are numerous and only a small representation is given here. Transitivity within the serial verb is a function of the modifier verb (8.9.3). The 'intensifier' function of intransitive adverbial modifiers (8.10.2) is parallelled by three serial verbs.

i) MODIFIER VERBS

With most verbal modifiers the root is used within its normal semantic range, as illustrated here combined with -houna *put.*

SERIAL VERB ROOT		>	SERIAL CONSTRUCTION	
-gowad-i	*hide s.t.*		-houna gowad-i	*steal/conceal s.t.*
-tahae-ya	*lead s.t.*		-houna tahae-ya	*place s.t./s.o. first*
-kaha-ya	*separate s.t.*		-houna kaha-ya	*appoint s.t./s.o.*
-damane-ya	*cross s.t. over*		-houna damane-ya	*transfer s.t./s.o.*
-hopune-ya	*take s.t. down*		-houna hopune-ya	*humiliate s.o.*
-gelete-ya	*take s.t. up*		-houna gelete-ya	*initiate s.o.*

The transitive suffix attaches to the end of the verb phrase.

MAIN VERB ROOT		>	SERIAL CONSTRUCTION	
-himil-i	*send s.t.*		-himila tahae-ya	*send s.o. first*
-mamal-i	*greet s.o.*		-mamala tahae-ya	*greet s.o. first*
-houn-i	*put s.t.*		-houna tahae-ya	*put s.o. first*
-winagan-i	*choose s.t.*		-winagana tahae-ya	*choose s.o. first*

ii) TRANSITIVE INTENSIFIERS

-lagona	*go over s.t.*	lagon-i	*surpassingly*
-hale-ya	*throw s.t.*	hale-ya	*completely*

(83) Geka dobu-hi hi-lowo hale-hi.
this village-DEF.PL 3p-flee throw-3p
They fled (from) these villages.

Serial constructions involving the modifier verb -lagona *surpass (s.t.), go over (s.t).* are variable focus verbs (5.4.6.2) and are transitive even when no object is marked, which is often the

case, as these typically function with predicate focus. Thus i-lata lagona must mean *3s is bigger (than s.o./s.t.)*.

iii) COMPARATIVE FUNCTION

Of the various verbal modifiers none is more important than lagona *surpass*, which is used in Tawala with a comparative function.

MAIN VERB ROOT		>SERIAL CONSTRUCTION	
-lata	*grow*	-lata lagona	*surpass s.t.*
-dewadewa	*be good*	-dewadewa lagona	*be better than s.t.*
-wakeke	*be white*	-wakeke lagona	*be whiter than s.t.*
-wigapola	*be rich*	-wigapola lagona	*be richer than s.t.*
-apapoe	*be bad*	-apapoe lagona	*be worse than s.t.*
-yeuyeu	*be clean*	-yeuyeu lagona	*be cleaner than s.t.*

Thus we see that lagona *surpass* is used in Tawala to express approximately what comparison constructions express in English by the morpheme *-er*.

(84) Om umauma wai-muli-na i-haki lagona.
yourSG drink COND-behind-3s 3s-good surpass
Your last drink is better (than the first).

A 'superlative' construction in Tawala adds the intensifier duma to lagona (see 8.10.4.1); in this case the construction is intransitive.

(85) Kaoha apo i-na-lata lagona duma.
joy FUT 3s-POT-grow surpass very
The joy will be the greatest.

Object focus constructions are also common in the data.

(86) Am gawiya u-na-kadidili lagoni-hi.
yourSG enemy 2s-POT-strong surpass-3p
You must overcome your enemies.

As with intransitives, lagona functions as a comparative transitive construction (see section 8.9.2 for examples).

iv) 'COMPLETED' FUNCTION

The hale-ya *throw s.t.* constructions are important; the semantics of the modifier verb vary according to the head, but generally indicate that the action was completely carried out.

MAIN VERB ROOT		>	SERIAL CONSTRUCTION	
-tala	*cut*		-tala hale-ya	*cut it (tree) out*
-hamaga	*wipe*		-hamaga hale-ya	*wipe s.t. off*
-apu	*burn*		-apu hale-ya	*burn s.t. up*
-lowo	*flee*		-lowo hale-ya	*flee from s.t.*
-hoe	*open*		-hoe hale-ya	*destroy s.t.*
-lupen-i	*untie s.t.*		-lupena hale-ya	*release s.t.*

The intensifier hale-ya *throw s.t.* also occurs as a second-order modifier (just twice in 65 occurrences - both times with verbs of motion indicating the direction of departure).

(87) Wam luwaga hi-lupa hopu hale-hi.
boat two 3p-jump down throw-3p
They jumped down and left the two boats.

8.9.3 GRAMMAR OF SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

In this section we look at the inherent transitivity of the component verbs of serial verb constructions and the transitivity of the resultant serial verb construction itself. The previous section demonstrates the distinction between transitive and intransitive constructions. In addition to the valence of the construction as a whole, enquiry can be made as to the valence of the specific roots involved as head and modifier. There are four possible combinations, of which only three occur.

8.9.3.1 $V^{ITR} + V^{ITR} > V^{ITR}$

All the verbs listed and discussed in section 8.9.2 belong to this class (further discussion of this class is contained in the discussion of deixis - 8.14).

(88) I-lupa geleta.
3s-jump arrive
He jumped out.

Common constituents of the head slot are verbs of motion and rest, with the modifier indicating direction of motion.

-lupa hopu	*jump down*
-dala hopu	*crawl down*
-me hopu	*stay down (remain in humble position)*
-bulili hopu	*run down*

The three verbs -gae *ascend*, -mae *stay* and -nae *go* undergo vowel deletion when used in serial constructions: -ge, -me and -ne respectively.

SIMPLE		DURATIVE	
-ne gogona	*go together*	-nene gogona	*be going together*
-me gowada	*stay hidden*	-meme gowada	*be staying hidden*

In a rare construction, not only is the head motion verb reduplicated but the modifier is as well. This is the only case of grammatical reduplication of a modifier that I am aware of; it probably signifies repeated attempts.

(89) A-ne-ne taha-tahaya-hi. Hi-na-ne tahaya-hi
1s-DUR-go RED-first-DX 3p-POT-go first-DX
I was first coming to you. *They will come first to you.*

8.9.3.2 $V^{ITR} + V^{TR} > V^{TR}$

The transitive verb modifiers of intransitive verbs are limited to the two transitive intensifiers (8.9.2.ii) lagoni and hale-ya. In addition to intensifying the action these modifying verbs make the whole construction transitive.

i) Active intransitive verbs are modified by hale-ya *throw s.t.*.

MAIN VERB ROOT		>	SERIAL CONSTRUCTION	
-nae	*go*		-ne hale-ya	*leave s.o.*
-hoe	*open*		-hoe hale-ya	*destroy s.t.*
-lowo	*flee*		-lowo hale-ya	*flee from s.t.*
-hopu	*go down*		-hopu hale-ya	*leave it (house)*[5]

(90) Bonabona i-lupa hale-ya.
island 3s-jump throw-3s
She flew and escaped from the island.

ii) Stative and process verbs are modified by lagon-i *surpass s.t.*. In the following examples third person plural indexing is used for the object clitic.

MAIN VERB ROOT		>	SERIAL CONSTRUCTION	
-lata	*grow*		-lata lagoni-hi	*surpass them*
-haki	*be good*		-haki lagoni-hi	*be better than them*
-apapoe	*be bad*		-apapoe lagoni-hi	*be worse than them*
-kadidila	*be strong*		-kadidila lagoni-hi	*overpower them*

(91) O-na-dewadewa lagoni-hi.
2p-POT-good surpass-3p
Be better (in customs) than them!

An exception to this pattern is the variable focus verb -momota *hold (s.t.) firmly*, which results in an intransitive construction hi-towolo momota *they are standing firm.*

8.9.3.3 $V^{TR} + V^{TR} > V^{TR}$

This is the most diverse group, with many classes of verbs filling the head slot. The list under 8.9.2.i illustrates something of the range of the modifier slot. They also function with the two transitive intensifiers lagon-i and hale-ya.

(92) U-na-boli hale-ya.
2s-POT-chop throw-3s
Chop it off.

When lagona *surpass* is used following a transitive verb the transitivising suffix is used. The following forms should be contrasted with the list in 8.9.3.2.ii.

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[5] A house is usually built above the ground.

MAIN VERB ROOT	>	SERIAL CONSTRUCTION	
-tuhaga-ya	*find s.t.*	-tuhaga lagon-e-ya	*find s.t. abundantly*
-houn-i	*put s.t.*	-houna lagon-e-ya	*pile s.t. on top*
-nugotuhu-ya	*think s.t.*	-nugotuhu lagon-e-ya	*hope s.t.*
-dewa-ya	*do s.t.*	-dewa lagon-e-ya	*do s.t. better*

(93) Hi-tuhaga lagon-e-ya.
3p-find surpass-TR-3s
They raised more (money) than enough.

8.9.3.4 *V^{TR} + V^{ITR} > V^{ITR}

This construction is not found in the Tawala data as is also true for Tolai where "transitive verbs can only be modified by transitive verbs" (Mosel 1984:122). In order to use a serial verb in which the modifying verb is intransitive, an effective prefix must be used.

8.9.4 EFFECTIVE MARKER

We have already noted two constructions (6.5.2, 7.5.1.4) which employ what I term the 'effective' marker[6]. With serial constructions this morpheme indicates that the second verb expresses the result of the transitive action denoted by the first verb.

(94) Bada-na ipa i-na-houna i-dumalu me-ya...
man-DEF IRR 3s-POT-put EFF-straight again-3sRFX
In order that the man might justify himself...

That the effective marker is not a third person singular subject marker is shown by the fact that it does not agree with the subject (95); nor does it agree with the object of the verbal head (96).

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[6] I have borrowed the term 'effective' from Tolai grammar, even though the Tawala morpheme is formally and structurally different, because the semantics are the same: this morpheme "indicates that the action really happens or is performed with success..." (Mosel 1984:131 quoting Bley 1912:119).

(95) Ta-gale-na i-dumalu-ya.
1pl-see.LIG EFF-straight-3s
We regard him as straight (a good bloke).

Three transitive verbal heads are commonly used in serial constructions with stative verb modifiers, marked with an effective prefix. The heads are listed with the transitive form of the verb in each case.

-houn-i	*put s.t.*	-houna...	*put*
-bahe-ya	*say s.t.*	-bahena...	*proclaim*
-gale-ya	*see s.t.*	-galena...	*regard*

The stative modifier often begins with the effective prefix i-, also present with some derivational prefixes (e.g. wo-i- *cause by hand*).

-dumalu	*be straight*	-houna i-dumalu-ya	*place s.t. correctly*
		-bahena i-dumalu-ya	*proclaim s.t. correct*
		-galena i-dumalu-ya	*regard s.o. as right*
-gobu	*be dirty*	-galena i-gobu-ya	*regard s.o. unclean*
-apapoe	*be bad*	-galena i-apapoe-ya	*despise s.o.*

The last example above (at least) is a variable-focus verb; (96) is an example with the predicate focus form of the verb.

(96) (Lawa gehou-hi bi-hiyei) ma e-ga-gale-na i-apapoe.
person other-CP BEN-3p and 2sPRS-DUR-see-LIG EFF-bad
You are passing judgement (about people).

8.9.5 DIRECTIONAL DEICTICS

A set of deictics that function with motion verbs (97) is listed in 5.5.2 (table 7). Motion deictics are marked for spatial location of the action in relation to the speaker and addressee.

(97) Polo e-ge-ge-hi.
pig 3sPRS-DUR-come.up-DX
The pig is coming towards you.

The function of the deictic markers on the verb (97) is parallel to the locative postposition (Onanei uyahiu *You come to me* – 10.2.1).

These deictic verbs commonly modify verbs and are therefore similar to serial verb constructions. Their function is to indicate the direction in which the situation of the main verb took place. In the case of mai *towards speaker* (POC *mai *come from*) the form has now lost its verbal identity and only has a modifier function.

(98) Togowa banei-na i-togo mai.
wind big-3s 3s-wash DX
A big wind blew towards us.

(99) Gog-iyai i-tahaya mai.
ancestor-1pE 3s-first DX
Our ancestor came first.

Deictic verbs are a second order of serial verbs following a serial construction in which the second item is filled by a motion (or stance) verb or a verb of speaking (and writing).

	SPEAKER	ADDRESSEE	AWAY
come/go down	hopu mai	hopu ma-hi	hopu nae
come to stay	ne memai	ne mema-hi	ne memae
speak come/go	baha mai	baha ma-hi	baha nae
call come/go	tou mai	tou ma-hi	tou nae

Table 8: Deixis with modifiers

(100) Hi-liya hopu mai/nae.
3p-go.together down DX
They came/went down together.

(101) I-baha hopu mai/nae.
3s-say down DX
He spoke down/up (towards OR *away from speaker).*

In addition the form -ne yagiyaginai/hi *come quickly to me/you* fits the same pattern, though the mai/mahi is replaced by nai/nahi.

(102) Apo a-ne yagiyagihi-nai uyahi-m.
FUT 1s-come quickly-DX AT-2s
I will come quickly to you.

Unlike verbal modifiers (but cf. 8.10.3) the deictic modifiers follow the object enclitic.

(103) Hi-ne-nae ega hi-ta-gunawile-hi mai.
3p-DUR-go NEG 3p-IRR-return-RFX DX
They kept going and did not come back.

(104) Hi-ne hale-hi mai u Labe.
3p-go throw-3p DX LOC L.
They left them and came to Labe.

8.10 VERBAL MODIFIERS

Adverbial modifiers include all non-verbal modifiers. As with serial constructions transitivity plays an important role in these construction types. Two second-order modifiers (8.10.2) and a post-object modifier (8.10.3) are also discussed.

Modifiers seem to have arisen through the grammaticisation of serial verbs as, for example, POC *mai *come from* has lost its verbal identity and is now the directional modifier mai (DX) *towards speaker*. A similar process seems to be continuing today with the serial verb -lagona *go over, surpass* (its verbal function has largely been replaced by -tagona *go over*) leaving the modifier verb to function as an adverb meaning *surpassingly*. In a count of its usage in texts it occurs 66 times in its modifier function and only twice in its verbal function – both times in the form i-lagona duma *it really surpasses*.

Numerals and one noun (see below) also function as verbal modifiers, so that grammaticisation involves more than serial verbs.

Grammaticisation has moved a further stage with the form -galenaitete *care for*, which is analysable into the serial verbs

-galena *look* and i-tete EFFECTIVE-*bridge*. However, in present-day Tawala tete *bridge/steps/ladder* is a noun and does not function as a verb. In addition the form itete does not occur with any head other than -galena. Finally, classing itete as a modifier would introduce an extra level of modifiers in the VP.

(105) Apo hi-na-gale-na i-tete-na imahi-ye-na duma-ya.
FUT 3p-POT-see-LIG EFF-steps-LIG properly-TR-LIG very-3s
They will care for him extremely well.

I conclude that -galenaitete is synchronically a lexical item. However, the verb stem -galena is so productive with modifier constructions that it is usually written separately, by Tawala speakers, even when it occurs with itete.

8.10.1 FIRST ORDER MODIFIERS

Verbal modifiers are posthead modifiers "that specify the mode of action of the verb" Crystal (1980:16). They contrast with pre-head adverbs (5.6.5), which are clausal rather than phrasal in scope.

Adverbial modifiers contrast with serial constructions (8.9) in that they never occur independently as verbs. Forms such as *hi-labatana *3p-strongly* are ungrammatical, though some modifiers can be verbalised with derivational prefixes (8.10.1.1.iii).

8.10.1.1 INTRANSITIVITY WITH MODIFIERS

Intransitive modifiers differ from their transitive counterparts (8.10.1.2) in three ways: firstly, only transitive constructions take the object enclitic (8.4.2); secondly, the

intransitive verb stem never takes ligature (8.11); and finally, the two sets of modifiers are distinct, though there is some overlap. Intransitive verbal modifiers form a number of semantic classes.

i) INTENSIFIERS

pahi	*entirely*
imahi	*completely, properly*
gawata	*incessantly, strongly*
wahaga	*unceasingly, exceedingly*
labatana	*strongly, forcefully*

(106) I-ugo imahi.
3s-bear.fruit completely.
It bore fruit prolifically.

(107) To-kaoha labatana.
ipE-happy strongly
We were intensely happy.

ii) LIMITERS

Numerals function in a similar manner to limiters, to indicate number.

awa	*only*
hota	*only, just*
kikina	*a little*
emosi/emota	*together (as one)*
luwaga	*both*

The members of this class all have separate functions: awa and hota belong to the general modifier class (5.6.4); kiki-na small-3s) is an adjective; and emosi *one* and luwaga *two* are numerals.

(108) U-bolobolou hota.
2s-decrepit just
You are just decrepit (for failing in a task).

(109) To-wiotonana kikina.
1pE-wait a.little
We waited briefly.

(110) Amaka hi-ne emosi hi-lowo emosi.
already 3p-come one 3p-flee one
They came together they fled together.

(111) Kedewa hi-hilage luwaga.
dog 3p-finish two
Both the dogs died.

iii) SPECIFIERS

gogona	*together*
yabayababa	*emptily, vainly*
yagiyagina	*quickly*
powa	*mistakenly*
woloe	*completely, 'finish'*

(112) I-woe-woe yagiyagina.
3s-DUR-paddle quickly
She paddled rapidly.

(113) Ega o-na-i-nugonugotuhu powa...
NEG 2p-POT-DUR-think mistakenly
Don't mistakenly think that...

(114) Amaka i-togo woloe po i-yeuyeu.
already 3s-wash finish and 3s-be.clean
He has already washed and is clean.

The Tawala **woloe** is similar to the Melanesian Pidgin word **pinis** in constructions such as **go pinis** *leave permanently.*

(115) Hi-bagibagi woloe.
3p-work finish
They finished the work.

The following examples show a range of modifiers used with a single head **-mae** *stay, live* (for vowel elision see 4.3.2).

-me hota	*wait idly*
-me imahi	*live well*
-me gogona	*stay together (plural)*
-me luwaga	*live together (two)*
-me wahaga	*stay for ever*
-me gawata	*stay incessantly*

(116) Baha-hi u nugonugo-mi hi-na-me wahaga.
word-DEF LOC heart-2p 3p-POT-stay forever
Those words will remain in your hearts forever.

We noted above that no adverb can function as a verb. Items that function as both verbs and modifiers are classified as serial verbs (8.9) in their modifier function. To function as a verb, an adverb requires a derivational prefix – for example

-wo-imahi-ye-ya (-DP-properly-TR-3s) *attend to s.t./prepare s.t.*, -li-woloe-ya (-DP-completely-3s) *finish-it.*

8.10.1.2 TRANSITIVITY WITH MODIFIERS

In a number of ways transitivity markedly affects the operation of modifiers.

When a modifier follows a transitive head, the object marker attaches to the modifier - that is, it cliticises to the final item of the verb phrase. Transitivity in these constructions is the result of the head verb being transitive. The transitivity applies to the whole construction and the transitive enclitic attaches to the construction as a whole. A number of modifiers require the transitive marker -ge (7.1.1) to function transitively, for example imahi-ye-ya *properly* and aw-e-ya *only, futilely.*

The range of modifiers occurring with transitive verbs is different from the intransitive set listed in the previous section. The adverbs are a much smaller set selected from the modifiers which function intransitively. They are here listed with both singular and plural enclitics and also with their intransitive counterparts.

i) INTENSIFIERS

imahi	>	imahi-ye-ya/hi	*properly*
duma	>	duma-ya/hi	*very*
yabayababa	>	yababa-ya/hi	*emptily, vainly*
pahi	>	pah-i, pahi-hi	*entirely*

(117) Hi-winagana yababa-ya.
3p-choose vainly-3s
They chose him in vain.
(i.e. *In choosing him, they made a useless choice.*)

(118) Neula hi-hilage pahi-hi.
coconut 3p-finish entirely-3pRFX
The coconuts had completely died.

With the intensifier **pah-i** the verb functions as a condition verb, in which the undergoer subject is the identical referent to the undergoer object.

(119) Ta-hilage pahi-ta.
1pl-finish entirely-1pl.RFX
We will be entirely wiped out (destroyed).

ii) LIMITER

awa	>	**aw-e-ya**	*only/futilely*
emosi	>	**emot-e-ya**	*together (one)*

(120) Hi-bih-e-na aw-e-ya.
3p-search-TR-LIG only-TR-3s
They searched (for) him in vain.

(121) **I-wila-wila emot-e-ya.**
3s-DUR-mix one-TR-ya
He mixed them (two types of blood) together.

Verbs with a final /e/ employ the ligature marker **-na** before modifiers (8.11).

-bih-e-ya *seek s.t.*		**-bih-e-na imahi-ye-ya**	*seek s.t. carefully*
-dewe-ya *do it*		**-dewe-na me-ya**	*do it again*

8.10.2 SECOND ORDER MODIFIERS

In my data, up to two modifiers occur in the Tawala verb phrase; there are, however, severe limitations on the second modifier, which is one of two morphemes: **duma** *very* (superlative marker) and **meme** *again.*

8.10.2.1 SUPERLATIVES

The modifier **duma** *very* belongs to the class of general modifiers (5.6.5) in that it modifies both nouns and verbs.

(122) bada natu duma-na
man child very-3s
the man's real son

Bada u-me duma.
man 2s-stay very
Bada, *you stayed a long time.*

However, **duma** *very* is distinctive from all the other adverbs in that it is a second-order modifier, often intensifying the first-order modifier. This construction is rare with intransitive verbs, however.

(123) I-gae imahi duma.
3s-ascended completely very
It went up exceedingly high.

We noted above (8.9.4) that **duma** frequently has a superlative function.

(124) To-kaoha labatana duma.
1pE-happy strongly very
We are completely happy.

(125) O-na-bagibagi kadidila duma.
2p-POT-work be hard very
Work to your utmost.

(126) I-wakeke lagona duma.
3s-be.white surpass very
It was really white.

In (126) the construction is intransitive; (127) is reflexive and (128) is object focus (cf. 5.4.6.2).

(127) I-lugelet-e-na imahi-ye-na duma-ya.
3s-be.clear-TR-LIG properly-TR-LIG very-3sRFX
It was completely obvious.

(128) A-galenaitete-na imahi-ye-na duma-ya.
1s-care.for-LIG properly-TR-LIG very-3s
I looked after it very carefully.

8.10.2.2 REPEATED ACTION

The second order adverbial modifier **meme** *again* is used to indicate repeated action. Both intransitive and transitive constructions are used.

(129) I-baha meme.
3s-say again
She spoke again.

(130) I-bulili hopu meme.
3s-run down again
He ran down again.

The intransitive specifier **meme** *again* corresponds to the transitive form **me-<ya>** *again-3s.*

(131) I-bah-e-na me-ya.
3s-say-TR-LIG again-3s
He said it again.

(132) I-na-houna i-dumalu me-ya
3s-POT-put EFF-straight again-3s
He will put it right again.

The modifier **meme** commonly has a reflexive function – where the object enclitic has the same referent as the subject prefix. Unlike condition verbs (5.5.3), which have undergoer subjects, the subject of a verb with the modifier **me-** is an actor and the object is an undergoer[7]. Hence when the referent of the subject and the actor is identical we have a truly reflexive construction.

(133) Tau a-pali-palihale-na me-u.
I 1s-DUR-surrender-LIG RFX-1s
I am surrendering myself.

(134) Hi-wele tahae-na me-hi.
3p-give first-LIG RFX-3p
They firstly gave themselves.

8.10.3 POST-OBJECT MODIFIER

In addition to directionals (8.9.5), one other modifier can fill the post-object modifier slot – the general modifier **pite** *like, similarly.* As we have seen, this morpheme is a general modifier (5.6.4) and is quite distinctive in its other functions as well.

(135) O-bah-e-ya pite.
2s-say-TR-3s like
It will be (happen) just as you say.

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[7]For an explanation of the macroroles of actor and undergoer see 3.12.

8.11 LIGATURE

The ligature marker -na is used with certain transitive verbs to maintain cohesion within the verb phrase, tying the modifier to the nucleus of the phrase.

(136) I-bah-e-na me-ya.
3s-say-TR-LIG again-3s
He said it again.

(137) I-hanapu-ge-na duma-ya.
3s-know-TR-LIG very-3s
She knew it completely.

The ligature is suffixed to verb stems ending in /e/. Two situations are involved.

i) Ligature is used with verbs which employ the transitive marker -ge (7.1.1).

-baha	*speak*	-bah-e-na	*speak-TR-LIG*
-bowi	*make a denial*	-bowi-ye-na	*deny-TR-LIG*
-gimala	*trade*	-gimal-e-na	*trade-TR-LIG*
-lowo	*run away*	-lowo-ge-na	*fear-TR-LIG*
-luhogala	*desire*	-luhogal-e-na	*desire-TR-LIG*
-hopu	*descend*	-hopun-e-na	*take.down-TR-LIG*

The last form, hopu, is irregular in that transitivisation is built on the form hopuna which never occurs in isolation.

(138) A-luhogal-e-na duma-ya.
1s-want-TR-LIG very-3s
I really want/love him/her/it.

ii) Ligature is used with verbs that have stems ending in /e/.

-gale-ya	*see-3s*	-gale-na	*say-LIG*
-tahae-ya	*precede-3s*	-tahae-na	*precede-LIG*

(139) A-gale-na tuhaga-ya...
1s-see-LIG find-3s
I discovered that...

(140) Hi-wele tahae-na me-hi.
3p-give first-LIG RFX-3p
They first of all gave themselves.

The verb gale- is irregular in that it always takes the ligature even when the derived construction is intransitive.

(141) Apo gasi ta-gale-na nae buka gehou-na ugoli-na.
FUT also 1pI-see-LIG DX book other-3s AT-3s
Let us examine another book.

The situation is further complicated by the other irregular verbs ending in /e/ which do not take the ligature.

-hoe-ya	*open-3s*	-hoe hale-ya	*open throw-3s*
-wele-ya	*give-3s*	-wele tahae-ya	*give first-3s*
-wiapapoe-ya	*destroy-3s*	-wiapapoe duma-ya	*completely destroy-3s*

(142) Ginouli-hi a-wele daman-e-hi.
things-DEF 1s-give over-TR-3p
I transferred those things over.

The ligature attaches to one or two modifiers (8.12) so that it is not unusual to have two consecutive words marked with ligature.

(143) Hi-hanapu-ge-na imahi-ye-na duma-ya.
3p-know-TR-LIG properly-TR-LIG very-3s
They completely understand it.

9 NOUN PHRASES

Structurally, NPs are "constructions into which nouns most commonly enter, and of which they are the HEAD word" (Crystal 1980:244). NPs combine with VPs (ch.8) to form verbal clauses (ch.12), the basic building blocks of narrative discourse. Minimally, an NP consists of a noun or pronominal substitute, and in its expanded form can be a simple, compound or complex structure. This chapter is devoted to a discussion of these structures.

9.1 CONSTITUENTS OF THE SIMPLE NOUN PHRASE

The constituents of the Tawala noun phrase are as follows:

(Deictic) (Head) (Modifier) (Number) (Limiter) (Topic)

All items are optional. Any item can stand alone as a clausal NP. The constituents of the NP are:

i) DEICTIC - demonstrative (9.4) - a small set of items with a deictic function. When a demonstrative occurs without a head noun it can be modified by a small set of items.

ii) HEAD (9.2) - The noun phrase head can be simple - a noun (9.2.1), pronoun (9.2.2), demonstrative (9.2.3), name (9.2.4) or indefinite (9.2.5); or the head can be complex - a possessive construction (9.10), a relative clause (14) or a nominalised form (14.5).

iii) MODIFIER (9.5) - a construction modifying the head, often marked by a pronominal enclitic for agreement with the head -

an adjective (9.5.1), an adjective phrase (9.5.2) or an indefinite modifier (9.5.3).

iv) NUMBER (9.6) – a slot that can be filled by a numeral. As numerals are often clauses (5.6.7), the internal structure of the item filling the numeral slot can be exceedingly complex.

v) LIMITER (9.7) – a small number of items specifying a limit to the NP as a whole and also marked with a pronominal enclitic for agreement with the head.

vi) TOPIC (9.4) – A second function of the demonstrative within the NP is topicalisation.

The set of pronominal enclitics (5.6.1.3) attach to the final item of most NP constituents: i) the demonstrative as a definite marker; ii) the head noun as a possession marker (marking the person and number of the possessor) and as a definite marker as well as indexing the person and number of the free-form pronoun; iii) the adjective and iv) the limiter marking person and number agreement of the head noun.

PERSON/ NUMBER	PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS
1s	-u/-we[1]
2s	-m
3s	-na
1pI	-ta
1pE	-(i)yai[2]
2p	-mi
3p	-hi

TABLE 1: Pronominal Enclitics

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[1] The following rule applies to the first person singular form:
u —> -we/u__

[2] For deletion rules of initial /i/ or final vowel of root see 4.3.1.

Nothing is more central to an understanding of the Tawala noun phrase than an understanding of the functioning of these enclitics.

9.2 NOUN PHRASE HEAD

In this section we examine only simple items filling the noun phrase head: nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, names and interrogatives.

9.2.1 NOUNS

Both underived (5.3) and derived (6.3) nouns freely occur by themselves – (1) – or with other elements of the NP – (2) and numerous examples below within this section. (In this chapter noun phrases are in square brackets and the item in focus is underlined – in this case the head.)

(1) [Wam] to-beiha.
boat 1pE-search
We searched for a boat (to charter it).

(2) [Polo natu-na oloto-na emosi hota] e-ma-mae.
pig child-3s male-3s one only 3sPRS-DUR-stay
There is just one small male piglet left.

As noted in the previous section, the head can be a complex structure – (2) contains a possessive phrase (9.10).

9.2.2 EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

The emphatic pronouns (5.6.1) are a set of stressed independent pronouns. Their relationship to other pronominal sets and to the POC forms has already been discussed (5.6.1.1).

PERSON/ NUMBER	EMPHATIC PRONOUNS
1s	tau
2s	tam
3s	tauna
1pI	tauta
1pE	tauyai
2p	taumi
3p	tauhi

Table 3: Emphatic pronouns

Emphatic pronouns are distinguished from personal markers on nouns and verbs. An independent emphatic pronoun may occur in the head slot of the NP in addition to the obligatory pronominal indexing of subject and object on the verb (3). The primary function of emphatic pronouns is the marking of prominence, whereas the primary function of pronominal affixes is the tracking of referents and cohesion as well as the indexing of grammatical relations.

(3) [Naka tauhi] hi-nei.
that they 3p-come
Those ones have come.

The emphatic pronouns are only used for human referents and anthropomorphisms. On the other hand, demonstratives (9.4) are used either for human or non-human referents. The same set of personal pronouns is used as both subject NP (3) and object (4).

(4) [Tauna] to-wotago-ya.
him 1pE-follow-3s
Him we follow.

Emphatic pronouns are never modified by adjectives, but they may be modified by quantifiers agreeing with the head in person and number.

tauta atapu-ta	tau tunawa-u
weI all-1pI	I alone-1s
we/us all	*I alone*

(5) [Tauyai atapu-yai] to-beiha.
weE all-1pE 1pE-search
We all searched.

Emphatic pronouns are also modified by possessed numerals. This construction is the normal device for indexing dual and trial number etc. (5.6.1.1). The construction occurs with or without the pronoun head.

(6) [(Taumi) omi tonuga] hi-gale-mi.
youPL yourPL three 3p-see-2p
They saw you three.

(7) [Hai tonuga] i-weluwini-hi.
their three 3s-take.away-3p
He took those three.

9.2.3 DEMONSTRATIVE PHRASES

Demonstratives (5.6.3) readily function as heads of NPs.

(8) [Geka] amaka a-howa-tepa-ni.
this already 1s-spit-top-3s
I have already worked magic on it.

In (9) the underlined demonstrative is used anaphorically.

(9) [Naka bada-na] i-woe-woe, [naka] i-ne-po...
that man-DEF 3s-DUR-paddle that 3s-come-and
The bada *was paddling, he came and...*

Demonstratives may take two general modifiers (5.6.4).

hota/hosi	*only, just*
pite/pete	*similarly*

Variant forms are dialectal and to a certain extent stylistic.

The general modifier hota/hosi is found with all the major word classes. It is commonly used to modify demonstratives, prompting the local sense *here* rather than *this*.

(10) [U ba-bada] [geka hota] hi-mae.
my PL-man this only 3p-stay
My ancestors stayed here.

The general modifier **pite/pete** only occurs with demonstratives and verbs, with demonstratives it is best translated as *like*, though it is not to be confused with manner constructions using **mei** *like* (10.1.6).

(11) [Habulu-na] e-me-mae; ee [naka] [geka pite]
small-3s 3sPRS-DUR-stay yes that this like

galena-na.
appearance-3s
A small (one) is there; yes that (one) is like this (one).

9.2.4 NAMES

A name normally occurs without modification. When it is expanded it is in terms of a complex phrase (e.g. possessive or appositional phrase) and not the constituents of the simple NP.

(12) [Diwo] amaka a-paliwele-ya.
D. already 1s-tell-3s
I have told Diwo.

(13) [Yailo ma Dalila] he-ma-mae.
Y. and D. 3pPRS-DUR-stay
Yailo and Dalila are there.

9.2.5 INDEFINITES

Basic interrogatives (5.6.11) frequently fill the head of a noun phrase, functioning as indefinites.

(14) Apo [iyai][geka ginouli-hi] i-na-dewa-dewa-hi...
FUT who this thing-DEF 3s-POT-DUR-do-3p
The one who does these things...

(15) Apo [awai] i-na-wiatatiye-ta?
FUT what 3s-POT-teach-1pI
What will he teach us?

9.3 DEFINITE MARKER

The definite marker -na/-hi is used to mark an item whose identity the speaker assumes is known to the hearer; most often there is an anaphoric reference in the immediate context.

(16) Hi-hopu po ega yaka tewela-na, amalai hewali-na, naka
3p-go.down and so..... child-DEF today youth-DEF that

hi-awala gelet-e-ya.
3p-carry appear-TR-3s
They went down and so the child (discourse topic), *now (become) the youth, that (one) they bring up.*

(17) Itapa tau kapeu apo a-ta-pu-pou duma po
CONTR I butterfly FUT 1s-IRR-DUR-egg very and

pou-we-hi hi-ta-luwowola po motamota.
egg-1s-DEF 3p-IRR-hatch and worm
If I were a butterfly I would lay many eggs and my eggs would hatch and become worms.

Demonstratives also receive definite (9.3) marking.

(18) Dobu-na gowa-na Iwilabe ma gaima gowa-na Tilabe
land-DEF name-3s I. and rock name-3s T.

no-noka-hi...
RED-those-DEF
The land called Iwilabe and the rock called Tilabe, those exact ones...

When a demonstrative modifier is marked for definite the marker is reduplicated, a unique feature used only at this point in the grammar.

(19) Inapa omi dewa [naka pite-nana/*pite-na]...
HYPOTH yourPL custom that like-DEF
If your custom is like that...

(20) [Naka hota-nana] a-ne hale-hi.
that only-DEF 1s-go throw-3p
Like that (with all that work) I left them.

(21) Ma a-dewa-dewa-hi, tam gasi u-na-dewa-hi
and 1s-DUR-make-3p youSG also 2s-POT-make-3s

[naka pite-nana].
that like-DEF
As I am making them, you also make them like that.

With topicalisation the definite marking does not extend to the demonstrative.

(22) Ma [dobu-na noka] dobu banei duma-na.
and town-DEF thatTOP town big very-3s
As for the town there it is a big town.

9.4 DEMONSTRATIVES

The form and function of demonstratives has already been outlined (5.6.3). The three demonstrative -: noka *distal*, geka *proximal* and naka *neutral* - have a locative or spatial function (*here, there, far away*) as well as a more central referential function (*this, that*).

(23) Ma [geka u houga-na] ega emoemota-na [noka dewa-hi
and this LOC time-DEF NEG ability-3s there custom-DEF

odubo-hi]...
old-3p
But at this time it is not possible for those old customs...

Functionally, demonstratives are considered non-core items of the NP for a number of reasons. Firstly, the demonstrative occurs as the optional initial item of all NPs (9.1.5.1); it is accordingly not definitive of any particular NP type. Secondly, its function is to place the NP within clausal focus - the speaker makes it "the centre of his communicative interest; 'focus' in this sense is opposed to presupposition" (Crystal 1980:148). The presence or absence of the demonstrative is a pragmatic function of the discourse. Thirdly, the demonstrative also occurs at the end of the NP, in which case it marks topicalisation (see below), another pragmatic function.

(24) [Naka bada-na] i-woe-woe.
that man-DEF 3s-DUR-paddle
That man was paddling (his canoe).

(25) [Geka (tauhi hai tu-bagibagi) gehou-na] i-nei.
this they their PERS-work other-3s 3s-come
This (fellow), one of their workers, came.

(26) [Naka Ukarumpa ma Kainantu] a-gale-hi.
that U. and K. 1s-see-3p
I saw Ukarumpa and Kainantu.

(27) [Naka lawa] [geka dobu-hi] hi-lowo hale-hi.
that person this town-DEF 3p-flee throw-3p
Those people fled from these towns.

In Tawala, topicalisation is achieved by placing a demonstrative at the end of the NP. Topicalisation is very common within both verbal and non-verbal sentences. Again distal and proximal forms are applicable.

(28) Ma [odubo-na naka] a-lau-hilage duma.
and old-3s thatTOP 1s-DUR-finish very
But as for the old times, I used to get very tired.

Topicalisation can occur with a demonstrative in the following phrase, so that two demonstratives are used consecutively in a string.

(29) Ma [meyagai geka] [naka meyagai dewadewa duma-na].
and village thisTOP that village good very-3s
As for this village that is a very good village.

9.5 MODIFIERS

A modifier may be definite – an adjective (phrase) – or indefinite – an interrogative.

9.5.1 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives (5.4) are mostly a derived class (6.4) of words that function as posthead modifiers within the NP. An adjective takes a pronominal enclitic (5.6.1.2) specifying the person and number of the head of the NP, as the number and person is often not explicit in the head itself.

numa dewadewa-na	numa dewadewa-hi
house good-3s	house good-3p
a good house	*good houses*
lawa dewadewa-mi	lawa dewadewa-ta
person good-2p	person good-1pI
you good people	*us good people*

(30) [Mamae odubo-na] yohola hi-na-dewa-dewa-ya.
stay old-3s later 3p-POT-DUR-do-3s
They will continue following the old life-style.

(31) [Bolu habulu-mi] ega o-na-mato-matouta.
group small-2p NEG 2p-POT-DUR-be.afraid
You (members of the) small party don't be afraid.

An adjective readily occurs as the sole constituent of the NP, though only by deletion of the head noun.

(32) [(Ginouli) yoliyoli-na] i-na-yoli.
thing sinking -3s 3s-POT-sink
A thing that sinks will sink.

(33) [(Logaloga) apapoe-mi] o-na-ma-mae.
children bad-2p 2p-POT-DUR-stay.
You bad children will stay (behind).

In (34) there are two noun phrases in apposition, the first being a pronoun.

(34) [Taumi] [ol-oloto wou-mi] i-na-wiatatiye-mi.
youPL PL-male new-2p 3s-POT-show-2p
You new (newly initiated) men, he will teach you.

It is possible to omit agreement-marking with the head. In this case the construction is non-specific.

(35) [Houga dewadewa] to-wialon-i.
time good 1pE-face-3s
We struck a period of good weather.

9.5.2 ADJECTIVE PHRASES

Adjectives can be modified, though in my data this is more common with predicative use of the adjective (13.4) than with attributive. Only two general modifiers (5.6.4) function within the adjective phrase: **duma** *very* and **hota/hoti/hosi** *only, just.*

The pronominal clitic attaches to the final item of the adjective phrase – the adjective or the modifier if one is present.

[gadiwewe banei duma-na]
rain big very-3s
a very big rain

[houga kuku hota-na]
time short only-3s
a very short time

(36) [Witai banei duma-na] hi-wialon-i.
heavy big very-3s 3p-face-3s
They faced a really big problem.

The ablative enclitic (5.3.3, 9.2) attaches to the phrase as a final enclitic.

(37) [ita dewa odubo-na-gei]
our custom old-3s-ABL
from our old customs

9.5.3 INDEFINITE MODIFIERS

Interrogative indefinites (5.6.11) function not only as heads of NPs (9.5.2), but also as modifiers of nouns, marking NPs as indefinite in the sense that their referents are unknown or not specified. The structure involves an embedded indefinite relative clause (14.2).

(38) [Lawa iyai/awai] e-i-haguhagu] o-na-hagu-ya.
person who/what 3sPRS-DUR-help 2p-POT-help-3s
Help the one who helps.

(39) [U bagibagi awai] a-dewa-dewa-hi...
my work what 1s-DUR-do-3p
Whatever work I do...

A reduplicated form of the interrogative (5.6.11) functions as a unit within the modifier slot, indicating that several separate items or individuals are involved.

(40) [A baha awai awai] i-bahe-bah-e-hi.
his word what what 3s-DUR-say-TR-3p
He was speaking whatever his words (= whatever came into his mind).

(41) [Lawa iyai iyai] u baha i-no<o>noli-hi...
person who who my word 3s-hear<DUR>-3p
Those people who were hearing (=responding to) my words...

9.6 NUMBER PHRASES

Numerals are second-order posthead modifiers. In Tawala, numerals are never marked by pronominal enclitics.

(42) Bolima luwaga hi-kokoe.
year two 3p-finish
Two years went by.

(43) Natu-natu-na wohepali hi-me-mae.
PL-child-3s four 3p-DUR-stay
His four children were staying. (= He had four children.)

Adjectives and numerals can occur within the same phrase.

(44) [Kiu muhomuho-hi luwaga] hi-yato.
bird smallPL-3p two 3p-land
Two small birds landed.

(45) [Alugo palopalouma-hi tonuga] hi-geleta.
spirit witchish-3p three 3p-appear
Three witch spirits appeared.

Numerals above five involve one or more embedded clauses (5.6.7).

(46) [Wamahiya nima luwaga hi-tutu po emosi] i-me-mae.
moon hand two 3p-hit and one 3s-DUR-stay
He was staying eleven months.

Complex nominalised numeral constructions are a special form of possessive phrase (9.10.1).

Numerals can be modified by the general modifier **hota** *only.*

(47) [Wam luwaga hota] hi-gota.
boat two only 3p-arrive
Only two boats arrived.

9.7 LIMITER

Quantifiers (5.4.3) function as limiters within a third-level modifier slot; they all take pronominal enclitics (5.6.1.2) marking person and number agreement with the head: tunawa-na (L. tuqawa-na) *alone-3s*, atapu-na *all-3s*, tupo-na *part-3s*, tapu-na *different* and gehou-na *other-3s*.

(48) Ma wawine [tauna tunawa-na] i-hanapuge-ya.
and woman she alone-3s 3s-know-3s
But the woman, she alone knew it.

(49) [Ginouli atapu-na naka] i-yoli.
thing all-3s thatTOP 3s-sink
The whole thing had sunk.

The limiter is a third order of modifiers, following adjectives (50) and numbers (51).

(50) [Ginouli apapoe-na atapu-na] i-kokoe.
thing bad-3s all-3s 3s-finish
All bad things are finished.

(51) [Dewa luwaga gehou-na] he-ma-mae.
custom two other-3s 3pPRS-DUR-stay
There are two more customs.

The order of the modifiers in (50) and (51) cannot be reversed. When an adjective and a limiter occur together, both can be marked for agreement with the head.

(52) [Meyagai apapoe-hi gehou-hi] to-gale-hi.
village bad-3p other-3p 1pE-see-3p
We saw other bad villages.

However, the pronominal enclitic can be omitted from the adjective, in which case the construction is non-specific (cf. 9.5.2).

(53) [Dewa apapoe gehou-na] e-me-mae.
custom bad other-3s 3sPRS-DUR-stay
Another bad custom exists.

The items wawine-na *female* and oloto-na *male* form a special subclass of nouns that also function within the limiter slot.

These two items should probably not be classed as adjectives as they are marked for plural number (cf. 5.3.1).

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
oloto-	ol-oloto-	*male(s)*
wawine-	wiwine-	*female(s)*

(54) [(Natu-we) emosi hota oloto-na] e-ma-mae.
child-1s one only male-3s 3sPRS-DUR-stay
My one only male child is staying.
(= I have just one boy.)

This situation is not without a degree of ambivalence, as the order of constituents in (54) can be reversed, as in (55), with the numeral following the noun in the adjectival position.

(55) [Polo natu-na oloto-na emosi hota] e-ma-mae.
pig child-3s male-3s one only 3sPRS-DUR-stay
There is just one male piglet.

(56) [(natu-nata-na ol-oloto-hi) luwaga]
PL-child-3s PL-male-3p two
his two male children

An alternative analysis would class the two items as a special subclass of adjectives, their special semantics being responsible for their unique plural forms. The head noun can be deleted, leaving the limiter as the only constituent of the NP - the enclitic pronoun indexes the person and number of the head.

(57) Atapu-yai to-dewadewa.
all-1pl 1pl-good
We are all well.

(58) [Lawa luwaga naka] [gehou-na] Kukuku ma [gehou-na]
person two thatTOP other-3s lizard and other-3s

Oima.
ant
As for those people, one was Lizard and the other Ant.

9.8 MARKING NEW NPS

The quantifier **gehou-na** *other-3s* marks new items which are introduced for the first time into a text (58) and (59). The item is indefinite in the sense that the speaker has not referred to the item previously and thus **gehou-na** contrasts with the definiteness marker (9.3)

(59) **Maliwa po ilimo po gasi [mayau gehou-hi] he-me-mae.**
m. and i. and also tree other-3p 3pPRS-DUR-stay
There are **maliwa** *and* ilimo *and other types of tree.*

If it is required to spell out that the new item is also indefinite in the sense that the item is unspecified or unknown, then the quantifier is prefixed with the unspecified marker i-.

(60) **Naka hosi [bonabona i-gehou-na] i-gale-ya.**
that only island UNSPEC-other-3s 3s-see-3s
There he saw a certain island.

(61) **Ega yaka [hewa-hewali i-gehou-hi] hi-wiwogatala.**
so.... PL-youth UNSPEC-other-3p 3p-plan
And so certain youths made plans.

9.9 THE MODIFIER gasi

The modifier **gasi** *also* is perhaps best regarded as an operator on the NP and possessive phrase (similar to adverbs which are clause operators - 5.6.5), in that it has no fixed position, but is placed adjacent to the item it modifies.

(62) **Ma [gasi ginouli gehou-na] a-gale-ni.**
and also thing other-3s 1s-see-3s
I saw something else also.

(63) **[A logaloga ma gamogamo gasi] i-na-wi-am imahi.**
his children and animal also 3s-POT-DP-eat properly
He will properly feed his children and animals also.

9.10 POSSESSIVE PHRASES

> NP's with possessive meaning...have one and the same structure, cross-linguistically: the phrase is an endocentric NP with the possessed noun as head and the possessor as its modifier or dependent.
>
> Nichols (1988:558)

The noun phrase head is often filled by a single item (9.3), but can also be filled by complex structures including possessive phrases.

(64) [Bada a gapola] o-na-galenaitete-hi.
. man his possession 2s-POT-care.for-3p
Look after the man's things carefully.

The distinguishing features of Tawala possession are that possession is head marked (3.13.2) and there is an alienability opposition. Nichols (1988:582) demonstrates that the presence of head-marked possession in a language "virtually guarantees that the language will have an alienability opposition".

Tawala has two possessive constructions that have generally been referred to as 'alienable' and 'inalienable' possession (Lynch 1973:70). Both structures consist of an optional possessor noun followed by the possessed noun. Both structures are head marked. They differ in the form of marking as well as in the semantics of the participating nouns. With alienable possession (65) the possessive marker is an independent possessive pronoun (5.6.1) that comes before the head; with inalienable possession (66) the possessive marker is a pronominal enclitic (9.1) on the head.

(65) [Peuka a wam] i-yoli.
P. his boat 3s-sink
Peuka's canoe sank.

(66) [Yailo natu-na] i-nae.
Y. child-3s 3s-go
Yailo's child has gone.

ALIENABLE: (POSSESSOR NP) + <a> POSSESSED NOUN

INALIENABLE: (POSSESSOR NP) + POSSESSED NOUN<-na>

The person/number forms of the possessive pronouns and possessive (pronominal) enclitics are set out in table 3. The relationship in form between the enclitics and the independent pronouns is obvious for most items.

PERSON/ NUMBER	POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS	POSSESSIVE ENCLITICS
1s	u	-u/-we
2s	om/am[3]	-m
3s	a	-na
1pI	ata/ita[4]	-ta
1pE	i	-(i)yai
2p	omi	-mi
3p	hai	-hi

Table 3: Possessive particles

Nichols (1988:582) argues that:

> 'alienable' vs. 'inalienable' possession is a Whorfian grammatical category whose meaning is a generalization over the semantics of participating nouns rather than an independent semantic feature about which the speaker has a choice.

The speaker does not freely choose which type of possession to use; this is already determined by the lexicon.

It was pointed out earlier (5.3) that certain noun subclasses involve bound nouns and must be morphologically marked with a

---

[3] am is Labe dialect, om other dialects.

[4] A good deal of free variation occurs between these forms, though the distinctions are dialectal - Labe prefers ata and Diwinai ita. The form eta is also occasionally encountered - possibly originally a Kehelala form.

pronominal enclitic. These are the inalienable class: a closed set of nouns which include kinship terms, body parts, relationship terms (both spatial and whole-part) and quantifiers. Other nouns belong to an open set called the alienable class.

It needs to be stressed that we are dealing with possessive classes and not gender as expressed by Lynch (1973:84):

> it is inappropriate to put forward the view - as has been usual in the past - that in the MN languages the *gender* of the possessed noun determines the nature of the possessive construction in which it appears.

This is, however, only part of the picture. Some nouns do have a genuine choice between alienable and inalienable structures: a yam (**woida**) has a different relationship to its garden (**tano**) (**woida tano-na** *the yam's garden*) than the woman (**keduluma**) has who tends her garden (**keduluma a tano** *the woman's garden*).

This is particularly true of nominalisations where verbs function as nouns (14.5.3), which usually involve an option between the two structures, similar to the subjective genitive: objective genitive distinction of European languages. Thus a **bagibagi** *his work* (the work he does) contrasts with **bagibagi-na** *his work* (work done for him), and a **luhogala** *his love* (for someone) contrasts with **luhogala-na** *his love* (someone's love for him).

(67) [Neula hopu-na] i-wipilipili.
coconut down-3s 3s-difficult
It is difficult to get down from a coconut palm.

(68) [Kalado a hopu] i-dewadewa.
K. his down 3s-good
It is good that Kalado went down.

9.10.1 INALIENABLE POSSESSION

In his study of POC grammar, Pawley (1973:154) considers inalienable possession to have 'zero-marking' because "the possessor is marked by a pronoun suffixed directly to the head noun" without a possessive particle. He apparently considers this fact to be iconic (154f.)[5]:

> This marking indicates that the head noun is a natural part of a whole (e.g., a body part, branch of a tree), a kin relation, or a relative position (with a locational noun as the possessed NP).

We noted above that the inalienable possessive construction consists of an optional possessor NP and a possessed NP marked for person and number agreement with the possessor NP.

(POSSESSOR NP) + POSSESSED NOUN<-na>

nou-we	polo giu-na	koiba-ta
sister-1s	pig tail-3s	stomach-1pl
my sister	*pig's tail*	*our stomachs*
neula sipoli-na	mayau lugulugu-na	goila mata-na
coconut middle-3s	tree leaves-3s	river eye-3s
coconut trunk	*tree leaves*	*source of river*
numa hine-na	Bohibohi mutu-na	kamkam pou-na
house inside-3s	B. point-3s	chicken egg-3s
house's inside	*Bohibohi Peninsular*	*chicken's egg*

In (69) the possessor (in parenthesis) is expanded to a whole NP.

(69) [(Polo habulu-hi) tala-hi].
pig small-3p blood-3p
It is the blood of piglets.

The possessed noun of both alienable (70) and inalienable (71) construcations can also be modified, demonstrating that the possessive phrase is filling the head of the NP. Here the possessive construction is underlined.

---

[5] Implied by the otherwise unnecessary addition of natural in the quote.

(70) [Bada a wam wou-na] i-gota.
man his boat new-3s 3s-arrive
The man's new boat arrived.

(71) [Pegapega ano-hi gou-hi] i-mgomugomu.
corn fruit-3p ripe-3p 3s-break
She is breaking off ripe corn heads.

The marker on the head indexes the dependent possessor, and the marking on the adjective agrees with the head, hence they do not have to agree.

(72) [Natu-natu-we dewadewa-mi] taumi.
PL-child-1s good-2p youPL
You are my good children.

The inalienable-possessive construction can be marked with the ablative enclitic (5.3.3).

tam gali-m-gei	tam tuawa-m nugotuhu-m-gei
youSG fence-2s-ABL	youSG self-2s thought-2s-ABL
things belonging to you	*your own thought*

(73) [Oya tepa-n-ei] hi-hopu mai.
mountain top-3s-ABL 3p-come.down DX
They came down from the top of the mountain.

9.10.2 ALIENABLE POSSESSION

We noted above (9.10) that the alienable possessive construction consists of an optional possessor NP, a possessive pronoun marked for person and number specification of the possessor, and a possessed NP.

(POSSESSOR NP) + <a> + POSSESSED NOUN

bada a luhogala	tauyai i dewa
man his desire	usE ourE custom
the man's desire	*our custom*
polo banei-na a gali	taniwaga a lugagayo
pig big-3s his fence	ruler his law
the big pig's fence	*the boss's rule*

Abi a wam	u tewela
A. his boat	my child
Abi's boat	*my young sibling*[6]

In (82) the head noun (underlined) is a nominalised construction (14.4.1).

(74) [Geka tauhi <u>hai tu-bagibagi</u> gehou-na] i-nei.
This they their PERS-work other-3s 3s-come
One of their workers came.

The alienable-possessive construction can be marked with the ablative enclitic (5.3.3).

(75) I-tu-tou [hina-na a tou-gei].
3s-DUR-cry mother-3s her cry-ABL
He was calling with his mother's call.

When the alienability of two items is the same then the second noun of a coordinate construction can be deleted.

(76) bada natu-na wawine-na ma oloto-na
man child-3s female-3s and male-3s
the man's female and male children

This option is not available if the alienability of two items is different.

(77) bada natu-na wawine-na ma a polo wawine-na
man child-3s female-3s and his pig female-3s
the man's female child and his female pig

9.10.3 MODIFIED POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION

Possessive suffixes may be omitted if a general modifier (5.6.4) is present and the marking on the noun and the modifier is identical. This presents the speaker with two options.

(78) bada <u>natu duma-na</u>	bada <u>natu-na</u> duma-na
man child real-3s	man child-3s real-3s
the man's real child	*the man's real child*

---

[6] This kinship term does not belong to the bound class. Nichols (1988:568) notes that "for most languages there are other nouns of the same semantic types, whose possession is equally inherehent, but which just happen not to belong to the bound set".

When the possessor is a non-third person referent the issue becomes clearer.

(79) natu duma-u
child real-1s
my real child

natu-we duma-na
child-1s real-3s
my real child

I am not aware of the meaning difference involved here, the different morphological marking indicates different structures. In order to clarify the situation I have underlined the head in each of the examples in (78) and (79). The head must end with a pronominal enclitic that indexes the possessor; a modifier preceding the pronominal enclitic is part of the head phrase and is morphologically unmarked. If a modifier occurs after this pronominal enclitic it is a posthead modifier (filling the modifier slot – 9.5) and must agree with the head.

The option does not exist with the alienable construction, as the possessive marker occurs before the head.

i meyagai duma-na
our1 village very-3s
our real village (burial place)

9.10.4 RECURSIVE POSSESSIVE PHRASES

One possessed construction is often embedded within another, with no restriction on the type of embedding: alienable within alienable or inalienable constructions and vice versa.

(80) Wawine [go<o>ga-na (pona-hi)] i-nonoli-hi.
female ancestor<PL>-3s voice-3p 3s-hear-3p
The woman heard the voices of her ancestors.

(81) [Tu-bahapiko a (baha ano-na)] i-lugelete-ya.
PERS-riddle his word core-3s 3s-appear-3sRFX
The bard's prediction has come about.

9.11 ABLATIVE ENCLITIC

The ablative enclitic (5.3.3) is involved in a number of the postpositions. Recall that the ablative enclitic marks three basic relationships: instruments (82), origin (83) and path (84).

(82) Kedewa-na woe-gei i-lau-laun-i.
dog-DEF paddle-ABL 3s-DUR-hit-3s
She was hitting the dog with a paddle.

(83) Beya-n-ei tala hi-kolo-kololo.
ear-3s-ABL blood 3p-DUR-drip
Blood was dripping from his ears.

(84) Mei iyeta luwaga bog-ei i-teno-tenom nae.
like day two sea-ABL 3s-DUR-float go
For about two days he drifted in the ocean.

The ablative suffix attaches to the NP as the final enclitic.

(85) [Tupo yalasi-yei] to-nei.
region southwest-ABL 1pE-come
We came from the southwest region.

(86) [Pona Dimdim-gei] he-pa...
voice English-ABL 3pPRS-say
In English they call it...

With inalienably possessed phrases the ablative suffix fuses with the pronominal enclitic (4.3.6).

(87) To-lupali [Yesu gowa-n-ei].
1pE-pray Jesus name-3s-ABL
We pray in Jesus' name.

(88) [Lawa mata-hi-yei] hi-gale-ya.
person eye-3p-ABL 3p-see-3s
The people saw it with their own eyes.

9.12 COMPOUND PHRASES

The distinguishing feature on compound phrases is the presence of two items juxtaposed or joined with a conjunction.

ITEM + (CONJUNCTION) + ITEM

There is a strong tendency for the two items to have identical structure. Hence, if one is a simple noun the second usually is also; if the first has a demonstrative then the second usually has also, etc. Basically, any simple NPs – interrogative, adjective, possessive phrase etc. – can be combined to form a compound phrase.

There are two types of compound phrase, depending on the nature of the juncture (table 4) and also on verbal agreement.

PHRASE TYPE	JUNCTURE
COORDINATE PHRASE	po, ma
ALTERNATE PHRASE	bo, oo

Table 4: Compound phrase types

The conjunction po *and* is used when the items are closely related in the mind of the speaker. The conjunction ma *and, also* is used when the two items are different or thought to have separate identity in the mind of the speaker. Judgements differ from speaker to speaker in the same situation, and also a speaker's judgement differs in the same situation from time to time.

9.12.1 po COORDINATE PHRASE

Within the coordinate phrase po is more common than ma, which is more common at the clause level. The po construction is also used to join items that cannot be joined by ma – identical items, numerals, certain modifiers, antonym pairs, etc.

i) NOUNS

goila po oya
water and mountain
rivers and mountains

pitapita po niha-na
bush and beach-DEF
the bush and beach

oloto po wawine
male and female
a male and a female

ii) PRONOUNS AND KINSHIP TERMS

tau po tam
I and youSG
I and you

ama-ta po hina-ta po ata ba-bada
father-1pI and mother-1pI and ourI PL-man
our fathers and mothers and big men

iii) MODIFIERS

The items can be quantifiers.

(89) [meyagai gehou-hi po gehou-hi]
village other-3p and other-3p
various villages

(90) [gutaguta tapu-na po tapu-na]
parts different-3s and different-3s
various parts

When adjectives are conjoined, an antonym pair is involved. Marking for number and person must be identical on each part.

ADJECTIVE + po + ANTONYM

(91) [meyagai banei-hi po habulu-hi]
village big-3p and small-3p
big and small villages

Only po is used when identical numerals and quantifiers are conjoined; the structure has a distributive meaning.

emosi po emosi
one and one
each one

yamoha po yamoha
each and each
each one

(92) [ubona emosi po emosi]
star one and one
each star

Only po is used with interrogative indefinites.

meka po meka	awai po awai	iyai po iyai
where and where	what and what	who and who
wherever	*whatever*	*whoever*

iv) POSSESSIVE PHRASES

(93) [ata tano bagibagi-na] po [ata gamogamo galenaitete-hi]
our garden work-3s and our animal care.for-3p
our agriculture and our husbandry

9.12.2 ma COORDINATE PHRASE

The range of items is less extensive than the po constructions; numerically, they are also less frequent in texts. The ma construction is never used when the two items are identical (as with numerals and interrogatives), rather it has an additive meaning.

tu-wao ma tu-wisili
PERS-row and PERS-fishing
an oarsman and fisherman (same person in context)

a keduluma ma hina-na	polo ma aniani dimdim
his woman and mother-3s	pig and food European
his wife and his mother	*pork and trade food*
hina-hina-hi ma am-ama-hi	tau ma Mika
PL-mother-3p and PL-father-3p	I and Mika
their mothers and fathers	*Mika and I*

Only non-identical numerals and quantifiers are joined with ma; the resultant meaning is additive rather than distributive.

emosi ma tupo-na
one also part-3s
one and a half

9.12.3 ALTERNATE PHRASE

The two conjunctions are bo *or* and oo *or*. The bo form has a broader functional use and a greater frequency of use; the latter form is probably a borrowing from English, but is used

widely in the two dialects I have had most contact with. It has not been possible to establish any meaning difference between the two conjunctions, however there is a broad functional distinction between them, as the following data reveal; simple NPs (94,95) and possession phrases (96,97) are used with either form.

(94) Moresby bo Alotau
Moresby oo Alotau

(95) beda bo gaga
betel or 'pepper'
betelnut or 'pepper'

geka bada oo lawa awai
this man or person what
this man or whoever

(96) googa-ta hai dewa oo ita dewa
ancestor-1pl their custom or our1 custom
our ancestors customs or our customs

(97) hai rais bo hai ti habulu-na
their rice or their tea small-3s
their (small) meal or cup of tea (food involved)

With numerals (98,99), pronouns (100) and kinship terms (101, 102) only the bo form is used.

(98) bolima emosi bo wamahiya ten
year one or moon t.
a year or 10 months

iyeta luwaga bo wohepali
day two or four
two days or four

(99) [Iyeta luwaga bo wohepali] e-togo-togo geleta.
day two or four 3sPRS-DUR-blow arrive
It blows for two to four days.

(100) tam bo tau tam bo Tibe om lawa bo tunawa-m
youSG or me youSG or T. yourSG person or alone-2s
you or me you or Tibe your friend or you yourself

(101) u hewa-hewali bo natu-natu-we
my PL-youth or PL-child-1s
my followers or my children

(102) Geka Yailo natu-na bo au-na.
this Y. child-3s or uncle-3s
This is Yailo's child or uncle. (non-verbal hypothetical construction)

In (103) a third alternative NP is added as an afterthought.

(103) [Beda bo gaga] to-wele-ya [bo aniani].
betel or 'pepper' 1pE-give-3s or food
We give him betelnut or 'pepper', or food.

Coordinate structures are often embedded within coordinate structures.

(104) [(Moresby bo Alotau) oo (meka po meka)]
M. or A. or where and where
Moresby or Alotau or wherever

The alternative construction is used to give alternate lexical items, in this case dialectal alternatives.

(105) Bisiya bo gina-ginahi ta-boli.
sago(frond) or RED-sago=frond 1pI-cut
We cut sago fronds (for walling).

9.13 CONJOINED NPs

The associative conjunction mite<-hi> *together-<3p>* is involved in conjoining NPs that function as core arguments of the clause (12.2). Givón (1984:127-130) defines the associative case role as a "co-agent...that is outside the focus of importance...i.e. one who performs the action together with the subject agent, though is in some sense in a less-focal, subservient role". This definition captures nicely the function of the associative phrase in Tawala, where it differs semantically from the comitative phrase (10.1.5) precisely because it codes a co-actor whereas the comitative phrase involves a subservient actor. Within the clause the verb is marked for agreement with both the actor and the co-actor (125), but does not include the subservient actor (126).

(106) [Bada natu-natu-na mitehi] hi-nei.
man PL-child-3s together 3p-came
The man came with his child.

(107) Bada [a kedewa-na] i-nei.
man COM dog-3s 3s-come
The man came with his dog.

The two constructions differ also in respect to their function within the proposition. The comitative phrase is an oblique argument and is a true prepositional phrase. Associative phrases fill core arguments, and mitehi functions as a conjunction rather than a postposition.

We note in (10.2) that postpositions are marked for pronominal agreement with their object. As the postpositional phrase is an oblique argument the pronominal agreement (108) is not cross-referenced on the predicate.

(108) [Lawa ubei-mi] a-ne-nae.
person BEN-2p 1s-DUR-go
I am going for you people.

In contrast the pronominal enclitic of associative phrases indexes additional items of the argument, and the predicate agreement includes both items.

(109) [Taumi mite-u] ta-kaoha.
youPL with-1s 1pl-happy
Be happy together with me. (= Let's be happy.)

The postposition mitehi has lost its inflection for person and number in its normal function within the simple associative phrase (9.13.1), though inflection for person and number is retained within the pronominal associative phrase (9.13.2).

9.13.1 SIMPLE ASSOCIATIVE PHRASE

The simple associative phrase differs from coordinated phrases in that mitehi does not come between the conjoined items but after them. It differs from postpositional phrases in that mitehi (some dialects miteka) is not marked for person and

number agreement; it is accordingly glossed *together*. Historically, it was probably the third person plural form of the noun *mite-hi *with-3p*.

(110) O tinani-hi [natu-natu-we hina-mi mitehi].
oh greeting-PL PL-child-1s mother-2p together
Greetings, my children with your mother.

(111) [Tau ma Bryan a manago mitehi] to-gelu.
I and B. his family together 1pE-embark
I with Bryan and his family got on board.

(112) Ipa [logaloga hina-mi po goga-mi mitehi]
COND children mother-2p and grandmother-2p together

o-na-ma-mae.
2p-POT-DUR-stay
Children with your mother and grandmother, you all ought to stay.

The first conjunct can be omitted if its reference is recoverable. Hence the structure is:

(NP) NP mitehi

(113) Wam hi-gelu-ya ega bada mitehi.
boat 3p-board-3s NEG man together
They boarded the boat without the bada.

(114) Ega tauna mite-hi hi-ta-lui.
NEG he with-3p 3p-IRR-go.in
He did not go in with them.

On the surface (114) appears to be the same as (113); however, as it includes a pronoun within the phrase, it is an example of the next construction, as indicated by the gloss.

9.13.2 PRONOMINAL ASSOCIATIVE PHRASE

The pronominal associative phrase consists of an independent pronoun together with an associative postposition marked for person and number. The pronominal nature of associative postpositions is clear in the following examples.

(115) [Tau mite-mi] ta-memae.
I with-2p 1pI-stay
I and you are staying together.

(116) [Taumi mite-u] ta-kaoha.
youPL with-1s 1pI-happy
Be happy together with me.

Note that in the last two and the next two examples the subject marking on the verb clearly cross-references both items of the pronominal associative phrase.

(117) [Tam mite-iyai] ta-nae.
youSG with-1pI 1pI-go
(Please) come with us.

(118) Apo [tauhi mite-u] to-gelu.
FUT they with-1s 1pE-embark
They will embark with me.

The pronoun is occasionally separated from the postposition; the conjunct is omitted from the associative phrase because it is elsewhere in the clause.

(119) Apo tau (houga magomagou-na) mite-mi ta-memae.
FUT I time all-3s with-2p 1pI-stay
I will stay with you always.

9.14 PHRASES IN APPOSITION

NPs are placed in apposition, with no restriction on either NP; the second NP clarifies the first or makes it more specific.

oya Bilobilolo	gaima Bou
mount B.	rock B.
Mount Bilobilolo	*the Bou rock*

(120) houga dewadewa, kabudala houga-na
time good sun time-3s
good weather, the sun shining

(121) bala daodao-na, wamahiya luwaga bo tonuga
time long-3s moon two or three
a long time, two or three months

(122) tauyai, oloto luwaga
wel male two
we (two) males

(123) **lawa halohalo-hi, lawa luwaga**
person hunting-3p person two
hunters, two of them

10 ADPOSITIONAL PHRASES

> ...something corresponding to the core/oblique distinction in English seems to exist in most such languages. One set of cases, commonly called 'syntactic' cases, code the core functions, another, commonly called 'semantic' cases, mark the oblique functions...the grammatical function of obliques...can for the most part be identified with their semantic role.
>
> Andrews (1985:82)

An adpositional phrase is distinguished by the presence of an adposition. Tawala adpositional phrases fall into two classes, depending on the position of the head adposition in relation to the dependent construction: prepositional phrases have a preposition followed by an NP (10.1) and postpositional phrases have an NP followed by a postposition (10.2).

10.1 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

There are five distinct prepositional phrase types, including two closely related locative phrases, a manner phrase, a comitative phrase and a condition phrase. In each case the phrases are distinguished by the prepositions involved.

PREPOSITION	PHRASE TYPE
u	SPECIFIED LOCATIVE
hoi	UNSPECIFIED LOCATIVE
mei	MANNER
a	COMITATIVE
anai	CONDITION

Table 1: Prepositional phrase types

Three syntactic patterns are involved with these prepositional phrases.

i) With the specified (10.1.1) and unspecified (10.1.2) locative phrases the preposition takes a noun as its object, and the phrase is unrelated to any other nominal item in the clause.

ii) With the manner (10.1.4) and comitative (10.1.5) phrases the preposition takes an NP as its object – a clear distinction from i). Again the prepositional phrase is unrelated to any other nominal item (except with non-verbal constructions).

iii) With the possessive locative phrase (10.1.3) the prepositional phrase involves two nominals with the preposition sandwiched between them. The preposition attaches to the following head item; the preceding dependent is optional.

These relationships associated with prepositions (^{PREP}) are summarised in the following list; the head (^{HEAD}) and dependent (^{DEP}) relationships marked.

i) PREP + NOUN
ii) PREP + NP
iii) (NP^{DEP}) + PREP + NOUN^{HEAD}

As prepositions receive word level stress (') I regard them as words and not clitics.

(1) A-'nae 'hoi ta'wali.
1s-go LOC reef
I went to the reef.

The single-syllable prepositions are lengthened, particulary when the following syllable is stressed.

(2) A-'nae 'u(u) 'niha.
1s-go LOC salt
I went to the beach.

The issue is of special relevance when the specified locative preposition u occurs within an alienably possessed phrase

(10.1.3) as u often gains a transitional consonant (4.3.7). Both the possessive pronoun and the preposition are lengthened.

(3) A-'nae 'a(a) 'nu(u) meya'gai.
1s-go his LOC village
I went to his village.

The specified and unspecified locative phrases are distinguished not only by the separate prepositions but also by the semantics of the situation involved: u phrases refer to specified locations and hoi phrases refer to unspecified or more general locations. They are contrasted in the following examples.

(4) Ta-tei-na hopu-ne-ya [hoi meyagai].
1pl-pull-LIG down-TR-3s LOC village
We drag it (a log for making a canoe) down to a village.

(5) Ataima wawine-na i-geleta [u meyagai].
today woman-DEF 3s-appear LOC village
That woman arrived at the village today.

The first sentence is from a procedural discourse describing the stages of making a canoe. The sentence refers to any village to which a log might be dragged in order to be hollowed out. The log is brought in from the forest to an unspecified place near to human habitation. The second sentence involves a specified village known to the speaker and the hearer.

10.1.1 SPECIFIED LOCATIVE PHRASES

The specified locative phrase consists of the preposition u and a noun.

u + NOUN

Only place names and a limited number of locational nouns (5.3) can form the head of this phrase.

u Alotau	u Labe	u Kehelala
LOC A.	LOC Rabe	LOC East Cape
to Alotau	*at Rabe*	*to East Cape*

(6) Ega yaka to-gunawile-iyai [u Alotau].
so..... 1pE-return-1pE.RFX LOC A.
So we returned to Alotau.

Geographical locations optionally use this construction when the context clearly indicates a specified location, or if the location is itself specified, as is **bonabona** *island* by its encompassing coastline. At this point there is overlap with the unspecified locative phrase (10.1.2).

u pitapita	u oya	u bonabona
LOC bush	LOC mountain	LOC island
to the bush	*in the garden*[1]	*on the island*

(7) Lawa [u pitapita] hi-me-me nae.
person LOC bush 3p-DUR-stay go
The people lived as nomads in the bush.

This construction cannot be used with nouns modified by an adjective or nouns with an animate or human referent; these situations require the use of the postposition **uyahi-** (10.2.1). When a noun is modified by a relationship term, the locative preposition comes between the noun (with optional adjective (9)) and its modifier.

(8) Ta-nae [Mayau u baba-na].
1pI-go tree LOC base-3s
Let's go to the base of the tree.

(9) [Neula bandolo-na u tepa-na] hi-duhu-duhuna.
coconut bundle-3s LOC top-3s 3p-DUR-sit
They were sitting on top of the coconut bundle.

10.1.2 UNSPECIFIED LOCATIVE PHRASE

The unspecified locative phrase consists of the preposition **hoi** plus a noun:

hoi + NOUN

---

[1] The use of **oya** for *garden* is a Labe dialectal expression resulting from the fact that gardens are mostly built in the mountains.

The preposition hoi (L. hau) is used to refer to locations which have non-specified boundaries or general locations, or where the speaker has a sense of foreignness at the location. The term 'unspecified' is not meant to imply 'non-specific' though at times it does have that meaning (see (4)).

The following are typical unspecified indigenous locations.

hoi kokowaga	**hoi tawali**
LOC grave	LOC reef
among the dead	*at the reef*
hau yayata	**hau pitapita**
LOC light	LOC bush
in the light	*in the bush*

(10) **Am-iyai hoi yada, natu-natu-m tauyai.**
father-1pE LOC sky PL-child-2s weE
Our father in the sky, we are your children.

The following phrases involve non-indigenous and hence foreign concepts.

hau community	**hau United Church**
LOC c.	LOC U.C.
in the community	*in the United Church*
hoi Hedkota Konsela	**hoi trening**
LOC headquarter council	LOC training
at council headquarters	*for training*
hoi buka	**hoi sataulo (Greek)**
LOC book	LOC cross
in the book	*on the cross*

(11) **O-nae hoi trening.**
2p-go LOC training
You went for training.

Boats take this preposition, presumably because their location is vague, depending on the direction and force of the wind at a given time.

(12) **Ta-hopu [hoi wam].**
1pI-go.down LOC boat
Let's go down to the boat.

10.1.3 POSSESSIVE LOCATIVE PHRASE

The use of the specified locative prefix with possessive phrases is unique in that the preposition occurs between the optional possessor NP and the possessed noun.

$$(NP^{POSSESSOR}) + u + NOUN^{POSSESSED}$$

With an inalienably possessed NP the change is minimal.

(13) [Numa u gabouli-na] e-ma-mae.
house LOC under-3s 3sPRS-DUR-stay
It is under the house.

(14) [Boga u sipoli duma-na] i-hopu.
liquid LOC middle real-3s 3s-go.down
He went down right in the middle of the ocean.

In (15) the dependent NP is omitted.

(15) O-hanapu-ge-ya [u liyaliya-mi] e-ma-mae.
2p-know-TR-3s LOC near-2p 3sPRS-DUR-stay
You know he stays near you.

In (16) and (17) the dependent NP (in curved brackets) is expanded.

(16) [(A neula bandolo-na) u tepa-na] i-duhuna.
his coconut bundle-3s LOC top-3s 3s-sit
He sat on top of his coconut bundle.

(17) [(Naka Kokoda) u gado-na] to-witago-ni.
that K. LOC neck-3s 1pE-pass-3s
We passed (=flew over) the Kokoda Pass.

With alienably possessed NPs the situation is complicated by the fact that both the possessive pronoun and the locative preposition intervene between the possessor NP and the possessed head noun.

$$[NP^{POSSESSOR} + \langle a \rangle + u + NOUN^{POSSESSED}]$$

Transitional consonants occur between the possessive pronoun and the locative preposition (the forms are listed in 4.3.7).

(18) [Tauyai i yu ani mae] i-lui.
weE ourE LOC place stay 3s-enter
It came into our residence.

(19) Hi-nae [bada a nu meyagai].
3p-go man his LOC village
They went to the man's village.

In (20) the possessor NP is omitted.

(20) A-nugo-nugotuhu-mi [u yu tapalolo].
1s-DUR-think-2p my LOC worship
I will remember you in my prayers.

10.1.4 MANNER PHRASE

The preposition **mei** *like* combines freely with NPs, making it one of the most productive morphemes in the language.

mei + NP

The manner phrase always follows the verbal predicate and can indicate the manner in which the predication is performed.

(21) Ega hi-ta-me-me gogona [mei geka houga-na].
NEG 3p-IRR-DUR-stay together like this time-2s
They didn't live in harmony like (we do at) this time.

(22) Tauta teks ta-hepa me-ya [mei lolowa].
wel tax 1pI-lift again-3s like before
We will raise the tax (money) like (we did) before.

(23) Kikina nugonugo-u i-witai [mei Mabel].
little mind-1s 3s-heavy like M.
I am a little depressed like Mabel (is depressed).

On the other hand the manner phrase may expand on one of the arguments of the clause.

(24) Pona-na i-nonol-i [mei togowa].
voice-3s 3s-hear-3s like wind
He heard her voice (sounding) like the wind.

One common use of the preposition **mei** is with time phrases, indicating the approximate time when an event took place or the approximate duration of an event.

(25) To-yato [mei three kiloki].
1pE-land like t. o'clock
We landed at about 3pm.

(26) To-mae [mei iyeta luwaga].
1pE-stay like day two
We stayed about two days.

Non-verbal manner clauses (13.2.1.1) are common.

(27) Anigalena-na [mei gamogamo natu-hi].
appearance-3s like animal child-3p
He looked like a baby animal.

10.1.5 COMITATIVE PHRASE

The comitative phrase includes the preposition a and an inalienably possessed noun marked for person and number agreement.

a + NP<-na

The pronominal enclitic agrees anaphorically with the subject.

(28) Bada [a kedewa-na] i-nae.
man COM dog-3s 3s-go
The man went with his dog.

That two NPs are involved is seen by the fact that the verb agrees only with the subject (28) and does not include the item in the comitative phrase. In this the construction differs from associative phrases (9.13).

The comitative preposition is to be distinguished from the third person singular possessive pronoun.

[bada a kedewa]	>	bada [a kedewa-na]
man his dog		man COM dog-3s
the man's dog		*the man and his dog*

In the comitative construction the object of the preposition is obligatorily marked with a pronominal enclitic. Nouns which would normally be possess ed alienably thus receive inalienable marking. Nouns which are normally inalienably possessed are not used with this construction; kin terms, for example, would involve the use of an associative phrase (9.13).

(29) Taumi [a nima gapola-mi] o-nei.
youPL COM hand things-2p 2p-come
You have come with your hand luggage.

(30) Iyowai po [a gawiya gapola-mi] o-nei.
how and COM war things-2p 2p-come
How is it that you come with weapons?

Finally, (31) is an example of coordinated comitative phrases.

(31) Hi-nae [a nima gawiya gapola-hi] po [a nima
3p-go COM hand war possession-3p and COM hand

heuta-hi].
torch-3p
They went with their hand weapons and (coconut frond) hand torches.

10.1.6 CONDITION PHRASE

The condition phrase is structurally identical to the comitative phrase (10.1.5), apart from the different preposition.

anai + NOUN<-na>

In contrast to the comitative phrase, which encodes accompaniment of an 'external item' (a concrete item often carried in the hand) of the head NP, the condition phrase encodes an 'internal condition' – often a psychological state. Hence the object of the preposition is often an abstract noun.

(32) Tewela [anai wiyateyate-na] i-polou.
child COND respect-3s 3s-bow
The child bowed down in respect.

In (33) the subject is a pronoun; in (34) it is omitted.

(33) Tau [anai habulu-we] a-nae Kehelala.
I COND small-1s 1s-go K.
When I was small (= In my youth) I went to Kehelala.

(34) [Anai kaoha-u] a baha a-nonol-i.
with joy-1s his word 1s-hear-3s
I heard his words with joy.

The condition phrase can function as a non-verbal clause.

(35) Tau [anai habulu-we] ma a-nae East Cape Mission School.
I COND small-1s and 1s-go E. C. M. S.
I was small and (= In my youth) I went to the East Cape Mission School.

10.2 POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Tawala postpositional phrases are grammaticised inalienable possession phrases (9.10), in which the postposition is the possessed (head) noun marked with an adnominal enclitic for person and number agreement with the dependent noun – the object of the postposition. The postposition is thus distinguished as a head-marked item, indexed for person and number agreement with the object of the postposition.

There are four postpositions which are presented in simplified form in table 2 and fully expanded later in this section.

POSTPOSITION	PHRASE TYPE
uyahi<-na>	LOCATIVE
uyahi<-nei>	ABLATIVE
tepa<-nei>	REASON
bi<-nei>	BENEFACTIVE

Table 2: Postpositional phrase types

That Tawala postpositions are synchronically inalienably possessed nouns is evidenced by the different stages of grammaticisation that different postpositions represent.

i) The postposition **tepa<-nei>** *from the top* is still used in its nominal function:

(36) **Oya tepa-n-ei hi-hopu mai.**
mountain top-3s-ABL 3p-go.down DX
They came down from the mountain.

The postpositional form is unchanged (37) though the meaning has changed. The postposition is a relator, with the object expressing reason.

(37) Beda tepa-n-ei a-nei.
betel REAS-3s-ABL 1s-come
I have come for betel nut.

ii) The two postpositions with the base form uyahi and the benefactive form ubei- have each lost their nominal function and only occur in data as postpositions. Thus these items have lost any nominal function, and have no independent meaning.

Historically, the form uyahi- probably developed from the preposition u plus a locational noun *yahi *there?* as a possessive locational phrase. Synchronically, however, the form *yahi-na never occurs and the root *yahi has no meaning; the functions of the locative postposition and possessive locational phrase (10.1.3) are different, though they do overlap.

(38) [Numa u hine-na] i-ma-mae.
house LOC inside-3s 3s-DUR-stay
He was staying in the house.

(39) I-nae [bada uyahi-na].
3s-go man AT-3s
He went to the man.

The ablative suffix used with the ablative, reason and benefactive postpositions follows the normal patterns established for Tawala grammar (4.3.6, 5.3.3 and 9.11).

10.2.1 LOCATIVE POSTPOSITON PHRASE

We note two prepositional strategies for marking location (10.1). The prepositions are used only with non-human referents. If a human referent is involved then the locative postpositional phrase must be used, employing the postposition

uyahi<-na> (L. ugoli<-na>). In addition, the prepositions are only used with unmodified nouns. If an NP is involved as the object of the adposition then a postpositional construction must be used.

The pronominal enclitic (9.1) on the postposition indexes the person and number of the dependent NP.

FORM	PERSON/ NUMBER	
uyahi-u	1s	*to/at/with me*
uyahi-m	2s	*to/at/with you(SG)*
uyahi-na	3s	*to/at/with him/her/it*
uyahi-ta	1pI	*to/at/with us*
uyahi-yai	1pE	*to/at/with us*
uyahi-mi	2p	*to/at/with you(PL)*
uyahi-hi	3p	*to/at/with them*

Table 3: Person/number forms of the locative postposition

The locative postposition combines with an NP to form the locative postposition phrase:

(NP) + uyahi<-na>

Locative postpositional phrases differ from locative prepositional phrases in that the latter only take a limited class of nouns as their object - an obligatory noun. With the postpositional phrase a wide range of items can occur in the optional NP slot - a pronoun (40), expanded NP (41), possessed NP (42), compound phrase (43), nominalised clause (44) and numeral (45).

(40) [Tauhi uyahi-hi] ibig-ei to-hopu.
they AT-3p evening-ABL 1pE-go.down
In the evening we went down to them.

(41) [Bonabona gehou-na uyahi-na] i-libe-ya.
island one-3s AT-3s 3s-wash.up-3sRFX
He got washed up on an island.

(42) [Bada a numa uyahi-na] to-geleta.
man his house AT-3s 1pE-arrive
We arrived at the man's house.

(43) [Hina-u po ama-u uyahi-hi] a-me-mae.
mother-1s and father-1s AT-3p 1s-DUR-stay
I stayed with my mother and father.

(44) [I houga gelu wam uyahi-na] naka a-winugoneina.
ourE time embark plane AT-3s that 1s-ignorant
At the time we embarked our plane I was ignorant.

(45) [Wiluwaga-na uyahi-na] naka Wagaloke imhoe.
second-3s AT-3s that possum 3s-leave
On Tuesday Possum left.

10.2.2 ABLATIVE PHRASE

The ablative postposition is formed by adding the ablative enclitic (5.3.3, 9.11) to the locative postposition uyahi<-na> (L. ugoli<-na>).

uyahi-n-ei
AT-3s-ABL

FORM	PERSON/ NUMBER	
uyahi-u-gei	1s	*from/by me*
uyahi-m-gei	2s	*from/by you*
uyahi-n-ei	3s	*from/by him/her/it*
uyahi-t-iyei	1pI	*from/by us*
uyahi-yei[3]	1pE	*from/by us*
uyahi-mi-yei	2p	*from/by you*
uyahi-hi-yei	3p	*from/by them*

Table 4: Person/number forms of the ablative postposition

The ablative phrase consists simply of an optional NP and a postposition.

(NP) + uyahi<-n-ei>
AT<-3s-ABL>

[3] The full form would be **uyahi-yai-yei**.

ae-u uyahi-n-ei	tano uyahi-hi-yei	uyahi-u-gei
leg-my AT-3s-ABL	garden AT-3p-ABL	AT-1s-ABL
by my feet	*from the gardens*	*from me*

Like the locative postposition, the ablative postposition occurs with a wide range of items in the NP slot, e.g. a pronoun (46), noun (47), compound phrase (48), possessed NP (49) and clause (50).

(46) [Tau uyahi-u-gei] hi-nei.
I AT-1s-ABL 3p-come
They come from me.

(47) Apo u-na-tuhaga-ya [tani-taniwaga uyahi-hi-yei].
FUT 2s-POT-find-3s PL-ruler AT-3p-ABL
You will get it from those in charge.

(48) [Aniani ma muhala ugoli-hi-yei] to-hagu-hagu-hi.
staples and meat AT-3p-ABL 1pE-DUR-help-3p
We help them by (means of) vegetables and meat.

(49) [Oima ma Kukuku hai dewa uyahi-hi-yei]
ant and pheasant their custom AT-3p-ABL

hi-wotago-ya.
3p-follow-3s
They follow along Ant's and Pheasant's custom.

(50) [Popopo a dewa i-dewa-dewa-ya uyahi-n-ei]
lizard his custom 3s-DUR-do-3s AT-3s-ABL

ta-lau-labiya.
1pI-DUR-sago
We collect sago following the custom which Lizard does.

The postposition can be omitted and the ablative enclitic added directly to the noun (9.11).

ibig-ei	oya-gei	taniga-n-ei
evening-ABL	mountain-ABL	ear-3s-ABL
by evening	*from the mountain*	*with his ear*

The forms in the following examples demonstrate the contrast.

(51) [Wagaloke taniga-n-ei] i-mhiguhigu.
possum ear-3s-ABL 3s-ladle
Possum ladled with his ear.

(52) [Taniga-na uyahi-n-ei] i-mhiguhigu.
ear-3s AT-3s-ABL 3s-ladle
He ladled with his ear.

10.2.3 REASON PHRASE

The postposition tepa-<nei> *<its> reason* is structurally a simple ablative phrase (9.11) with a specialised function (see discussion in 10.2).

tepa-<n>-ei
forehead-3s-ABL

The reason phrase mostly functions in non-verbal constructions, but is occasionally found in verbal phrases.

(53) Amalai ata luwaga ta-duhu-duhuna [Yaubada tepa-n-ei].
today our1 two 1s1-DUR-sit God REAS-3s-ABL
We two are sitting here today because of God (he brought us together).

(54) I-taniwaga [lawa emosi tepa-n-ei].
3s-rule person one REAS-3s-ABL
He is ruling because of one person.

(55) [Hai luhogala powa tepa-hi-yei] apo wiyuwa
their desire mistaken REAS-3p-ABL FUT pain

hi-na-wialon-i.
3p-POT-face-it
Because of their lusts they will experience suffering.

10.2.4 BENEFACTIVE PHRASE

Givón (1984:126) defines the benefactive case as "the conscious benefiter from an agent-initiated event". This may be the proto-typical situation, but the examples in the Tawala corpus are much broader and include purpose and reason as well as an unconscious benefiter etc.

Two dialect forms of the benefactive preposition are currently in use as 'stylistic' variants by speakers of the Diwinai and Labe dialects. Both forms have been constructed on a noun root *bei. In the case of the Kehelala dialect, benefactive forms were modelled on the prepositional possessive locative phrase (10.1.2.2) *u+bei-<na>, and Labe forms on the ablative

postposition phrase (10.2.2) *bei+<na>+ei. Thus the underlying structures of the two forms are as follows:

bi-<n'>-ei	u-bei-<na>
BEN-3s-ABL	LOC-BEN-3s

However, as neither locative nor ablative morphemes are productive within the benefactive postposition these two forms are glossed as follows:

bi-nei	ubei-na
BEN-3s	BEN-3s

A complete listing of the alternate forms is given in table 5.

ALTERNATE FORMS		PERSON/ NUMBER	
ube-u	bi-u-gei	1s	*for me*
ube-m	bi-m-gei	2s	*for you*
ubei-na	bi-n-ei	3s	*for him/her/it*
ubei-ta	bi-t-iyei	1pI	*for us*
ubei-yai	bi-yai-yei	1pE	*for us*
ubei-mi	bi-mi-yei	2p	*for you*
ubei-hi	bi-hi-yei	3p	*for them*

Table 5: Benefactive postpositions

tau ube-u	**lawa ubei-hi**	**bi-tiyei**
me BEN-1s	person BEN-3p	BEN-1p
for me	*for people*	*for us*

(56) **[Bi-mgei] a-kaoha.**
BEN-2s 1s-happy
I am happy for/about you.

(57) **[Gatowa bi-nei] ta-bagibagi.**
roof BEN-3s 1pI-work
We are working for (=making) the roof.

Note that the preferred position of the demonstrative within a postpositional phrase (62) is following the noun.

(58) **Tauna amaka i-wononogo [houga geka bi-nei].**
he already 3s-prepare time this BEN-3s
He had made preparations for this time.

The benefactive often involves purpose or reason.

naka bi-nei	awai bi-nei?	yaka bi-nei
that BEN-3s	what BEN-3s	so BEN-3S
because of that	*for what purpose*	*for that reason*

(59) [Awai bi-nei] hi-nei?
what BEN-3s 3p-come
What is the reason for their coming?

First and second person forms usually occur without an accompanying noun, though a free-form pronoun is common.

(60) I-nonogo i yam [ubei-yai].
3s-prepare ourE food BEN-1pE
She had prepared food for us.

(61) [Tauta bi-tiyei] i-baha-baha.
usI BEN-1pI 3s-DUR-say
He was speaking on our behalf.

11 CLAUSES

> One of the most fundamental problems in the analysis of clause structure is the characterization of predicates and the semantic relations which obtain between them and their arguments.
>
> Foley and Van Valin (1984:27)

This chapter is concerned with establishing the degree to which Tawala non-verbal and verbal clauses share a structural unity.

11.1 VERBAL VERSUS NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

> That there are verbless sentences in several of the world's languages invalidates the assumption that the verb is an indispensible element of the sentence in all natural languages.
>
> Lyons (1977:437)

Tawala abounds in non-verbal clauses; example (1) contains two such clauses.

(1) Ega beda uyahi-u ma gaga ega uyahi-u.
NEG betel AT-1s and pepper NEG AT-1s
I have no betelnut and I have no 'pepper'. (lit. *(There is) no betelnut to me and (there is) no 'pepper' to me.)*

Sometimes a non-verbal clause is constructed on the same lexical root as a verbal clause, as illustrated in (2).

(2) A-luhogal-e-ya (polo u-na-lup-e-na hale-ya).
1s-desire-TR-3s pig 2s-POT-fly-TR-LIG throw-3s
I desire (you to release the pig).

U luhogala (numa dalabu uyahi-na hi-na-tawine).
my desire house rest AT-3s 3p-POT-marry
My desire is (that they marry in the church).

The constructions in (2) are parallel in that each consists of a sentence with an embedded complement clause (in brackets); they differ, however, in that the main clause of the first

sentence is verbal and that of the second is non-verbal. The same contrast is reflected in interrogative constructions.

(3) Awai u-luhogal-e-ya? — Om luhogala awai?
what 2s-desire-TR-3s — yourSG desire what
What is it you want? — *What is your want?*

In chapter 13 we see that non-verbal constructions are much more complex than these examples would indicate, and in many cases there are no parallel verbal constructions. However, the above examples do show the need to take non-verbal constructions seriously in any description of Tawala clauses.

In many cases non-verbal constructions involve the same surface string as NPs. For example, a string such as toleha banei-na (feast big-3s) may have two separate analyses[1]. In (4) it is an NP – in this case the object NP.

(4) [Toleha banei-na]^{O} [i-dewa-ya]^{P}.
feast big-3s 3s-make-3s
He made a big feast.

In (5) the same surface string functions as a non-verbal clause in which the noun is the subject and the adjective the predicate.

(5) [Toleha]^{S} [banei-na]^{P}.
feast big-3s
The feast is big.

Given that there are languages with non-verbal clauses, these need to be accounted for in any universal approach to the clause. This chapter presents a theory which unites all Tawala clauses within a single framework by proposing a functional definition of the clause.

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[1] Givón (1984:77) states, "Adjectives may appear in sentences as either *predicates* or as noun *modifiers*".

11.2 A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Theoreticians have given considerable attention to the analysis of the verbal clause, and the descriptivist has a rich variety of concepts and terminology to choose from. The situation is vastly different with non-verbal clauses, which often receive not much more than a passing mention. This theoretical bias is reflected in the grammatical descriptions of the Austronesian languages of Melanesia that sometimes make no mention of non-verbal clauses which are clearly endemic to the area. Presumably many grammars reflect the state of the art rather than adequate descriptions of non-verbal clauses. After all, few grammars claim to be exhaustive, and concentration of effort is inevitably given to areas one feels comfortable with.

One notable exception is Mosel's (1984) *Tolai Syntax and its Historical Development*[2], which presents the most comprehensive analysis of non-verbal constructions to date – it is seminal to my own approach.

11.2.1 DEFINING THE NON-VERBAL CLAUSE

> Clauses are, broadly speaking, predicational strings, although both predicational and strings must be qualified somewhat. Thus many languages contain non-verbal or nominal clauses. Nominal clauses differ in internal relationship from language to language...That clauses tend to be strings is true provided we admit that some nesting - noticeably use of nominalized or relativized clauses as exponents of subject and object - occurs as well.
>
> Longacre (1976:273)

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[2] Mosel (pers. comm.) gained her original insight from the oldest Arabic grammar (c.800 AD). Dixon (1988) also has a useful chapter on 'Clausal NPs'.

Clauses are the building blocks of discourse. In the above quotation Longacre explicitly states that it does not matter whether the building blocks contain a verb or not; they are still to be regarded as predicational strings. This, of course, differs from the traditional approach to grammar, where the verb was seen as the defining characteristic of the clause. Obviously a broad definition of the clause is needed, one that incorporates non-verbal structures.

11.2.2 GRAMMATICAL PREDICATE

For the purposes of clause analysis I adopt the Tagmemic approach of using the term 'predicate' to refer to the grammatical function played by the verb phrase within a clause which distinguishes it from not only the subject NP but also the object NP. Hence a transitive clause consists of:

SUBJECT + OBJECT + PREDICATE[3]

Using the term 'predicate' rather than 'verb' has a number of advantages. In the first place, SOP avoids the confusion implicit in the SOV usage which mixes two levels of analysis – grammatical functions (S and O) with word class (V). As Crystal (1980:280) points out, if 'a Subject may have a noun as its exponent' then the undesirable consequence is that 'a Verb may have a verb as its exponent'.[4] It is clear that a separate term

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[3] Crystal (1980:280) mentions that '**predicator** has also been suggested by some theorists to refer to the verbal element in Subject-Verb-Object constructions, *viz* Subject-Predicator-Object'; cf. Lyons (1977:434) for this same suggestion.

[4] I follow the standard usage in discussing language typology (see 3.1 etc.). Hence I refer to Tawala as an SOV language for typological purposes.

is required if we are to adequately describe grammatical functions at the clause level, and the term 'predicate' has been used in more than one tradition for that very purpose.[5]

More importantly, the use of the term 'predicate' enables us to describe the unity of function that exists between verbal and non-verbal clauses. In example (6) the two bracketed items differ in a number of respects: they belong to different word classes – a verb and a noun; one is prefixed, the other suffixed, by person/number marking[6]; and they are of course different lexical items, though their meanings are basically the same. In spite of these differences the bracketed items clearly have a unity of grammatical function. That unity is captured in the functional label appended to the bracket.

(6) Beda [a-luhogale-ya]^{P}.
betel 1s-desire-3s
I desire betel nut.

Beda [nugonugo-u]^{P}.
betel mind/need-1s
Betel is my need.
(= I want betel nut.)

Finally, the use of the neutral term 'predicate' rather than the highly inappropriate term 'verb' is crucial to finding an adequate definition of the clause if we are to find any unity between verbal and non-verbal structures. While recognising that verbs are central to the proto-typical clause, the occurrence of clauses without verbs demands that a term be found to

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[5] I am aware that 'predicate' is used by linguists in referring to the semantic structure of propositions or predications as consisting of a predicate and its arguments; I endeavour to make the context clarify whether I am talking of a semantic predication with its accompanying arguments, or a grammatical predicate with its grammatical relations.

[6] Although the pronominal affixes are not part of the predication, I include them within the term 'predicate', for the purposes of a unified model of verbal and non-verbal clauses.

cover both situations. 'Predicate' is adopted in this thesis as the term best suited to cover the Tawala data. In verbal clauses the exponent of the predicate is a verb. In non-verbal clauses the exponent of the predicate (in square brackets) can be an adjective (7), an NP (8), a possessed noun (9) etc. (the options are outlined in chapter 13).

(7) Dedede [tahatahaya-na].
story first-3s
(This) story is first.

(8) Tauna [Limi natu-na].
he L. son-3s
He is Limi's son.

(9) Limi [natu-na].
L. son-3s
Limi has a son.

Any adequate definition of a clause will need to place the concept of predicate in central prominence. Elson and Pickett (1964) define the clause as a construction which contains a 'predicate or a predicate-like' item. In setting out the parameters of the 'predicate-like' item they write:

> we include forms from other languages which may not seem like predicates to the speaker of English. In many languages the combination of words translated by *good he* (or *he good*) is functionally equivalent to English clauses which include the verb *to be*, such as *he is good.*
>
> Elson and Pickett (1964:64f.)

Elson and Pickett consider the item *good* to be a predicate, and hence the utterance would be a clause by definition. This has traditionally been referred to as the predicative or 'verbal' use of the adjective, and has accordingly found its way into some modern grammars (e.g. Lichtenberk 1983:328). But it is not only adjectives that function as predicates; nouns and other

non-verbal items also do so. Thus Givón (1984:91) summarises what he calls copular sentences in which "the predicate may be either a noun (nominal predicate) or adjective (adjectival predicate)". Some languages require a copular verb *be* "as the surface/syntactic main verb of the construction". Givón considers the function of this "semantically-empty copula" to be "primarily a tense-aspect carrier". Hence the predicate is a grammatical function corresponding to the semantic predicate. "Verbs...are most commonly the *predicate* of a sentence" (p.73), but a non-verbal item (with an optional surface copula) can also be the grammatical predicate: an "adjectival predicate" or a "nominal predicate" (p.190).

11.2.3 SUBJECTLESS CLAUSES

Any adequate definition of the clause must take into account its fundamental role as the basic unit of communication.
It is important to keep this factor in mind as we approach non-verbal clauses, which clearly have a major communicative role in Tawala. It is not adequate to see these structures as 'incomplete sentences' or to develop models involving underlying verbal structure. Under the definition proposed in this chapter, even minimal non-verbal constructions such as existential clauses (10) are complete clauses as they stand.

(10) **Gadiwewe.**
rain
There is rain. (= It is raining.)

One major piece of evidence witnessing to the clausal nature of non-verbal constructions such as (10) is their isolability (11.4).

The minimal unit functioning as a clause, in Tawala, is the predicate (10). In this, Tawala offers counter-evidence to theories which claim that a clause must always contain a subject and a predicate. As Lyons (1968:334) notes:

> It is a fundamental principle of traditional grammar, and also of much modern syntactic theory, that every simple, declarative sentence consists of two obligatory constituents, a *subject* and a *predicate.*

In that Tawala existential clauses have no subject, the conclusion seems inescapable that subject NPs are not obligatory items of all clauses.

11.2.4 SUBJECT AND OBJECT

> ...the properties of core NPs suggest that they should be viewed as bearing 'abstract grammatical relations': structural relationships which are not necessarily directly reflected by coding features, and do not necessarily correlate precisely with semantic roles, pragmatic functions, or other aspects of meaning.
>
> Andrews (1985:82)

I claim in the previous section that not all Tawala clauses have a subject constituent. Two further issues are at stake in this section. Firstly, some non-verbal clauses are described as having subjects. Secondly, subject and object are seen as grammatical functions of equal status. The evidence and discussion of these three issues are somewhat intertwined.

Tawala existential clauses (13.3) consist of a predicate and no subject, neither implied nor 'dummy'. In this, Tawala data are at variance with received traditions, as we noted above (11.2.3). The Lyons quote at the end of last section points to a second difference between the approach adopted in this thesis and the traditional approach. It turns out that the 'fundamental principle' involves a category mistake and was really an

insight into pragmatics which is better expressed not as subject and predicate but as topic and comment; that is, a declarative sentence consists of a topic and a comment. The problem arose because the 'subject' coincided with a grammatical function and it was assumed that the other immediate constituent of the clause must also be a structural element of the clause. As Hockett (1958:201) puts it, "topics are usually subjects and comments are predicates". The confusion was perpetuated and given universal status in the formula:

S —> NP VP

Lichtenberk (1983:89-92) advances solid arguments against the traditional distinction, because "it is necessary to separate the notion of the information expressed in a sentence from the sentence elements that encode that information" (p.89). He replaces the traditional bipartite analysis with a similar scheme to that proposed in this thesis. In his scheme subject and object are equal 'peripheral' arguments along with 'circumstantials', with a 'predicator' as the central nuclear element of the sentence.

In this thesis subject and object are regarded as grammatical functions of the person and number indexing on the verb. NPs have primarily a pragmatic function - topic and focus - but can still be recognised as subject and object NPs because of co-reference with the verbal marking. The labelling of an NP as subject or object indicates the grammatical relationship between that NP and the predicate even though the primary indexing of the grammatical relation itself is on the verb (and some non-verbal predicates as well). With monovalent

predicates, 'subject' is the referent about which the predication is made.

All this has been stated in terms of a verbal predicate, but there appears to be no reason to regard the subject of a non-verbal clause as significantly different from the prototypical subject of the verbal clause. Hence in addition to a predicate I find a subject in most Tawala non-verbal clauses, in line with Givón (1984:91), who defines copular sentences as those "with a subject and predicate"[7].

In addition to a subject NP I have found it necessary to introduce a complement NP (underlined in (11)) for some non-verbal predicates, corresponding to the object NP of a verbal predicate. In other words some nominal predicates are two-place predications.

(11) Tau u luhogala beda.
I my desire betel
I want betel nut.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that there is a predicate in every clause – whether that predicate be a verbal, adverbial, adjectival or nominal element – and that this predicate must be clearly distinguished from the subject NP and any other NPs which the clause may contain. I am thus proposing a structural unity for all Tawala clauses, whether verbal or non-verbal: (subject) + predicate. In order to avoid circular reasoning, however, it now becomes vital to isolate non-verbal clauses by some independent means – that is, not by the presence of an

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[7] Mosel (1984:16) similarly finds both a 'subject and predicate in nominal clauses' in her *Syntax*. Lyons (1977:470) also uses the term subject for his analysis of non-verbal constructions in English.

item regarded as a predicate – and it is to this problem we now turn.

11.3 ISOLATING NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Just as narrative discourse is the domain of the verbal clause so, in Tawala, descriptive discourse is the domain of the non-verbal clause and the main source of data. Everyday conversation is also a fruitful source of data. This section explores how these non-verbal clauses are to be distinguished from identical strings used as NPs. The presence of single-word existential clauses (13.3) presents an even greater problem. For example, how do we distinguish a demonstrative functioning as the predicate of a clause from a demonstrative functioning as a locative pronoun? In (12), is the demonstrative functioning as the sole member of a separate clause or is it a constituent of the verbal clause?

(12) **Geka ma polo a-matute-ya.**
this and pig 1s-frighten-3s

Which of the following translations is correct?

i) Here I frightened the pig. OR

ii) It was here that I frightened the pig.

The principles enunciated below enable us to settle this question. We find that coordinating conjunctions (5.6.9), particulary **ma**, are used to combine constructions of equal status. Section 13.6 provides further evidence: demonstratives frequently occur in isolation as non-verbal predicates and sole members of clauses, and so their clausal status is independently

established. It thus becomes clear that in (12), ii) is correct and not i).

A number of features – intonation, parenthesis, coordination and isolation – combine to give a clear picture of the borders of non-verbal clauses within descriptive discourse. Non-verbal clauses in constant use as isolated utterances are also to be accepted as regular clauses rather than incomplete sentences. In addition, the internal composition of many non-verbal constructions is quite distinct, clearly consisting of more than a single clause. We now examine each of these features in turn.

11.3.1 INTONATION

Intonation contours help in the recognition of the borders of a clause. Thus, given a spoken text, sentences can often be identified by intonation. Some of these sentences are verbless, but nevertheless are identified as sentences by intonation.

11.3.2 CLAUSE OPERATORS

We see below (11.5) that many non-verbal items operate with tense and negative adverbs, thus giving the item clausal status.

(13)	Ega hina-na.	Apo gadiwewe.
	NEG mother-3s	FUT rain
	He had no mother.	*It will rain.*

11.3.3 PARENTHESIS

Often within a text a sentence will be isolated by pauses and clausal intonation; semantically, the text is not dependent on the parenthetical sentence. Such a sentence is analysed as a separate predication even though it has no verb contained in it. Example (14) is found between sentences with totally differ-

ent, though not unrelated, topics. It gives cultural background to me, an outsider, as to why vegetables and meat are being focused on in the text.

(14) [I ani-wimeiha naka aniani ma muhala].
ourE thing-payment that vegetables and game
Our currency is vegetables and meat.

11.3.4 COORDINATION

On many occasions we find a string of clauses which are clearly parallel in function and even somewhat in syntax, some of which are verbal and some non-verbal – and yet all are clearly coordinated clauses. Example (15) contains two non-verbal clauses between two verbal clauses.

(15) Apo lawa ega i-na-wobagibagi, [ega a tano],
FUT person NEG 3s-POT-work NEG his garden

[ega a numa], ega polo i-na-i-am...
NEG his house NEG pig 3s-POT-DP-eat
If a man won't work, and has no garden and no house and doesn't feed the pigs...

The above sentence shows that non-verbal clauses are not marked for mood, a point we return to later (11.5.2).

Often an isolated non-verbal utterance has clear internal structure of a parallel nature, either with or without a conjunction. Such constructions are interpreted as two further non-verbal examples of coordinated clauses.

(16) [Ega beda uyahi-u], ma [gaga ega uyahi-u].
NEG betel AT-1s and pepper NEG AT-1s
I have no betel nut and I have no 'pepper'.

[Tau bani-u], [tam u tewela].
I big-1s youSG my younger.sibling
I am older, so you are my younger brother.

The parallel structure may include one verbal clause.

(17) [Amaka tauhi tani-taniwaga yawa] amaka
already they PL-ruler only already

hi-kawamoin-e-ya.
3p-confirm-TR-3s
They were already rulers, they had already confirmed it.

11.3.5 CONJUNCTIONS

The two coordinating conjunctions combine items of equal rank, whether word, phrase, clause or sentence (9.12.2). There are no clear exceptions to this rule. In (18) there are two conjunctions (underlined). The question is whether the item in square brackets is to be considered a temporal NP or a non-verbal clause embedded in the adverbial time slot. The rule being proposed in this section settles the point; the conjunction **ma** is not joining phrases, for the following element is a clause. The bracketed string must also be a clause – a non-verbal descriptive clause (13.4.1).

(18) ...i-ma-mae ma [hauga gehou-na] ma tu-wisili
3s-DUR-stay and time other-3s and PERS-fishing

hi-ne...
3p-come
...he was there and it was another time and fishermen came...

A similar line of reasoning applies to the following examples, which demonstrate a variety of non-verbal clause types and a number of different conjunctions. Note that in (19) **winugototogo** is a stative verb not a non-verbal clause.

(19) Pona-m i-winugototogo ma [om yatu dagugu-hi] ma
voice-2s 3s-melancholic and yourSG adze sound-3p and

e-lai-didiga...
3sPRS-DUR-beautiful
Your voice is melancholic and your adze has sounds and it is beautiful..

(20) Hi-mamae ma [magou-hi 150 Olokaiwa], ma hi-nei...
3p-stay and number-3p 150 Orokaiva and 3p-came
They were there and the number of Orokaivans was 150 and they came...

(21) [U houga tahatahya-na] apoma plane a-gelu-ya.
my time first-3s then p. 1s-embark-3s
It was my first time and then I embarked the plane.

(22) [Naka noka pite] ee i-na-po...
that there like and so 3s-go-and
It was like that and so he went and...

The following examples involve conjoined existential (13.3) or equative clauses (13.1). The only clue to the clausal status of the non-verbal construction is the presence of the conjunction. If the conjunction is not marking clause juncture in these sentences, it is not clear what function if any the conjunction has. In each case the non-verbal clause can be used in isolation, so there is no question as to its potential status as a clause.

(23) Hi-nae po [noka hota] ma apoma gawiya i-nei.
3s-go and there only and then war 3s-come
They went and were there and then the war came.

(24) [Geka] ma polo a-matut-e-ya.
this and pig 1s-frighten-TR-3s
It was here that I frightened the pig.

(25) [Iyowaka][8] po i-peu?
how and 3s-fall
How is it (= what happened) and he fell?

The situation is transparent in (26). Conjunctions often separate sentences; certainly the clauses are distinct.

(26) Amaka ma ega yaka logaloga-hi hi-paliwele-ya...
already and so..... children-DEF 3p-tell-3s
It was enough and so the children told her...

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[8] Iyowaka/Iyowai can occur by itself meaning *how's things?*.

11.3.6 ISOLATION

Hundreds of isolated sayings are in daily use as predications, particulary in question and answer dialogue. Constant formalised usage distinguishes these from elliptical constructions. Many such examples are given in chapter 13 in the various sections illustrating the non-verbal clause types, so just a few examples are given here.

(27) [Om luhogala awai?] [Tau gee.]
yourSG desire what I here
What do you want? *I am here.*

(28) [Ega beda uyahi-u.] [Ega nugonugo-u]
NEG betel AT-1s NEG mind-1s
I have no betelnut. *I don't want (it).*

11.4 UNITING VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Lyons (1977:469) lists the following clause types as identifiable "in very many unrelated languages".

a. NP +V	intransitive
b. NP +V +NP	transitive
c. NP (+Cop) +NP	equative
d. NP (+Cop) +N/A	ascriptive
e. NP (+Cop) +Loc	locative
f. NP (+Cop) +Poss	possessive

Table 1: Clause types according to Lyons

This classification proved useful to my understanding of the nature of Tawala clauses, though a number of alterations needed to be made to Lyons' classification in order to account for the Tawala data.

Firstly, in Lyons' scheme the copular symbol is enclosed in parenthesis to indicate not only that there are languages which do not have a copula, but that it is "a meaningless lexeme

whose syntactic function it is to convert whatever it combines with into a verbal [i.e. predicative] expression" (Lyons 1977:471, cf. 1968:338). Tawala has no copula whatever; instead we find a wide selection of non-verbal clauses. It is the absence of any item functioning as a verb which marks the fundamental distinction between verbal and non-verbal clauses. (Recall that verbal clauses are distinguished by the presence of person and number indexing of the subject prefixed to the verb.) Provisionally, the Tawala analysis now looks like the following scheme.

a. NP + V (intransitive)
b. NP + NP + V (transitive)
c. NP + NP (equative)

Even when a language does have a copula, we have seen that Lyons (1977:471) does not consider it to be the predicate of the clause.

Secondly, we note (11.1-11.3) how an item such as an NP functions as the predicate of a non-verbal clause just as a verb functions as the predicate of a verbal clause. Lyons does not display the grammatical functions of his clause-level items but instead depends on word order to convey these grammatical relations, which, of course, means that his scheme is applicable only to English and other strictly SVO languages. To avoid confusion it is essential to indicate which item in a particular clause type is the predicate and correspondingly which is the subject etc., irrespective of whether the grammatical roles are marked by word order or morphology. Thus the equative clause will now include the function of each NP or item.

c. NP^{S} + NP^{P} (equative)

Thirdly, because of a mismatch between the grammatical relations marked on the verb and the potential NPs within the clause it is necessary to indicate both.

It remains only to adapt Lyons formulae to account for the Tawala system. Table 2 is a summary of the clauses which are to be outlined in the next two chapters. The items have been placed in tabular form to show the close grammatical functions which exist between quite disparate structures.

i)	(NP^S)	+ VP^P [S]	intransitive
ii)	(NP^S + NP^O)	+ VP^P [S + O]	transitive
iii)	(NP^S + NP^O + NP^{O2})	+ VP^P [S + O]	ditransitive
iv)	(NP^S)	+ VP^P [S + O]	condition
v)	NP^S	+ NP^P	equative
vi)	NP^S + NP^C	+ NP^P	complement
vii)	NP^S	+ [N<-na>]^P	possessive
viii)	NP^S	+ [ADJ<-na>]^P	descriptive
ix)	NP^S	+ PP^P	adpositional
x)		+ NP^P	existential

Table 2: Tawala clause types

For non-verbal clauses the main distinguishing feature is the predicate; the first three formulae are verbal clauses which are outlined in detail in chapter 8. The remaining four types are non-verbal clauses which are outlined in detail in chapter 9. At this point a single example of each type is given.

i) INTRANSITIVE (12.3)
(29) **[Gadiwewe ma gahu]^S [i-lata duma]^P.**
rain and mist 3s-big very
There was impenetrable rain and mist.

ii) TRANSITIVE (12.4)
(30) **Apo [lawa]^S [i bagibagi]^O [hi-na-dewa-dewa-ya]^P...**
FUT person ourE work 3p-POT-DUR-do-3s
If people do our work...

iii) DITRANSITIVE (12.6)
(31) Ega [aniani po muhala]^{O2} [lawa]^{O} [ta-wele-hi]^{P}.
NEG food and meat person 1pl-give-3p
We do not give those people staples and meat.

iv) CONDITION (12.5)
(32) [Koiba-u]$^{S=O}$ [i-hogo-ya]^{P}.
stomach-1s 3s-full-3sRFX
My stomach is full.

v) EQUATIVE *D* MINIMAL (13.1)
(33) [Naka]^{S} [amaka]^{P}.
that enough
That is enough.

EQUATIVE *D* NOMINALISED NP (13.1.3)
(34) [Tauna]^{S} [aniani tu-mpahi-na]^{P}.
he food PERS-finisher-3s
He is the one who finishes the leftover food.

vi) COMPLEMENT (13.5)
(35) [Tau]^{S} [u luhogala]^{P} [beda]^{C}.
I 1s desire betel
I want betel nut.

vii) POSSESSIVE (13.4.2)
(36) [Limi]^{S} [natu-na]^{P}.
L. son-3s
Limi has a son.

viii) DESCRIPTIVE (13.4.1)
(37) [Dedede]^{S} [tahatahaya-na]^{P}.
story first-3s
The story is first. (= This is the first story.)

ix) ADPOSITIONAL (13.2)
(38) [Tauhi]^{S} [mei tauta]^{P}
they like us!
They are like us.

x) EXISTENTIAL (13.3)
(39) [Gadiwewe]^{P}.
rain
(There is) rain. (= It is raining.)

A casual browse through chapters 12 and 13 reveals that the above scheme of clauses is only an outline. Many sub-types are presented there.

11.4.1 FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLAUSE TYPES

The verbal clause is the prototypical clause of narrative discourse and the non-verbal clause is the prototypical clause of descriptive discourse. Of course, both clause types are found interacting with each other at many points in the language. While verbal clauses function in most situations, several functions of non-verbal clauses have been isolated: introductory remarks, background, parenthesis and concluding comments; sentence complements; lists; indirect quotes and others.

11.4.2 LAYERED STRUCTURE OF THE VERBAL CLAUSE

> Universally, it is appropriate to propose a tripartite division of clausal units. These units are the nucleus, the core and the periphery.
>
> Foley and Van Valin (1984:187)

Considerable insight is gained by viewing the verbal clause as a layered structure (figure 1), a model I have freely adapted from Foley and Van Valin (1984:77-80). The three levels of nucleus, core and periphery are clearly distinguished in Tawala. The nucleus is the innermost layer, surrounded by the core and then the periphery which forms the outer layer. Figure 1 represents an idealised view of the layered structure of the Tawala verbal clause, showing the unmarked order of constituents.

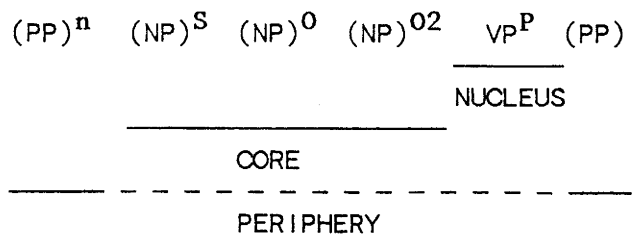

Figure 1: The layered structure of the Tawala verbal clause

The innermost layer is the NUCLEUS, consisting of the predicate[9], which in verbal clauses is a VP.

The diagnostic feature of the Tawala verb phrase is the presence of a prefixed subject agreement marker on the verb. The primary evidence for the nucleus as a distinct level is the fact that the nucleus can, and often does, stand as a clause in miniature. The grammatical relations of subject and object operate independently of the core NPs. The two sentences in (40) have identical referents and are substitutable for each other; discourse pragmatics determine which sentence is used.

(40) Amalai [kiu]^{S} [hai pona]^{O} i-hanapug-e-ya.
today bird their language S/3s-know-TR-O/3s
The bird now knew their language.

I-hanapug-e-ya.
S/3s-know-TR-O/3s
He knew it.

Central to an understanding of verbal clauses is the concept of verbal valence, which determines the number of actants a peredicate is constructed with.

The next layer of the clause is the CORE, which contains the NPs directly involved with the predicate (12.2). In Tawala,

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[9] I use the term 'predicate' as defined in 11.2.2. In Foley and Van Valin (1984:27) it is used to refer to the underlying logical structure, "predications consisting of a predicate and its argument(s)". However, in their figure (p.78) 'predicate' is placed on the same level as NPs.

one to three NPs can occur in the core, depending on the valence of the verb. Being optional, these NPs have a pragmatic function but can be identified as subject NP, object NP and secondary object NP. The order of constituent NPs is also a matter of discourse pragmatics. Thus discourse pragmatics are determined by i) the presence or absence of NPs, and ii) the order of these NPs (see 12.2 for details).

The main coding feature distinguishing core from peripheral constituents is that while core constituents are not morphologically marked for any syntactic role, peripheral constituents usually are - mainly with adpositions (ch.10). In addition, though most core constituents are indexed by person and number marking on the verb, peripheral constituents never are.

The need for three NPs, rather than two as proposed by Foley and Van Valin, is explained in section 12.6.

The outermost layer of the clause is the PERIPHERY, which contains peripheral constituents expressing the spatio-temporal setting of the event as well as secondary participants such as accompaniment, instrument and beneficiary. Non-spatio-temporal peripheral constituents are normally marked for their syntactic role by adpositions.

11.4.3 LAYERED STRUCTURE OF NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

A layered structure similar to that found in the verbal clauses is discernable in non-verbal clauses, but inevitably there are qualifications. While these qualifications are often of a trivial nature, there are also significant differences.

Nevertheless, it is insightful to view the non-verbal clauses from the perspective of a layered structure.

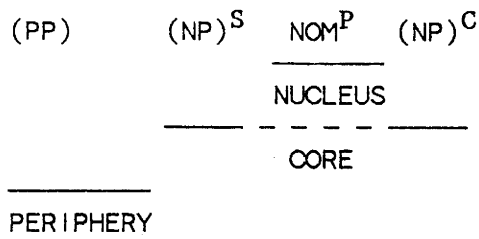

Figure 2: The layered structure of non-verbal clauses

We can readily identify a NUCLEUS which we again call the predicate (see 11.2.2). The non-verbal predicate is often an NP but it can be a noun, adjective, adverb or adpositional phrase. The diagnostic feature of verbal clauses is the person/number indexing of the subject as a verbal prefix. Many non-verbal clauses are also head-marked; there is person/number indexing of subject but in this case it is normally a pronominal enclitic placed on the predicate.

(42) [Wam]^{S} [sagesagena-na]^{P}.
boat fast-3s
The boat is fast.

Non-verbal clauses have a recognisable CORE item - the SUBJECT of the clause. These core items do not possess the same degree of optionality found in the verbal core; with the non-verbal clause they are often obligatory. Not only are the items obligatory but they are also often restricted - a demonstrative or a simple noun, in contradistinction to an NP. The structure of core items differs according to clause type (detailed treatment is handled under the respective clause types in ch.13). In addition to a subject, some non-verbal clauses have an additional core item - a COMPLEMENT - as a core item.

The complement corresponds to the object of the verbal clause. It is used with two-place non-verbal predicates.

Many of the prepositional phrases associated with the PERIPHERY of verbal clauses do not occur with non-verbal clauses; these items are diagnostic of the nucleus of adpositional clauses (13.2). However, adverbs (5.6.5) function as clause operators with both verbal and non-verbal clauses.

11.5 CLAUSE OPERATORS WITH NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Tense, aspect and mood of verbal clauses are described in 8.5–8.8. None of the prefixes found with the verb operate with non-verbal clauses. On the other hand 'adverbs' (5.6.5) function as clause operators with both verbal and non-verbal clauses. Two of these operators are very common with non-verbal clauses: tense and negation. A distinction is evident between those clauses which are intrinsically negative non-verbal clauses and those which are intrinsically positive non-verbal clauses that can be negated (11.8.3).

11.5.1 TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

Non-verbal clauses occur with all three tenses (8.5.2).

(43) Apo gadiwewe?
FUT rain
Will it rain?

(44) Amaka gadiwewe.
already rain
It has already rained.

(45) Naka tewela-na amalai keyalu u moya-na.
that child-DEF today casuarina LOC top-3s
That child is now in the top of the casuarina.

The future tense particle **apo** is often used with a conditional sense (16.6).

(46) Apo lawa Kehelala-gei ma i-nae...
FUT person Kehelala-ABL and 3s-go
Suppose there is a person from East Cape and he goes...

It can also apply to a whole sentence, not just the immediate clause.

(47) Apo gowa-u-gei ma am po ani eno dewadewa-hi
FUT name-1s-ABL and food and place sleep good-3p

i-na-tuhaga-hi.
3s-POT-find-3p
It will be because of my name (= because they know me) that he (my son) will be given good food and a place to sleep.

11.5.2 ASPECT AND MOOD

Aspect and mood are marked as prefixes on verbs (8.6–8.7). They never occur with non-verbal clauses. Example (48) is illuminating in that two non-verbal clauses are sandwiched between verbal clauses. Both verbal clauses are marked for irrealis but not the non-verbal clauses, even though semantically they are indeed irrealis (non-verbal predicates are in square brackets.)

(48) Apo lawa ega i-na-wobagibagi, ega [a tano],
FUT person NEG 3s-POT-work NEG his garden

ega [a numa], ega polo i-na-i-am...
NEG his house NEG pig 3s-POT-DP-eat
If a man won't work, and has no garden and no house and doesn't feed the pigs...

The negative adverb is not placed within the predicate bracket, because with verbal clauses it is a clause operator, operating in any position prior to the verbal phrase. It thus seems

reasonable to treat the non-verbal negator also as a clausal rather than a phrasal item.

11.5.3 NEGATING NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Many non-verbal clauses can be negated, but there is clear asymmetry in the polarity of non-verbal clauses. Not all non-verbal clauses can be negated and not all negative non-verbal clauses can have the negative particle removed. Often there is a structural difference between negative and positive clauses. This factor surfaces at a number of points throughout chapter 13.

Three important rules apply to the negative particle. These rules play an important role in distinguishing ascriptive non-verbal clauses from equative clauses.

i) The negative particle comes before the predicate. This observation is true for all clauses whether verbal or non-verbal.

(49) A dewa ega [dewadewa-na].
his custom NEG good-3s
His custom/habit is not good.

However, it does not necessarily come immediately before the predicate.

(50) Ega beda [uyahi-u].
NEG betel AT-1s
I have no betel nut. (lit. *No betel nut is to me.*)

ii) The unmarked position for the negative particle is immediately before the predicate. With non-verbal constructions this is usually the only option.

(51) Ega [awai gehou-na].
NEG what other-3s
There is nothing.

Ega [a tano po puwaka].
NEG his garden and pig
He has no garden or pigs.

(52) Tau ega [u dewadewa awai].
I NEG my good what
I have nothing good about me.

(53) Ma i mae ega [mei lolowa].
But ourE stay NEG like before
But our life is not like it was before.

iii) The negative can never occur within a clause level NP. If a negative comes between a noun and an adjective, for instance, then noun and adjective are considered to be separate clause level constituents, with the adjective in its predicative function.

(54) Naka ega [gadiwewe].
that NEG rain
That is not rain.

Tauta ega [ita ani-goda].
1pl NEG ourI thing-stir
We have nothing to stir with.

(55) Limi ega [natu-na].
L. NEG child-3s
Limi has no child.

Bada ega [dewadewa-na].
man NEG good-3s
The man is not good.

In (56) the negative particle follows an expanded subject.

(56) Naka bada-na ega [emoemota-na].
that man-DEF NEG ability-3s
That man is not able to do it.

Negative existential clauses are intrinsically negative; they have no non-negative counterparts, they must thus be regarded as independent clauses in their own right. The negative particle is sometimes followed by a nominalised form with a resultant negative existential meaning.

(57) Ega [genouna].
NEG worry
There is nothing to worry about.

(58) Ega [kikina matouta] po ega [kikina widagudagu],
NEG little fear and NEG little struggle

ega [lowo] ma e-tugu-tugula.
NEG run but 3sPRS-DUR-sit
He has no fear and does not struggle, he does not run (away) but is just sitting (there).

12 VERBAL CLAUSES

> Universally, it is appropriate to propose a tripartite division of clausal units. These units are the nucleus, the core, and the periphery. The innermost layer of the clause is the nucleus. It corresponds to the predicate, generally a verb. The next layer is the core. It consists of the core arguments of the verb, normally the pivot plus additional arguments, depending on the valence of the verb. The outermost layer is the periphery. The peripheral layer consists of all other constituents of the clause, typically setting NPs and secondary participants...
>
> Foley and Van Valin (1984:187)

There are two fundamental clause types in Tawala: the verbal and the non-verbal. Although these clause types differ radically in their morphology and syntax, they possess a degree of functional unity in terms of constituent structure, as we have seen (ch.11). This present chapter and the next sketch the broad details of clause syntax. The verbal clause as a layered structure (11.7) is the topic of this chapter, and the contrasting structures of non-verbal clauses are outlined in the next.

12.1 CLAUSE NUCLEUS

> In some fundamental way, *every* lexical verb is potentially in a class of its own, and could presumably display unique syntactic properties.
>
> Givón (1984:86)

At the heart of the verbal clause is the nucleus – the predicate filled by a verb. The nature of each clause is determined by the valence of the particular verb involved. While it is true, as Givón suggests in the above quote, that every verb is ultimately in a class of its own (cf. Gross 1979), verbs may

be grouped according to their valence – the number and type of arguments associated with the verb. stative, active, condition, influence, variable focus and object focus. These classes (as presented in ch.5) are underived lexical items. Chapter 7 (table 2) demonstrates that the four transitive classes are also at the heart of the valence-changing derivational processes.

The intrinsic valence of each verb, whether derived or underived, determines the number of actants indexed on the verb and the number of core NPs.

Thus verbal valence determines whether a clause can have an object or not – whether it is transitive or intransitive. It also determines whether the object enclitic is optional or obligatory – whether the verb is variable focus or not.

Verbal valence also determines whether the arguments marked on the verb phrase (subject prefix and object enclitic) are the same as the potential NPs in the core – as with intransitive and transitive verbs generally – or if there is a mismatch between the nucleus and the core items – as with ditransitive and condition verbs. Because there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the nuclear and core arguments they are discussed together next under the aegis of the clause core.

In addition the macrorole (3.12) of the subject is encoded by the verbal prefix, whether it is an actor (1) or an undergoer (2).

(1) **Niha-gei to-bulili.**
salt-ABL 1pl-run
We ran via the beach.

(2) Koiba-na e-hogo-ya.
stomach-3s 3sPRS-full-3sRFX
Her stomach is full.[1]

12.2 CLAUSE CORE

There are two major reasons for positing two separate levels within the clause (the nucleus and the core). Firstly, the core items are all optional; the nucleus readily stands as a clause by itself. Secondly, there is a degree of mismatch between the arguments marked on the verb and the arguments which can occur as NPs.

These options result in four fundamental clause types.

i) Intransitive clauses have a univalent nucleus with a single NP in the core.

ii) Transitive clauses have a bivalent nucleus with two NPs in the core.

iii) Ditransitive clauses have a trivalent nucleus with three NPs in the core.

iv) Condition clauses have a univalent nucleus with a single NP in the core.

However, verbal valence does not correlate entirely with the morphological marking on the verb and the number of core arguments. The options for each class are set out in table 1.

---

[1] This can mean *she is pregnant.*

	CORE			NUCLEUS	
	S-NP	O-NP	O_2	S	O
Intransitive	+	-	-	+	-
Transitive	+	+	-	+	+
Ditransitive	+	+	+	+	+
Condition	+	-	-	+	+

Table 1: Basic types of verbal clauses

Intransitive clauses include stative and active clause types with a number of variations between these poles. Transitive clauses include some influence verbs and all object focus and variable focus verbs. The remaining influence verbs form the nucleus of ditransitive clauses.

Every verb in the lexicon has an intrinsic valence, indicating the nature of the clause nucleus and the number of potential NPs in the core. Thus verbal valence determines the type and number of bonds which are inherent in the clause. In Tawala all core bonds can be broken; in other words the NPs are optional. Some nuclear bonds cannot be broken: subject indexing is obligatory with all verbs; object indexing is obligatory with effective and object-focus verbs. However, with variable-focus verbs the nuclear bond can be broken; the object need not be indexed with these verbs.

12.2.1 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

In Tawala all NPs are optional items of the verbal clause. The traditional approach has been to regard the NP as present in the underlying structure with the verbal clitic marked for 'agreement' with the NP. Thus it has been usual to speak of verbal clitics 'cross-referencing' subject and object NPs, even

when these are not present in the clause. In contrast, I regard the arguments of a proposition as primarily indexed by the verbal pronominal prefix and enclitic.

The definition of subject has been a thorny issue in recent years, as linguists have struggled to separate the semantic role and grammatical properties of rival NPs. One assumption that has generally not been questioned (to my knowledge) is that whatever the definition of subject may be, an NP will be central to that definition, a natural assumption for dependence-marked systems. In a dependence-marking system, it is the dependents or core NPs themselves which are marked for grammatical relations – whether by order, case marking or adpositions.

In approaching head-marking situations we face a different type of coding system. In Tawala, for example, where subject is obligatorily indexed by a prefix on the verb, and the subject NP is optional, there is surely no a priori reason why the subject prefix itself cannot mark clausal grammatical relations. This then is the claim proposed for Tawala: that grammatical relations are primarily marked on the head of the clause – the verb – and not on the dependent NPs. The optional NP can be identified as the subject NP because it is co-referential with the subject prefix.

(3) (Naka bada-na) i-woe-woe.
that man-DEF 3s-DUR-paddle
SUBJECT NP S-PREDICATE
That man was paddling away.

In (3), subject (S) is marked primarily on the predicate, the subject NP is optional, and its presence or absence is determined by discourse pragmatics – topic and focus. Thus it is

still possible to identify an NP as the subject (or object) argument, but not to define subject (and object) in terms of the NP. The grammatical relations – subject and object – are marked on the verb itself, within the clause nucleus.

Most linguists seem to have been loath to take this step. Thus Lichtenberk claims (1983:110f.) that verbal prefixes "index the person and number of the subject, present or ellipted". For Lichtenberk person and number are indexed, but subject is not because the subject is an NP ("present or ellipted").

We need to note that the Tawala pronominal prefix is not to be equated with a pronoun which in a language such as English must replace the nominal subject if that is omitted. In Tawala an emphatic pronoun (9.2.2) is a further pragmatic option of the clause core.

(4) (Taumi) o-boli me-ya.
youPL 2p-cut again-3s
SUBJECT S-PREDICATE
You (people), you've cut it again.

Unlike many definitions, that of Givón (1984:138) seems to open the door to non-NP candidates for subject:

> ...there is no human language that does not use syntactic coding-devices, be these morphology, word-order or intonation, to code primary clausal topic. In this sense, then, all languages have the pragmatic case-role of "subject", though they may vary in the exact type of device – or combination of devices – for coding the subject/topic.

Of course, Givón may only be talking about the "coding-devices" marking NPs. If, however, it is recognised that in a head-marking grammar the "coding-device" is on the verb, then it seems logical to conclude that the associated NP is not crucial to defining subject.

In her description of Warlpiri and Spanish, Jelinek (1984:49) comes to a conclusion similar to that which I reached independently for Tawala: "There is no reason to assume that these languages should match English in requiring an independent lexical subject, which is then dropped, in the *unmarked* construction; grammatical relations may be marked in the morphology as well as in the syntax".

12.2.2 SUBJECT MARKING

> ...many facets of subjecthood can be understood by regarding the prototype of subject as the intersection of agent and topic.
>
> Comrie (1981:60)

It was noted above that the subject of the Tawala verbal clause is indexed on the verb, leaving the optional subject NP to signal pragmatic roles of topic and focus; the form of the NP signals other pragmatic functions such as generic/specific and given/new. In terms of Comrie's "intersection", Tawala has divided the question, so to speak, with "agent" marked on the verb and "topic" marked by the presence or absence of the NP. While the systems differ radically, the general principle is similar to Philippine languages where "the properties are conveniently sorted out by the grammatical systems themselves" (Schachter 1976:514).

Example (5), a text portion, illustrates the situation nicely. There are three participants: the war leader, his followers and their captive. In this section of text the last mentioned is never introduced with an NP – the referent is given throughout. The leader and his followers are introduced once

each here (underlined), and thereafter both remain as given; however, the followers are introduced not by a subject NP but by an oblique adpositional phrase (line 4). Other subject NPs (also underlined) occur, but only as background material.

(5) Hai gawiya kapena-na i-baha i-pa, 'O-na-awal-i po
their war captain-3s 3s-speak 3s-say 2p-POT-carry-3s and

o-na-gi-gi-ye-ya ega o-na-ha-hale-ni. Meka toke
2s-POT-DUR-go.up-TR-3s NEG 2s-POT-DUR-throw-3s where like

utaima i-tugu-tugula uyahi-n'-ei apo o-na-wi-tugula me-ya'.
today 3s-DUR-sit AT-3s-ABL FUT 2s-POT-CS-sit again-3s

Naka petena-na a hewa-hewali uyahi-hi i-baha po hi-awal-i
that like-DEF his PL-youth AT-3p 3s-speak and 3p-carry-3s

po hi-geleta po utaima nao-na i-gae u pitepit-ei ma
and 3p-arrive and today face-3s 3s-go.up LOC bush-ABL and

naka toke ma hi-wi-tugul-i. Hi-wi-tugul-i po i-kokoe. Ma
that like and 3p-CS-sit-3s 3p-CS-sit-3s and 3s-finish and

hi-hopu po hi-gelu i-ga-gale-hi. Ma hi-woe po
3p-go.down and 3p-embark 3s-DUR-see-3p and 3p-paddle and

hi-hopu po datu i-teina he-ne hale-ya po hi-nae
3p-go.down and shell.time 3s-pull 3pPRS-go throw-3s and 3p-go

boga didibala-na hi-waya po hi-hopu po hi-nae u boga.
ocean dark-3s 3p-take.it and 3p-go.down and 3p-go LOC ocean

Their war leader spoke saying, 'Carry him (the prisoner) and take him up (onto the land), don't drop him. Just where earlier today he was sitting, so (logical sequence) *you sit him again'. Like that he commanded (to) his followers, and they carried him (the prisoner) and arrived (on shore) and where earlier he had been sitting with his face towards the bush it is like that they sat him. They sat him and it was finished. Then he saw them go down and embark. Then they paddled and went down (towards the deep water) and they were leaving the tidal area that was pulling and went and took (= arrived at) the dark (= deep) water and went down and went to the sea.*

In (5) the subject is indexed in every clause by the pronominal prefix. The optional NPs signal not the grammatical relations of the clause but discourse pragmatics.

12.2.3 VERBAL CLAUSE STRUCTURE

> What Philippine evidence suggests is that there are two basically quite different kinds of syntactic properties that are ordinarily associated with subjects. Since in most languages these two different kind of properties are associated with a single syntactic category, linguists have generally not been led to sort the properties out.
>
> Schachter (1976:513f.)

Even though Tawala clause structure is flat (3.9), with subject and object occurring in either order before the verb, the verbal clause is in fact two-tiered: i) grammatical relations (subject and object) are obligatorily marked by clitics on the verb within the clause nucleus; and ii) pragmatic roles (topic and focus) are marked by the optional NPs within the core.

I tentatively borrow the terms 'primary topic' and 'secondary topic' from Givón (1984:138)[2]: "the subject case tends to code the most important, recurrent, continuous topic...the primary clausal topic. The direct object case codes the topic next in importance, recurrence or continuity...the secondary clausal topic".

The following tree diagram attempts to capture the relationship between grammatical relations and pragmatic functions of a transitive clause in Tawala. In this model of a transitive clause, four levels of analysis are given. Firstly, the grammatical structure is given in terms of the NPs and VP involved. Secondly, the pragmatic functions are listed independently of the items which will fill them. Thirdly, the potential grammatical

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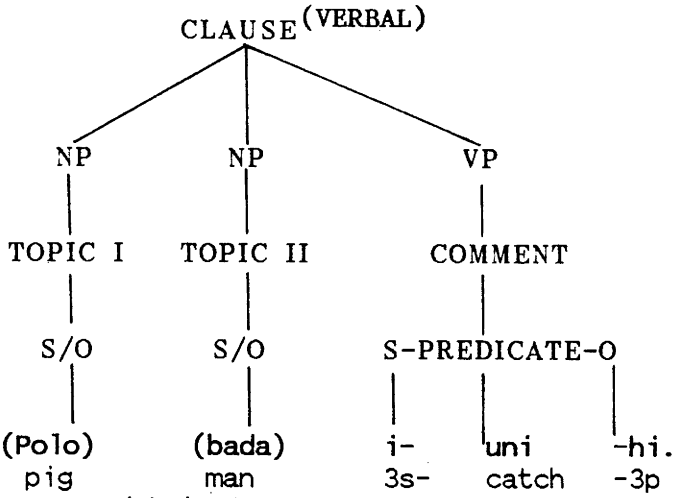
[2] I intuitively feel that the slot immediately prior to the predicate is a position of strong focus in the Tawala clause – it can be filled by an adverb or an NP. I have not determined how focus interacts with secondary topic, which also often comes immediately prior to the predicate.

relations are listed for each slot. Finally, a surface string is given, in this case a clause with marked OSP order.



The surface string could have the NPs reversed without a change of meaning, only a change in emphasis: *The man caught (the) pigs.* Sentences with two NPs are rare in Tawala, and when two are present subject is by far the most common choice for primary clausal topic.

12.2.4 OBJECT MARKING

All three core NPs precede the clause nucleus. The unmarked order of the core constituents is subject followed by either object or secondary object. Many Tawala clauses have no core NP, and of those that do the overwhelming majority occur with only one NP. This is, of course, the only possibility with intransitive clauses, but is also a feature of narrative discourse generally.

We noted in the previous section that when two core NPs are present the unmarked order is for the subject to be in the first position as primary clausal topic (I) with the object

normally following the subject as secondary clausal topic (II) – the unmarked order of core NPs.

(7) I[Wagaloke]^{S} II[ginahi]^{O} i-lunagil-i.
possum sago 3s-break.open-3s
Possum broke into the sago palm.

(8) I[Naka tauhi]^{S} II[pona Tufi]^{O} he-bui-bui-ya.
that they language Tufi 3pPRS-DUR-turn-3s
Those (people) are translating the Tufi language.

The object can be made primary clausal topic by a marked reversal of the order of the two core NPs. The context must make the grammatical relations of the two NPs clear. The factors determining primary clausal topic selection are discourse-based. There is nothing inherently improbable about topic being coded by the order of constituents. Linguists recognise that most grammatical functions can be coded by morphology, word order or intonation. It seems logical to expect that pragmatic functions should also be open to the same formal options. One of the functions of the active-passive distinction is topic raising. In Tawala – a language without a productive passive construction – 'topic raising' is coded by the order of the core constituents and not by any morphological structure.

In (9) a pig is being frightened towards a net where Pheasant is hiding, waiting to capture the pig. The pig is clearly an undergoer and Pheasant one of two actors.

(9) I[Polo]^{O} II[Kukuku]^{S} ega i-ta-uni.
pig Pheasant NEG 3s-IRR-catch
The pig, Pheasant did not catch him.

(10) ...I[I ani-gae]^{O} II[gadiwewe]^{S} i-waya.
ourE place-go.up rain 3s-took.it
Our upward path, rain took it. (= Rain blocked our upward path.)

Example (10) is a clause taken from a sentence consisting of two clauses. In the travel narrative, from which it is taken, time and again the plane was hindered by bad weather. The sentence can be correctly interpreted on the 'dog bites man' principle: the plane's ascent is more likely to be blocked by rain than the ascending plane is to block the rain (though the latter reading might be possible in a rain-making procedural discourse). In (11), the complete sentence demonstrates that i **anigae** is a topicalisation of the previous predication **to gae**.

(11) Ma to-gae po I[i ani-gae]^{O} II[gadiwewe]^{S}
and 1pE-go.up and ourE place-go.up rain

i-waya.
3s-took.it
We went up, but our ascent, the rain took (= blocked) it.

In both the preceding examples, it would be most natural to render the English by a passive construction; certainly the Tawala construction is one of several functional equivalents of a syntactic passive. These two examples highlight another distinguishing feature of Tawala syntax: the object has become the primary clausal topic with identical intonation to a subject in the same position, a feature contrasting with pragmatic-peak languages, where "topics occur external to the clause...normally set off from the rest of the sentence by a pause" (Foley & Van Valin 1984:124f).[3]

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[3] Grimes (1975:328) distinguishes two topics: "the sentence topic expressed by linkage and the internal clause topic may be independent".

12.2.5 REFERENTIAL AND NON-REFERENTIAL OBJECTS

Myhill (1988:111f.) notes that, while passivisation has long been a cornerstone of linguistic theory:

> More recently, linguists have studied the process of anti-passivization, wherein the direct object of a transitive verb is made oblique or deleted altogether, leaving the verb intransitive. This shares with object incorporation the characteristic of demoting the direct object, and it shares with passivization the property of making a direct argument of the verb oblique or deleting it.

As we have seen, Tawala has no actual passivisation stategy; however, it has both 'objects' that are expressed as oblique adpositional phrases and those that are not expressed.

(12) **Wam** a-gelu-ya. Tau a-gelu-ya.
boat 1s-embark-3s | 1s-embark-3s
I embarked the boat. *I got on board it.*

(13) **Wam** uyahi-na a-gelu*(-ya).
boat AT-3s 1s-embark
I got on the boat.

In the second sentence in (12) the object of the first sentence is not expressed. In (13) the 'object' is expressed as an oblique argument, and in this case the predicate cannot be indexed for object; the verb is intransitive.

While the object NP is optional with all transitive verbs, the object enclitic is also optional with variable focus verbs. Thus one also encounters constructions such as (14).

(14) **Wam amaka hi-gelu.**
boat already 3p-embark
They had already embarked a boat.

The presence of the object enclitic marks the object as referential (15,16,18)[4]; its absence marks the NP as generic

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[4] Tawala object NPs are either definite or indefinite. If the speaker wishes to mark the NP as clearly definite, the definite article is added – **wam-na** *the boat (we are talking about)*; if he wishes to mark the NP as indefinite, the quantifier **gehou**‹**-na**› *other*‹*-3s*› is used (9.3).

(14,17,19). The presence of an object NP marks the object as clause topic (underlined in 15,17,18). This makes four options, each of which is available.

i) An object marked by both a core NP and verbal enclitic. All transitive clauses have this option.

(15) U houga tahatahaya-na apoma [plane]^{O} a-gelu-ya.
my time first-3s then plane 1s-embark-3s
It was my first time to board a plane (just mentioned).

ii) An object enclitic without a core NP. While the object NP may be absent from the clause it is often an anaphoric reference within the immediate context, though exophoric reference also occurs.

(16) Hi-nae po hi-awal-i.
3p-go and 3p-carry-3s
They went and carried it.

iii) A core NP without an object enclitic is contrasted with a regular encliticised form.

(17) Ta-nae [polo]^{O} ta-lugowada.
1pl-go pig 1pl-steal
Let's go pig stealing.

(18) Ta-nae [Kama a polo]^{O} ta-lugowad-i.
1pl-go Kama his pig 1pl-steal-3s
Let's go and steal Kama's pig.

In (17) the object is non-specific, in contrast to (18), which has a specific object.

iv) Many verb roots can be used without either an object enclitic or a core NP. In this case the clause is marking predicate focus, with an undergoer understood. In (19) a pig and a pig net have to be carried; both items require several carriers. It is not stated what the addressee will carry, he is simply requested to come and help with the activity of carrying.

(19) U-na-nei po u-na-awala.
2s-POT-come and 2s-POT-carry
Come and carry.

12.3 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Intransitive clauses have a nucleus filled with a single-valence verb and a clause core containing a single NP; the single argument of the intransitive clause is always the grammatical subject in Tawala. However clause types differ as to the macrorole of the subject: stative clauses have an undergoer as subject and active clauses have an actor as subject.

12.3.1 STATIVE CLAUSES

> ...propositions may pertain to **states**, i.e. existing conditions not involving change across time. States may be either **temporary** at one extreme or **permanent** at the other.
>
> Givón (1984:87)

As we have seen, stative clauses have a stative verb (5.5.1) in their nucleus. They are limited to a single core NP in which the subject is the undergoer. They seldom occur with any periphery, as they are largely unaffected by space and time. In many languages a copula verb (*be*) is needed as part of a predicate denoting states (hence the English translations in the examples below).

(20) Hini-na i-buda.
skin-3s 3s-rotten
Its body was rotten.

The main distinguishing characteristic of a Tawala stative clause is a parallel predicative non-verbal construction, as illustrated in (21).

(21) Mawa i-dao. Mawa daodao-na.
distance 3s-long distance long-3s
The distance is long. *The distance is long.*

In (21) the two sentences each contain a single clause. Stative clauses indicate a temporary or less permanent state than the corresponding non-verbal construction. Hence it is possible to add tense marking to the first sentence of (22) but not the second.

(22) Apo mawa i-na-dao./*Apo mawa daodao-na.
FUT distance 3s-POT-long
The distance will be long.

Semantic distinctions differ according to the meaning of the root in each case. Thus, for example, tahaya i-bigabiga *the path is muddy* indicates a slippery track resulting from recent rains. However, tahaya bigabiga-na *the path is muddy* indicates a path that runs through a swamp and is always muddy. In some cases the distinction is between a process and a state, thus lawa i-hilage *the person died (became dead)* versus lawa hilahilage-na *the person is dead (= a dead person)*.

A range of core NPs (in square brackets) is illustrated in the following data.

(23) [Tau] a-gobu wahaga ugoli-na.
I 1s-dirty exceedingly AT-3s
I am exceedingly defiled to him (= in his sight).

(24) [Lawa] hi-maga duma.
person 3p-many very
There were many people.

(25) [Tahaya wai-bigabiga-na] i-witai.
path INTENS-muddy-3s 3s-heavy
The muddy path is difficult.

12.3.2 ACTIVE CLAUSES

In contrast to stative clauses are active clauses. These are not two discrete groups but rather represent the poles of a continuum (see 5.5.1-2 for intermediary options). Again Givón (1984:87) supplies a useful definition.

> Propositions may also pertain to events, which are changes across time, either from an initial to a final state, if the event is bounded, or changes in the process of occurring, if the event is not construed as bounded.

Active clauses have an active intransive verb in their nucleus (5.5.2). Unlike transitive verbs, intransitive verbs never take an object enclitic. In order to transitivise an intransitive verb a derivational affix must be added to the root (7.2-7.5). Active intransitive clauses have a single core NP (in brackets) which has an actor as subject.

(26) [Tauna] i-woe-woe.
he 3s-DUR-paddle
He kept paddling.

(27) [Togowa kaluwabu] i-togo mai.
wind east 3s-wash DX
The east wind blew on us.

Frequently no core NP is required, particularly with constructions involving the first and second persons.

(28) Apo to-kadau po to-nae bala daodao-hi...
FUT 1pE-travel and 1pE-go distance long-3p
If we go on long journeys...

Active clauses are distinguished from stative clauses in that many have no corresponding adjectival construction but can instead be marked for durative aspect (8.6, listing in 5.5.2), a distinction not found with proto-typical stative clauses.

(29) ...apo hi-na-tou ma ega hi-ta-tu-tou duma.
FUT 3p-POT-cry but NEG 3p-IRR-DUR-cry very
...if they cry they won't cry much.

(30) Logaloga hi-na-po u goila hi-togo-togo.
children 3p-go-and LOC river 3p-DUR-wash
The children went and were washing in the river.

Active clauses freely and frequently occur with peripheral items, as in (30). Motion verbs typically occur with a locational periphery (bracketed in 31).

(31) Meyagai lawa-hi atapu-hi hi-nae [hai u oya].
village person-3p all-3p 3p-go their LOC mountain
All the people of the village went to their gardens.

12.4 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

> ...in many languages (and perhaps covertly in all languages) the transitivity relationship lies at the explanatory core of *most* grammatical processes.
>
> Hopper and Thompson (1982:1)

Transitive clauses have a nucleus filled with a bivalent verb with two potential NPs in the clause core. As with intransitive verbs, a pronominal prefix indexes the person and number of the subject. In addition a pronominal enclitic indexes the person and number of the object. One of the NPs (normally the first) co-references the grammatical subject and the other the grammatical object. The presence or absence of a core NP is determined by pragmatic factors. In addition to the clear-cut classes of transitive verb – influence and accomplishment verbs (including object focus and variable focus varieties) – there are a number of other parameters which distinguish modes of operation across the whole field.

There are two properties that single out the prototypical transitive verb[5]:

i) an ACTOR[6] subject

ii) an UNDERGOER object

We proceed now to look at each of these in turn.

12.4.1 ACTOR AS SUBJECT

> ...actors have in common that they are potential initiators and/or controllers of the action of the predicate, their exact interpretation in any clause is a function of the nature of the predicate and, to a lesser extent, the inherent lexical content of the NP serving as actor.
>
> Foley and Van Valin (1984:32)

Tawala transitive verbs are bivalent verbs with an actor subject. In this they are distinguished from condition verbs which have an undergoer subject. The actor is "the argument of a predicate which expresses the participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:29). The actor role is associated with the clausal subject irrespective of whether the nucleus is filled by an influence (32), object-focus (33) or variable-focus (34) verb.

(32) Yoela a bagibagi ugoli-hi i-na-hagu-ya.
Y. her work AT-3p 3s-POT-help-3s
Yoela will help her with her jobs.

(33) Kedewa kamkam i-uni-hi.
dog chicken 3s-kill-3p
A dog killed the chickens.

---

[5] Following Givón (1984:96), but he uses the terms 'agent' and 'patient-of-change'. I express his two properties in terms of Foley and Van Valin (1984) macroroles.

[6] See 3.12 for an introduction to the actor and undergoer macroroles.

(34) Omi yakoyako ta-ulona.
yourPL shells 1pI-cook
Let us cook your shells.

12.4.2 UNDERGOER AS OBJECT

The proto-typical object is an undergoer. The undergoer is "the argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:29). This is true for all Tawala objects, though verbs differ as to the semantic scope of their objects (5.5.7) in terms of animacy.

12.4.2.1 INANIMATE OBJECT

> The prototype of a transitive verb...involves a *physical, discernible* change in the state of its patient object. One may measure the "degree of prototypicality" or "degree of deviation from prototype" of other verbs which belong syntactically to the group, partially in terms of the degree to which the change in the object is physical, obvious, concrete, accessible to observation etc.
>
> Givón (1984:97)

Accomplishment verbs (5.5.4) are the class of verbs involved with these transitive clauses. Recall that accomplishment verbs include both variable- and object-focus verbs. With an accomplishment verb filling the nucleus, the typical clausal object is an inanimate object, which is totally affected by the situtation denoted by the predicate. The object enclitic is marked for number and for third person. Other persons are rarely distinguished since totally affected objects are ordinarily only third person referents.

(35) [Hai pugole]^{O} hi-awal-i. [Hai pugole]^{O} hi-awali-hi.
their pig.net 3p-carry-3s their pig.net 3p-carry-3p
They carried their pig net. *They carry their pig nets.*

These transitive verbs are very common and belong to variable focus (35) and object focus verbs (36).

(36) [Tano]^{O} u-na-apu-ya.
garden 2s-POT-burn-3s
Burn off the garden.

12.4.2.2 HUMAN/ANIMATE OBJECT

We have seen above that Givón (1984:87) suggests that one may measure the degree of proto-typicality of a patient "partially in terms of the degree to which the change in the object is physical, obvious, concrete, accessible to observation etc.". In Tawala, the proto-typical inanimate object has no autonomous control. In contrast the human/animate object has a degree of control and is generally less affected by the situation denoted by the verb – an influence verb (5.5.5).

With these clauses the object enclitic may distinguish person as well as number, and emphatic pronouns may fill the object NP slot. Also of significance here is the fact that the third person singular animate object enclitic -ni/-ya is normally only a dialectal distinction (with overlapping usage in the Diwinai dialect), whereas the inanimate object forms include the full range (-i, -ya, -ni, -hi). The issue at stake here is that animate-object verbs rarely have the requisite phonological shape to take these morphemes (5.5.6). The animate object enclitic is frequently preceded by the transitiviser -ge (7.1.1) as part of the verb stem.

(37) Ega tau o-na-bahe-bah-e-u.
NEG me 2p-POT-DUR-say-TR-1s
Don't talk about me.

(38) Meyagai lawa-hi i-pali-ye-hi.
village person-3p 3s-scold-TR-3p
She rebuked the village people.

(39) Tam u-himili-u po a-nae.
youSG 2s-sent-1s and 1s-go
You sent me and I went.

(40) A-hanapu-ge-m tam tu-baha.piko.
1s-know-TR-2s youSG PERS-word.guess
I know you are a prophet.

12.4.3 IDIOMATIC CLAUSES

A highly productive area of Tawala grammar involves the use of idiomatic verbs (6.5.7) – idioms often based on body-part metaphors.

(41) Nugo-na i-apapoe.
heart-3s 3s-bad
He/She is angry. (lit. *His/Her heart/mind is angry.*)

Emotions, attitudes and psychological states can hardly be discussed in the Tawala language without the use of these constructions. They match closely the 'human propensity' adjectival class of Dixon (1982:19), but in Tawala they are clearly verbal, with a distinctive syntax of their own.

Idiomatic clauses have standard clausal syntax. However, what is distinctive about these clauses is i) the limited nature of the core NP, and ii) the relationship between the idiomatic clause and the idiomatic verb. These two issues are related.

The verb stem (6.5.7) is a compound consisting of a body part and a following verb root. Most idiomatic verbs have a related clause in which the body part of the compound becomes the subject and the verb root fills the verbal predicate. The difference between the two constructions is often the degree to which the human referent is in control.

(50)	A-upu.dodola.	Upu-we i-dodola.
	1s-back.stiff	back-1s 3s-stiff
	I feel lazy.	*My back is stiff.*
		= I feel lazy.
	[some control]	[-control]

Note that in (50–52) the human referent is the subject in the first sentence, but only the possessor of an independently operating body part in the second.

(51)	Hi-taniga.pupu.	Taniga-hi hi-pupu.
	3p-ear.block	ear-3p 3p-block
	They are disobedient.	*Their ears are blocked.*
		(= They are disobedient.)
(52)	A-nugo.guluw-i.	Nugo-u i-guluw-i.
	1s-mind.bury-3s	mind-1s 3s-bury-3s
	I forget it.	*My mind buried it*
		(= My mind forgot it.)

That the subject of the idiomatic verb has a degree of control is seen by the fact that the subject of the verb (but not the clause) can be used as a command.

(53)	Ipa o-na-nugo-kadidili.	*Ipa nugo-m i-na-kadidili.
	IRR 2p-POT-mind.hard	IRR mind-2s 3s-POT-hard
	Be courageous.	*Be resolute.*

12.5 CONDITION CLAUSE

These clauses are unique in that the condition clause has a univalent nucleus with only a single NP in the core. However they are morphologically marked for two core arguments. They are also unique in being the only bivalent verbs to have undergoers and not actors as subject. While grammatical subject marking is obligatorily present in all Tawala verbal clauses in this case it is semantically vacuous. Thus while these verbs are transitive in form, the clause is intransitive.

The best explanation for these clauses seems to be that the condition verbs have an undergoer argument assigned to the

object, and because all verbs must be marked for subject, the identical person and number is copied on the verbal prefix[7]. The construction is thus syntactically, though not semantically, reflexive (RFX).

(54) Koiba-hi hi-hogo-hi.
stomach-3p 3p-full-3pRFX
Their stomachs were full.

(55) Togowa i-dumol-i.
wind 3s-calm-3sRFX
The wind has calmed (= ceased).

(56) Gaeba atapu-hi apo hi-na-hogo-hi.
bowl all-3p FUT 3p-POT-fill-3pRFX
All the bowls will be filled.

(57) Tau a-goholi-u.
me 1s-jump-1sRFX
I was surprised.

In (58) the first sentence contains a reflexive verb and has a single undergoer argument, and the second sentence has a single actor argument. The sentences are interchangeable in many contexts.

(58) Apo ta-guna-wile-ta.
FUT 1pI-SPON-round-1pI
We will be back.

Apo ta-ne meme.
FUT 1pI-come again
We will come again.

12.6 DITRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Ditransitive clauses have a nucleus filled with a trivalent verb and a core containing three NPs: subject, object and secondary object. However, only two arguments are morphologically marked: subject and object.. The order of the three core NPs is subject followed by either of the two objects.

---

[7] It could be argued that the single argument is marked twice as both subject and object, but this explanation has no motivation. Why not simply omit the object enclitic and let the verb function as a normal stative?

As with other verbs there is a prefix which indexes subject marked for person. Ditransitive verbs are a subclass of influence verbs (5.5.5), so that the object enclitic encodes the human/animate object and is the equivalent of what is referred to in English constructions as the indirect object. Some ditransitive verbs have a transitiviser (-ge), though with others it is possibly petrified (e.g. -wele) or absent altogether (e.g. -hagu). The object enclitic indexes the animate object and is marked for the full range of persons as well as number; a co-referential NP is optionally present in the core.

The secondary object is not cross-referenced on the verb, but is an NP in the core, usually in the pre-predicate (focus) position. The secondary object cannot be regarded as an oblique argument, as it has no adpositional marking. Among other things, the animacy hierarchy ensures referent disambiguation; the item lower on the hierarchy is the secondary object. It is the secondary object which is most often encoded as an NP in the clause core, presumably because it is not marked in the nucleus.

(59) [A ginouli]^{02} i-wiatatiye-u.
his thing 3s-show-1s
He showed his things to me.

(60) Apo [am bagibagi]^{02} hi-na-hagu-m.
FUT yourSG work 3p-POT-help-2s
If they help you (with) your work.

With the verb -hagu the secondary object can also be encoded as an oblique adpositional phrase.

(61) Apo lawa [i bagibagi uyahi-hi]^{0} hi-na-hagu-yai.
FUT person ourE work AT-3p 3p-POT-help-1pE
People will help us at our work.

In my corpus of natural text the verb -wele *give* rarely occurs (5 out of 36 examples) with a subject NP (62), as the referent is usually unambiguous.

(62) Yaubada [ata tahaya]^{02} i-wele-ta.
God our| path 3s-give-1pI
God gives us our destiny.

Usually secondary object is present as an NP; (63) represents the unmarked pattern.

(63) [Ginouli-na]^{02} apo to-wele-m.
thing-DEF FUT 1pE-give-2s
We will give you that thing.

On the other hand the secondary object, being not indexed on the verb, occurs in almost every example. In my corpus there is usually an object NP if the referent is a third person, but never when it is first or second person; in the latter cases the marking on the verb is sufficient for identification.

When there are both object and secondary object NPs my data is about half-and-half as to which NP is primary clausal topic and hence more topical than the other NP.

(64) Ega I[aniani po muhala]^{02} II[lawa]^{0} ta-wele-hi.
NEG vegetables and meat person 1pI-give-3p
We did not give those people vegetables and meat.

(65) I[Tula-u]^{0} II[wawine mulamula-na]^{02} hi-wele-ya.
friend-1s female medicine-3s 3p-give-3s
They gave my friend the magic for (attracting) females.

12.7 CLAUSE PERIPHERY

> The main coding feature distinguishing core from peripheral arguments is that core arguments tend to occur in unmarked morphological or syntactic forms and peripheral arguments in marked, often adpositional, codings.
>
> Foley and Van Valin (1984:79)

Peripheral arguments are distinguished from core arguments by syntactic marking of adpositions (ch.10), absence of indexing on the verb and the possibility of following the verb in the clause.

	SUBJECT	OBJECT	SECOND-O	PERIPHERY
SYNTATIC MARKING	-	-	-	+
FOLLOW VERB	-	-	-	+
INDEXED ON VERB	+	+/-	-	-

Table 3: Features distinguishing core and peripheral constituents

It will be seen from this table that even though the secondary object is not indexed on the verb, it clearly shares more features with core NPs than with peripheral PPs. However, occasionally the secondary object can occur as an oblique item (61). I have chosen to include the secondary object of a ditransitive verb with the core arguments because, like the other core arguments, it can only occur in the preverbal position. In addition, its unmarked position (ascertained by an overwhelming frequency of occurrence) is between the subject NP and the verb, whereas that position is highly marked for peripheral items. Finally, I find the fact that secondary object normally has no morphological marking to be more weighty than the fact that Tawala only cross-references two core NPs on the verb.

In addition many core NPs can be replaced by emphatic pronouns, but peripheral items never can, though postpositions are always marked for person and number and are usually employed without a dependent noun when marked for first or

second person. Peripheral arguments of the clause are typically filled by adpositional phrases (ch.10) whereas core arguments are always filled by NPs (ch.9). Thus the presence of an adposition is a decisive factor in identifying clause periphery.

12.7.1 CLAUSAL ADJUNCTS

> ...external functions give the appearance of being essentially external to clause structure, and are each closely associated with a specific pragmatic function.
>
> Andrews (1985:82)

The outermost layer of the clause contains peripheral constituents expressing the spatio-temporal setting of the event and other secondary participants and information not contained in the core arguments.

Syntactically, peripheral constituents are always optional. In addition, most items can operate in several positions within the sentence, determined by pragmatic factors. The following examples illustrate some of the options of locative relator phrases (in square brackets).

(66) ...[hai bagibagi uyahi-na] utaima ta-ga-gale-hi.
their work AT-3s today 1pI-DUR-see-3p
...we now see them at their work.

(67) ...to-nae [i ani-bagibagi uyahi-na].
1pE-go ourE place-work AT-3s
...we went to our work place.

(68) Tau amaka utaima [bagibagi gehou-na uyahi-na] a-memae.
I already today work other-3s AT-3s 1s-stay
I am today already staying at (= doing) other work.

In Tawala both prepositions (69,70) and postpositions (71,72) as well as the ablative suffix (73,74) are used to code adpositional phrases.

(69) Pona-na i-nonol-i [mei togowa]...
voice-3s 3s-hear-3s like wind
She heard his voice (sounding) like wind...

(70) Hi-nae [a nima heuta-hi].
3p-go COM hand torch-3p
They went with their torches.

(71) Lawa atapu-hi hi-hopu mai [tano uyahi-n-ei].
person all-3p 3p-go.down DX garden AT-3s-ABL
All the people came down from the garden.

(72) A-paliwele-hi [numa gatowa-na moni-na bi-nei].
1s-tell-3p house roof-3s money-3s BEN-3s
I told them about the money for the house.

(73) [Niha-gei[8]] to-bulili.
salt-ABL 1pE-run
We ran via the beach.

(74) [Pona Suau-gei] geka ketena hi-bah-e-ya.
language Suau-ABL this ketena 3p-say-TP-3s
In the Suau language they say 'ketena'.

12.7.2 ALTERNATIVE CASE FRAMES

Some verbs have alternative case frames for the object, with a second argument marked for an alternative case or a possessive construction. With some verbs, for example **wogo** *make* and **lihooholi** *shake clean*, the alternative frames are ablative and benefactive. These examples were elicited, not taken from natural texts.

(42) Keduluma [halewa] i-wogo-ya [outu bi-nei].
woman pandanus 3s-make-3s bag BEN-3s
The woman works pandanus for a bag.

(43) Keduluma [liyapa] i-wogo-ya [halewa uyahi-n-ei].
woman mat 3s-makes-3s pandanus AT-3s-ABL
The woman makes a mat from pandanus.

(44) Bada [keliko] i-lihoohol-i [nudanuda bi-nei].
man cloth 3s-shake-3s rubbish BEN-3s
The man shakes the cloth for rubbish.

---

[8] **Niha-gei** is an irregular usage of some speakers. **Nih-ei** would be expected - see 4.3.5.

(45) Bada [nudanuda] i-lihoohol-i [keliko uyahi-n-ei].
man rubbish 3s-shake-3s cloth AT-3s-ABL
The man shakes the rubbish from the cloth.

Verbs can often substitute locative postposition phrases (47) for locative preposition phrases (46).

(46) Guguhini [hoi hiyamoni] [a outu] i-bih-e-ni.
maiden LOC grass her bag 3s-search-TR-3s
The teenage girl is looking in the grass for her bag.

(47) Guguhini [a outu] i-bih-e-ni [hiyamoni uyahi-na].
maiden her bag 3s-search-TR-3s grass AT-3s
The teenage girl is looking for her bag in the grass.

The possessive construction is also a useful device for alternative case frames; in the following example it alternates with the benefactive, but there are other possibilities.

(48) Bada [mogaya lili-na] i-lawilawi.
man crocodile song-3s 3s-sing
The man sang the crocodile song.

Bada [lili] i-lawilawi [mogaya bi-nei].
man song 3s-sing crocodile BEN-3s
The man sang the song about the crocodile.[9]

12.7.3 PHRASES WITHOUT MORPHOLOGICAL MARKING

Some peripheral arguments have no morphological marking at all. These all belong to the spatio-temporal setting and contrast with adpositional phrases on contextual grounds.

In my corpus morphological marking is omitted only with English place names.

(48) A-nei [East Cape]^{LOC}.
1s-come E. C.
I came to East Cape.

(49) October 1968 a-nae [Diwinai Community School]^{LOC}.
O. 1968 1s-go D. C. S.
In October 1968 I went to the Diwinai Community School.

---

[9] This could also mean, *The man sang the song for the crocodile.*

Zero morphological marking is common with temporal phrases, including English dates (see 76), but the construction is also common with truly indigenous temporal constructions.

(50) [Geka houga-na]^{T} PNG amaka yabiyabi hi-wele-ya.
this time-3s PNG already rudder 3p-give-3s
At this time PNG has been given the rudder (= independence).

(51) A-memae [bolima luwaga]^{T}.
1s-stay year two
I stayed (there) two years.

13 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

> Ideally, our discussion of the syntactic structure of the nuclei of kernel-sentences should be conducted within the framework of some generally accepted and universally applicable system of grammatical analysis. Unfortunately, no such system exists.
>
> Lyons (1977:469)

This chapter is concerned with detailing the various non-verbal clause types. The six non-verbal clause types in table 1 are taken from the listing of fundamental clause types in chapter 11 (where a number of issues basic to an understanding of non-verbal clauses are addressed).

i)	NP^S	+	NP^P	equative
ii)	NP^S	+	PP^P	adpositional
iii)		+	NP^P	existential
iv)	NP^S	+	$[ADJ<-na>]^P$	descriptive
v)	NP^S	+	$[N<-na>]^P$	possessive
vi)	NP^S	+	NP^C + NP^P	complement

Table 1: Non-verbal clause types

The main distinguishing feature of these clauses lies in the nature of the predicate nucleus, clearly distinguishing adpositional, descriptive and possessive clauses from the other non-verbal clauses. The absence of a subject distinguishes existential clauses from all the other clauses; and complement NPs distinguish the complement clause from all other clauses.

Descriptive and possessive clauses share the common feature of being head-marked and are thus grouped together under that heading in the description offered in this chapter. We examine these six clauses in turn.

13.1 EQUATIVE CLAUSE

A good starting place for an analysis of Tawala equative clauses is the definition offered by Mosel (1984:157): "Equative Clauses consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases NP^1 and NP^2 expressing that the NP^1 referent is what NP^2 refers to".

(1)	Tau Batutuli.	Tauhi ega mi Tawala.
	I B.	they NEG people T.
	I (am) Batutuli.	*They are not Tawala people.*

The commonly drawn distinction between equative and ascriptive clauses (Lyons 1977:471f.) is significant for Tawala, where there is a three-way contrast between equative, possessive and descriptive clauses. (The predicate is in square brackets to clarify the structure involved.)

	EQUATIVE	POSSESSIVE
(2)	Tauna [Limi natu-na].	Limi [natu-na].
	he L. child-3s	L. child-3s
	He is Limi's child.	*Limi has a child.*

	EQUATIVE	DESCRIPTIVE
(3)	Tauna [bada dewadewa-na].	Bada [dewadewa-na].
	he man good-3s	man good-3s
	He is a good man.	*The man is good.*

Although it is not part of her definition, Mosel (1984:158) assumes that NP^1 is the clausal subject and NP^2 is the predicate, so that "If the subject is represented by a demonstrative pronoun, the inverse word order NP^{PRED} NP^{SUBJ} is the usual one". I accept Mosel's presuppositions as valid for Tawala also, and have proposed some justification for this analysis which differs markedly from the traditional analysis of English equative clauses, where it is the copula that is regarded as the "verb with equative function" (Crystal 1980:133). The equative clause in Tawala consists of a subject NP and a predicate NP.

$NP^{SUBJECT}$ $NP^{PREDICATE}$

Instead of having a pair of NPs with some sort of equational verb combining them, equative clauses "identify a referent and say of the referent...that it has a certain property or is a member of a certain class...The referent...we will call the subject. What is said about the referent is expressed by the predicate...". This definition, selected from a broader definition of Lyons (1977:470), captures the situation nicely. The predicate NP predicates something in a manner analogous to the verb of verbal clauses, which is the proto-typical predicate. Nowhere is that predicate less like the proto-type than it is with equative clauses, particularly those encoding a qualification relationship.

(4) Ega [tau]^{S} [mimituwa]^{P} ma [tau]^{S} [lawa hota]^{P}.
NEG I spirit but I person only
I am not a 'bush' spirit but a real person.

13.1.1 MINIMAL EQUATIVE CLAUSES

By far the most common form of equative clause in Tawala has a deictic element filling the subject NP. Two options are available for the deictic subject: an emphatic pronoun marked for person and number (5.6.1) or a demonstrative (5.6.3). If an emphatic pronoun is used the referent is understood to be human or at least a being acting like a volitional human.[1]

(5) Tam amaka, bada. *You're okay* (lit. *enough*), *sir.*
Tauna wawine. *She is a woman.*
Tauna meka? *Where is he?*
Tau geka. *I am here.*

---

[1] In a corpus of 66 examples of the third person singular free-form pronoun (**tauna**) there are 4 examples of its use for non-human referents. As both speakers have spent most of their lives outside the Tawala area, their irregular usage is suspect.

Note that in (5) and (6) the predicate NPs contain non-nominal items. Just as demonstratives and interrogatives etc. can function as heads of NPs (9.2) so these items can function as NPs within the predicate of the equative clause.

If a demonstrative is the subject then the referent is non-human or of questionable status, though the demonstrative is commonly used with a pronominal predicate with a human referent - first example in (6). The equative construction is somewhat complicated by the fact that demonstratives are not only used as subjects (6) but also as predicates - last example in both (5) and (6). In addition the free-form pronoun is used as the deictic subject (5) and as the existential predicate - first example in (6).

(6)	Geka tauna.	*This is him.*
	Geka awai?	*What is this? / *Who is this?*
	Geka malatomtom.	*This is morning (now).*
	Naka togowa.	*That is wind.*
	Naka lawa.	*It's a person.*
	Naka moina.	*That is true* (lit. *truth*).
	Naka noka pite.	*It is like that* (distal).

The contrast between pronominal and demonstrative constructions is illustrated in (7) and (8).

(7)	Tauna iyai?	*Who is he/she?*
	Naka awai?	*What is that?*
(8)	Naka amaka.	*That's enough.*
	Tauna amaka.	*He/she's okay.*

3.1.2 EXPANDED SUBJECTS

When the subject contains new information or is given special prominence then the deictic item is replaced by a noun (9) or a possessive phrase (10-12) (the subject is in square brackets in these examples).

(9) [Wiwine] alinawa.
women widow
The women are widows.

(10) [Holopu ama-na] Yailo.
H. father-3s Y.
Holopu's father is Yailo.

(11) [Galena-hi] awai? [Natu-na] iyai?
appearance-3p what child-3s who
What are they like? *Who is his child?*

(12) [(Lawa) hai luhinigigai] ega ano-na.
person their rejection NEG core-3s
The people's rejection is without basis.
(= The people have no reason to be angry.)

13.1.3 EXPANDED NP PREDICATES

Any NP can fill the predicate slot of an equative clause, making it a highly versatile construction. Examples below include a simple NP (13), a coordinate NP (14), interrogative NPs (15), possesive phrases (16–18) and embedded nominalised clauses (19,20) – In the following examples the predicate is in square brackets; curved brackets indicate that the item could be omitted given the right pragmatics.

(13) Naka [dobu banei duma-na].
that village big very-3s
That is a very big village.

(14) Naka [a luwa oo a baha ano-na].
that his rule or his word core-3s
That was his ruling or the crux of his speech.

(15) Tauna [(lawa) iyai]. Naka [(ginouli) awai].
he person who that thing what
What person (= Who) is that? *What thing is that?*

(16) Tauyai [(Keudi) natu-natu-na].
weE K. PL-child-3s
We are Keudi's children.

Sentences (16) and (17) demonstrate clearly a feature that is true for all equative clauses – there is no pronominal agreement

between the subject and predicate. In this they differ from head-marked clauses (13.4).

(17) Tau [hai president].
I their leader
I am their leader.

(18) Naka [(bada) a nugotuhu].
that man his thought
That is the (big) man's opinion.

(19) Lani-na geka [lawa tu-hilage].
man-DEF this person PERS-dead
As for this man, he was a dead person.

(20) Naka [lawa hai ani-kaoha].
that person their thing-happy
That is the thing that makes people happy.

13.2 ADPOSITIONAL CLAUSES

Mosel (1984:162) states: "In Locational Clauses the predicate denotes the position, the goal or the source of the subject referent". This is a reasonable definition for Tawala adpositional clauses generally, though the manner adpositional clause requires a broader definition.

Adpositional non-verbal clauses have predicates filled by adpositional phrases, making them a subset of equative clauses.

NP^S PP^P

As Tawala has both prepositions and postpositions (ch.10), there are two subtypes of adpositional clauses. These structures differ in the order of constituents within the predicate. Prepositional clauses have a simple preposition (underlined) before the NP of the predicate.

(21) Tauna [mei lawa]^P.
he like person
He is like a person (= human being).

Postpositional clauses have a head-marked postposition (underlined) following the NP of the predicate.

(22) Tauna [wam <u>uyahi-na</u>]^{P}
he boat AT-3s
He is at the boat.

We examine them both in turn.

13.2.1 PREPOSITIONAL CLAUSES

With these constructions the preposition and the locative noun are both obligatory.

(NP^{S}) [preposition + NP]^{P}

There are only two varieties of prepositional clauses, corresponding to the manner phrase (10.1.4) and the specified locative phrase (10.1.1). The grammar of these two stuctures is so distinctive that they must be outlined separately.

13.2.1.1 PREPOSITIONAL MANNER CLAUSE

Structurally, a prepositional manner clause consists of subject NP and an adpositional phrase marked with the preposition mei *like.*

NP^{S} [mei NP]^{P}

Semantically, the manner clause requires an expansion of the definition of Mosel given above: here the subject NP is said to resemble the predicate NP.

(23) Tauhi [mei tauta].
they like us!
They are like us.

(24) Tau [mei lawa gehou-hi].
I like person other-3p
I am (just) like other people.

The grounds of comparison are sometimes spelled out by an expanded subject (square brackets), as in the following examples which have embedded nominalised clauses.

(25) [Tau Yaubada a tu-bagibagi] mei tam.[2]
I God his PERS-work like youSG
I am one who works for God like you are.

(26) [Naka ani-galena-na] mei tauta.
that thing-appearance-3s like us!
That (bird's) appearance was like us.
(= That bird looked like a person.)

An idiomatic question using the mei construction without a subject NP is also in common use.

(27) Mei awai? Mei iyai?
like what like who
Such as what? *Such as who?*

Tense/aspect and negative clitics come before the predicate (in square brackets).

(28) I mae ega [mei lolowa].
ourE stay NEG like before
Our life was not like previously.

(29) Apo [mei tauni gehou-na].
FUT like town other-3s
It will be like other towns.

13.2.1.2 LOCATIONAL CLAUSE

Structurally, this clause differs significantly from the prepositional manner clause. The locational clause is an adpositional clause with a possessed NP in the prepositional phrase.

(NP^{S}) $[(NP^{dependent})$ u $noun^{head}$<-na>$]^{P}$

Both the subject NP and the dependent noun of the predicate (possessor NP) are optional, making it difficult to dis-

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[2] The structure here may be $[I]^{S}$ $[God's\ worker\ like\ you]^{P}$, the *like* phrase being part of the nominalised clause which is the equative predicate.

ambiguate some structures, though I have no examples in my corpus with both nouns omitted. The head noun of the predicate phrase is marked for agreement with the dependent noun. The following examples include a fully expanded prepositional phrase (30), a prepositional phrase with no dependent noun expressed (31) and a locational clause with no subject NP (32) (the predicate is in square brackets).

(30) Tauhi [numa u gabouli-na].
they house LOC underneath-3s
They are under the house.

(31) Tam [u liyaliya-u].
youSG LOC near-1s
You are near to me.

(32) [Mayau u baba-na].
tree LOC base-3s
It is at the base of the tree.

The head noun can be a body part, as in the following idiomatic expressions.

(33) [Tam u nima-m].
youSG LOC hand-2s
It is in your hands.

[Yaubada u mata-na].
God LOC eyes-3s
It is known to God.

13.2.2 POSTPOSITIONAL CLAUSE

This construction is closely related to the locational clause of the previous section in that it is head marked. However, the head marking is not on the head noun but on the postposition itself. A minimal clause predicate consists of:

(NP^S) [(NP) + postposition]^P

In having a postposition with an optional object they differ from prepositional clauses, which require an object with the preposition.

Examples include an expanded postpositional clause (33), a postpositional clause with no object with the postposition (34) and an interrogative construction (35).

(33) Tau [iwa-u uyahi-na].
I bro.in.law-1s AT-3s
I was with my brother-in-law.

(34) Tau ega [uyahi-hi]. I-gehou-hi [ugoli-u].
I NEG AT-3p UNSPEC-other-3p AT-1s
I am not to them. *There are others with me.*
(= I am no longer with them.) *(= I have others.)*

(35) A bihaga [ugoli-m]?
its number AT-2s
How many with you? (= How many do you have?)

Example (36) has an expanded subject NP.

(36) [Ginouli emosi hota] ega uyahi-m.
thing one only NEG AT-2s
There is just one thing you do not have.

An ablative postpositional clause is distinguished by the presence of an ablative postposition in the predicate. The following examples include an expanded construction (37,38) and a deleted subject NP (39).

(37) Lawa-na ega [Yaubada uyahi-n-ei].
person-DEF NEG God AT-3s-ABL
That man is not from God.

(38) Naka [lawa atapu-hi ugoli-hi-yei].
That person all-3p AT-3p-ABL
That was from all the people.

(39) [Tau uyahi-u-gei].
I AT-1s-ABL
(It is) from me.

13.3 EXISTENTIAL CLAUSE

That Tawala should possess non-verbal clauses which consist of a predicate without any subject is surprising in view of received linguistic theory as expressed by Lyons (1968:334):

> It is a fundamental principle of traditional grammar, and also of much modern syntactic theory, that every simple, declarative sentence consists of two obligatory major constituents, a *subject* and a *predicate*...

Tawala existential clauses are common in everyday conversation and in quoted speech, though they only occasionally occur within extended discourse. The existential clause consists simply of a nominal predicate.

NP$^{\text{PREDICATE}}$

(40) [Gadiwewe]^{P}.
rain
(It/there is) rain.

As with all types of non-verbal clause various clausal adverbs are optionally employed, but as these are non-definitive of clause types they are not included in the definitions.

(41) Ap-ega gadiwewe.
FUT-NEG rain
(It) will not rain.

Mosel (1984:156) states that "Existential clauses consist of only one noun phrase stating the existence of what is referred to by that noun phrase". This definition is acceptable for the Tawala data also.

A wide variety of word classes occur as predicates of existential clauses; the following list commences with four nouns, followed by two proper nouns (a person's name and a place name), a demonstrative (functioning as a locative), two free-form pronouns and, finally, a negative predicate. Some of these items are difficult to translate and the English only approximates the Tawala and also applies to a single pragmatic context, whereas these sentences occur in a variety of contexts.

Gadiwewe.	*(There is) rain.*
Bolibolima.	*The south-easterly (is blowing).*
Gamogamo.	*(They are) animals.*
Moina.	*(It is) true* (lit. *truth*).
Yoela.	*(There is) Yoela.*
Kainantu.	*(It is) Kainantu.*
Geka.	*(It is) here. / This (is the place).*
Tau.	*(It's) me.*
Tauna.	*(It's) him/her/it.*
Eega.	*(It is) not/ not (so).*

(42) Gahu i-lata ma gadiwewe.
mist 3s-grow and rain
There was thick mist and it was raining.

The predicate form of the negative **eega** differs from the negative particle **ega**, which has a single vowel. (In the Labe dialect a glottal stop separates the contiguous vowels of the predicate form – **eqega**.)

13.3.1 LIMITING MODIFIERS

The predicates of existential clauses take one of a set of general modifiers (5.6.4): **hota/hosi/hoti** *only, just*, **pite** *'like'*, **duma** *very*.

(43)	Noka hota.	*(It is) over there*
	Geka hosi.	*(It is) just here.*
	Naka pite.	*(It is) like that.*
	Eega duma.	*(It is) definitely not.*

Only the **hota** form is used with nouns.

(44)	Lawa hota.	*(It is) just a person.*

13.3.2 NEGATING EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

Negative existential clauses are common. (existential predicates are in square brackets).

(45) Ega [wipoya] po ega [wayau].
NEG hot and NEG cold
(It is) not hot and (it is) not cold.

(46) Iyeta tunawa-na ma ega [uguwa].
day only-3s but NEG dark
(It was) always daytime and never dark.

(47) Ega [naka pite].
NEG that like
(It is) not like that. (= Don't do it like that).

There is a clear asymmetry between positive and negative clauses. Most existential clauses can be negated, but many negative existential clauses, especially when a verbal root is employed, cannot be made into positive clauses by deleting the negative particle; a verbal stative clause would be required.

(48) Ega [wipoya]. > I-wipoya/*wipoya.
NEG hot 3s-hot
(It is) not hot. *(It is) hot.*

None of the negative clauses in (49) could function as positive clauses.

(49) ...ega [kikina matouta] po ega [widagudagu],
NEG little fear and NEG struggle

ega [lowo] ma i-tugu-tugula.
NEG run but 3s-DUR-sit
...(he is) not a little bit afraid, and (he has) not struggled, (he has) not run away but he keeps sitting (here).

We see another common item found only in negative constructions involving the modifier kikina *(a) little.* This construction is further distinguished in that it has the modifier preceding the head instead of following it.

(50) Ega [kikina ponapona] bo [gololo gehou-na].
NEG little talking or noise other-3s
(There was) no talking or other noise.

When the existential clause has internal structure, that structure cannot be interrupted by a negative.

(51) Ega [lawa hota]. / *Lawa ega hota.
NEG person only
(It is) not just a person. (= It is not a real person.)

Examples (50-52) show expanded NPs functioning as predicates of existential clauses.

(52) Ega dobu gehou-na.
NEG village other-3s
(There is) no other village.

The negative sentences in (53) have no positive counterparts. The third person singular suffix has no referent; its function is to show that the verb root is nominalised.

(53) Ega geno-na.
NEG worry-3s
No worries. (There is nothing to worry about.)

Ega dao-na.
NEG long-3s
It wasn't long.

13.3.3 ADVERBS WITH EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

The following sentences illustrate the use of existential clauses with past tense (there are a number of examples of future tense above).

(54) Amaka [aipam].
already evening
(It is) already evening.

Amaka [gadiwewe].
already rain
(It has) already rained.

Existential clauses occur with **nugote** *perhaps*, as in the following constructed example.

(55) Nugote [tau].
perhaps me
Perhaps (it is) me. (= Could it be me?)

13.4 HEAD-MARKED NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

As verbal clauses are also head-marked it is necessary to give this section a title which unambiguously separates the non-verbal and verbal head-marking types. However, within this section I refer to head-marked non-verbal clauses simply as head-marked clauses.

There is nothing remarkable about the Tawala equative clauses; they are parallel to equative clauses in many languages. Even the absence of a copula is a common feature, in some

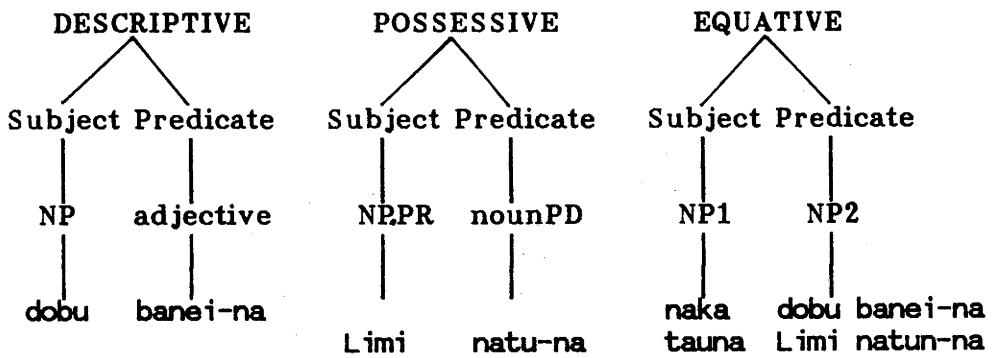
contexts at least: "In many languages the verb 'be' is not necessary in less-marked tense-aspects" (Givón 1984:91). However, a number of features have combined in Tawala to bring about the metamorphosis of a set of head-marked clauses which are quite distinct from equative clauses. The best way to get the overall picture of the relationships involved is to compare a set of head-marked clauses with their equative counterparts (the predicate is in square brackets).

	DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSE	EQUATIVE CLAUSE
(56)	**Dobu [banei-na].**	**Naka [dobu banei-na].**
	village big-3s	that village big-3s
	The village is big.	*That is a big village.*

	POSSESSIVE CLAUSE	EQUATIVE CLAUSE
(56)	**Limi ega [natu-na].**	**Tauna ega [Limi natu-na].**
	L. NEG child-3s	he NEG L. child-3s
	Limi has no child.	*He is not Limi's child.*

In fact the surface string of the possessive sentence in (56) could also be an equative clause, with the dependent noun of the predicate omitted, *Limi is not his child.*

The structure of the above clauses is contrasted in the following trees, from which I omit the negatives in the interests of simplicity (however, the importance of the negative is discussed below).



The two head-marked clauses have parallel though different structures. The predicate of the descriptive clause is an adjective phrase, and the predicate of the possessive clause is a possessed noun. The expansion of either predicate is rare. Givón's description of copular sentences (1984:91) accounts for the Tawala head-marked clauses: "These are sentences with a subject and predicate...The predicate may be either a noun (nominal predicate) or adjective (adjectival predicate)".

The two equative sentences have identical structure, which is, however, quite distinct from the head-marked clauses. With the equative clause the predicate is commonly an expanded NP, and in addition the subject is typically a deictic item – an option not available to head-marked clauses. Semantically, equative and head-marked clauses also have quite distinct meanings, though at times English lacks the distinction, making a literal translation impossible.

The situation is, however, more complex in that the subject NP can be omitted from the equative clause. We thus find constructional homonymy, with a complete overlap in the surface manifestation of morphemes between head-marked and equative clauses, though there is always an intonational difference.[3]

(57)	[Lawa]^{S} [dewadewa-na]^{P}.	[0]^{S} [Lawa dewadewa-na]^{P}.
	person good-3s	person good-3s
	The person is good.	*(He) is a good person.*

The ambiguity involved is resolved by pragmatic context and not by morphology.

---

[3] A thorough investigation of the intonation of non-verbal clauses is called for, but owing to the close meanings involved, as in (57), native speaker intuition is probably needed to adequately perform the task.

The head-marked clauses seem to have taken, or be in the process of taking, a further step, in which the pronominal enclitic <-na> is a kind of subject agreement marker within the predicate, analogous to subject agreement marking on the verb.

	VERBAL	NON-VERBAL
(58)	Tahaya [i-bigabiga]^{P}.	Tahaya [bigabiga-na]^{P}.
	path 3s-muddy	path muddy-3s
	The path is muddy (temporary).	*The path is muddy (permanent).*

There is almost the feeling that we have here two classes of verbal predicate, the one with prefixed subject agreement and the other with suffixed subject agreement. This point surfaces again later in the chapter, offering a possible explanation for some intractable data.

It is the use of the pronominal enclitic on the predicate, agreeing with the subject, which led me to call these constructions 'head-marked'. One clear distinction between head-marked and equative clauses is this agreement, which is absent in the equative clauses, where any 'agreement' is phrase internal.

A test that can be applied to distinguish between equative and head-marked clauses is the use of the negative. As has been pointed out (11.8.3), the negative takes a position before the predicate and never comes within an NP. Hence, if a negative particle is found between a possessor noun and its possessed noun it is clear that it is a possessive clause.

(58) [Lawa-na]^{S} ega [ama-na]^{P} po ega [hina-na]^{P}.
person-DEF NEG father-3s and NEG mother-3s
The man had no father and had no mother.

In contrast to (58), an equative clause (59) places the negative before the NP and never within it.

(59) [Tauna]^{S} ega [Yoela goga-na duma-na]^{P}.
she NEG Y. grandmother-3s very-3s
She is not Yoela's real grandmother.

This test results in the possibility of constructing the following sentence, consisting of an equative clause followed by a possessive clause. This sentence caused the informant to laugh[4], though he agreed that the construction is fully grammatical and has the meaning I attach to it.

(60) Ega [Limi natu-na] babana Limi ega [natu-na].
NEG L. child-3s because L. NEG child-3s
(That) is not Limi's child because Limi has no child.

13.4.1 DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSE

> ...the special form of a 'predicative adjective' as it is often called, tends to be limited to southeastern Papua.
>
> Capell (1969:39)

As has been noted, the descriptive clause consists of an NP functioning as the subject and an adjective functioning as the predicate.

NP^{S} adjective<-na>^{P}

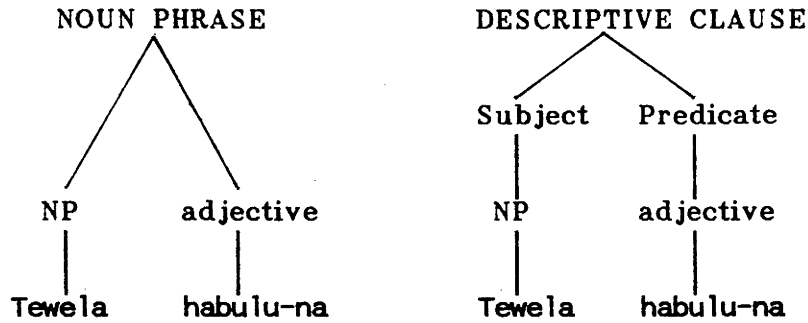
(61) Dedede tahatahaya-na.
story first-3s
The story is the first.

Lichtenberk (1983:328) notes that "Manam adjectives occur not only in attributive position but also as predicators". The traditional distinction between the attributive and predicative use of adjectives highlights the unmistakable resemblance which the simple NP shares with the descriptive clause.

---

[4] Presumably at the juxtaposition of almost identical structures. The Tawala people do not play with words or pun as we do in English.

	NOUN PHRASE		CLAUSE
(62)	[Tewela habulu-na]^{NP}	i-peu.	Tewela habulu-na.
	child small-3s	3s-fell	child small-3s
	The small child fell.		*The child is small.*



The structure of these two constructions is distinct, as is their intonation - the clause has sentence-final intonation, not found on the phrase. As noted in the typology chapter (3.13), the adjective is the dependent in the noun phrase but the head within the descriptive clause.

As with other non-verbal clauses there is a clear asymmetry in polarity. In the case of descriptive clauses, the negative is seldom used with descriptive predicates, though it is regularly used with corresponding equative clauses. In the few examples where the adjective predicate of a head-marked clause is negated, the construction indicates that the negative condition is permanent.

(63) **Baha ega sigasiga-na.**
word NEG end-3s
The talk has no end.

(64) **Gamogamo ega lupalupa-na.**
animal NEG flying-3s
The animal does not fly.

(65) **Dobu ega gehou-na.**
Village NEG other-3s
The village has no other (place or thing).

The descriptive clause contrasts with the alienable possessive construction.

(66)	Ega dewadewa-u.	Ega u dewadewa awai.
	NEG good-1s	NEG my good what
	I am not (morally) good.	*I have nothing good (about me).*

13.4.2 POSSESSIVE CLAUSES

Justification is offered above (13.3) for treating the possessive clause as a clause type separate from the equative clause. Some corroboration of this analysis is found in Mosel (1984:163f.), who proposes two categories for the Tolai possessive clauses which are somewhat parallel to the Tawala equative and possessive clauses – details are given at several points below.

The grammatical relations involved in a possessive clause are similar to those that pertain to the descriptive clause, except that the predicate is a noun instead of an adjective phrase.

NP^S NOUN<-na>^{P}

Semantically, these clauses always involve the possessor noun functioning as the subject and the possessed noun as the predicate.[5]

(67)	[Limi]^S ega [natu-na]^P.	[Polo]^S ega [hai yam]^P
	L. NEG child-3s	pig NEG their food
	Limi has no child.	*The pigs have no food.*

Lyons (1977:473f.) cautions against taking the idea of 'possession' too literally: "Generally speaking...a phrase like 'X's

---

[5] In contrast to Tawala, the clause in Tolai has the grammatical relations reversed, so that "the possessed NP functions as the subject, whereas the predicate is formed by a possessor" (Mosel 1984:163).

Y' means no more than 'the Y that is associated with X'". In Tawala the possession clause is often most closely represented in English by the formula 'X has Y', as in (67). At other times the relationship is not easily expressed in English at all.

It is evident from the data in (67) that the possessive clause fits clearly within the category of head-marked clauses, in that there is subject agreement on the predicate. Note, however, that the subject agreement in the first case is marked by a pronominal enclitic and in the second by a possessive pronoun. This is, of course, precisely the situation that is described for the possessive phrases (9.10).

Just as there is constructional homonymy between the descriptive clause and the corresponding simple noun phrase (9.1), so there are two clause types corresponding to the inalienable possessive NP (9.10.1) and alienable possessive NP (9.10.2). Contrast the sentences in (67) with (68) and (69).[6]

(68) [Kiu natu-hi]^{NP} lawa atapu-na i-luhogale-ya.
bird child-3p person all-3s 3s-love-3s[7]
The birds' child loved all the people.

(69) [Polo hai neula]^{NP} i-ani.
pig their coconut 3s-eat
He ate the pigs' coconut.

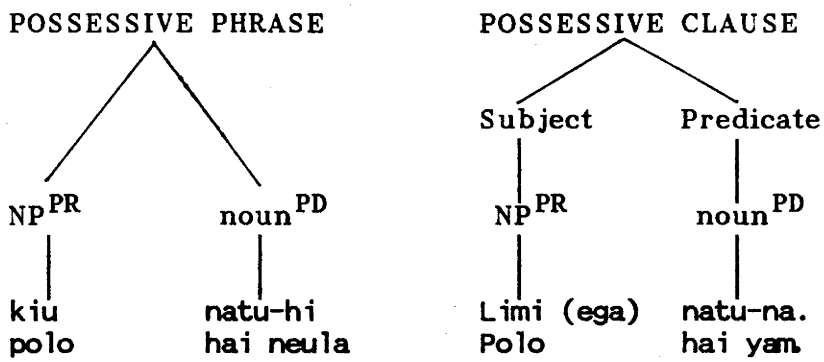
As the tree below suggests, there is no structural distinction between inalienable and alienable possessive clauses, apart from the position of the pronominal possessive marker (the pronominal enclitic with the former and the possessive pronoun

---

[6] Tolai has a different order of possessed and possessor nouns for the NP and clause, thus avoiding constructional homonymy.

[7] The singular is used because the people are viewed as a single group.

with the latter) the pronominal forms are identical to those used with possessive noun phrases.



Even though these two clause types are essentially the same, a description of their syntax is simplified by keeping the two types separate.

ALIENABLE: $[NP^{PR}]^{S}$ $[\langle a \rangle\ NP^{PD}]^{P}$

INALIENABLE: $[NP^{PR}]^{S}$ $[NP^{PD}\text{-}\langle na \rangle]^{P}$

While alienability is largely determined by the noun class, with verbal nouns there is a genuine choice (9.10). Inalienable possessive clauses basically reflect [-control] situations, as opposed to alienable possessive clauses which indicate a greater degree of control. Noun classes reflect this same distinction. The following data demonstrate the contrast; both constructions are in common use.

(70) Hai luhogala beda.
their desire betel
They want betel nut.
[+control]

Beda nugonugo-hi.
betel mind-3p
They need betel nut.
[-control]

13.4.2.1 ALIENABLE POSSESSIVE CLAUSE

A convincing translation of the head-marked clause often requires a reversal of the function of NPs – the Tawala

predicate becomes the subject of the English translation.[8]

(71) Kama a gou.
K. his fault
The fault is Kama's.

(72) Polo hai yam.
pig their food
The food is the pigs.

(73) Tauyai i dewa.
weE ourE custom
The custom is ours.

In each of the examples (71-73) the possessed item is definite. An indefinite construction would involve the use of the 'existential' verb mae *stay.*

(74) Polo hai yam e-ma-mae.
pig their food 3sPRS-DUR-stay
The pigs have food.

The use of a negative with these constructions not only distinguishes between head-marked and equative clauses (13.3) but facilitates a more direct English translation.

	ALIENABLE POSSESSIVE	EQUATIVE
(75)	Tau ega u gou.	Naka ega tau u gou.
	I NEG my fault	that NEG I my fault
	I have no fault.	*That is not my fault.*
	(= The fault is not mine.)	
(76)	Polo ega hai yam.	Ega polo hai yam.
	pig NEG their food	NEG pig their food
	The pigs have no food.	*(It is) not the pig's food.*

Note that in the second sentence in (76) the negative is structurally the counterpart of the definite construction in (72) but is itself indefinite. Sentence (77) is the counterpart of (71) and also of the inalienable possessive clause in (78).

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[8] Mosel (1984:163) states "the possessed NP functions as the subject, whereas the predicate is formed by a possessor". This distinction is actually made in Tolai syntax (by word order) not just in the translation.

(77) Geka lawa-na ega a powa awai.
this person-DEF NEG his mistake what
This person has done nothing wrong.

(78) Moina, hai wigou ega ano-na.
truly their accusation NEG core-3s
Truly, their accusation had no substance.

The following negative construction is a declaration of need.

(79) Ega u pawasi.
NEG my iron
I have no nails.

Example (80) has an expanded subject NP.

(80) [Bada natu-natu-na mitehi]^{S} hai numa.
man PL-child-3s together their house
The bada and his children have a house.

13.4.2.2 INALIENABLE POSSESSIVE CLAUSES

In the general discussion of head-marking clauses (13.4) the distinction was drawn in Tawala between an equative clause (with a possessive phrase in the predicate) and a head-marked possessive clause (with the possessor NP as subject and the possessed NP as predicate). In this section, only head-marked clauses are discussed.

These clausal constructions have a decidedly unusual sound to English ears, and the following translations are, accordingly, neither very literal nor very meaningful.

(81) Ginahi bagibagi-na.
sago work-3s
Sago has its work.
(= Work is done for making sago.)

(82) Gapola luhogala-hi.
thing desire-3s
Things have their love.
(= Someone's love is for possessions.)

(83) Baha ano-na.
word core-3s
The speech has meaning.

In the following examples the subject NP is expanded.

(84) [Meyagai gehou-na]^{S} bagibagi-na.
village other-3s work-3s
Another village has its work.
(= Work (that people do) is for another village.)

(85) [(Lawa) hai luhinigigai]^{S} ega ano-na.
person their refusal NEG core-3s
The people's refusal has no foundation.
(= The people had no right to refuse it.)

Example (85) also illustrates a negative modifier with the predicate. The predicate can be expanded in other ways too, as in (86).

(86) I-gehou-ta ega [wai hina-hina-ta po
UNSPEC-other-1pl NEG COND PL-mother-1pl and

am-ama-ta]^{P}.
PL-father-1pl
Some of us have the condition (of having) no mothers and fathers.

Mosel (1984:164) states that Tolai does not have this clause type:

> The relationships denoted by inalienable possessive phrases differ from those of the 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.

Mosel's own data seems to argue against her position, as seen in the second sentence of her example (186) on page 165 of the *Tolai Syntax* , which she translates "...they had neither uncle, nor brother, nor sister, they had nobody at all".[9] These clauses seem identical in structure to those described for Tawala here. The crucial test would be to discover whether or

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9 A more literal translation, showing the presence of the four clauses and the sentence break marked in the text, would read *They had no uncle, no brother, no sister, nobody at all.*

not a possessor noun phrase can be expressed, which seems likely. In the Tolai example, the subject possessor is expressed in the previous sentence and presumably omitted from the non-verbal sentence because it is given, just as it would be in Tawala.

Mosel's (p.165) interpretation is that the possessive clauses are existential – "a clause that consists of only one noun phrase and denotes that what is referred to by the noun phrase exists". Or in the clauses in question, "to express that somebody does not have this certain kind of relative". I discovered in my analysis of Tawala existential clauses that it is crucial to limit data to a single referent; by admitting a possessor particle we have two referents and hence potentially two NPs. It is only in admitting inalienable possessive nouns that Mosel's analysis of Tolai existential clauses (pp.156f.) differs from that offered for Tawala below. I conclude, therefore, that the Tawala and Tolai structures may well be identical in these two clause types.

In Tawala, the inalienable possessive clauses are readily negated.

(87) **Peuka ega natu-na.** **Bada-na ega pona-na.**
P. NEG child-3s man-DEF NEG voice-3s
Peuka has no child. *The man had no voice.*

(88) Lawa-na ega ama-na po ega hina-na.
man-DEF NEG father-3s and NEG mother-3s
The man had no father and had no mother.

13.5 COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Possessive clauses fall into two classes: i) those that take only a subject, and ii) those taking a subject and a complement. Both alienable and inalienable clauses include a subclass of 'bivalent' predicates.

(89) [Bada]^{S} a luhogala [neula]^{C}.
man his desire coconut
The man wants a coconut.

(90) [Yoela]^{S} [goila]^{C} nugonugo-na.
Y. water needs-3s
Yoela needs water.

The situation is analogous to the valence distinction that exists between intransitive and transitive verbs. The parallel nature of the structure is particularly striking in examples like (90), where the non-verbal order SCP matches the SOP word order of verbal clauses.

Complementation is described in chapter 15. However, some aspects need to be introduced at this point in order to give a complete picture of non-verbal clauses.

The concept of 'complement' itself is vague – "a major constituent of sentence or clause structure, traditionally associated with 'completing' the action specified by the verb" (Crystal 1980:74). Complementation in Tawala is a broader functional domain than that found in English, as evidenced by the following data where complements 'complete' non-verbal predicates.

(91) Ega [a tekis]^{C} emoemota-na.
NEG her tax ability-3s
She is not able (to pay) her tax.

(92) A luhogala [beda po gaga]^{C}.
his desire betel and pepper
His desire is (for) betel nut and 'pepper'.

(93) Ama-m [awai]^{C} nugonugo-na?
father-2s what need-3s
What does your father want?

The complement is simply a second grammatical function occurring optionally with some predicates in addition to clausal subject - the primary function. The predicate is indexed for subject agreement; the complement is not cross-referenced on the predicate.

(94) [Bagibagi]^{C} emoemota-ta.
work ability-1pl
We can do the work.

The inalienably possessed noun **gowana** also functions as a two-place predicate.

(95) Tauna ega gowa-na bada[10].
he NEG name-3s man
He is not called 'sir'.

Semantically the grammatical predicate functions like a verb in that it predicates a relationship between the subject and the complement. The possessive construction (95) contrasts with the equative (96).

(96) Tauna gowa-na ega bada.
he name-3s NEG man
His name is not 'sir'.

Tense/aspect particles precede the predicate. Again the distinction between the possessive (97) and the equative (98) clause is evident.

(97) Apo gowa-na Yoni.
FUT name-3s Y.
He will be called Yoni.

(98) Gowa-na apo Yoni.
name-3s FUT Y.
His name will be Yoni.

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[10] The noun **bada** is a term of respect.

The preferred position for the negative is immediately preceding the predicate.

(99) [Miseluki]^{C} ega nugonugo-u. Keduluma ega nugonugo-na.
banana NEG need-1s woman NEG need-3s
I don't want sugar bananas. The woman doesn't need (it).

However a negative can come before the NP complement (cf. 91).

(100) Tauhi ega [tu-mulamula]^{C} nugonugo-hi.
they NEG PERS-medicine mind-3p
They don't want a medicine man.

14 RELATIVE & NOMINALISED CLAUSES

> ...the study of relative clauses has been biased, until quite recently, by concentration on data from English and the construction of abstract analyses to account for these characteristics. We shall not be criticizing these analyses *qua* analyses of English, but...will demonstrate some of the limitations of trying to build a universal syntactic theory solely on the basis of English data and abstract analyses thereof.
>
> Comrie (1981:131)

Universal studies suggest three basic construction types involving "embedded clauses" (Thompson & Longacre 1985:172; cf. Noonan 1985:43 and Schachter 1985:50f.): *Relativisation* – where the embedded clause modifies a noun filling an argument slot of the main clause (this chapter); *Complementation* – where the embedded clause functions as the subject or object of a complement-taking predicate (ch.15); and *Adverbialisation* – where the embedded clause modifies the core of the main clause (ch.16). Nominalisations, often akin to relative clauses, are clearly embedded within the clause.

14.1 DEFINITE RELATIVE CLAUSE

Tawala does not formally distinguish restrictive from non-restrictive relative clauses; instead there are a number of other formal distinctions: definite and indefinite relative clauses, and verbal and non-verbal relative clauses. Structurally, the relative construction consists of:

[domain noun + restrictive clause] + main predicate

i) The domain noun is 'the common noun in a relative clause which expresses the domain of relativisation' (Keenan 1985:142). The domain 'noun' is occasionally expanded to an NP (as in (4) and (26)). The preferred position of the domain noun is the first constituent of the relative clause (1), regardless of its grammatical role.

ii) The restrictive clause 'identifies a subset of the domain' (Keenan 1985:142). The restrictive clause includes the domain noun, as Tawala has internal-headed relative clauses: the restrictive clause following the domain noun is in fact normal word order; predicates normally follow the core NPs within the clause.

The domain noun is written with capital letters, and the restrictive clause is in brackets in this section. The main predicate follows the restrictive clause and is orthographically unmarked.

(1) [KWASIKWASI pom u-gima-gimal-e-ya] i-tutuma.
machete yesterday 2s-DUR-buy-TR-3s 3s-blunt
The bush-knife that you bought yesterday is blunt.

The domain noun is optionally marked as pragmatically definite – an item already referred to.

(2) [KWASIKWASI-NA u-gima-gimal-e-ya] i-tutuma.
machete-DEF 2s-DUR-buy-TR-3s 3s-blunt
The bush-knife that you bought is blunt.

Keenan (1985:143) distinguishes between external and internal headed relative clauses, the latter involving domain nouns which occur within the restrictive clause. Three pieces of evidence indicate that Tawala has internal-headed relative clauses. Firstly, it is never possible to separate the domain

noun from the restrictive clause. Note that the temporal item in (1) does not apply to the main clause, only to the restrictive clause. Secondly, Tawala has no relative pronoun, this situation is typical of internal-headed relative clauses. Thirdly, peripheral arguments are marked with a cataphoric definite marker (11) when they are modified by restrictive clauses.

Tawala restrictive clauses are often identical in form to independent clauses; the embedded clause in (1), **Kwasikwasi pom ugimagimaleya**, may also function as an independent clause with the meaning *You were buying the machete yesterday.* This independent function applies only to clauses embedded in core NPs and not to those embedded in peripheral PPs (12-14).

The distinguishing feature of relative clauses in Tawala is that the restrictive clause is marked for durative aspect; there is, however, no subordinating particle or dependence marker. The relative clause does not need to be semantically durative, but can refer to a single point in time - a very distinctive use of an aspect which otherwise signals durative, repetitive or progressive action (8.6). This special use of the durative is seen in (1), where the action in the restrictive clause is clearly punctiliar.

Stative verbs, which have no reduplicated form (5.5.1), are an exception to the general rule that the durative marks the restrictive clause.

(3) [MI DIMDIM hi-maga duma] he-ma-mae.
people horizon 3p-many very 3pPRS-DUR-stay
Europeans who are numerous are staying there. (= There are many Europeans there.)

When the relative clause is a complex construction (4) only the second verb - the ongoing/resulting situation - needs to be marked for durative aspect.

(4) Tauna [WAM LUWAGA hi-hepa-hi po hi-ma-mae] i-gale-hi.
he boat two 3p-beach-3p and 3p-DUR-stay 3s-saw-3p
He saw two boats which had been beached (impersonal 3p) *and were there.*

In (4) the subject of the main clause (tauna) precedes the relative clause, demonstrating relative clause embedding. The main clause consists of the whole sentence: the subject, the embedded relative clause in the object slot and the main predicate.

Usually the predicates of both the relative clause and the main clause "cross reference" to the domain noun. Clauses differ as to the grammatical relation of the domain noun to the main clause and the restrictive clause; it can be the subject or object of the main clause. In (1), (3), (5) and (6) it is the subject of the main clause which is relativised.

(5) [NEULA hi-yau-yautu] hi-hilage pahi-hi.
coconut 3p-DUR-breathe 3p-die entirely-RFX
The coconuts that were alive completely died.

(6) [LAWA TAUMI wam-na o-na-gelu-gelu-ya]
person youPL boat-DEF 2p-IRR-DUR-embark-3s

geka hosi o-na-nei.
this place 2p-POT-come
Come here you people who are to board the boat.

In the above examples the domain noun is the subject of the main clause and also of the restrictive clause; in (7) the domain noun is the subject of the main clause and the object of the restrictive clause.

(7) [MAYAU e-kika-kikalo-ya] apo i-n-alata
tree 3sPRS-DUR-rub-3s FUT 3s-POT-light
The wood he is rubbing will burst into flame.

In (8) the domain noun is the object of the restrictive clause as well as of the main clause.

(8) [LIYAPA i-en-eno-ge-ya] i-awal-i.
mat 3s-DUR-sleep-TR-3s 3s-carry-3s
He carried the mat that he slept on.

In (9) the subject of the main clause differs from that of the relative clause. The domain noun is the object of both clauses.

(9) [NUMA-NA to-wogo-wogo-ya] amaka hi-apu-ya.
house-DEF 1pE-DUR-build-3s already 3p-burn-3s
They have burned the house that we built.

A secondary object is never cross-referenced to its governing verb. When a domain noun is a secondary object it follows the normal pattern and is not cross-referenced on the main verb. In (10) the domain noun is the secondary object of both the restrictive clause and the main clause.

(10) [WOIDA a-wele-wele-m] apo u-na-wele-hi.
yam 1s-DUR-give-2s FUT 2s-POT-give-3p
The yams that I gave you, you give to them.

Peripheral arguments – in my data only temporal arguments – may also be modified by a restrictive clause.

(11) [HOUGA-NA dobu uyahi-hi o-na-lui-lui]
time-DEF village AT-3p 2p-POT-DUR-enter

o-na-wimaamala.
2p-POT-greet
The time when you enter the villages greet (the people).

The distinguishing feature of peripheral relative clauses is the domain noun, which is marked with a definite suffix. This morpheme is a cataphoric subordinating marker referencing the time indicated in the adverbial clause.

(12) [HOUGA-NA hi-lau-geleta] lawa luwaga hi-tuwaga-hi.
time-DEF 3p-DUR-appear person two 3p-find-3p
When they arrived they found two people.

Although there is much in common between peripheral and core relative clauses - both include a domain noun within a modifying clause which precedes a main clause - they differ formally in three ways.

i) The domain noun of a peripheral clause has a cataphoric definite marker, referring to the embedded predicate. The peripheral relative clause is thus formally a dependent clause, whereas the core relative clause is always formally an independent structure. The dependent nature of the peripheral relative clause is illustrated in the following examples. The dependent clause in (13) cannot stand as an independent structure (14).

(13) [HOUGA-NA hi-gele-geleta] pona-pona hi-nonol-i.
time-DEF 3p-DUR-arrive PL-voice 3p-hear-3s
The time when they arrived they heard voices.

(14) *Houga-na hi-gele-geleta.
time-DEF 3p-DUR-arrive
The time they were arriving...

For (14) to function as an independent clause a demonstrative would need to be added (15); the definite marker is now anaphoric.

(15) Naka houga-na hi-gele-geleta.
that time-DEF 3p-DUR-arrive
They were arriving at that time.

ii) The domain noun of the core relative clause can stand alone with the main clause - the embedded predicate can be omitted - this is not true of the peripheral clause. In (16) (cf. 13) the domain noun (hougana) cannot stand without the modifying clause; the sentences is simply not grammatical. Sentences such

as (13) are strong evidence for the internal-headed nature of the Tawala relative clause.

(16) *[Houga-na...] pona-pona hi-nonol-i.
time-DEF PL-voice 3p-hear-3s
At that time they heard voices.

Example (16) would be grammatical as a relative clause meaning *the time when they heard voices...*; however, it requires a main clause to follow it.

iii) The similarity between core and peripheral relative clauses is particularly striking when the latter is marked for durative aspect (12,13). However, the peripheral relative clause differs from the core relative clause in that it does not have to be marked for durative aspect (17,18).

(17) [KABUDALA-NA i-geleta hoi wam] naka amaka hi-gelu.
sun-DEF 3s-arrive LOC boat that already 3p-embark
When he arrived at the boat they had already embarked.

(18) [HOUGA-NA a-gae Highland], Ukarumpa a-me-mae.
time-DEF 1s-go.up H. U. 1s-DUR-stay
When I went up to the (Eastern) Highlands, I stayed at Ukarumpa.

Relative clauses may also be embedded within postpositional constructions (cf. 16.1.1).

(19) [Popopo a dewa i-dewa-dewa-ya uyahi-n-ei]
lizard his custom 3s-DUR-do-3s AT-3s-ABL

ta-lau-labiya.
1pl-DUR-sago
We collect sago following the custom which Lizard does.

In Tawala, verbal relative clauses are also found embedded within the subject of non-verbal main clauses. The domain noun is most naturally the object of the restrictive clause.

(20) [PONA-NA i-no<o>nol-i] mei togowa.
voice-3s 3s-hear<DUR>-3s like wind
Her voice which he heard was like the wind.

(21) [BAHA-HI a-bahe-bahe-hi] ega tau u nugotuhu-gei.
word-DEF 1s-DUR-say-3p NEG I my thought-ABL
The message that I have spoken is not my (own) thoughts.

Attempts to elicit a domain noun as the subject of a non-verbal clause and also the subject of a restrictive clause result in a switch to a verbal main clause.

14.2 INDEFINITE RELATIVE CLAUSE

Indefinite relative clauses are distinguished by the presence of an interrogative (5.6.11) as the domain noun. These relative clauses are mostly embedded within verbal clauses but an occasional non-verbal main clause is found. Indefinite relative clauses are marked for durative aspect only when the semantics of the situation require it. The domain noun stands in the same core grammatical relations as those given for definite relative clauses; subject of the main clause (22) and object of the main clause (23-24).

(22) [IYAWOI hi-na-gelu Yesu a wam] apega yautu-hi
whoPL 3p-POT-embark Jesus his boat FUT.NEG breath-3p

hi-na-hale-hi.
3p-POT-throw-3p
Those who embark on Jesus' boat will not die.

(23) Apo [IYAI geka ginouli-hi i-na-dewa-dewa-hi] lawa
FUT who this thing-DEF 3s-POT-DUR-do-3p person

hi-na-gale-ni...
3p-POT-see-3s
People will see anyone who does these things, that...

In (23) the domain interrogative is both the subject of the restrictive clause and the object of the main clause; in (24) it is the object of both the restrictive and main clauses.

(24) [AWAI hi-mtele-ya] hai u numa he-hu-houn-i.
what 3p-leave-3s their LOC house 3pPRS-DUR-put-3s
They would put what they left in their house.

The domain noun of the peripheral relative clause can also be replaced by an interrogative (25) and (26).

(25) [MEKA TOKA i-tugu-tugula] apo o-na-wi-tugula-me-ya.
where just 3s-DUR-sit FUT 2p-POT-DP-sit-again-3s
You cause him to sit again just where he was sitting.

(26) [MEYANAI operation hi-wele-ya] ita Guyau
when o. 3p-give-3s our1 chief

ta-witumagan-e-ya.
1pI-believe-TR-3s
Whenever they operate on him we trust our Lord (to help him).

14.3 NON-VERBAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

The verbal relative clause is rather rare; a more usual strategy is the use of a non-verbal construction as the functional equivalent of the relative clause. If we accept Comrie's functional definition of a relative clause as "a head and a restricting clause", the way seems open to interpret non-verbal clauses as true relative clauses.

These clauses are structurally parallel to verbal relative clauses - a domain noun included in a non-verbal relative clause which typically precedes the rest of the main clause. The restrictive clause may modify either the subject or the object of the main clause; (27-29) demonstrate a range of nominalised restrictive clauses which are subjects of main clauses.

(27) [TAUTA Poleni a lawa] ta-nei...
wel P. his friend 1pI-come
We who are Poleni's friends have come...

(28) [TAUHI ega hai wekiwekilala] apega hi-na-i-gimagimala.
they NEG their sign FUT.NEG 3p-POT-DUR-trade
They who have no pass will not (be able to) trade.

(29) [LAWA GEHOU-NA guyau tu-wiponawogo-na] i-ma-mae.
person another-3s chief PERS-obey-3s 3s-DUR-stay
There remained another person who was a supporter of the chief.

Example (30) illustrates non-verbal relativisation of the object NP of the main clause and (31) a secondary object.

(30) [GATOWA DIIDINA-NA ani-mpanipani] ta-kekeh-i.
thatch sewing-3s thing-bind 1pl-peel-3s
We peel thatch-twine which is for binding.

(31) Lawa [hai luhogala AWAI] apo u-na-wele-wele-hi.
person their desire what FUT 2s-POT-DUR-give-3s
Give (those) people what they desire.

The position of the interrogative in (31) is a function of the non-verbal predicate **luhogala**; the restrictive clause may function independently: **Hai luhogala awai?** *What do they want?*

One common embedded nominalisation is a clause giving the name of a person or thing.

(32) [LANI-HI gowa-hi Wagaloke ma Popopo] hi-me-mae.
men-DEF name-3p possum and Lizard 3p-DUR-stay
Those men who are called Possum and Lizard were staying (there).

(33) [GAMOGAMO gowa-hi bulumakau] hi-nei.
animal name-3p cattle 3p-came
Animals that are called cattle came.

14.4 RESUMPTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE

The distinguishing feature of the resumptive relative clause is the use of **naka** *that* to mark the resumption of the main clause (34–36); the demonstrative is anaphoric to the referent of the whole relative clause, confirming that the relative clause is interpreted as nominal in spite of its clause structure.

(34) [A BAHA i-bahe-bah-e-ya] naka i-li-moin-e-ya.
his word 3s-DUR-say-TR-3s that 3s-DP-true-TR-RFX
His word he was proclaiming came true.

(35) [MEYAGAI noka a-ga-gale-hi] naka meyagai dewadewa
village there 1s-DUR-see-3p that village good

duma-na.
very-3s
The villages which I saw there are very big villages.

(36) [PONA WABIHAGA he-me-mae] naka tauhi
voice how.many 3pPRS-DUR-stay that they

he-wo-bagibagi-ye-hi.
3p-keep-work-TR-3p
However many languages that exist they (the linguistis) keep working on them.

Like the reduplicated relative clause, the resumptive relative clause is marked for durative aspect. I originally recorded (37) with simple aspect (in a text), but my data was edited by Yailo to the form it now has.

(37) [NUMA hi-wogo-wogo-hi] naka hi-lata duma.
house 3p-DUR-build-3p that 3p-grow very
The houses which have been built (impersonal 3p) *are very big.*

With the resumptive relative clause the domain noun is often repeated, particularly when the head is a locative or temporal noun.

(38) Ma [HOUGA-NA to-ne-nae] naka houga i-apapoe duma.
and time-DEF 1pE-DUR-go that time 3s-bad very
Now the time when we were going along was a really bad time (weather).

(39) [MEYAGAI NOKA a-gele-geleta] naka meyagai dewadewa
village there 1s-DUR-arrive that village good

duma-na.
very-3s
The village that I arrived at was a very good village.

14.5 NOMINALISED CLAUSES

One common form of embedding in Tawala is nominalisation, where a proposition is expressed as a non-verbal predication embedded within the noun phrase (14.3). There are three classes: agentive, instrument/location and action nominalisations. These three classes share a degree of structural unity: the respective nominaliser followed by a verb stem.

$$\left.\begin{matrix}\text{tu-}\\ \text{ani-}\end{matrix}\right\} + \text{verb stem}$$

The prefixes tu-/ani- attach to a verb stem and receive the secondary stress associated with the onset of words. With some verb stems this results in vowel elision (4.3.1.2).

tu-mginoula *one who builds*
ani-mbenena *thing that is given*

The verb stem itself (e.g. bagibagi *work*) is not a truly independent form but must occur in one of a limited number of contexts - most of them bound. The first two have verbal functions, the rest have nominal functions.

i) with a subject prefix - hi-bagibagi *they work* - verb

ii) with any of a number of derivational affixes - e.g. hi-wi-bagibag-i *they borrow s.t.* - derived verb

iii) with an inalienable pronominal enclitic - bagibagi-hi *their work (done for them)* - verbal noun

iv) with an alienable possessive pronoun - hai bagibagi *their work (done by them)* - verbal noun

v) with the agentive nominaliser - tu-bagibagi *the one who worked* - derived noun

vi) with the instrument/location nominaliser - ani-bagibagi *a thing/place for working* - derived noun

The whole nominalised clause may further include two other items:

vii) in the case of agentive nominalisation: an object (an unmodified noun) - **tano tu-bagibagi** *one who works a garden.*

viii) in the case of action nominalisation: an alienable NP (and possessive pronoun) indicate the subject of the nominalised action - **logaloga hai bagibagi** *the work which the children did.*

Tawala nominalised forms lose most verbal characteristics: they are not indexed for subject and object; they are not marked for tense, aspect or mood. However, they do take dependent NPs (44,48,49).

By way of contrast they have a number of clearly nominal characteristics: they receive singular (46,48) and plural (45,47,49) definite marking; the object nouns may take an alienable possessor NP (49-51); they may occur as objects of a postposition (54,58,68,69); and, finally, they can be modified by an adjective.

(40) [SIL hai tu-bagibagi gehou-na] hi-himili-yai.
S. their PERS-work other-3s 3p-send-DX
S.I.L. sent us one of their workers.

14.5.1 AGENTIVE NOMINALISATION tu-

Tawala has a productive process whereby verbs are expressed as nouns meaning *one who 'verbs'.* I follow the traditional label for these constructions - agentive nominalisation - 'even though, strictly speaking, the noun need

not be in an 'agent' relationship with the verb from which it is derived' (Comrie & Thompson 1985).

Tawala has two kinds of agentive nominalisation, corresponding to intransitive and transitive clauses.

14.5.1.1 INTRANSITIVE NOMINALISATION

The intransitive nominalisation consists of an intransitive verb stem with the nominalising prefix tu-:

tu-VERB^{intrans}

apapoe	*be bad*	> tu-apapoe	*one who sins (social misfit)*
memae	*inhabit*	> tu-memae	*one who stays (inhabitant)*
towolo	*be standing*	> tu-towolo	*one who stands (officer)*
koiba	*be pregnant*	> tu-koiba	*one who is pregnant*
hilage	*be dead*	> tu-hilage	*one who is dead*

The referent of the nominalised verb corresponds to the subject of the verb. Thus the tu- (PERS) in tu-hilage *a dead person* corresponds to i (3s) in i-hilage *he/she/it is dead.* The construction can be apposed to a noun specifying the nature of the person involved in the predication; in this case the construction is referential because of the first noun.

(41) lawa tu-hilage
person PERS-be.dead
the person who is dead

(42) anai tapu-yai tu-apapoe
with different-1pE PERS-sin
us people who sin

(43) tauhi tu-bagibagi
they PERS-work
the ones who work

It is probably best to consider these as phrases in apposition, rather than to regard the nominalised form as a modifier of the head noun, although this latter alternative would be in line with the general nominal characteristics of these forms.

14.5.1.2 TRANSITIVE NOMINALISATION

The transitive nominalisation consists of a noun phrase, the nominalising prefix tu- and a transitive verb:

NP tu- VERB^{trans}

(44) tano tu-bagibagi
garden PERS-work
one who works a garden (a garden worker)

In (44) the noun tano corresponds to the object of the transitive clause tano i-bagibagi *he/she/it worked a garden.* There is a rich and distinctive vocabulary involved in these constructions.

kopala tu-bagibagi	*one who works copra*
numa tu-wogo	*one who builds houses*
wam tu-mginoula	*one who builds (things) boats*
kewokewou tu-mtahi	*one who carves canoes*
hiyamoni tu-tala	*one who cuts grass*
labiya tu-mhapi	*one who pounds (chops) sago*

In each of these examples the nominalised verb is indefinite. The construction is made definite by the addition of a definite marker (a pronominal enclitic) on the head of the construction, marking it as pragmatically definite (9.3).

(45) numa tu-wogo-hi
house PERS-build-DEF.PL
The ones who built the house

(46) aniani tu-pahi-na
food PERS-complete-DEF.SG
the one who finished the food

Intransitive constructions can be made definite in the same manner.

(47) tu-apapoe-hi
PERS-bad-DEF.PL
the ones who sin

When a transitive verb stem requires a transitivising suffix (7.4.1) as part of its stem, this is also present in the

corresponding nominalised construction, because the verbal noun is derived from a verb stem.

(48) tano banei-na tu-bagibagi-ye-na
garden big-3s PERS-work-TR-DEF.SG
the one who works the big garden

(49) Yaubada a nugotuhu tu-bagibagi-ye-hi
God his thought PERS-work-TR-DEF.PL
the ones who obey God's thoughts

The following examples contain an agentive nominalisation (in square brackets) functioning as the object (50), the subject (51), and as the object of a postposition (52).

(50) [Yaubada a tu-bagibagi] he-lilig-e-hi.
God his PERS-work 3pPRS-oppose-TR-DEF.PL
They oppose the ones working for God.

(51) [Yaubada a nugotuhu tu-bagibagi-ye-hi] he-me-mae.
God his thought PERS-work-TR-DEF.PL 3pPRS-DUR-stay
People live (there) who work God's thoughts.

(52) [Lugagayo tu-lagona-na] bi-nei paliguba ta-wialon-i.
law PERS-pass-DEF.SG BEN-3s curse 1pI-face-3s
We face a curse because of the one who has broken (lit. *passed over) the law.*

14.5.2 INSTRUMENT/LOCATION NOMINALISATION ani-

Tawala also has a productive process whereby action verbs can form a noun meaning *an instrument for 'verbing'* (Comrie & Thompson 1984:353) or *a place where 'verb' happens* (p.355). At times the same Tawala form has both meanings:

togo	*wash(self)*	>	ani-togo	*thing/place for washing*
eno	*sleep*	>	ani-eno	*thing/place for sleeping*
ulona	*cook*	>	ani-ulona	*thing/place for cooking*
duhuna	*sit*	>	ani-duhuna	*thing/place for sitting*

The two meanings are distinguished in discourse in that things are commonly found in ablative constructions (10.2.2) and places in locative constructions (10.2.1).

(53) ani-togo uyahi-n-ei <—> ani-togo uyahi-na
NOM-wash AT-3s-ABL NOM-wash AT-3s
with a wash thing *at a wash place*

In most cases, however, the construction has a single meaning.

libolu	*chat*	>	ani-libolu	*place for chatting*
gimala	*trade*	>	ani-gimala	*place for trading*
mae	*stay*	>	ani-mae	*place for staying*
goda	*stir*	>	ani-goda	*thing for stirring*
kaoha	*be happy*	>	ani-kaoha	*thing for rejoicing*

(54) Ani-gimala uyahi-na i-ma-mae.
NOM-trade AT-3s 3s-DUR-stay
He is at the place for trading (market).

(55) Heliam, meka ata ani-goda?
friend where ourI NOM-stir
Friend, where is our stirrer (ladle)?

Examples (56) and (57) contain a location nominalisation (in square brackets) in which the subject is expressed by the possessive pronoun.

(56) [I ani-gae] gadiwewe i-waya.
ourE NOM-ascend rain 3s-take.it
Our ascending (way up) was blocked by rain.

(57) [Om ani-taniwaga] hi-na-galena tuhaga-ya.
yourSG NOM-rule 3p-POT-see find-3s
They will discover your place of ruling (= kingdom).

Throughout the above sections the nominaliser ani- has been glossed by its grammatical function as NOM; however, elsewhere in the thesis it is glossed by its semantic function as *place* or *thing*.

14.5.3 ACTION NOMINALISATION

A final productive nominalisation is the process whereby verbal events are expressed as nominal clauses meaning *one's 'verbing'*. This structure involves the same surface string as a possessive construction (9.3) with a verb filling the head slot:

(NP^{possr}) <a> $VERB^{possd}$

In this construction the verb stem functions as a verbal noun. The subject of the nominalised clause is expressed as an alienable possessor marked for number (58).

lawa hai bagibagi	*people's working*
lawa hai nae	*people's going*
lawa hai kadau	*people's journeying*
lawa hai tawine	*people's marrying*
lawa hai luhogala	*people's desiring*

(58) Lawa [hai kadau] uyahi-hi i-hagu-hi.
person their journey AT-3p 3s-help-3p
He helps people in their journeyings.

Note that the possessor is the object of the main verb in (58). Non-third person examples function in a similar manner. Note also the resumptive use of naka in these examples.

(59) [Taumi ami nae] naka ega i-ta-dewadewa.
youPL yourPL go that NEG 3s-IRR-good
That you are going is not good.

(60) [Am mae] po [am nae] naka ipa u-na-galenaitete-hi.
yourSG stay and yourSG go that IRR 2s-POT-look.after-3p
Be careful about your staying and your going.

Transitive verbs do not participate in this construction: *lawa hai numa bagibagi-ye-hi *the peoples's building the house.* In order to express this concept the object NP becomes an oblique argument: lawa hai bagibagi numa binei *the people's working for the house.* The possessed NP is also expressed with inalienable constructions, as in the following nominalised clause.

(61) Meyagai bagibagi-na i-lata duma.
village work-3s 3s-grow very
The village's work (= Work done for the village) is very extensive.

In (9.10) we noted the distinction between inalienably possessed and alienably possessed nominalisations as being parallel to the objective and subjective genitives of European languages. Inalienably possessed clauses (62) are not commonly

found as subordinate clauses. On the other hand, subordinated alienably possessed clauses (63) are common.

(62) [Neula hopu-na] i-wipilipili.
coconut down-3s 3s-difficult
It is difficult to get down from a coconut palm.

(63) [Kalado a hopu] i-dewadewa.
K. his down 3s-good
It is good that Kalado went down.

One common form of inalienably possessed nominalised clause is common, however. The structure of this clause is unique We noted in (9.6) one strategy for referring to the number of a referent. When more complex numerals (often one or more clauses – 5.6.7) are involved a special inalienable nominalised structure is used.

(POSSESSOR NP) + magou<-na> + NUMERAL

The nominal magou-<na> *number-3s* is related to the adjective magomagou-<na> *many/numerous*.

(64) [Pou magou-hi tonuga] i-tami-hi.
egg number-3p three 3s-takePL-3p
He took eggs that numbered three.

Given that numerals are frequently embedded number clauses (5.6.7) that begin with nouns (nima... *hand (five)*, oloto... *male (twenty)* etc.), the function of number nominalisation is to signal clearly that the domain of the numeral is a number – 'five' or 'twenty' – and not a 'hand' or 'male'.

(65) [Poha magou-na[1] nimitutu po tonuga] hi-lihogo-hi.
basket number-3s five and three 3p-fill-3p
They filled baskets that numbered eight (lit. *a hand hit and three.*

---

[1] The plurality of baskets is not overtly marked if the speaker regards them as a single grouping.

(66) [Bolima magou-na nima luwaga hi-tutu po luwaga]
year number-3s hand two 3p-hit and two

hi-kokoe...
3p-finish
When years that numbered twelve had gone by...

The embedded nominalisations (64-67) differ in their grammatical relations: (64,65) – the object of the main verb; (66) – the subject of the main verb (which is itself an embedded adverbial clause (16.3.1)); (67) a peripheral item.

(67) A-me-mae [bolima magou-na nimitutu].
1s-DUR-stay year number-3s five
I stayed for years that numbered five.

14.5.4 FURTHER FUNCTIONS OF NOMINALISED CLAUSES

As we have seen in a number of the above examples, nominalised clauses have a broader function than non-verbal relative clauses (50-52); they also function as objects of post-positions (68,69) and complement clauses (62,63).

(68) Apega lawa hi-na-maga [om bagibagi] uyahi-na.
FUT.NEG person 3p-POT-many yourSG work AT-3s
There will not be many people at your work.

(69) Apo [i kadau] uyahi-hi ega to-ta-genogeno.
FUT ourE journey AT-3p NEG 1pE-IRR-worry
When we are journeying (lit. *in/at our journeys*) *we are not anxious.*

In addition, they function generally within equative clauses as one of the main clause types of descriptive discourse.

(70) Tauna [tano tu-bagibagi].
he garden PERS-work
He is a garden worker.

(71) Tauhi [tu-wisili hai ani-mae].
they PERS-fish their NOM-stay
It is the place where those fish live.

(72) Lanina geka [lawa tu-hilage].
person this person PERS-die
This person is a dead person.

15 COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Complement clauses have aspects in common with the embedded coordinate clauses of chapter 16. Particularly surprising is the fact that some Tawala complements are formally coordinated to the main clause. Other complement clauses are best interpreted as juxtaposed to the main clause, making them structurally similar to purpose clauses (16.4).

15.1 NOTIONS OF COMPLEMENTATION

> In most languages, cognition-utterance verbs take a surface sentence as their complement, with its subject not necessarily co-referential to the subject of the main verb...In terms of meaning, verbs in this group most often code mental attitude such as *knowledge*, *belief* or *hope*...they may also be verbs of *utterance*.
>
> Givón (1984:119)

Predicates fall into two classes: those that take complements and those that do not. In the following description of Tawala complementation I draw a distinction between main clauses and complement clauses. The main clause includes a complement-taking predicate (hereafter CTP) that takes a clause as its complement – the complement clause. The complement clause itself is an open set of clauses that fill the complement slot of the main clause.

Two classes of CTPs are evident in Tawala: modality predicates (15.2.1), and predicates of utterance and cognition (15.2.2). Information verbs take a sentential complement and do not properly belong to the CTP class, although they overlap with it.

Before we can proceed to an examination of these classes a number of other issues need to be addressed.

Crystal (1980:74) notes that "the domain of complementation remains an unclear area in linguistic analysis, and there are several unsolved issues". In my description of Tawala complement clauses I have faced four crucial issues:

i) the relationship of complement clauses to core arguments (15.1.1)

ii) coordination of complement clauses (15.1.2)

iii) the range and meaning of complementisers (15.1.3)

iv) some CTPs are non-verbal (15.1.4)

15.1.1 COMPLEMENTS AND CORE ARGUMENTS

Complements are usually considered arguments of predicates. Thus Noonan (1985:42) states:

> By complementation we mean the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate. For our purposes, a predication can be viewed as an argument of a predicate if it functions as the subject or object of that predicate.

In Tawala most complements are object complements and normally follow the predicate; they are thus syntactically distinct from core arguments, which precede the predicate (12.2). In following the verb Tawala complements reflect the Proto Oceanic SVO word order, whereas the core arguments have the innovative SOV word order (3.1).

There are two exceptions to this rule. Firstly, subject complements occur before the verb (in this chapter complement clauses are in square brackets).

(1) [O-gu<u>guya lawa uyahi-hi] naka ega i-ta-dewadewa.
2s-preach<DUR> person AT-3p that NEG 3s-IRR-good
That you preached to people is not good.

Note the function of the demonstrative in (1) and (2); it appears to be a resumptive pronoun (coreferential with the subject complement) rather than a complementiser..

(2) [Meka ta-nae po ta-wiheliheliyam] naka i-dewadewa duma.
where 1pI-go and 1pI-make.friend that 3s-good very
That wherever we go we have friendship is very good.

Secondly, nominalised NPs may occur in the normal core NP slot.

(3) [I nae Ukarumpa uyahi-na] apo a-dede-ya.
ourE go U. AT-3s FUT 1s-tell-3s
I will tell about our going to Ukarumpa.

(4) [Plane hai ani-yato] a-gale-hi.
p. their place-land 1s-see-3p
I saw where the planes landed.

Syntactically, there is nothing to distinguish these nominalised NPs (3,4) from regular core arguments (5). (In the following examples core arguments are in curved brackets.)

(5) Ma (ginouli atapu-hi) i-palihale-hi goga-na
And thing all-3p 3s-permit-3p grandchild-3s

wawine-na uyahi-na.
female-3s AT-3s
He handed over control of all his things to his granddaughter.

In (5) there is an object NP which precedes the verb, whereas the object verbal complement (6) always follows the verb.

(6) O-na-palihale-hi [po hi-na-galenaitete-ya].
2p-POT-permit-3p and 3p-POT-care.for-3s
Permit them to care for him.

In Tawala, with some predicates one finds an object NP and a complement in the same clause, a situation not discussed by either Noonan (1985) or Dixon (1987:2), who assumes "a

'complement clause' which functions in object or subject slot in place of an NP".

Thus with verbs of utterance there are three slots: speaker/subject, addressee/object and message/complement. Sentence (7) contains both an addressee/object and a message/complement.

(7) (Hai lawa) u meyagai hi-paliwele-hi [naka lawa
their friend LOC village 3p-tell-3p that person

i-gehou-na i-ne-po e-dane-danene].
UNSPEC-other-3s 3s-come-and 3sPRS-DUR-steal
They told their friends at the village that someone else came and kept stealing.

Similarly, with the attention and cognition verbs in (8) and (9) the sentences contain both an object NP and a complement (a message about that object).

(8) (Plane) a-ga-gale-hi [naka hi-maga duma].
p. 1s-DUR-see-3p that 3p-many very
I saw that there were numerous planes.

(9) (Guyau) a-witumagan-e-ya [naka tauna u liyaliya-u].
chief 1s-trust-TR-3s that he LOC near-1s
I believe the chief (God) that he is near me.

Finally, intransitive verbs (verbs requiring derivational affixes to occur with an object NP) are also found with complements (10,11), even though they do not take an object NP with this form of the verb.

(10) Hi-i-wogatala [naka apo iyowai hi-na-bagibagi].
3p-DUR-plan that FUT how 3p-POT-work
They were planning how they would (do their) work.

Most languages have a contrast between a sentence-like complement type, "one that without its complementizers has roughly the same syntactic form as a main clause" (Noonan 1985:49), and non-sentence-like complements, where the

complement clause has a syntactic form that is clearly subordinated and could never be used as a main clause. All Tawala complements are sentence-like and can stand on their own as independent clauses, though there is a distinction between nominalised NPs which can occur before or after the CTP and verbal clauses which occur only after the CTP.

15.1.2 COORDINATION OF COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

The issue at stake here is that there is evidence that some Tawala complement clauses are coordinated rather than subordinated to the main clause. In this the Tawala data contrast with current theory. Complement clauses are generally regarded as embedded within the main clause; that is, they "fill a functional slot in the structure of the main clause" (Dixon 1988:268). Example (11) illustrates the problem to which we seek to give an answer in this section.

(11) Nugote Yaubada i-baha [po u-nei uyahi-u].
perhaps God 3s-say and 2s-come AT-1s
Perhaps God commanded you to come to me.
(Lit. *Perhaps God spoke and you came to me.*)

The construction in (12) is the normal way to report command complement clauses in Tawala.

We have cause in chapter 16 to note the 'mismatch between form and function'. Adverbial clauses which functionally modify the 'main' clause are often conjoined with the main clause with coordinating conjunctions, making them formally independent.

(12) Houga-na wam hi-gale-ya ma hi-kaoha labatana.
time-DEF boat 3p-see-3s and 3p-happy strongly
When they saw the boat they were extremely happy.

Similarly, with relative clauses (ch.14) there is apparently little change of meaning between the relative construction – bracketed item omitted in (13) – and two coordinated clauses, the preferred form.

(13) Maliboi u tahaya i-en-eno (ma) i-tuhaga-ya.
flying.fox LOC path 3s-DUR-sleep and 3s-find-3s
He found a flying-fox sleeping by the path.

Admittedly, there is a sharp distinction between the two coordinating conjunctions po (16.8.4) and ma (16.8.5). The former indicates a close connection, and the latter indicates contrast between the coordinated clauses. Thus po is not an entirely inappropriate marker of functional embedding.

(14) Lawa awai nugonugo-na [po i-na-nae]...
person what need-3s and 3s-POT-go
Whoever needs/wants to go...

Examples (15–18) illustrate the range of subordinate-coordinate structures available with the CTP -paliwele- (these data were elicited).

(15) Natu-we a-paliwele-ya [ipa i-na-wele-u].
child-1s 1s-tell-3s IRR 3s-POT-give-1s
I told (commanded) my son to give me (it).

The bracketed clause in (15) is a complement clause that is juxtaposed to the main clause. By way of contrast, the bracketed clause in (16) is coordinated with the main clause, however the conjunction ma marks the second clause as being *counter to expectations*; here the bracketed clause is not a complement, but is independent structurally and functionally.

(16) Natu-we a-paliwele-ya ma [i-na-wele-u].
child-1s 1s-tell-3s and 3s-POT-give-1s
I told my son but he will give me it (anyway).

Between the extremes of (15) and (16) lie two more options. Although the bracketed clause in (17) is formally coordinated, functionally it is dependent and the normal way to express realis complements of verbs of command in Tawala. In (15) the result of the command is unknown; in (17) the command was carried out.

(17) Natu-we a-paliwele-ya [po i-wele-u].
child-1s 1s-tell-3s and 3s-give-1s
I told (commanded) my son and he gave it to me.

In (18) the bracketed clause is an indirect quote complement. This option is akin to (15) and is functionally and structurally subordinated.

(18) Natu-we a-paliwele-ya [naka i-wele-u].
child-1s 1s-tell-3s that 3s-give-1s
I told my son that he (not my son) gave me (it).

15.1.3 COMPLEMENTISERS

> Complementizers typically derive from pronouns, conjunctions, adpositions or case markers, and, rarely, verbs, and so may resemble words currently used in these capacities.
>
> Noonan (1985:47)

Tawala has three candidates for complementisers, which seem to be derived in typical fashion as outlined in the literature: the irrealis particle **ipa** (5.6.10); the neutral demonstrative **naka** *that* (5.6.3): and the close-link conjunction **po** *and* (5.6.9).

(19) Hina-na i-lupali-ye-ya [ipa i-na-waya]
mother-3s 3s-ask-TR-3s IRR 3s-POT-take.it
He asked his mother if she would take it.

(20) A-ga-gale-hi [naka hi-buli-bulili].
1s-DUR-see-3p that 3p-DUR-run
I saw that they were running.

(21) O-na-palihale-hi [po hi-na-galenaitete-ya].
2s-POT-permit-3p and 3p-POT-care.for-3p
Let them look after him.

In addition, juxtaposition of clauses can also mark a complement clause; as Noonan (1985:45) comments, "some complement types have no complementizer associated with them at all".

(22) Hi-i-wogatala [hi-na-bagibagi].
3p-DUR-plan 3p-POT-work
They are planning to work.

With many constructions the subject of the complement agrees in person and number with the object of the CTP.

(23) Natu-we a-paliwele-ya [ipa i-na-wele-u].
child-1s 1s-tell-3s IRR 3s-POT-give-1s
I told (commanded) my son to give me (it).

(24) Apo u-na-lupali-ye-u [po goila a-wele-m].
FUT 2s-POT-ask-TR-1s and water 1s-give-2s
Ask me to give you water.

15.1.3.1 COMPLEMENTISER FUNCTIONS

The functions of the complementisers **ipa**, **po** and **naka**, and of juxtaposition, are all related to the functions these forms have in other structures; there is little evidence of grammaticisation having taken place with any of them.

i) The irrealis marker **ipa** functions as a complementiser within the complement clause; it is particularly common with verbs of desire, where there is a high degree of uncertainty about the realisation of the desire.

(25) Nugonugo-u [ipa a-nae].
need-1s IRR 1s-go
I want to go (but there is a strong element of doubt that I'll be able to).

(26) Kailaki a luhogala [ipa ago-na i-na-hale-ya].
K. his desire IRR spouse-3s 3s-POT-throw-3s
Kailaki would like to divorce his wife.

The irrealis marker can be used in addition to the complementiser, making it clear that it is not functioning as a

complementiser in (27). The naka here seems to introduce an indirect quote (cf. 31).

(27) Tauyai i luhogala [naka ega ipa to-na-i-otonana].
weE ourE desire that NEG IRR 1pE-POT-DUR-wait
We desire to not keep waiting.

ii) The conjunction po also functions within complement clauses in a manner that is not inconsistent with its broader function. In contradistinction to ma, which marks contrast between clauses, po always marks a limit on one of the clauses. In the case of complements, po often involves a limitation of both the CTP and the complement; for instance, there must be person/ number agreement between the clauses when the construction involves the non-verbal CTP emoemota<-na> *<his> ability.*

(28) Emoemota-u [po a-bagibagi].
ability-1s and 1s-work
I have the ability to work. (= I can work.)

iii) The demonstrative naka *that* has a number of functions, and some of these involve subordinating one clause to another.

(29) Numa a-gale-hi [naka hi-lata duma].
house 1s-see-3p that 3p-grow very
I saw that the houses are very big.

The function of the demonstrative in the complement clause in (29) seems analogous to that found in a resumptive relative clause (30).

(30) Numa hi-wogo-wogo-hi naka hi-lata duma.
house 3p-DUR-build-3p that 3p-grow very
The houses which they have built are very big.

The proto-typical function of the naka complement is seen with verbs of utterance or cognition, where it introduces an indirect quote complement (7,31); with verbs of attention (8,20) it is a 'message' complement.

(31) Ago-na i-paliwele-ya [naka aniani i-na-wele-ya].
spouse-3s 3s-tell-3s that vegetables 3s-POT-give-3s
He told his wife to give him food.

iv) Complements juxtaposed to the main clause (marked here as #) - the structure is parallel to purpose clauses (16.4), though the complement does not have a purposive meaning; it is usually best to translate these complements by an infinitive construction.

(32) A-luhogala [# a-nae].
1s-desire 1s-go
I want to go.

(33) Hi-i-wogatala [# hi-na-bagibagi].
3p-DUR-plan 3p-POT-work
They are planning to work.

In the remainder of this section the complementiser functions are contrasted in identical environments. Each group of examples starts with natural text followed by contrasting elicited examples demonstrating shades of meaning in line with the functions suggested above. In each case there is only a threeway distinction, with one of the complementisers not available. (The explanations given in brackets were offered by the informant.)

(34) O-na-wileta [po/*# tula-ta-na o-na-hagu-ya].
2p-POT-try and friend-1pl-DEF 2p-POT-help-3s
Try and help our friend (overcome the difficulties).

(35) O-na-wileta [ipa tula-ta-na o-na-hagu-ya].
2p-POT-try that friend-1pl-DEF 2p-POT-help-3s
Try to help our friend (it may be impossible).

(36) O-na-wileta [naka tula-ta-na o-na-hagu-ya].
2p-POT-try that friend-1pl-DEF 2p-POT-help-3s
The thing to try for is to help our friend.

The following examples all have non-verbal CTPs.

(37) Ega emoemota-u [po a-wiyagohina].
NEG ability-1s and 1s-rest
I am not able to rest (something wrong with me).

(38) Ega emoemota-u [# a-wiyagohina].
NEG ability-1s 1s-rest
I am not able to rest (situation is wrong).

(39) Ega emoemota-u [ipa/*naka a-wiyagohina].
NEG ability-1s that 1s-rest
I am not allowed to rest (something stopping me).

15.1.3.2 REALIS VERSUS IRREALIS COMPLEMENTS

In general **ipa** marks an irrealis complement as opposed to the three realis complements **naka**[1]**/po/#**. Dixon (1987:2) sees this distinction as fundamental and to be found in most of the languages of the world. Noonan (1985:51) notes:

> there are rarely more than two sentence-like mood distinctions available in complement systems, though a number of languages have more than two mood distinctions available for use outside the complement system.

It is necessary to distinguish complements marked by **ipa** from those marked with potential mood, where the following rules apply:

i) If a CTP is marked for potential mood, the complement clause will also be so marked (34–36), though neutralisation (8.7.3) sometimes obscures this (24). The reverse is not true: if a complement is marked for potential mood the CTP does not also have to be (19,23,40,41).

ii) Non-verbal CTPs are never marked for potential mood. The realis-irrealis distinction is contrasted nicely in (40) and (41), though both complements have potential mood.

(40) Hi-wiwogatala [naka apo hi-na-bagibagi].
3p-plan that FUT 3p-POT-work
They made plans that they would work.

---

[1] Not, however, that in (27) **naka** is used to introduce a complement that is marked for irrealis.

(41) Hi-wiwogatala [ipa apo hi-na-bagibagi].
3p-plan IRR FUT 3p-POT-work
They discussed whether they could do the work.

Irrealis constructions (42,43) contrast with realis ones (44,45). Note that a realis complement can be marked for the uncertainties of the future by both potential aspect and future tense (40,44,45). The irrealis complementiser does not so much mark uncertainties as express the extreme difficulties, and even the unlikelihood, of accomplishing the event expressed in the complement. Examples (42) and (43) imply *Oh that I might/could divorce my wife!.*

Other examples throughout this present chapter also illustrate these points. The next section offers examples (42,43 and 44,45) demonstrating that there is no distinction between verbal and non-verbal complement clauses in terms of the realis-irrealis distinction.

15.1.4 NON-VERBAL CTPS

There are two basic types of main clauses: the verbal and the nominal, the latter having a range of forms. Most examples to this point have involved verbal CTPs. Many verbal CTPs have corresponding nominalised constructions.

(42) A-luhogale-ya [ipa ago-u a-hale-ya].
1s-desire-3s IRR wife-1s 1s-throw-3s
I want to divorce my wife.

(43) U luhogala [ipa ago-u a-hale-ya].
My desire IRR wife-1s 1s-throw-3s
My desire is to divorce my wife.

(44) Hi-i-wogatala [naka apo iyowai hi-na-bagibagi].
3p-DUR-plan that FUT how 3p-POT-work
They were planning how they would (do their) work.

(45) Hai wi-wogatala [naka iyowai hi-na-bagibagi].
their DP-plan that how 3p-POT-work
Their plan was how they would (do their) work.

Two nominal main clauses have no verbal counterparts. These are formed using the complement-taking nominals **emoemota-na** (ability-3s) and **nugonugo-na** (need-3s) (see 13.5 for an introduction to these constructions). The syntax of each is distinctive and is presented separately below (15.2.1); they are illustrated at this point by the (46) and (47).

(46) Ega emoemota-na [ipa meka i-na-wiyagohina].
NEG ability-3s IRR where 3s-POT-rest
It (the bird) was not able to find a place to rest.

(47) Tu-wigawiya nugonugo-hi [ipa hi-na-womomo-hi].
PERS-fight need-3p IRR 3p-POT-hold-3s
The fighter wanted (attempted) to seize them.

15.2 CLASSES OF COMPLEMENTATION

Apart from the subject complements (15.1.1) there are two major classes of CTPs in Tawala: the modality predicates (15.2.1), and other CTPs (15.2.2) – predicates of attention, utterance and cognition.

15.2.1 MODALITY CTPs

Modality predicates consist of a number of different structures depending on the nature of the CTP:

a) the non-verbal CTPs already introduced (13.5 and 15.1.4) –
i) **emoemota-na** *his ability*, and ii) **nugonugo-na** *his need/want.*

b) the verbal/nominal CTPs – iii) **luhogala** *desire/like/love*, iv) **wileta** *try*, and v) **wiwogatala** *plan*

c) the transitive CTP – vi) **dewa-** *make.*

The non-verbal CTPs are indexed for subject with pronominal enclitics, whereas the nominal form of the verbal/ nominal CTP is indexed with preposed possessive pronouns, and the remaining CTPs index subject with a verbal prefix.

With the two non-verbal structures the verbal complement follows the predicate, whereas the non-verbal complement precedes the predicate. In this feature they are like verbs which have a separate slot for object and complement.

i) **emoemota-** *ability*

The subject and the complement of the CTP are often coreferential (28,37-39,48).

(48) **Emoemota-m [apo u-na-dewa-hi]?**
ability-2s FUT 2s-POT-do-3p
Are you able to make them?

Alternatively, the CTP may be marked for an impersonal subject (49,50).

(49) **Ega emoemota-na [ipa ta-nei Yaubada ugoli-na].**
NEG ability-3s IRR 1pI-come God AT-3s
It is not possible for us to come to God.

(50) **Ega emoemota-na [po a tano i-na-tala-ya].**
NEG ability-3s and her garden 3s-POT-cut-3s
She will not be able to cut the garden (clearing).

The irrealis/realis distinction between (49) and (50) indicates the degree to which the complement predication is a possibility.

ii) **nugonugo-** *need/want*

With this class the subject of the CTP does not have the impersonal option of the previous class (46,51,52).

(51) **Nugonugo-u [ipa a-nae].**
need-1s IRR 1s-go
I want/need to go.

(52) Ega nugonugo-iyai [ipa to-lautanigana].
NEG need-1pE IRR 1pE-listen
We don't want to listen.

Examples (53-55) illustrate this CTP with a full range of complementisers (as with the previous sets these were elicited).

(53) Nugonugo-u [ipa apega a-nae].
desire-1s IRR FUT.NEG 1s-go
I wish I wasn't going.

(54) Nugonugo-u [naka apega a-nae].
desire-1s that FUT.NEG 1s-go
My desire is that I not go.

(55) Nugonugo-u [#/*po apega a-nae].
desire and FUT.NEG 1s-go
My desire is to not go.

The positive counterpart of (55) is acceptable (14).

iii) luhogala *desire/like/love*

In contrast to the inalienably possessed nugonugo- (ii), which expresses [-control], the alienably possessed luhogala expresses [+control], though the two structures are often interchangeable - compare (56) with (51).

(56) U luhogala [ipa a-nae].
my desire IRR 1s-go
I desire/want to go.

(57) Tauyai i luhogala [naka ega ipa to-na-iotonana].
usE ourE desire that NEG IRR 1pE-POT-wait
We want that we not have to wait.

Luhogala functions not only as a non-verbal predicate (57) but also occasionally as a verbal predicate (58).

(58) Ma ega i-ta-luhogal-e-ya [ipa omi baha
and NEG 3s-IRR-desire-TR-3s IRR yourPL word

i-na-nonol-i].
3s-POT-hear-3s
He doesn't want to obey you (your instruction).

iv) **wileta** *try*

This is a variable focus CTP taking a complement with the predicate-focus (59) or object-focus (60) forms of the verb.

(59) Puwaka hi-wileta [ipa hi-na-lui] ma ega emoemota-hi.
pig 3p-try IRR 3p-POT-enter but NEG ability-3p
Pigs tried to get in but were not able.

(60) A-wileta-hi [ipa hai witumagana hi-na-bowi-ye-hi].
1s-try-3p IRR their belief 3p-POT-deny-TR-3p
I tried to make them deny their beliefs.

In (60) the referent of the object enclitic is not the same as the referent of the complement NP. The object of the CTP is the human referent who is the subject of the complement clause.

Wileta also functions as a nominal predicate.

(61) Yohola i wileta banei-na [ipa tauna to-lai-kaoha-ya].
Later ourE attempt big-3s IRR him 1pE-DUR-happy-3s
We were still trying hard to make him happy.

v) **wiwogatala** *plan*

This is an intransitive CTP.

(62) Hi-wiwogatala meme [naka apo iyowaka ma
3p-plan again that FUT how and

hi-na-omgenalili-ye-ya].
3p-POT-make.jealous-TR-3s
They planned again how to make him jealous.

(63) Amaka hi-wiwogatala [ipa Poleni hau tahaya hi-na-uni].
already 3p-plan IRR P. on road 3p-POT-catch
They had planned to kill Poleni on the road.

The nominalised form of this CTP is also common. In my data the subject of the complement clause is always coreferential with the subject of both the verbal (62,63) and non-verbal (64) CTP.

(64) U wiwogatala [ipa a ne-hi uyahi-mi].
My plan IRR 1s-come-DX AT-2p
My plan is to come to you.

vi) dewa *make*

Tawala has an range of derivational prefixes, expressing a variety of causative relationships (6.5.3). As an alternative, some younger speakers with extensive schooling in English use a periphrastic construction involving the transitive verb **dewa-** *to do/make* as a CTP parallel to the English modal verb *make*.

(65) I-dewa-ya [po hi-tupeu].
3s-did-3s and 3p-fall
He made them fall.

This construction is rejected by older speakers as being ungrammatical, especially as the CTP should be marked for agreement with the complement subject (in (65) the third person plural object -hi) to be a regular complement-taking verb.

15.2.2 OTHER CTPS

There are three classes of non-modal CTPs. Classification is based on semantics but there is some syntactic evidence for the three classes.

i) Verbs of attention

Two CTPs are involved here: **gale** *see* and **nonola** *hear*. Both verbs are transitive and both take only complements with the complementiser **naka**, which as we have seen is the 'message' complimentiser; the complement clause gives details of the object - in my data the subject of the complement clause is always coreferential with the object of the CTP.

(66) A-gale-hi [naka hi-buli-bulili].
1s-saw-3p that 3p-DUR-run
I saw that they were running.

In the durative aspect this verb means *to observe*.

(67) Plane a-ga-gale-hi [naka hi-maga duma].
p. 1s-DUR-see-3p that 3p-many very
I observed that the planes were numerous.

(68) Goga-na pona-na i-nonol-i [naka nugonugo-na
grandchild-3s voice-3s 3s-hear-3s that heart-3s

i-apapoe duma po i-tu-tou].
3s-bad very and 3s-DUR-cry
The man heard that his granddaughter was very angry and crying.

ii) Verbs of cognition

Three verbs are involved in this class: hanapu *know/understand*, nugotuhu *think* and witumagana *believe*. These are a diverse group of CTPs and need a major study in order to define their respective parameters. I simply offer an example of each type at this point, in addition to (9) above.

(69) Ega ta-ta-hanapu-ge-ya [meka ta-ne-nae].
NEG 1pI-IRR-know-TR-3s where 1pI-DUR-go
We don't know where we are going.

(70) u nugonugo-u amaka a-nugotuhu-ya [naka u yaga].
In heart-1s already 1s-think-3s that my debt
In my heart I already knew it was my debt.

(71) Hi-i-tumagana [ipa tu-wigapola i-na-hagu-hi].
3p-DUR-believe IRR PERS-riches 3s-POT-help-3p
They believed that the rich man might help them.

iii) Verbs of utterance

Four common CTPs are involved here: baha *say/speak/command*, paliwele *tell/command*, lupali *ask/beg/request*, palihale *permit*.

We already noted that with verbs of utterance there are three slots: speaker/subject, addressee/object and message/complement. Message complements are introduced with the demonstrative naka.

(72) A lawa uyahi-hi i-baha [naka hi-awal-i].
his friend AT-3p 3s-say that 3p-carry-3s
He told his friends it had been carried (impersonal 3p).

(73) Hai lawa u meyagai hi-paliwele-hi [naka lawa
their friend LOC village 3p-tell-3p that person

i-gehou-na i-ne-po e-dane-danene].
UNSPEC-other-3s 3s-come-and 3sPRS-DUR-steal
They told their friends at the village that someone else came and kept stealing.

In Tawala there is no lexical item meaning *to command*; other verbs of utterance express this meaning when accompanied by a complement clause introduced with the complementiser po.

(74) Yaka i-baha [po goga-na wawine-na i-gae hoi tano].
so 3s-say and grandchild-3s female-3s 3s-go LOC garden
So he commanded his granddaughter to go up to the garden.

With palihale *permit* the 'command' becomes permission.

(75) Logaloga o-na-palihale-hi [po hi-na-nei uyahi-u].
children 2s-POT-permit-3p and 3p-POT-come AT-1s
Let the children come to me.

With the verb lupali *ask, beg* the irrealis complementiser is commonly used, reflecting the uncertainty of the response.

(76) A-lupali-ye-m [ipa u tano u-na-gale-ya].
1s-ask-TR-2s IRR my garden 2s-POT-see-3s
I ask you to look at my garden.

15.3 QUOTATION SENTENCE

We noted (15.1.3.1, examples 7,31,71,72) that an indirect quote is signalled by the demonstrative complementiser naka used with a complement clause.

(77) Natu-we a-paliwele-ya [naka i-wele-u].
child-1s 1s-tell-3s that 3s-give-1s
I told my son that he (not my son) gave me (it).

Tawala quotation sentences are best regarded as independent sentences cosubordinated to a special quotation formula. The quotation formula involves an optional utterance verb (81) followed by the direct quote verb -pa *say/saying.*

The two verbs receive identical subject indexing and identical mood marking.

(78) A-baha, a-pa 'Geka tauhi...'.
1s-say 1s-say this they
I spoke saying, 'These are the people...'.

(79) O-na-paliwele-hi o-na-pa, 'Omi wasawasa o-na-gale-ya'.
2p-POT-tell-3p 2p-POT-say yourPL rich.man 2p-POT-see-3s
You tell them saying, 'Look at your rich man'.

(80) I-pa, 'Ta-nae ta-wisili'.
3s-say 1pI-go 1pI-fish
She replied, 'Let's go fishing'.

In (81) the utterance verb is separated from the quote verb by peripheral items (first sentence). The second quote is introduced by **ipa**, which signals a change of speakers.

(81) Wagaloke i-baha Popopo uyahi-na i-pa, 'Heliyam, apo
possum 3s-say lizard AT-3s 3s-say friend FUT

u-na-nei po ginahi ta-hapi'.
2s-POT-come and sago 1pI-chop

I-pa, 'Oo i-dewadewa duma'.
3s-say oh 3s-good very
Possum spoke to Lizard saying, 'Friend, come and we will chop sago'. He (his friend) replied, 'Oh, that is very good'.

The utterance 'verb' can be a construction which does not necessarily involve a verb of speaking.

(82) Nugotuhu i-nei i-pa, 'Tauta Yaubada a bagibagi
thought 3s-come 3s-say wel God his work

ubei-na ta-nei'.
BEN-3s 1pI-come
The thought came (to me) saying, 'We all have come to do God's work'.

16 COMBINATION OF CLAUSES

> In many languages, and possibly all...what are traditionally called phrases and clauses may be juxtaposed or embedded one within another within the same sentence.
>
> Lyons (1977:388)

> It appears that all languages have a set of two-clause constructions in which one clause can be said to modify the other in a way similar to the way in which an adverb modifies a proposition.
>
> Thompson and Longacre (1985:171)

In chapters 14 and 15 we surveyed specific subordinated clauses in Tawala – relative, nominalised and complement clauses. In this chapter we examine other clauses which may be said to be subordinated and contrast them with coordinated clauses, not in terms of a strict dichotomy, but rather as a continuum.

We have seen in the description of complement clauses that a major problem with the description of Tawala sentence structure is the mismatch between form and function (15.1.2). The problem becomes more acute in this present chapter. Thus, for example, in (1) the bracketed clause is structurally identical to a relative clause (14.1) apart from the fact that it is conjoined to the main clause with a coordinating conjunction. The clause in brackets functions here as an adverbial clause, yet it is not subordinated as adverbial clauses are normally regarded as being.

(1) [Houga-na wam hi-gale-ya] ma hi-kaoha labatana.
time-DEF boat 3p-see-3s and 3p-happy strongly
When they saw the boat they were exceedingly happy.

That an adverbial clause can modify not just a verb but a series of clauses is clear from (2).

(2) [Houga-na lawa i-na-hilage] apo au-na bo
time-DEF person 3s-POT-die FUT uncle-3s or

goga-na tauna apo lawa-na hilahilage-na
grandparent-3s him FUT person-DEF dead-3s

i-na-woimahi-ye-ni po hi-na-tu-tou.
3s-POT-put.properly-TR-3s and 3p-POT-DUR-weep
If/when a person dies his uncle or grandfather will place the dead person properly and they will weep.

Broadly speaking I have given priority to structure within this chapter and tried to keep semantic categories in perspective by the labels used. Some introductory remarks are in order. The following 'adverbial clauses', not all involving subordinated clauses, are distinguished in Tawala. I mostly follow the semantic categories of Thompson and Longacre (1985:177):

temporal
locational
manner
result
purpose
condition
consequence
avoidance
cause (reason)

The suggested universal distinction made by Thompson and Longacre (1985:177) between "clauses substitutable for by a single word" (the first three of the above list) and "clauses not substitutable for by a single word" (the remainder of the above list) breaks down with Tawala, as some of the latter clauses are also substitutable for by a single item.

(3) [Ugoli-n-ei] amaka wiatatiana atapu-na amaka
AT-3s-ABL already teaching all-3s already

o-nonol-i.
2s-hear-3s
From (as a result of) this you have already heard all the teaching.

The final three items of this listing are structurally coordinated in Tawala. The remaining 'subordinate' structures represent four construction types in Tawala. One may question the wisdom of lumping all these semantic categories together under some universal adverbial-subordinate-clause complex. The implication of such an approach is that these items may be expected to have some sort of structural unity in the languages of the world. We return to this point after the following digression.

Attempts to apply the classic coordinate-subordinate dichotomy to exotic languages have increasingly met with resistance in recent years. Various solutions have been proposed. Foley and Van Valin (1984:243) suggest that we should "employ three kinds of nexus rather than two: coordination, subordination, and cosubordination". However, I have not found the cosubordination category particularly useful in solving the problems encountered in the Tawala data.

Kuno (1973:209) suggests that the dichotomy should be replaced with a continuum - a concept which provides a useful way of viewing some Tawala conjuctions which do not readily divide into discrete coordinate-subordinate categories. In the following description I assume that the Tawala data are best described in terms of a continuum. I point out some facts in favour of this approach, but have not attempted to spell out the

nature of the nexus in individual cases; in the more problematic cases I point out the conflicting facts and/or I avoid delineating the precise nature of Tawala clause juncture - that must wait for a more comprehensive treatment in the future.

The future direction of studies is suggested in two seminal works that appeared in the 1980s. Haiman and Thompson (1984:511) demonstrate that the intuitive notion 'subordination' is a composite of a number of properties: "we would like...to propose that there are at least seven formal properties that are often associated with clause combinations designated as 'main-subordinate'".

Lehmann (1988) argues that there are six functional parameters relevant to clause linkage, each of them a continuum that extends from a pole of maximal *elaboration* to a pole of maximal *compression*. The two poles are complementary forces which are involved in clause linkage: i) "the elaboration of a phrase into a more fully developed construction which contains its own predication" (p.216) and ii) "the compression of a full-fledged clause to a nominal or adverbial constituent of a matrix clause" (p.217).

The clauses described in this chapter fall into five classes, depending on the nature of the linkage between the clauses involved. Structures range from prototypical subordinate clauses - embedded within adpositional phrases - to prototypical coordinate clauses - contrast, adversative, alternation and succession.

i)	Embedding in Postpositional Phrases:		
	locational	uyahi-na	(16.1.1)
	result	uyahi-nei	(16.1.2)
ii)	Embedding in Prepositional Phrase:		
	manner	mei	(16.2)
iii)	Postposed subordinate clauses:		
	'end-point' clause		(16.3.1)
	'until' clause		(16.3.2)
	purpose clause		(16.4)
iv)	Preposed subordinate clauses:		
	succession clause	-kokoe ma	(16.5)
	conditionals		(16.6)
v)	Coordinated clauses (15.8):		
	avoidance	meka po	(16.8.1)
	cause	babana	(16.8.2)
	consequence	(ega) yaka	(16.8.3)
	coupling	po	(16.8.4)
	contrast	ma	(16.8.5)
	adversative	tamogi	(16.8.6)
	alternation	bo	(16.8.7)
	succession	apom(a)	(16.8.8)

Table 1: Clause combination strategies

The semantic labels of the coordinated clauses mostly follow Longacre's (1985:241ff.) classification; however definitions offered in the appropriate sections below are based not on universals but on the Tawala data.

16.1 CLAUSES EMBEDDED IN POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES

With these structures, the main clause includes an embedded postposition clause. As pointed out in the respective sections, these structures are identical to the phrase level constituents, except that they contain an embedded clause as the object of

the adposition. (In 16.1 and 16.2 adpositions are underlined and embedded clauses (the objects of the adpositions) are in square brackets.)

16.1.1 LOCATIONAL CLAUSE - uyahina

This construction involves an embedded clause within a locative postposition phrase (10.2.1). The embedded structure is probably best regarded as a relative clause (14.1), however, I have chosen to include the construction here because of the similarity of structure with other adpositional structures - the presence of an adposition. These constructions differ from other relative clauses in that the embedded clause may follow the main verb (8,9).

The postposition is marked for agreement with the object of the postposition - in this case the embedded clause. The function of the postposed locational clause is to specify the point at which the action in the main clause took place.

(4) [Board gehou-na hi-gilum-i] uyahi-na to-geleta.
b. other-3s 3p-write-3s AT-3s 1pE-arrive
We arrive at a board on which something was written (impersonal 3p).

(5) [Hai meyagai hi-dewa-dewa-ya] ugoli-na hi-gi-ye-ya.
their village 3p-DUR-make-3s AT-3s 3p-take-TR-3s
They took him to where they were making their village.

In (6) a complex name phrase (9.3.6.2) is embedded within the embedded clause.

(6) [Airport gehou-na e-memae (gowa-na Gusap)] uyahi-na
a. other-3s 3sPRS-stay name-3s G. AT-3s

to-yato.
1pE-land
We landed at an airport which is there (Markham Valley), called Gusap.

This adpositional locational clause also occurs with the indefinite interrogative.

(7) [Meka mayou-na ita luhogala] uyahi-na apo ta-tala-ya.
Where tree-DEF our1 desire AT-3s FUT 1pI-cut-3s
Where there is a tree we desire (for a canoe) we will cut it down.

The following postpositional locational clauses are postverbal clauses. As with other postverbal clauses (16.9) it would seem that these embedded clauses are not part of the spatio-temporal setting but rather they limit the extent of the action expressed in the main verb.

(8) I-baha nae [lawa-hi i-ot-otu-ge-hi] ugoli-na...
3s-say go person-DEF 3s-DUR-call-TR-3s] AT-3s
He spoke to the people that he called to...

Verbless relative clauses are also found subordinated in the postverbal position.

(9) To-damana [bonabona gowa-na Kiliteni] ugoli-na.
1pE-cross island name-3s K. AT-3s
We crossed over to an island which is called Kiliton.

16.1.2 RESULT CLAUSE – uyahinei

The result clause has the same structure as the ablative phrase (10.2.2), though with an embedded clause as the object of the postposition. The postposition is marked for agreement with the object of the postposition – in this case the embedded clause.

The subordinating conjunction uyahi<n>ei (Labe ugoli<n>ei) *and because of this, from this* specifies that the main clause is a result of the embedded clause.

(10) [Kabudala i-kokoe] ugoli-n-ei am-a-hilage.
sun 3s-finish AT-3s-ABL food-1s-hunger
Because the sun has set I am hungry.

(11) [Apo aniani po ani-eno] uyahi-n-ei apo
FUT food and place-sleep AT-3s-ABL FUT

hi-na-hagu-ya a kadau uyahi-na.
3p-POT-help-3s his journey AT-3s
Because (he needs) food and a place to sleep they will help him in his journey.

(12) [Naka tahaya i-wibigabiga] ugoli-n-ei tahaya
that path 3s-muddy AT-3s-ABL path

tapu-na to-wotago-ya.
different-3s 1pE-follow-it
Because that path was muddy we followed a different path.

(13) [Popopo a dewa i-dewa-dewa-ya] uyahi-n-ei
lizard his custom 3s-DUR-do-3s AT-3s-ABL

ta-lau-labiya.
1pI-DP.DUR-sago
Because Lizard does his custom [of making holes in sago] we process sago.

16.2 CLAUSES EMBEDDED IN PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

This construction involves an embedded clause within a manner phrase (10.1.4). Recall that the manner phrase is signalled by the preposition **mei** *like.*

(14) Ani-galena-na mei [amaka i-hilage].
thing-appearance-3s like already 3s-die
It looked as if it had died.

(15) Ata lawa ta-luhogal-e-hi mei [ipa ta-luhogal-e-na
our friend 1pI-desire-TR-3p like IRR 1pI-desire-TR-LIG

me-ta].
again-1pI
Let us love our friends as we ought to love ourselves.

In (16) the manner adverbial clause functions as a reason clause, though this is presumably only an etic view of things.

(16) Nugonugo-u i-kaoha duma mei [amaka nonogo
heart-1s 3s-happy very like already preparation

o-dewa-ya].
2p-make-3s
I was very happy like (because) you had made preparation.

16.3 POSTPOSED SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The postposed and the preposed subordinate clauses (16.5) are temporal clauses. Postposed subordinate clauses are generally aspectual, in contrast to preposed subordinate clauses (16.5), which are part of the spatio-temporal setting (see 10.9 for further discussion).

16.3.1 'END-POINT' CLAUSE

The end-point temporal clause is a serial construction – though not to be confused with serial verbs (8.9) – composed of a main clause followed by a serial clause. The serial clause is a subordinate clause that follows the main clause and functions as an aspectual marker – indicating the consummation of the action in the main verb.

(17) I-ga-gale-ya [po i-kokoe].
3s-DUR-see-3s and 3s-finish
He saw it and it was finished. (= He completely examined it.)

This serial clause is formally coordinated to the main clause with the close-link coordinating conjunction (5.6.9) **po** (which always indicates a restriction on the type of clause which can be coordinated – same subject etc.). In this construction the stative verb **-kokoe** *be finished* is restricted in tense-aspect and participants. The subject of **-kokoe** always agrees with the

object of the main verb, if one is present (17-20), otherwise it is third person singular (21).

(18) Ginahi i-tala-ya [po i-kokoe].
sago 3s-cut-3s and 3s-finish
He cut the sago and it was finished (= completely).

The serial clause also takes the same mood as the main clause (in (19) potential mood is neutralised with realis in the first person – 8.5.3).

(19) Mayau ta-tala-hi [po hi-na-kokoe].
tree 1pI-cut-3p and 3p-POT-finish
We cut the trees and they will be finished. (= We will cut all the trees down.)

(20) I-na-ala-hi [po i-na-kokoe].
3s-POT-burn-3sRFX and 3s-POT-finish
It will burn and it will finish. (=? It will burn itself out.)

This construction does not invariably have an aspectual function; thus (21) does not seem to be aspectual.

(21) Ma hi-kao-kaoha [po i-kokoe].
and 3p-DUR-happy and 3s-finish
Then they were happy and it was finished.

Example (21) does not mean **they were completely happy.* Rather it seems to be a good example of an 'adverbial' clause used as a discourse marker *they were happy ever after*, as Thompson and Longacre (1985:206) note:

> Adverbial clauses may be used to provide cohesion for an entire discourse by assisting to maintain the discourse perspective and by helping to articulate the sections of the discourse.

In the context, example (21) marks the end of a paragraph, thus warning the hearer that there is to be a change in the discourse perspective. The new paragraph commences Ma amalai... *But now...*

16.3.2 'UNTIL' CLAUSE

The end-point subordinate clause uses a nominalised possessive construction with the noun **siga** *end*, together with a complement, to indicate the end point of the action expressed in the main clause. These clauses function primarily as temporal adverbial clauses but sometimes involve locational overtones. Like end-point temporal clauses, they follow the verb and are thus aspectual, indicating the extent of the action.

(22) **Niha-gei to-bulili [a siga Lae to-geleta].**
salt-ABL 1pE-run its end L. 1pE-arrive
We sped (in a plane) along the edge of the sea until we got to Lae.

(23) **Apega i-na-nae [a siga-na bada i-na-gale-ya].**
FUT.NEG 3s-POT-go its end-DEF man 3s-POT-see-3s
He would not leave until he had seen the man.

(24) **Apega polo po kamkam hi-n-ani-hi [a siga**
FUT.NEG pig and chicken 3p-POT-eat-3p its end

bolima emosi].
year one
They will not eat pork or fowl until a year is finished.

With negative polarity, **siga** *end* and its related adjective **sigasiga-na** *final-3s* are both used without a complement.

(25) **I-nae [ega a siga].**
3s-go NEG its end
It went on without end.

(26) **E-ge-gae [ega sigasiga-na]**
3sPRS-DUR-go.up NEG final-3s
It keeps going up without ending.

16.3.3 INDEFINITE LOCATION CLAUSE

There is a scarcity of locational adverbial clauses in Tawala, which may find its explanation in the tendency to coordinate rather than embed adverbial clauses.

(27) Meka ta-nae po ta-wiheliheliyam.
where 1pI-go and 1pI-make.friend
Wherever we go we have friendship.

These clauses are structurally the same as indefinite relative clauses, except that they commonly follow the main clause, particularly with motion and posture verbs.

(28) I-tugu-tugula [meka nao-na hi-hu-houn-i].
3s-DUR-sit where face-3s 3p-DUR-put-3s
He kept sitting wherever they faced him.

(29) I-nae [meka amalai a lawa naka hi-tukoyama].
3s-go where today his friend that 3p-pretend
He went where his friends just now pretended to go.

16.4 PURPOSE CLAUSE

Purpose sentences consist of a motion clause followed by a juxtaposed purpose clause. The purpose clause is independent in form. However, it is always in the simple aspect – unmarked for durative aspect.

(30) I-nae i-na-togo.
3s-go 3s-POT-wash
He was going to bathe.

The subject of the second clause must be coreferential with the subject of the first and cannot be expanded by an NP. These restrictions make it clear that the second clause is subordinated (cf. Haiman & Thompson 1984:511).

It is the clauses that are juxtaposed and not the predicates. The motion verb can be followed by a location (31).

(31) To-nae goila u mata-na to-witogotogo.
1pE-go river LOC eye-3s 1pE-play.wash
We are going to the river source to swim.

An object NP (in brackets) can also be added to the purpose clause.

(32) To-nae u pitapita [katawe gou-hi] to-beiha.
1pE-go LOC bush mango ripe-3p 1pE-seek
We are going to the bush to look for ripe mangoes.

16.5 PREPOSED SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The preposed subordinate clause marks temporal succession but is distinguished from temporal succession clauses (16.8.8) by the presence of a subordinate clause indicating the completion of a time specified in the NP contained in the subordinate clause.

NP^{TEMP} <i>-kokoe ma, *(TIME) <it>-finish and,*

The construction indicates that the main clause, which follows the subordinate clause begins after the time indicated by the 'subordinate' clause. The conjunction ma is another example of mismatch between form and function. As the construction necessarily involves a change of subject, the the contrast conjunction ma marks change of subject. However the ma is followed by a pause, contrasting with the more usual pattern of a pause before the conjunction.

(33) [Bolima tonuga hi-kokoe ma], a-nae Huhu LGC uyahi-hi
year three 3s-finish and 1s-go H. LGC AT-3p

a-bagibagi.
1s-work
After three years were finished I went to work for the Huhu Local Government Council.

(34) [Iyeta emosi i-kokoe ma], wi-luwaga-na uyahi-na...
day one 3s-finish and ORD-two-3s AT-3s
After one day was finished, on the second (day)...

(35) [Mei kabudala gaogao-na tonuga hi-kokoe ma], ago-na
like sun gap-3s three 3s-finish and spouse-3s

i-geleta-i.
3s-arrive-DX
After about three hours were finished, his wife arrived.

16.6 CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

These structures are referred to as conditional constructions rather than conditional clauses, since two clauses are required for these constructions. The basic structure is a condition clause followed by a main clause. The form of the condition clause is an independent clause unmarked by any subordinator, and the form of the main clause is a second independent clause optionally introduced by naka *that* or yaka *so*. These connectors are best regarded as anaphorics cross-referencing the whole subordinate clause. Thus Tawala marks the relationship between the two clausesin the main clause, if it is marked at all.

Subsumed under conditional constructions are:

conditional clauses	(16.6.1)
hypothetical clauses	(16.6.2)
contrary to fact clauses	(16.6.3)

These three conditional types reflect the semantics of the subordinate clause - the degree of reality assumed for the condition - and are formally distinguished by the mood of the clauses (not by the presence or absence of naka/yaka). Hypothetical clauses are marked with (h)inapa and contrary-to-fact clauses are marked with (h)itapa. For a note on the underlying verbal structure of these mood markers see 5.6.10. (Within the following sections the condition clause is in square brackets.)

16.6.1 REAL CONDITION

Conditional clauses are independent clauses juxtaposed to the main clause without any subordinating particle, though the main clause may be introduced by naka *that* (37).

(36) [Ega u-ta-uma] apo ta-nae.
NEG 2s-IRR-drink FUT 1pl-go
If you don't drink [alcohol] we will go.

(37) [I-na-dumol-i] naka a-nae.
3s-POT-calm-3s that 1s-go
If it is calm I'll go.

(38) [Kalado apo i-na-nei] apo ugoli-na u-na-baha...
K. FUT 3s-POT-come FUT AT-3s 2s-POT-say
If Kalado comes tell him...

The condition clause does not invariably come first; in (39) the order is reversed.

(39) Ega i-ta-geno duma [apo i-na-kada-kadau].
NEG 3s-IRR-worry very FUT 3s-POT-DUR-journey
He won't worry much if he is journeying.

16.6.2 HYPOTHETICAL – inapa/hinapa

Hypothetical clauses differ from real condition clauses in two respects: firstly, the condition clause is marked for hypothetical mood by inapa/hinapa (5.6.10); and secondly, the main clause is optionally marked by either naka *that* or yaka *so*.

The meaning distinction between the two mood particles relies is not connected to similar forms marking singular and plural third person on verbs; rather it indicates the truth condition of the condition clause, which is either uncertain (inapa *if/suppose*) or more likely (hinapa *if/when*). For example, in (40) there had been a long period of constant rain making the condition very uncertain. In (41) the situation is from an outline of a feature of Tawala culture – *what happens if...*

Example (42) presents an inevitable occurrence if/when the kerosene is not replenished.

(40) [Inapa haumalatom kabudala i-na-lalana] naka apo
HYPOTH tomorrow sun 3s-POT-shine that FUT

ta-toleha.
1pI-feast
If the sun shines tomorrow then we will hold the feast.

(41) [Inapa tauyai to-nae] apo natu-natu-iyai hi-na-hagu-hi.
HYPOTH ourE 1pE-go FUT PL-child-1pE 3p-POT-help-3p
If (suppose) we go our children will help them.

(42) [Hinapa i-na-kokoe] yaka u-na-boho-ya.
HYPOTH 3s-POT-finish so 2s-POT-extinguish-it
If it [herosene] runs out then extinguish it [lamp].

(43) [Hinapa to-hanapu-ge-ya] apo tauyai gasi to-houna.
HYPOTH 1pE-know-TR-3s FUT weE also 1pE-put
If we learn about it we will also contribute.

16.6.3 CONTRARY TO FACT — itapa/hitapa

Like the hypothetical sentence the main clause of the contrary-to-fact construction is optionally marked by naka *that* or yaka *so*.

Again the meaning distinction between the two forms indicates the truth condition of the condition clause – impossible (itapa) or possible (hitapa).

(44) [Itapa tau kedewa] apo taniwaga-u a yu numa
CONTR I dog FUT master-1s his LOC house

a-ta-eno.
1s-IRR-sleep
If I were a dog I would sleep in my master's house.

(45) [Itapa a-ta-hanapu-ge-ya] ap-ega geka pite a-ta-baha.
CONTR 1s-IRR-know-TR-3s FUT-NEG this like 1s-IRR-say
If I had known it I would not have spoken like this.

(46) [Hitapa gadiwewe pom] yaka apega bulumakau
CONTR rain yesterday so FUT.NEG cow

hi-ta-uni.
3p-IRR-kill
If it had rained yesterday they would not have killed the cow.

(47) [Hitapa hai nugoapapoe ugoli-u] yaka hi-ta-nei.
CONTR their anger AT-1s so 3p-IRR-come
If they were angry with me they would have come.

16.7 COORDINATED CLAUSES

The division of Tawala text material into sentences is sometimes difficult, as there is often no distinction in principle between a sequence of clauses constituting a sentence and a sequence of sentences constituting a paragraph. This is particularly true of structures which employ coordinate conjunctions, which are distinguished by their ability to join either clauses or sentences[1]. As Longacre (1985:239) notes, "the decision to opt for one sentence or two when *and* and *but* are involved is sometimes delicate, if not arbitrary". In Tawala the same problem exists with each of the coordinating conjunctions (except **meka po**).

There are, however, a number of features which combine to delineate sentence borders in most cases.

i) Phonologically, sentences begin with a higher onset and end with a lower coda than clauses. There is greater potential for pauses between sentences and that is usually where the speaker takes a breath.

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[1] However, I have never seen the avoidance conjunction **meka po** (16.8.1) used as a sentence introducer.

ii) Semantically, a sentence forms a cohesive unit with a specific topic and within specified spatio-temporal parameters. New sentences are signalled by the introduction of a new topic - overt subject or object NPs; or a new spatio-temporal setting.

iii) Syntactically, there are numerous clues to sentence borders, of which only a small sampling is offered here. The conjunction **po** *and*, for example, rarely introduces a new sentence, as it marks two clauses as a cohesive unit (15.2.1). On the other hand **ma** *and/but* combines both clauses and sentences, as it signals change of subject or other new item (5.2.2). When combined with other conjunctions it typically marks a sentence break, for example **ma tamogi** *but*. Without **ma**, **tamogi** typically joins clauses rather than sentences.

The conjunction **ega yaka** *so* (16.8.3.2) frequently marks the beginning of a new sentence, whereas **yaka** *so* (16.8.3.1) rarely does.

Within narrative discourse, many sentences end with an 'end-point' clause (16.3.1) which marks the end of a sequence of actions.

(48) **Ma hi-kao-kaoha po i-kokoe. Ma amalai...**
and 3p-DUR-happy and 3s-finish and today
And they were very happy. But now...

Sentence divisions within narrative discourse are also unambiguously marked with tail-head linkage.

(49) **Ginahi i-lunagil-i. I-lunagil-i po...**
sago 3s-break-3s 3s-break-3s and
He broke the sago open. He broke it and..

(50) **...po hina-hi hi-tuhaga-ya. Hina-hi hi-tuhag-ya po...**
and mother-3p 3p-find-3s
...and they found their mother. They found their mother and...

Definite markers (both definite and indefinite - underlined) usually mark the commencement of a new sentence (though it is not necessarily the first item that is marked). They typically (re)introduce a topic, thus marking a new sentence or even a paragraph.

(51) Yailo wam-na hi-dewa-dewa-ya i-gale-hi.
Y. boat-DEF 3p-DUR-make-3s 3s-see-3p
Yailo saw them making that boat.

(52) Ma niha wedu-na gehou-na i-waya.
and salt cup-3s other-3s 3s-take.it
Then she took another salt-water ladle.

16.8 TYPES OF CLAUSE COORDINATION

A coordinating conjuction joins clauses which are structurally independent. The conjunction itself is loosely attached to the second clause. It is with coordinate constructions that the greatest degree of functional independence between clauses is exhibited. However, this group also manifests features of a Kuno-type continuum. Thus the coupling conjunction po *and*, always indicates a degree of dependence between the two clauses. Similarly, the conjunctions meka po, babana and (ega) yaka also indicate a degree of semantic dependence - avoidance, cause and consequence respectively - thus with these clauses it is possible to identify 'main' clauses.

The distinction between po and ma (5.6.9) is of the utmost importance, as these are by far the most common conjunctions in the language. At the phrase level (9.11) po is more common than ma; however, the reverse is true at the clause level and above. At the clause level, as at other levels, po indicates

'close' coordination (15.8.4) and ma indicates 'loose' coordination (15.8.5); in these functions they almost intersect with the semantic notions of coupling and contrast.

16.8.1 AVOIDANCE – meka po

The conjunction meka po *lest* (literally *where and*), marks an avoidance clause.

(53) Ta-ni-niye-ya [meka po mimituwa ma apo togowa
1pI-DUR-take-3s lest... spirit and FUT wind

ta-wialon-i].
1pI-face-3s
We are taking (= returning) him lest (he is) a spirit and we encounter wind (= a storm)[2].

(54) Apega u-na-gelu [meka po apo duba banei-na
FUT.NEG 2s-POT-embark lest... FUT storm big-3s

u-na-wialo-ni].
2s-POT-face-3s
Don't embark lest you encounter a big storm.

(55) O-na-galenaitete-mi [meka po apo tu-wiponahahale-na
2p-POT-watch-2pRFX lest... FUT PERS-disobedient-3s

hi-na-taniwag-e-mi].
3p-POT-rule-TR-2p
Watch yourselves lest the disobedient people influence you.

(56) Ega wale-walehi-m u-na-otu-ge-hi [meka po apo
NEG PL-brother-2s 2s-POT-call-TR-3p lest.... FUT

hi-na-otu-ge-m gasi].
3p-POT-call-TR-2s also
Don't call your brothers lest they call you also.

16.8.2 CAUSE – babana

The causal clause follows the 'main' clause. Semantically the result is compared to baba a *base* on which the result (the main clause) stands.

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[2] Angry spirits are credited with causing storms.

Here the subordinating conjunction has two forms, both marked for person and number of the main predication:

baba-na	mata-baba-na
base-3s	eye-base-3s

The second form is more intensive, **mata** stressing the *point of focus*[3]. Although the conjunction clusters phonologically with the 'adverbial' clause, the pronominal reference is an anaphoric reference to the 'main' clause, meaning *its base* and hence the gloss (reason-3s).

(57) Hina-u a-luhogale-ya, [baba-na e-lugahan-e-u].
mother-1s 1s-desire-3s reason-3s 3sPRS-nurse-TR-1s
I love my mother because she nurses me (on her lap).

(58) I-hopu mai, [matababa-na i-luhogal-e-m].
3s-descend DX reason-3s 3s-desire-TR-2s
She came down because she loves you.

(59) Ginouli geka hi-gele-geleta, [matababa-hi ipa guyau
thing this 3p-DUR-appear reason-3p IRR chief

a bahapiko i-na-lugelete-ya].
his prophecy 3s-POT-reveal-RFX
These things happened in order to fulfil the chief's (God's) prophecy.

Many sentences suggest that the causal construction can belong to a separate sentence altogether.

(60) Apega toleha-na a-ta-dewa-ya po mei lolowa.
FUT.NEG feast-DEF 1s-IRR-make-3s and like before

[Baba-na dewa odubo-hi amaka hi-kokoe.]
reason-3s custom old-3p already 3p-finish
I won't make a feast like before. The reason is that the old customs are finished.

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[3] The word **mata** *eye* is also used for the *point* of a sharp object.

16.8.3 CONSEQUENCE – (ega) yaka

The conjunction **yaka** expresses strong consequence; when combined with the negative marker **ega** (**ega yaka**) it expresses loose consequence.

16.8.3.1 STRONG CONSEQUENCE – yaka

The conjunction **yaka** *so, consequently* expresses that the following clause is the consequence of the previous clause.

(61) U-uma [yaka apega ta-nae].
2s-drink so FUT.NOT ipl-go
You drank [alcohol] so we will not go.

(62) U-hagu-iyai [yaka i-dewadewa].
2s-help-1pE so 3s-good
You helped us and so it is good.

(63) To-buli-bulili ma tul-iyai ae-na i-tona-ya
1pE-DUR-run and friend-1pE leg-3s 3s-pierce-RFX

[yaka to-niye-ya hau hospitolo.
so 1pE-take-3s LOC hospital
While we were running our friend's leg got pierced so we took him to the hospital.

16.8.3.2 LOOSE CONSEQUENCE – ega yaka

The conjunction **ega yaka** *so* (literally *not consequently*, indicates that the semantic relationship between the clauses is not a truly consequential relationship but rather a loose consequence – at times little more than a sequence and hence a proto-typical coordinating conjunction *and then* – though at other times the meanings of **yaka** and **ega yaka** seem to overlap, with the latter also meaning *consequently*.

(64) Hina-na pona-na i-nonol-i.
mother-3s voice-3s 3s-hear-3s

[Ega yaka hina-na i-lupa uyahi-na].
so..... mother-3s 3s-fly AT-3s
His mother heard his voice. And so his mother flew to him.

(65) Gaeba-na i-li-hogo-ya po tewela i-wele-ya.
bowl-DEF 3s-DP-fill-3s and child 3s-give-3s

[Ega yaka tewela-na i-houn-i...]
so..... child-DEF 3s-put-3s
He filled the bowl and gave it to the boy. And so the boy put it...

Frequently ega yaka occurs following po, in which case it is always nestled between clauses; following ma it is more ambivilent, usually between clauses but occasionally between sentences.

(66) I-nugonugotuhu po [ega yaka i-pa...]
3s-think and so..... 3s-say
He was thinking and so he said...

(67) I-tu-tou ma [ega yaka hina-na i-ne-po...]
3s-DUR-cry and so..... mother-3s 3s-come-and
He was crying and so his mother came and...

16.8.4 COUPLING – po

The conjunction po *and* indicates a close connection between two clauses – sometimes repetition of the predicate, sometimes identity of the subject, always agreement in polarity etc. Longacre (1985:241) defines coupling as "a non-temporal underlying *and* relation". Tawala, however, uses po for both temporal and non-temporal relations. Both verbal (68) and non-verbal clauses (69) are commonly joined by po.

(68) Apo a-ne-nae po a-ne-nae po u meyagai...
FUT 1s-DUR-go and 1s-DUR-go and LOC village
I went and went and (came) to the village.

(69) Ega kikina matouta po ega widagudagu.
NEG little fear and NEG struggle
He had no fear and did not struggle.

This conjunction can be used with a change of subject if the second clause is an outcome of the first; in (70) the subject of clause 1 becomes the object of clause 2.

(70) To-nae po hi-gohili-yai.
1pE-go and 3p-surprise-1pE
We went and they surprised us.

Various functionally embedded clauses use this coupling device. Firstly, we noted in chapter 15 that po functions as a complementiser, particularly in marking the complement of utterance complement-taking predicates as commands (71), though it is also found with other predicates, including modality complement-taking predicates (72).

(71) I-baha po goga-na i-gae hoi tano.
3s-say and grandchild-3s 3s-go.up LOC garden
He commanded his granddaughter to go to the garden.

(72) Ega emoemota-na po a tano i-na-tala-ya.
NEG ability-3s and her garden 3s-POT-cut-3s
She will not be able to cut her garden (clearing).

Spatio-temporal clauses are commonly joined to the main clause with po. In (73) and (74) the clause preceding the conjunction would be a standard relative clause if no conjunction was present. The conjunction gives a degree of independence to the dependent clause yet in the case of (73) the cataphoric definite enclitic marked the pre-conjunction clause as dependent.

(73) Houga-na to-gele-geleta po a-ga-gale-ya.
time-DEF 1pE-DUR-arrive and 1s-DUR-see-3s
The time when we arrived I saw it.

(74) Meka ta-nae po ta-wiheliheliyam.
where 1pI-go and 1pI-make.friend
Wherever we go we have friendship.

In 16.3.1 we note the use of po in end-point temporal clauses to join the postposed subordinate clause. The postposed clause (75) is a marked subordinate clause in spite of the presence of a coordinating conjunction.

(75) Ginahi i-tala-ya po i-kokoe.
sago 3s-cut-3s and 3s-finish
He cut the sago and it was finished (= completely).

Peripheral arguments may also be joined to the main clause with **po**.

(76) Guyau tepa-n-ei po u nugotuhu u-na-wotago-ya.
chief top-3s-ABL and my thought 2s-POT-follow-3s
For the chief's (God's) sake follow my suggestion.

A number of idiomatic interrogative constructions also employ po within their structure.

(77) Iyowaka po i-peu?
how and 3s-fall
How is it that he fell?

(78) Awai bi-nei po i-nae?
what BEN-3s and 3s-go
For what reason did he go?

In the next section we see that the contrastive conjunction **ma** has a very different set of functions from the coupling conjunction **po**, even though they can both be glossed *and*. Before looking at **ma** in detail we see that the following elicited sentences demonstrate the distinction between the two conjunctions. In each case **po** indicates that the following clause is functionally a complement, whereas **ma** signals a contrastive clause.

(79) Natu-we a-paliwele-ya po i-wele-u.
child-1s 1s-tell-3s and 3s-give-1s
I told (commanded) my son and (as a result) he gave it to me.

(80) Natu-we a-paliwele-ya ma i-wele-u.
child-1s 1s-tell-3s but 3s-give-1s
I told (commanded) my son but he gave it to me (anyway).

(81) Hi-wiwogatala po apo hi-na-bagibagi.
3p-plan and FUT 3p-POT-work
They planned to work.

(82) Hi-wiwogatala ma apo hi-na-bagibagi.
3p-plan but FUT 3p-POT-work
They planned (= talked a lot) but they will work anyway.

16.8.5 CONTRAST - ma

The conjunction **ma** marks a clause as being in contrast to the previous clause - a change of subject, mood or spatio-temporal setting.

(83) Dimdim hai bolima hi-habulu ma hai lata hi-bulili.
European their year 3p-small but their grow 3p-run
Europeans are only young but their growth is rapid.

(84) Pona a-nonol-i ma gamo-u i-witai.
language 1s-hear-3s but mouth-1s 3s-heavy
I can hear the language but can't speak it.

(85) Upom-gei am lawa hi-nei ma iyowaka po tam
night-ABL yourSG friend 3p-come but how and youSG

ega u-ta-nei?
NEG 2s-IRR-come
Your friends came last night but how is it you didn't come?

Change of polarity is also marked with **ma**.

(86) Ega i-ta-tawine ma e-ma-mae.
NEG 3s-IRR-marry but 3sPRS-DUR-stay
He has not married but is just staying.

(87) ...galena-na ega lawa hota ma galena-na naka
appearance-3s NEG person only but appearance-3s that

mei mimituwa...
like spirit
...his appearance is not that of a real person but like a spirit...

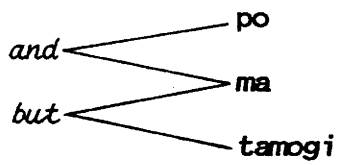
In (88) two contrasting alternate conditional clauses are joined by **ma**.

(88) I-na-togo a-mae ma i-na-dumol-i naka a-nae.
3s-POT-blow 1s-stay but 3s-POT-calm-3s that 1s-go
If its windy I'll stay, but if its calm I'll go.

In (89) **ma** join two NPs within an equative clause.

(89) Geka ega u bagibagi ma lawa hai bagibagi.
this NEG my work but person their work
This is not my work but the people's work.

Longacre (1985:232) defines contrast as "underlying *but* relations". However, English conjunctions do not have the same areas of meanings as the Tawala. Often there are situations where **ma** must be translated *and* and the English *but* corresponds to the Tawala adversative **tamogi** (16.8.6).



(90) Hi-ma-mae ma ama-hi i-gota.
3p-DUR-stay but father-3p 3s-arrive
They were staying then (= when) their father arrived.

(91) O-na-ma-mae ma a-nae ita yam a-beiha.
2s-POT-DUR-stay but 1s-go our1 food 1s-seek
You stay and (= while) I will go to seek our food.

In the above examples the initial clause is marked for durative aspect, which has the function of temporal overlap (16.9). Adverbial clauses are normally separated from the main clause by **ma**. Thus adverbial clauses are formally coordinated, though functionally subordinated; other adverbial clauses are coded as relative clauses (14).

(92) I-tugu-tugala ma hi-woe.
3s-DUR-sit and 3p-paddle
While he was sitting they paddled.

(93) To-buli-bulili ma tul-iyai ae-na i-tona-ya.
1pE-DUR-run and friend-1pE leg-3s 3s-pierce-RFX
While we were running our friend's foot got pierced.

Peripheral phrases or words are also sometimes separated from the remainder of the clause by the contrastive conjunction. These are interpreted as non-verbal clauses (94), except when

they involve a subordinating postposition (95-97), in which case they are formally marked as both coordinated and dependent.

(94) Geka ma polo a-matut-e-ya.
this and pig 1s-fear-TR-3s
It was here I was frightened by the pig.

(95) Geka baha-na bi-nei ma lawa hi-kaoha.
this word-DEF BEN-3s and person 3p-happy.
Because of this word the people were happy.

(96) Ma i am uyahi-na ma tau a-wihinimaya.
but ourE meal AT-3s and I 1s-embarrass
But during our meal I felt embarrassed.

(97) Yaka a koyama uyahi-n-ei ma a luyagohana i-wime-ya.
so his lying AT-3s-ABL and his life 3s-take-3s
So by his trickery he saved his life.

Comparison is often expressed by spelling out the contrasting features separated by the contrast conjunction (see 8.10.1.2 for an alternative strategy).

(98) Gahi-na i-dao ma gahi-u i-kuku.
stature-3s 3s-long but stature-1s 3s-short
He is taller than me. (lit. *His stature is long but my stature is short.*)

16.8.6 ADVERSATIVE - tamogi

The adversative conjunction **tamogi** *but* indicates that the second clause is an exception or contrary to expectation and can be translated as *but on the other hand.*

(99) Tauna kiu natu-na tamogi lawa atapu-na
he bird child-3s but person all-3s

i-luhogal-e-ya.
3s-desire-TR-ya
He was a bird's child but he loved all the people.

(100) Ega u mone tamogi a-m-am ma a-ma-mae.
NEG my money but 1s-DUR-eat and 1s-DUR-stay
I have no money but I am eating and living.

The adversative is often made stronger by combination with the contrastive conjunction **ma**.

(101) Am kwasikwasi ega i-ta-kam ma tamogi
yourSG bushknife NEG 3s-IRR-sharp but but

e-tala-tala.
3sPRS-DUR-cut
Your bushknife is not sharp but it is cutting.

(102) Tuwega ma tamogi apo ka hoti a-n-omgiluma woloe.
news but but FUT here only 1s-POT-write finish
There is (more) news but I will finish writing only here.

Ma tamaogi often marks the start of a new sentence.

16.8.7 ALTERNATION – bo

Although there are two conjunctions signalling alternation (**bo** and **oo**), only the former is used to conjoin clauses (cf. 9.12.3).

(103) Am i-na-hilage bo numa i-na-beiha.
food 3s-POT-finish or house 3s-POT-seek.
He will hunger for food or seek housing.

(104) Ta-apu-ya bo i-na-ala-hi.
1pl-burn-3s or 3s-POT-burn-RFX
We burn it or it burns itself.

This construction is used with yes-no questions; the second clause simply contains the non-verbal negative predication.

(105) He-ne-nei imahi bo eega?
3pPRS-DUR-come properly or NEG(existential)
Are they coming properly or not?

16.8.8 SUCCESSION – apom(a)

The two forms of this conjunction also have a discernable meaning distinction.

i) **apoma**[4]

Succession involves actions performed in succession – "an underlying *and then* relation" (Longacre 1985:244).

---

[4] The items **po**, **apo** (FUT) and **apoma** *then* are probably related etymologically. Originally **po** may have meant *then/next/later* which would account for the present-day usage of each of these items.

(106) Moina duma-na hi-bahe-bah-e-ni apoma a-gale-ni.
truth very-3s 3p-DUR-say-TR-3s then 1s-see-3s
In very truth they had spoken about it then I saw it.

(107) U-na-nugotuhu tahae-ni apoma u-na-lumodale.
2s-POT-think first-3s then 2s-POT-collect.timber
Calculate it [sizes] first and then cut [house] timbers.

(108) Hi-ul-ulona ma aipom apoma hi-mam.
3p-DUR-cook and evening then 3p-eat
They cooked it and evening came then they ate it.

To speak about doing something for the first time involves a non-verbal clause and **apoma**.

(109) U houga tahatahaya-na apoma plein a gelu-ya
my time first-3s then plane 1s-embark-3s
It was my first time to board a plane.

ii) **apom**

Closely related to **apoma** is the morpheme **apom** *then*, which is used to express a looser relationship between the two clauses – the succession is less direct. The structure in (110) is parallel to that using the contrastive conjunction (96). Typically, it appears at the commencement of a new sentence (111), frequently with the contrastive conjunction (112).

(110) Iyeta noka u muli-na apom u-na-nei.
day that LOC back-3s then 2s-POT-come
After that day then you will come.

(111) Apom iyeta gehou-na i-tagona-i.
then day other-3s 3s-cross.over-DX
Then another day he went over there.

(112) O-n-omboina ma apom meeting gehou-na o-na-nei po...
2p-POT-meet and then m. other-3s 2p-POT-come and
You meet and then come to another meeting and....

16.9 TEMPORAL RELATIONS

> Temporal relations are...important to natural languages...The distinguishing of temporal overlap from succession is a linguistic universal...
>
> Longacre (1976:113)

In Tawala temporal adverbial clause structure is sensitive to the semantic relationship between the action in the two predicates. Distinctions are coded both by order of clauses and the aspectual marking of the subordinate clause.

Spatio-temporal relations are distinguished according to the order of the clauses. A clause with an adverbial function (irrespective of whether it is subordinated or coordinated) has a different function depending on whether it precedes or follows the main clause. Those that precede the main clause are part of the spatio-temporal setting and those that follow the main clause are aspectual.

(113) [Houga-na hi-lau-geleta] lawa luwaga hi-tuwaga-hi.
time-DEF 3p-DUR-arrive person two 3p-find-3p
When they arrived they found two people.

(114) Tauna i-to<o>togo [iyeta magou-na nimitutu].
she 3s-sick<DUR> day number-3s five
She was sick for five days.

(115) A-me-mae [bolima magou-na 12 hi-kokoe] ma...
1s-DUR-stay year number-3s 12 3p-finish and
I stayed for 12 years and then...

Longacre (1976:114-117) distinguishes four semantic varieties of temporal overlap, each of which is found in Tawala. Types are distinguished as to whether the activity in the adverbial and main clauses is continuous or punctiliar.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSE	MAIN CLAUSE
continuous	continuous
continuous	punctiliar
punctiliar	continuous
punctiliar	punctiliar

Table 2: Varieties of temporal overlap

These four varieties are illustrated repectively in the four following examples. In Tawala continuous activity is marked by durative aspect; puntiliar activity is simple aspect and hence unmarked. Durative aspect is used in the subordinate clause when there is temporal overlap (116,117); simple aspect is used in the subordinate clause when there is temporal succession (118,119).

(116) [Hauga-na ta-me-mae u Diwinai] ma
time-DEF 1pl-DUR-stay LOC Diwinai and

a-i-nugonugotuhu...
1s-DP.DUR-think
When we were staying at Diwinai I was thinking...

(117) [Iyeta gehou-na a-me-mae] ma i-nei u numa
day other-3s 1s-DUR-stay and 3s-came LOC house

uyahi-na.
AT-3s
One day I was staying and he came to my house.
(= While I was staying, he came to my house.)

(118) [Houga-na a-gae] Ukarumpa a-me-mae.
time-DEF 1s-go Ukarumpa 1s-DUR-stay
When I went up I stayed at Ukarumpa

(119) [Kabudala-na i-geleta hoi wam] naka amaka hi-gelu.
sun-DEF 3s-arrive LOC boat that already 3p-embark
When he arrived at the boat they had already embarked.

These relationships function irrespective of whether they are coordinated (116,117,120,121) or juxtaposed (118,119). Contrast (120) with (119) and (121).

(120) Houga-na wam hi-gale-ya ma hi-kaoha labatana.
time-DEF boat 3p-see-3s and 3p-happy strongly
When they saw the boat they were exceedingly happy.

(121) Hauga-na ta-memae u Diwinai ma a-i-nugonugotuhu...
time-DEF 1pl-DUR-stay LOC D. and 1s-DP.DUR-think
When we were staying at Diwinai I was thinking...

The temporal interrogative used in the subordinate clause also indicates temporal overlap.

(122) [Meyanai hi-gelu-ya] ega hi-ta-matouta.
when 3p-embark-3s NEG 3p-IRR-fear
Whenever they get on board it they were not afraid.

16.10 BEYOND THE SENTENCE

> There has always been something dubious...about a research strategy which submits clause combinations to the most searching analysis when there is no pause or intonation break between them, and officially ignores virtually synonymous combinations which are separated by such a break. Unquestionably, the pause is a universal icon of disassociation...But the implicit claim that utterances separated by such a pause are mutually independent is an untenable one.
>
> Haiman and Thompson (1988:ix)

I recognise that this thesis is only a partial description of Tawala grammar. In particular, such areas as cohesion (Ezard 1978), prominence and reference have received only a passing mention, as has the whole realm of discourse pragmatics (not to mention the wider issues of pragmatics). I conclude, then, with a quote from Givón (1984:10) which points in the direction that future studies of Tawala grammar need to take.

> While the study of sentences in isolation is a necessary preliminary step in identifying the inventory of coding devices which make morpho-syntactic structure, the goal of the investigation is to elucidate how those devices are used in coding and communicating human knowledge.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CUP Cambridge University Press.

OL *Oceanic Linguistics*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

PL *Pacific Linguistics*. Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

SIL Summer Institute of Linguistics.

WPNGL *Work Papers in New Guinea Languages*. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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