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A GRAMMAR SKETCH OF

KWARAQAE

A thesis
submitted in fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of
Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics
at
The University of Waikato
by
DARYL EVELINE MACDONALD

The University of Waikato

2010
Abstract

A Grammar Sketch of Kwaraqae is a synchronic linguistic analysis of the Kwaraqae language, one of sixty-three languages which are part of the North Malaita dialect chain in the Solomon Islands. The data was collected at the University of Waikato from urban dwelling Kwaraqae speakers. Although some work has already been done with this language (Deck, 1934, Walter, 1931), the frameworks of analysis and interpretation from these projects are now out-dated, and consequently not as useful for Linguistic Typologists working with Oceanic languages, or those linguists investigating specific language features such as metathesis (Sohn, 1980; Pawley, 1982; Blevins & Garrett, 1998; Baird, 2002; Heinz, 2004). This thesis has addressed both of these issues by firstly recording fresh data, and secondly, by the application of contemporary linguistic descriptive and typological theory and practices to the data. The description sketches the phonological system which has bilabial and palatal glides, labio-velar stops, a basic syllable shape of (C)V(V)(C), and complex syllable transformations such as metathesis and segment deletion which are often combined. Kwaraqae tends towards an isolating agglutinative typology. When constituents are marked, this occurs on the phrasal head. The basic order of the language is SVO. The nominal system displays the alienable/inalienable semantic distinction frequently found in Oceanic languages, a small closed sub-class being locative in function. The verbal system
includes inherently transitive and intransitive verbs, where valence is increased by affixation, and decreased by reduplication, although not all verbs fit this pattern. There are intransitive verbs for which a transitive counterpart could not be elicited, and transitive verbs where the valence changing affixes appear to have become fossilised on the verb. Transitive verbs are often, though not always, indexed for their direct objects. Aspect is prominent in Kwaraqae, and is expressed in the verb phrase by an imperfective, a completive and/or a terminal marker. There is a marker of temporal immediacy, and a large group of free form verbal modifiers, all of which occur in the verb phrase. Fronting of subjects and direct objects is a frequent structure in clauses.
Acknowledgements

In writing this thesis, I am deeply indebted to my language consultants, Christina Giobauta and Selwyn Takana, who so generously gave their time and their enthusiasm to the project. As a new-comer to the realities of linguistic description, I particularly appreciated their patience while I grappled with an unfamiliar sound system, and the complexities inherent in spoken language. I am also very grateful for their efforts during transcription and translation, which frequently included lengthy discussions over semantics with accompanying gestures and much laughter until I managed to adequately grasp the meaning of a word or phrase.

A University of Waikato Master’s Scholarship provided financial assistance during my year of research. Academic supervision was given by Dr. Julie Barbour of the Department of General and Applied Linguistics, without whom the opportunity to undertake graduate study would never have happened. For this and all other teaching and guidance, I am very grateful.

To my family, a big thank you for listening to my linguistic witterings, even when they made no sense. Thanks to Hayden for philosophical discussions and proof reading, to Cassandra for being the motivation for my return to study in the first place, but most of all to my husband Neil, who made it possible for me to follow my dream.
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## Abbreviations and Conventions

- Separate morpheme
- Separates words in a multi-word gloss or meanings in a semantically complex morpheme

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>Interrogative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>Intransitive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>Male gender article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAT</td>
<td>Matrix clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominalising suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>Numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ.3</td>
<td>Direct object suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLACE</td>
<td>Place article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS.DET</td>
<td>Possessive determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PRE Pre-clusal slot
PREF Prefix
PREP Preposition
PRO.DEM Demonstrative pronoun
PROP Proprietary suffix
QUAN Quantifier
QUE Question marker
RECIP Reciprocal prefix
REFL Reflexive pronoun
REL Relative clause
SEQ Sequential modifier
SG Singular
so. Someone
sth. Something
TERM Completive aspect marker
TRANC Transitive causative suffix
TRANA Transitive applicative suffix
VH Vowel harmony
1 Thesis Introduction

1.1 Aims and Objectives

Kwaraqae\(^1\) belongs to the Austronesian language family (sub-family Oceanic), and is one of sixty-three languages which are part of the North Malaita dialect chain in the Solomon Islands (Tryon & Hackman, 1983; Ross, Pawley & Osmond, 2008). Although some descriptive work has already been done with this language (Deck, 1934, Ivens, 1931), the frameworks of analysis and interpretation follow “ordinary English grammar” texts of the era (Deck, 1934, p. 1). What is more, it is a well established linguistic principle that all languages change, so it is likely that some of the original data and analyses from these projects are now outdated, and consequently not as useful for Linguistic Typologists working with Oceanic languages, or those linguists investigating specific features in Kwaraqae such as metathesis (cf. Sohn, 1980; Pawley, 1982; Blevins & Garrett, 1998; Baird, 2002; Heinz, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c). This thesis is an attempt to address both of these issues by firstly recording and documenting fresh data, and secondly, by applying contemporary linguistic descriptive and typological theory and practices to analyse the data and provide a comparison with earlier studies.

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\(^1\) In this thesis, the symbol ‘q’ has been selected as an orthographical representation of the glottal stop (see 3.5).
A third significant aspect of this project is the method of data collection and documentation. The primary data has been collected and documented following guidelines from the relatively new field of Documentary Linguistics, so that the resulting data are of sufficient quality to archive and make available to other researchers and the language community itself. They may also ultimately to contribute to future research projects, particularly those concerning Language Typology and even knowledge of language as a social practice and as a human cognitive ability (Himmelman, 2006).

Linguistic documentary procedures are ‘holistic’ in that the goal is not only to record and archive the raw and the primary data, which includes the language data from the communicative event and the metalinguistic knowledge of the speech participants, but also to record the metadata or information about the project and the speech event itself such as information about the participants, setting, content and instructions for future access to the data (Himmelman, 2006).

This approach is important for several reasons: sociolinguistic research has repeatedly shown how context influences language production, so future linguistic researchers will be able to take into account the circumstances of the data recording in their analyses, while researchers in fields such as education and language maintenance will be better placed
to judge suitability of the data for their own projects. By being thorough during the documentation process, the empirical foundations of the data are strengthened. Archiving encourages greater accountability of the claims made and a more economical use of research resources (Himmelman, 2006).

A further but no less important consideration is the project’s value to the Kwara’ae speech community. Should there be an inter-generational breakdown of language transmission and the language become endangered at some time in the future, the archived data will provide at least some record of the language and of native speaker competency for descendants of current speakers.

While it is common for linguists working on descriptive projects of this nature to ‘give something back’ to the speech community, Documentary Linguists also believe that there is an obligation on the fieldworker’s part to “archive and disseminate” the data and results (Dwyer, 2006). The researcher therefore intends not only to make the data available to other researchers, but is also compiling a word list and text collection which will be made available to the Kwara’ae speech community through the language consultants who participated in this project.
1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Data Collection

This thesis is a synchronic study of modern Kwara’ae. The word list and the grammatical sketch have been compiled from the data collected primarily from this project. Being at the Master’s level, the time, size and financial constraints imposed on the project have meant that the opportunity to gather language data has been limited to contact with two native speakers. Data collection has necessarily taken place at weekly organised sessions, outside the Kwara’ae speech community. A concerted effort was made by the researcher and the consultants to compensate for the less than ideal working environment in order to produce data that is a valid representation of the Kwara’ae spoken by the two native speakers participating in this project.

There were two main methods of raw data\(^2\) collection: elicitation and text recording. Although elicitation methodology has been published for languages from India (Abbi, 2001) and Africa (Bouquiaux & Thomas, 1992), there were some limitations using these resources for this project as Kwara’ae is an Oceanic language with different lexical and syntactic

\(^2\) The data typology as suggested by Himmelmann (2009) will be used for this project where language documentation is divided into three stages of processing: raw data (actual recordings), primary data (transcription and translation), and structural or secondary data (descriptive work on the language).
features. These publications recommend elicitation is conducted by working through lists of semantically unrelated lexical items (Swadesh, 1955), sentences or questionnaires designed to elicit certain sentence types (Bouquiaux & Thomas, 1992), or a series of phonologically and morphologically themed topics (Abbi, 2001; Bowern, 2008).

However, rather than organize elicitation sessions from a grammatical perspective, the topics for this project were organised by semantic field (see Appendix A). This was done in order to assist recall of lexical items as “the readiest access that speakers have to their knowledge is semantically and functionally organised” (Maddieson, 2001). As often as possible, a topic was assigned in advance of each session to allow the consultants time to recall relevant terms and expressions. This facilitated production, enabling the consultants to become more confident with their role. Several of the early elicitation sessions were recorded so that both researcher and consultants became familiar with the equipment and the process of documentation. It also allowed the researcher to replay the tracks later to check the phonetic transcription, and devise the most appropriate system of orthography.

Although at the beginning, elicitation provided a useful way for the researcher to learn about the language, and for the consultants to understand the kinds of tasks involved in a project of this nature, it soon
became apparent that text collection produced a far more accurate representation of the language as it is used in ‘real’ life. Recording texts reduced the effects of the researcher’s inexperience in selecting culturally relevant material for elicitation, as well as the temptation or obligation felt by the language consultants to ‘fit’ Kwara’ae into the English structures requested by the researcher.

A list of suggested topics for the text recordings (Appendix B) was provided by the researcher, but it was the language consultants who ultimately selected what they wanted to say. Importantly, this gave them control over the content of the material for documentation and increased the likelihood of collecting more natural spoken language. Elicitation then became a useful adjunct to the transcription and translation sessions to check and provide further details of lexical and grammatical points as they arose, and a good tool for expanding the word list.

1.2.2 Data Description

Organising and working with the primary data was facilitated by the use of several software programmes. Texts were edited with ‘Audacity 1.2.6’ (http://audacity.sourceforge.net/) and transcribed with ‘Transcriber’ (http://trans.sourceforge.net/). An electronic copy of the recorded texts in .wav format is included on the DVD accompanying this thesis.
‘Toolbox 1.5.5’ from SIL (www.sil.org/computing/toolbox) was used to organize the lexicon, interlinearise texts and produce the word list. Lexemes are described in terms of their phonetic form, their part of speech (word class), classified by semantic domain as appropriate (see Appendix C for categories), and assigned an English gloss. Examples, definitions and other notes were also added to clarify meaning and use.

‘Phonology Assistant 3.0.1’, another SIL product (http://www.sil.org/computing/pa), was particularly useful for the phonological analysis.
2 Introduction to Kwaraqae

2.1 Linguistic Demography

With nearly 90 indigenous languages spoken by a population of only 300,000 (Comrie, Matthews & Polinsky, 2003, p. 100), the Solomon Islands display the typical many-languages-per-island pattern found throughout Melanesia. Although it is generally agreed that Kwaraqae is the largest of these indigenous languages, the suggested number of speakers varies from 12,000 in Tryon and Hackman’s 1983 estimate (as cited in Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p. 12), to more than 20,000 in Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1990, p. 166) and Kwa’ioloa and Burt (2001, p. 9), with a 1999 total of 32,400 speakers according to SIL International’s Ethnologue (http://www.ethnologue.com/). It would seem therefore that determining the actual number of Kwaraqae speakers is not a straightforward matter. One reason could be the high rate of multilingualism typically found in regions of high linguistic diversity such as the Solomons, where it has traditionally been a communicative necessity for neighbouring language groups to have a “working knowledge of each other’s languages” (Comrie, Matthews & Polinsky, 2003, p. 102). Total speaker numbers could therefore vary depending on whether L2, L3 or L4 speakers were counted as native speakers or not.
A further difficulty in calculating speaker numbers could be that although Kwaraqae is spoken on the island of Malaita, there are also settlements of Kwaraqae speakers on the island of Guadalcanal, near Honiara, the Solomon Island’s main urban centre (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1991). Whether these speakers were counted by any of the sources for the above is not stated. Unfortunately, because these totals vary so much, they limit the ability to calculate changing speaker numbers and thereby monitor the rate of language shift, a key indicator in determining the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language.

‘Kwaraqae’ not only refers to the name of the language itself, but to the speakers and the region in which they live. Deck (1934, p. 3) suggests the speakers acquired the label ‘Kwaraqae’ meaning ‘indeed’, through the frequent use of this term in their discourse. According to Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002) and the SIL Ethnologue, Kwaraqae is also known as ‘Fui’, although this was not mentioned in any other publications such as those by Deck (1934), Burt and Kwa’ioloa (1992, 2001), Kwa’ioloa and Burt (1997, 2001) or Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1990, 1991). However, in Samuel Alasa’a’s traditional account of the founding of the Solomon Islands (Burt & Kwa’ioloa, 2001), Malaita was the seventh island to be settled. In Kwaraqae the number ‘seven’ is hiu or fiu (depending on the speaker), so this may be a link to the alternative name suggested by Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002) and the SIL Ethnologue.
The Kwaraqae territory stretches across the island of Malaita from west to east in a ‘belt’ (see Figure 2-1) (Deck, 1934; Kwa’ioloa & Burt, 2001, p. 9). According to Kwa’ioloa and Burt (2001, p. 9), the language and the culture of the Kwaraqae are closer to those of the people to the north of Malaita (e.g. Toqabaqita, Fataleka, Baegu and Lau) than to those further south (e.g. Kwaio). The speakers are also predominantly inland dwellers (*toqa ni tolo*) because the mosquito- riddled swamps on the coast, and feuds with the ‘sea people’ (*toqa eis*) who inhabit the nearby islands, tended to discourage coastal living (Kwa’ioloa & Burt, 2001, pp. 9, 26).

Figure 2-1: The Southwest Pacific, the main islands of the Solomon Islands, and the language groups of Malaita. Map used with permission from Ben Burt and The British Museum Press: Kwa’ioloa, M., & Burt, B. (2001). *Our forest of Kwaraqae*. London: The British Museum Press.
Not surprisingly, this inland environment has favoured the development of vocabulary naming the flora and fauna inland and also determined the expressions found in the semantic domain of spatial deixis, in particular the absolute terms used as directional points of reference e.g. *to‘l*‘inland, up in the mountains’ and *eis* ‘coastal, down at the coast’.
2.2 Genetic Affiliation

Kwaraqae belongs to the Austronesian language family and is a member of the Oceanic subgroup as shown by Figures 2-2 and 2-3.

![Diagram showing the genetic relationship of Kwaraqae to Proto-Oceanic and Proto-Austronesian.](image)

Figure 2-2. The genetic relationship of Proto-Oceanic to Proto-Austronesian (adapted from Lynch, Ross & Crowley (2008, p. 7)).

![Diagram showing the genetic affiliation of Kwaraqae to Proto-Oceanic.](image)

Figure 2-3: The genetic affiliation of Kwaraqae to Proto-Oceanic (adapted from Lynch, Ross & Crowley (2008, p.7) and SIL Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009)).
Evidence for this affiliation can be seen in the similarity between the lexical items and grammatical particles attested in this grammar sketch and their semantically equivalent reconstructed forms from Proto-Oceanic (see Table 2-1) (Blust, 1993; Ross, Pawley & Osmond, 1998, 2003).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Oceanic</th>
<th>Kwaraqae</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*lima</td>
<td>liam</td>
<td>'five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Duwa</td>
<td>ruan</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*niuR</td>
<td>niu</td>
<td>'coconut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sinaR</td>
<td>sien</td>
<td>'sun, shine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*rorod</td>
<td>rod</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*rongoR</td>
<td>rongwa</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kiki, *qitik, *riki</td>
<td>tiqtiq</td>
<td>'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*burit</td>
<td>bure-</td>
<td>'behind, after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>'and'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ne</td>
<td>neqe</td>
<td>'this, here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kira</td>
<td>kiraq</td>
<td>'3PL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qa</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This historical relationship provides support for the synchronic description of Kwaraqae grammatical structure as presented in this thesis. For example, the prevalence of word initial /k/ in the Kwaraqae independent pronominal system can be explained by the presence of */k/ in the
reconstructed independent pronominal system of Proto Malayo-
Polynesian, where it is thought to have been a marker of courtesy (Lynch,
Ross & Crowley, 2002, p. 68). Likewise, the form /in Kwaraqae, which
functions as a personal marker for male humans, is hypothesised as being
a personal article in Proto Malayo-Polynesian also (Lynch, Ross &
Crowley, 2002, p. 68). The relationship also serves as a valuable resource
for the typological discussion, as certain linguistic features typically found
in other Oceanic languages may be expected to occur in Kwaraqae also.
The semantic distinction between alienable and inalienable possession
reflected in the indirect-direct structure of the grammatical system, and the
derivational feature of reduplication are just two relevant examples (Lynch,
Ross & Crowley, 2002).

2.3 Previous Research

Previous descriptive linguistic research on Kwaraqae can be grouped into
three types; grammars, word and spelling lists, and a body of work on
metathesis. Each of these is outlined below and considered in relation to
the current project.

2.3.1 Grammars

Deck, a missionary from the SSEC (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1991, p.
536), compiled his grammar after translating the gospel of St. Matthew into
Kwaraqae. As he intended it to be used by other missionaries, it is styled
along the lines of a traditional English grammar, rather than using a
descriptive or “scientific” framework (Deck, 1934, pp. 1-3). Some of his
observations about the language are phrased in terms that would be
judged inappropriate or even racist by today’s researchers, but he
describes in some detail the linguistic situation between Kwaraqae and
neighbouring languages, and the areas on Malaita where Kwaraqae was
spoken at the time of his visit, noting a lack of dialectal variation across the
Kwaraqae region.

Other general observations include the “interchange of consonants /f/ and
/h/”, the use of the glottal stop or “glottal break” which he thought indicated
“dropped consonants”, and a “marked mannerism of clipping the ends of
words and a metathesis of the end syllable, and other syllables, of words”
which he describes as giving Kwaraqae a “marked staccato sound”,
making the language “most graphic to listen to” (Deck, 1934, p. 4).

The manuscript is divided into sections which “group certain groupings of
words” together for “convenience”, for example, alphabet, article and
particles, nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. The majority of the
examples given in support of the analysis are taken from the Bible
translation itself which was made with one Kwaraqae speaker only, and
according to Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1989, p. 542), is full of simplified
and redundant structures having been translated literally from 17th century
biblical English rather than paraphrased in the high rhetoric style of
Kwaraqae. This appears to be the largest published grammatical
description available.

The very first grammatical study of Kwaraqae would seem to have been
that published by Ivens in 1931. However, it is based on the proof sheets
of Deck’s translation of St. Matthew and, according to Deck, makes
several incorrect deductions, as Ivens had no recourse to spoken
Kwaraqae when he wrote it (Deck, 1934, p. 4). Due to the fact that the
data has been drawn from the same source as Deck’s grammar, and
accessing the actual article proved difficult (the only copy is available at
the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand, and could not
be interloaned), Ivens (1931) will not be considered further for this project.

Research on Kwaraqae was also conducted between the years of 1960-
1974 by the Australian Linguist Capell and can be found online with
Paradisec (http://www.paradisec.org.au/fieldnotes/SIKWAR.htm). The
work is a set of scanned field notes with accompanying annotations on the
vowel system, metathesis and some basic morphophonology, although
these are very brief. The data for the elicitation sessions does seem to
have been documented from native speakers.

A more recent version of Deck’s grammar was made by Burt (2003). As
Burt admits, he is not a linguist, and has really only “tidied up” Deck’s
original work, so this grammatical sketch does not add to the current knowledge of Kwaraqae.

The most recent descriptive work on the language would seem to be Heinz (2005a, 2005b, 2005c). Although these are predominantly studies of metathesis in Kwaraqae, he does describe consonant and vowel inventories, the syllable structures, and stress patterns of the two different registers in Kwaraqae. Every word in Kwaraqae is said to have two allomorphs: a metathesised form in the ‘normal’ (low rhetoric) register and a non-metathesised form in the ‘citation’ (high rhetoric) register (Heinz, 2005b). Heinz demonstrates a third allomorph which he calls the “Focus Final form” which appears in the focus position of the normal register. Included are some brief observations and remarks concerning the morphology of the language. Of particular significance to this thesis is the data source for this research which was from native speakers from West Kwaraqae (Heinz, J. personal communication, September, 9, 2009).

Apart from Heinz, most of the existing descriptive work would seem to be derived from data which were collected some time ago by a non-specialist who used methods now known to compromise the quality of the data.

2.3.2 Spelling and Word Lists

There are several existing Kwaraqae word lists. A short list of Kwaraqae vocabulary (a few basic terms only) has been included in *The*
Austronesian Vocabulary Database, a ‘phylogenetic’ project created by Greenhill, Blust and Gray (2008) from the psychology department of the University of Auckland, the original source being stated as David Gegeo, a native Kwaraqae speaker.

Simons produced an unpublished list of Kwaraqae spelling words in 1977, while Burt compiled a sizeable list of 4679 words in 2004\(^1\). Heinz is also in the process of compiling a word list from his data (Heinz, J. personal communication, September, 9, 2009). As all these lists seem to be based on the vocabulary forms of the ‘high rhetoric’ style rather than being a representation of the contemporary spoken form, they are not suitable as primary data sources for this project.

2.3.3 Metathesis

Metathesis in Kwaraqae is the phonological process whereby segments in words are typically switched so that \(C_1V_1C_2V_2\) becomes \(C_1V_1V_2C_2\) (Heinz, 2005a, p.1). It can also involve interchanges of consonants as in this example given by Lass (1984, p. 188) from English \textit{enmity} for \textit{ermity}.

Lass states that metathesis is “sporadic” and “lexeme-specific”, and apparently frequently found in historical changes (1984, p. 188). Blevins and Garrett (1998, pp. 508-509) argue for an historical explanation too, by

\(^1\) My thanks to Jeffrey Heinz, Assistant Professor at the University of Delaware, for kindly sending me Simon’s Kwaraqae spelling list (1977) and Burt’s 2004 word list and grammatical notes (unpublished).
stating that metathesis is a natural process arising from sound changes which are reinterpreted by hearers when surface forms are phonetically ambiguous. However, according to Crowley, Lynch, Siegel and Piau (1995, p. 290), metathesis can also be systematic and involved in the morphophonemic rules of languages such as the derivation of an agentive noun from a verb in Lenakes, or second person prefixes which undergo metathesis to become an infix in Gitua.

Metathesis in Kwaraqae is described by Sohn (1980, p. 321) as an historical process which minimizes “the number of syllables by converting open to closed syllables”. Likewise, Pawley (1982) proposes sound changes to account for this phenomenon. But according to Heinz (2005a, 2005b, 2005c), neither historical nor morphophonemic rules adequately explain the occurrence of metathesis in Kwaraqae. Instead, he suggests that metathesis is a discourse characteristic which, among other features, differentiates the ‘high rhetoric’ style (which he calls the ‘citation’ style) from the ‘low rhetoric’ style (which he refers to as the ‘normal’ style). He also suggests (2005a, p.11) that this phenomenon is particularly “robust” in Kwaraqae as it can occur not only word finally, but also in other environments and more than once per word. By analyzing the data within

2 This style is also known as the ‘long form’ (Sohn, 1980), the ‘historical form’ (Simons, 1977; Blevins & Garrett, 1998), and the ‘underlying form’ (Sohn, 1980; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1986).
3 This style is also called the ‘short form’ (Sohn, 1980).
the framework of Optimality Theory, Heinz shows that metathesis is related to the stress patterns of the everyday 'normal' speech style in Kwaraqae and is not necessarily derived from the 'citation form'.

As this thesis is a synchronic grammatical sketch rather than a diachronic study of metathesis in Kwaraqae, metathesis is considered only in as much as the data collected from this project demonstrates this feature (3.4.3).

2.4 Ethnobiology and Ethnobotany

The land and forests are important to the Kwaraqae people as sources of food, shelter and medicines and of materials for making items such as wooden bowls (dok kĩ) and woven baskets (ngwe giagia kĩ) (Kwa'ioloa & Burt, 2001, p. 11). Traditional ways of living include gardening (o'ola) and keeping pigs (gwat kĩ), but also gathering wild plants such as yams (kei kĩ), fungi (gior kĩ) and fruit (heiwrkĩ), as well as hunting animals like birds (noq kĩ), bats (sakwaol kĩ), frogs (gwer kĩ), grubs (sahou kĩ) and fish (iyaq kĩ) from the forests (Kwa'ioloa & Burt, 2001, p. 9). This tradition is represented in the richness of the lexicon from the semantic domains of botany and biology as demonstrated in the publication Our Forest of Kwaraqae by Kwa'ioloa and Burt (2001), which is a Kwaraqae-English translation describing in detail the plants and animals found in the forests of Kwaraqae and their uses to the Kwaraqae people. The physical
environment is also a resource for expressing more abstract concepts. For example the temporal concept of ‘year’ *ngeil* is linked to the annual cycle of nut production from a particular tree *heiqngeil*.

### 2.5 Sociolinguistic Situation

#### 2.5.1 Kwaraqae Social Organisation

The tradition of land ownership and resource management is clan-based and patrilineal (Burt & Kwa’ioloa, 1992). Clan leaders were typically men who assumed the role of *haqtaub* (priest), the clan member invested with the authority to make sacrifices to the *akaol* (ancestors or ghosts) on behalf of the people (Kwa’ioloa & Burt, 1997). Tradition also dictated the exclusion of women from everyday activities during menstruation and childbirth as these reproductive functions were deemed to risk defiling the *akaol* (Kwa’ioloa & Burt, 1997). Although these traditions have since changed so that both men and women can act as leaders (*gwaungeqi*) in their communities (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1992, p. 166), this gendered division of social status is perhaps mirrored in the semantic domain of kinship terms where ego has a closer relationship with other family members of the same sex than those of the opposite sex. For example, the terms *tyaq* (mother) and *maq* (‘father’) are not only used by one’s own children, but used by the children of one’s siblings who are the same sex (a man’s brother’s children or a woman’s sister’s children), whereas the
children of siblings who are the opposite sex, use the more socially distant address terms *aq ei* (‘aunt’) and *ngwei* (‘uncle’) (Takana, S. & Giobauta, S., personal communication, August 13, 2009).

There is a more egalitarian aspect at work in the socialisation and upbringing of the children where they are taught from a very young age not only the language of everyday communication, but the forms of ‘high rhetoric’ necessary for participation in adult Kwaraqae society (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, p.18).

Although clan leaders traditionally had the power to allow or prohibit other clan members’ behaviour in relation to activities and ownership of the land, this was not done without consultation with other family members (Burt & Kwa’iculoa, 1992). In their work on conflict discourse, Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1990) note that although the Kwaraqae are experiencing a lot of pressure from social change, many clans and families still follow this consultative tradition by enacting a discourse style which involves *alaqanga* (group meetings) and *faqamanataqanga* (family counselling sessions), a practice which requires considerable negotiation and mediation between individuals and groups.

2.5.2 Other Languages

Originally colonised and claimed by the Spanish, the Solomon Islands became a protectorate of Britain in 1893, but gained independence in
1978. The English-based pidgin which developed among the Solomon Islanders (Solomon Islands Pijin) who went to work in the plantations during the early years of colonisation became established as a lingua-franca. It now has first language speakers, and has become creolised. It is spoken by around 65% of the Solomon Island’s population (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1991, p. 533), and is widely used as a language of education along with English (Comrie, Matthews & Polinsky, 2003, pp. 106-107). Thus many Kwaraqae speak Pijin and English as well as several other neighbouring languages (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002, p. 9).

Pijin and English borrowings were frequently attested in the elicitation sessions and the texts during this project, not only lexical items e.g. danis ‘dance’, bokis ‘box’, kuk ‘cook’, but also the grammatical morpheme bae used for expressing the idea of the future in interrogative constructions:

```
Bae   niaq   ka   dao?
FUT  3SG   IMP  come
```

‘Will he come?’

Pijin terms are used to express concepts and label items not part of traditional Kwaraqae society but essential for communication with and participation in the wider world, for example, oa ‘hour’, merasian ‘medicine’. Any such terms recorded during the elicitation and text collection sessions have been included in the word list and considered in
the grammatical description on the grounds that these usages are assimilated borrowings which are therefore part of the synchronic picture of modern Kwaraqae.

2.5.3 Language Attitudes

As English is the language of government, political and social power in the Solomon Islands, there is a general tendency to value it, along with Pijin, above the local vernacular languages such as Kwaraqae (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1991). The corresponding lower value of the Kwaraqae language is also transferred onto the speakers as they are apparently sometimes labelled by outsiders as Kwaks, a hybrid term (kwak-Kwaraqae ‘mouth’ and –s English plural) with the meaning ‘big mouth’, or someone who talks a lot (Giobauta, C., personal communication, June, 6, 2009).

Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1991) note however, that language attitudes and choices among Kwaraqae speakers themselves are strongly influenced by church membership, as the Christian churches play a key role in the social and political organisation of modern life in the Solomon Islands; 95% of Solomon Islanders are Christian (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1991). For example, in their long-term ethnographic study of Kwaraqae language use, Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1991) found that Anglicans valued the ‘high rhetoric’ style of Kwaraqae as an in-group equivalent of
English, equating this ‘proper’ way of speaking with *falafala* (traditional customs, history and core cultural values). Kwaraqae was viewed as a means of maintaining one’s sense of identity in a society undergoing rapid change. Evangelists on the other hand, ranked Kwaraqae below both English and Pijin and saw the loss of the language as an inevitable part of modernisation. They projected a certain pride in the loss of Kwaraqae in their desire to assimilate to the out-group (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1991, pp. 533-555).

2.5.4 Sociolects

As well as differing attitudes towards the Kwaraqae language, Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1991) observed two patterns of linguistic variation between the members of these two different church groups. For example, in their desire to distinguish themselves from Anglicans and to converge towards outsiders such as visiting linguists from the SSEC (South Seas Evangelical Church), SSEC members frequently vary their speech, particularly in church contexts by prenasalising the bilabial stop */b/* to produce */mb/*, reducing the nasal consonant */ŋw/* to */w/*, and substituting */ŋ/* for */n/* before */g/* producing *fangga* instead of *fanga* ‘feast’ (1991, pp. 541-542).
2.5.5 Dialects

Kwa’ioloa and Burt (2001) note in *Our Forest of Kwaraqae* that there are dialect differences in the East and West of Kwaraqae, and after conducting fieldwork in West Kwaraqae in 2005, Heinz also thinks there are at least two dialects (personal communication, September, 9, 2009). As this thesis involved data collection that was geographically outside the Kwaraqae speaking community, there were significant limitations in the investigation of this type of sociolinguistic variation. No systematic phonological differences were observed during the sessions although the consultants are from opposite sides of Malaita, but the consultants did agree that there were a small number of lexical differences due to dialect: West Kwaraqae speakers tend to say *sian* where East Kwaraqae speakers would say *hein* ‘with someone’, while the 3PL object pronoun is typically *kia* in West Kwaraqae, but *kiraq* in the Eastern part of the region. This is clearly one area for further research.

Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1991, p. 541) do suggest that there are noticeable differences in the speech of urban dwelling Kwaraqae. They say that it is characterised by “simplification and redundancy”, and the loss of semantic subtly, and that some of these simplifications are now becoming part of Kwaraqae rural communities as speakers frequently travel between Guadacanal and Malaita and take these innovations back home with them.
While language change is quite normal, it is widely attested that languages under threat do suffer from simplification of their phonological, morphological and syntactic systems as the functions or domains of use become reduced (Fasold, 1984). The comments of Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1991) are therefore quite worrying in regard to the future welfare of the language, especially when considered in conjunction with the added pressures from Pijin and English, the prevailing negative attitudes towards the language, the low literacy rates, and issues with the textual representation of the language (discussed later in 2.5.8).

2.5.6 Registers

Apart from social and geographical variation, Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1989, 1991, 1992), identify another pattern of language use which is contextually determined. They describe two registers which they label as ‘high rhetoric’, a formal style of speech reserved for important social and cultural events, and ‘low rhetoric’, an informal style of ordinary everyday speech (1991, p. 540). It is with the ‘low rhetoric’ style that this thesis primarily concerns itself.

2.5.7 Literacy

Literacy rates for Kwaraqae are reported by Ethnologue as being 30-60% among first language speakers, and 25-50% among L2 speakers (Lewis, 2009). Such low rates (Watson-Gego & Gegeo, 1992, p. 54) are no doubt
due to the fact that children are not taught to read or write Kwaraqae at
school, and the traditional transmission of Kwaraqae knowledge is oral
rather than written. Some steps have been taken recently to document
-cultural and historical knowledge as well as the scientific knowledge
indicated in 2.3 earlier, as it is feared that this knowledge may be lost, for
example, Samuel Alasa’a’s account titled *A Solomon Islands Chronicle*
(2001), and Burt and Kwa’ioloa’s book *The Tradition of Land in Kwaraqae*
(1992). These texts have provided a useful secondary source of data for
the project, particularly as background information to the social and
cultural aspects of the language, and examples of syntactic structure
where initially, the data collected was insufficient to provide conclusive
evidence for specific features such as the nominalisers *–qang* and *–lan*.

2.5.8 Orthography

The existing orthographic system and vocabulary lists are modelled on
the high rhetoric style as followed by Burt and Kwa’ioloa (1992, 2001) and
Kwa’ioloa and Burt (2001) in their Kwaraqae-English publications. These
texts are in turn based on the spelling system recommended by Simons
(1977), and are written in what is described as the "long form which
underlies the quicker but less precise usage of everyday conversation"
(Kwa’ioloa & Burt, 2001). Kwa’ioloa and Burt are no doubt referring here to
the phonological feature of metathesis (2.3.3) which is thought to operate
between the phonetic realisation of the 'high rhetoric' style and the 'low
rhetoric’ style in Kwaraqae. Following Simons (1977), who worked within a generative paradigm, Kwa’ioloa and Burt assume that there is an ‘underlying’ relationship between the two forms, and that the ‘high rhetoric’ form of written Kwaraqae is primary and psychologically real for Kwaraqae speakers.

The language consultants for this project advise that a certain amount of decoding or translating is necessary to read and understand written Kwaraqae, which is creating difficulties for children learning to write and spell the language (Takana, S. & Gobauta, C. personal communication, May, 20, 2009). Sohn, in his article on metathesis, notes that in 1980, some people were beginning to write using the spoken metathesised forms, as this was facilitating reading and writing. He also hypothesised that after a while, speakers would no longer have the “unmetathesized forms as their psychological reality” (Sohn, 1980, p. 321). Perhaps this is now the case, if current speakers are struggling to recognise the Kwaraqae they see on the page as representative of that which they speak. This point provides strong support for the decision to transcribe the Kwaraqae lexicon in this thesis using a phonemic orthographic system that is based on the everyday spoken form.
2.5.9 The Language Consultants

The language consultants who have so generously provided the data for this thesis are both native speakers who learned Kwaraqae as children. They also learned Pijin and English during their childhood but now live in urban Honiara and have partners who speak other vernacular languages. As Pijin is the language of everyday interaction and the language of educational instruction in Honiara, their children are not Kwaraqae speakers, although they do understand some vocabulary.
3  Phonology

This chapter describes the phoneme inventory, the phonotactics, stress patterns and syllable transformations found in the data from this thesis.

3.1  Phoneme Inventory

The phoneme inventory for Kwaraqae is not unusual from a typological viewpoint. It has the five-vowel system common to Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002), although it does lack pre-nasalised voiced stops such as those found in closely related languages including Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk, 2008). The complex labio-velar segments such as [kʷ], [gʷ] and [ŋʷ] which are commonly found among Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross, & Crowley, 2002) are also phonemically present in Kwaraqae.

3.1.1  The Consonant Phonemes

Table 3-1 shows the consonant phoneme inventory along with the place and manner of articulation. There are eighteen consonants comprising ten obstruents and eight sonorants. According to Maddieson (2008a), this is a moderately small consonant inventory, although not unusual for languages in the Pacific region. The phoneme inventory can be validated by demonstrating the contrasts which occur between phonetically similar
segments in minimal and, in some cases, sub-minimal pairs as 3.1.1.1 to 3.1.1.5 shows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labio-Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k&quot;</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>η&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.1.1  Stops

The stops are the largest group of consonants in Kwaraqae and are represented by a voiceless alveolar /t/, velar /k/, and a labialised velar /kʷ/, and their voiced counterparts /d/ and /g/ and /gʷ/. There is a voiced bilabial stop /b/ which lacks a corresponding voiceless contrast, and a glottalised voiceless stop /ʔ/ which ‘balances’ this group of sounds so that there are four voiceless and four voiced. All of these segments occur syllable initially and finally except for /kʷ/ and /gʷ/, which are only syllable initial. These phonemes contrast with phonetically similar segments as follows:

3.1)  /b/ and /m/

/baʔ/  ‘TAG QU’  /maʔ/  ‘father’
/beiʔar/  ‘cabbage.’  /mei/  ‘be calm’
/bein/  ‘stupid’  /mein.yal/  ‘try to do sth’
/bol/  ‘platform’  /mo/  ‘DISC’
/sab.ngia/  ‘join sth. tog.’  /sam/  ‘touch’

3.2)  /t/ and /d/

/tou/  ‘be far away’  /dou/  ‘hold’
/tiʔ.tiʔ/  ‘small’  /diʔ/  ‘if’
/kʷaet/ ‘give’  /kʷaet.kʷaet/ ‘whistle’
/rot/  ‘path’  /rod/  ‘night’
3.3) /k/ and /g/

/kəʔ/ 'grandparent/child' /gəʔ/ 'just, only'

/kə.nia/ 'roast' /gə.nia/ 'look after'

/tak.tak/ 'be messy' /tag.tag/ 'flap'

/sak/ 'come' /sag/ 'be correct'

3.4) /k/ and /kʷ/

/kə.il/ 'FUT.1PL.EXCL' /kʷeil/ 'be large'

/kə.is/ 'dig, claw' /kʷeis/ 'be wild'

/ka/ 'IMP' /kʷa/ 'DISC'

/kos/ 'go down' /kʷos/ 'be bright'

/kik/ 'pour sth. out' /kʷik/ 'cook'

3.5) /g/ and /gʷ/

/ga/ 'be ripped' /gʷa/ 'be black'

/gi.a.gi.a/ 'be woven' /gʷi.gʷi/ 'giant ant'

3.6) /ʔ/ and /h/

/ʔeis/ 'to fall' /heis/ 'away from'

/kəʔ/ 'grandparent/child' /koh/ 'water'

/siʔ/ 'fart' /sih/ 'chief'
3.1.1.2 Nasals

There are four nasal consonants in Kwaraqae; /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, and /ŋʷ/. While the first three contrast in syllable initial and syllable final position, /ŋʷ/ is never found syllable finally, so only contrasts in syllable initial position:

3.7) /m/ and /n/

/maʔ/ ‘father’ /naʔ/ ‘COMP’
/mi.a/ ‘taste’ /ni.a/ ‘3SG’
/meʔ/ ‘QUAN’ /neʔ/ ‘SUB’
/le.am/ ‘five’ /le.an/ ‘to check’

3.8) /n/ and /ŋ/

/neis/ ‘NEG.1SG’ /ŋeis/ ‘hard’
/n.i.ni.u/ ‘palm’ /ŋi.ni.du.a/ ‘honey’
/lan/ ‘NOM’ /lanŋ/ ‘dry’
/han/ ‘pana (fruit)’ /hanŋ/ ‘food’
/ein/ ‘eat’ /einŋ/ ‘cry’

3.9) /ŋ/ and /ŋʷ/

/ŋa.li.a/ ‘be prickly’ /ŋ”a.ro/ ‘be soft’
/ŋa.li.a/ ‘take sth.’ /ŋ”a.si.a/ ‘wash sth.’
/ŋe.ɲəʔ/  ‘dance’  /o.ŋəʔ/  ‘rub’
/ŋe/  ‘hundred’  /ŋe/  ‘people’
/sou.ŋeiʔ/  ‘build’  /ŋeiʔ/  ‘basket’

3.1.1.3  Fricatives

Fricatives are represented by the alveolar /s/ and the glottal /h/, both of which appear in syllable initial and final positions:

3.10)  /s/ and /h/

/saol/  ‘sky, clouds’  /haol/  ‘clean’
/si/  ‘because’  /hi/  ‘ache’
/seis/  ‘do’  /heis/  ‘away from’
/u.si.ə/  ‘meet so.’  /u.hi.ə/  ‘fill sth.’
/kos/  ‘go down’  /koh/  ‘water’
/sus/  ‘suckle’  /suh/  ‘soap’

3.1.1.4  Liquids

The Kwararqae phoneme inventory includes two liquids: an alveolar flap /ɾ/ and an alveolar lateral /ɻ/, which is the second most frequently occurring phoneme. Speakers use both of these sounds in both syllable positions:

3.11)  /ɾ/ and /ɻ/

/or.əɾ/  ‘quiet’  /ol.əɾ/  ‘right (side)’
/kar.ɲia/  ‘close to sth.’  /kal/  ‘some’
/ru.an/ ‘second’ /lu.an/ ‘his neck’
/loŋ/ ‘also’ /roŋ.wa/ ‘hear’

3.1.1.5 Glides

The bilabial semi-glide [w] and the alveolar palatal glide [j], are realised as separate segments in the Kwaraqae spoken register. In both cases, the phonemes /w/ and /j/ appear in syllable initial position, but not syllable finally. For example:

3.12) /wuat/ ‘rain’ /wua/ ‘mountain’
/wen/ ‘beach’ /wu.ab/ ‘boil’
/wu.naʔ/ ‘clear rubbish’ /bu.sao.wa/ ‘thatch sth.’
/mo.wiel/ ‘left (side)’ /roŋ.wa/ ‘hear’
/kar.waŋ/ ‘seashells’ /su.weiʔ/ ‘firewood’
/hao.wad/ ‘cave’ /a.so.wa/ ‘day’

3.13) /jur.jur/ ‘wind’ /jat.jat/ ‘first’
/jo.jo/ ‘be sour’ /jul/ ‘canoe’
/sei.jan/ ‘know’ /iʔ.ju/ ‘twin’
/ei.ja/ ‘okay’ /ki.jat/ ‘be long’
/mi.jel/ ‘be brown’ /tae.i.ja/ ‘sew sth.’
/e.ri.ja/ ‘bend sth’ /u.ei.ya/ ‘break sth’
The presence of the glide /w/ shows a meaningful contrast between the
following pairs:

3.14) /nou.aʔ/ ‘NEG’ /nou.waʔ/ ‘1SG’
/ku.al/ ‘be heavy’ /ku.waʔ/ ‘place’
/u.a/ ‘be old’ /wu.a/ ‘mountain’

While the presence of /j/ also produced a contrast between these pairs:

3.15) /si.ok/ ‘nine’ /si.jok/ ‘grasshopper’
/hj.al/ ‘hill’ /hi.jal/ ‘vegetable’

As well as appearing syllable finally, glides have a tendency to occur
between a syllable initial consonant and a following vowel as in /mwaʔ/
‘mud’, /twad/ ‘be yellow’, /njal/ ‘child’, and /tjaʔ/ ‘mother’. This pattern is
discussed further with phonotactics in 3.2.2.2 (consonant clusters).
3.1.2 Allophones [h] and [f]

The consultants for this project reported that, in Kwaraqae, speakers are free to choose [h] or [f]. Thus, lexical items such as /han/- ‘food’ and /hanoa/- ‘village’ may also be produced as /fan/- and /fanoa/. However, in the data, this allophone is only realised as [h] and so it is represented in the phoneme inventory as the fricative /h/.

Although it is possible that dialectal differences may be involved, the language consultants thought this unlikely. It is however possible that use is determined by the contextual variations discussed in chapter 2 (register), as all of the written texts which are based on the high rhetoric style use [f] rather than [h].

3.1.3 The Vowel Phonemes

While the consonant inventory shown in Table 3-1 may be smaller than average among the world’s languages, the Kwaraqae vowel inventory in Table 3-2 below, with its triangular five-vowel system, is considered to be the most common and most widely distributed (Lass, 1984; Maddieson, 2008c). All five vowels occur syllable initially, medially and finally.
Table 3-2: The Kwarakae vowel inventory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phonemes /i/ and /u/ are phonetically realised as [i] and [u] while the mid front phoneme /e/ is realised slightly lower in the mouth as a low mid front unrounded [ɛ]. The mid back vowel /o/ is phonetically the ‘open o’ or the low mid back rounded vowel [ɔ].

The phoneme /a/ is mostly realised as an [a], but has the lax central vowel schwa [ə] as an allophone, shown here firstly after /j/ (3.16) and secondly after /w/ (3.17), and also in a vowel sequence following the high back vowel /u/ (3.18), the high front vowel /i/ (3.19), and the back mid vowel /o/ (3.20):

3.16) /i.jaʔ| [i.ɬəʔ] | ‘fish’
/i.li.jaʔ | [i.li.ɬəʔ] | ‘harvest’
/sei.jaʔ | [se.ɬə]  | ‘poisonous fruit’
/no.ni.jan/  [no.ni.jen]  'his/her/its body'
/u.ei.ja/  [u.ei.ja]  'break sth.'
3.17) /nou.waʔ/  [nou.wəʔ]  '1SG'
/dou.wa/  [dou.wə]  'hold onto sth'
/ku.wal/  [ku.wəl]  'place'
/ro.wan/  [ro.wən]  'tree leaf'
3.18) /ual/  [uəl]  'have head lice'
huat/  [huət]  'be born'
/wuat/  [wuət]  'rain'
/i.huan/  [i.ɥən]  'his,her,its hair'
3.19) /a.hia/  [a.hıə]  'help so.'
/i.nia/  [i.nıə]  'pick sth.'
3.20) /moas.?u.a/  [mœs.?u.a]  'forest'
/ma.moal/  [ma.moəl]  'pass way'
/oan/  [œn]  'six'
/oal/  [œl]  'put'
/ab.kʷoal/  [ab.kʷoəl]  'rope'

The realisation of /a/ as schwa after the glides and [-low] vowels is not regular; there are many other words where /a/ is [a] in these environments.
Crucially however, no minimal or sub-minimal pairs were found for [a] and [a].

The following data sets demonstrate the contrasts between the vowel phonemes:

3.21) /i/ and /e/ and /a/

/ni/ [ni] ‘s.3SG’

/na/ [na] ‘the’

/ne/ [ne] ‘who’

3.22) /o/ and /u/

/ro/ [ɾo] ‘two’

/ru/ [ru] ‘thing’

Vowel length does not seem to be phonemic, although the following contrast was attested:

3.23) [u] and [u:]

[u] ‘rotten taro’

[u:] ‘three’

As no other minimal pairs have been found, there is insufficient evidence to propose that vowel length is phonemic.
3.2 Phonotactics

As the syllable is deemed to be “the unit in terms of which phonological systems are organised” (Katamba, 1989), and “syllabicity involves the relationship between a segment and its neighbours on either side” (Clements & Keyser, 1983), section 3.2 will describe the preferred type and structure of syllables in Kwaraqae, and the permissible combinations of phonemes which form these units.

3.2.1 Basic Syllable Type

Following the algorithm for building syllables set out in Katamba (1989), the data for this project produced the following schema for syllable structure:

\[ \sigma \rightarrow (C) V (V) (C) \]

Thus, syllables in Kwaraqae are built with one or more vowels as the sonorant element at the nucleus, and a single consonant at the onset and the coda. They can be open or closed as the following list of possible combinations demonstrates:

3.24)  
V  /i/  ‘LOC’  
CV  /ma/  ‘and’  
VC  /or/  ‘many’  
VV  /ae/  ‘2SG’
This basic shape differs from Proto-Oceanic and many of its daughter languages which tend to have a simpler (C)V structure, and mainly open, light syllables (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002). Most syllables in the spoken Kwaraqae from this study are consonant-initial and the most common form is a closed monosyllable with CVC structure, perhaps as a result of metathesis (3.4.3). Although not frequent, owing to the analytical characteristic of the language, polysyllabic words of up to six syllables can occur due to morphological processes of reduplication and affixation. For example:

3.25) /kwei-rjol-rjol-ei-ʔaŋ/
    RECIP-DUP-twist-NOM-NOM
    ‘argument’

3.2.2 Syllable Structure

This section describes the permissible combinations and arrangement of segments within syllables.
3.2.2.1 Single Segments

The position of single consonant segments in syllables was discussed in 3.1.1 above, most segments occurring both syllable initially and finally, with the exception of the labio-velars /kʷ/ and /gʷ/, and the labio-nasal /ŋʷ/, which occur in the syllable onset. All vowel phonemes occur in either syllable position.

3.2.2.2 Consonant Clusters

According to the general schema for syllable structures proposed in 3.2.1, syllable-initial consonant clusters are not permitted in Kwaraqae. However, the following examples attested in the data violate this rule:

3.26) [twad] ‘cough’

[nwein] ‘body’

[swerʔ] ‘firewood’

[mwaʔ] ‘mud’

[sju] ‘wash’

[ŋjal] ‘child’

[tjaʔ] ‘mother’

[ŋjus] ‘spit’
These words all seemingly produce syllable-initial clusters of the general form /CjV/ or /CwV/. However, the realisation of these sounds can be accounted for by drawing on the theory of syllable typology of Clements and Keyser (1983), which suggests that when a vowel is followed by another [-cons] segment, it is linked with the preceding consonant and becomes a non-syllabic glide or semi-vowel. The [-cons] element following, then acquires greater sonorance and thus becomes the syllable peak. This can be represented as:

\[ \text{CVV} \rightarrow \text{CGV} \]

This theory explains the occurrence of [w] and [j] in the data of 3.26. The vowel segments underlying [w] and [j] have become linked during speech production to the preceding consonants and become part of the syllable onset, so that the following vowels, which are higher on the sonorant hierarchy (Katamba, 1989) become the syllable nucleus. Thus there is no need to posit consonant clusters for Kwaraqae at the syllable onset as the glides are underlyingly vowels rather than consonants. There are no phonemic contrasts in the data for glides in CGV position (see 3.1.1.5).

Further support for this analysis is the fact that glide formation does not always occur. For example, /n.i.u/ ‘coconut’, /t.i.o/ ‘be situated’, and /n.i.a/, among many others, do not undergo glide formation.
Consonant clusters in initial or final syllable position are not permissable structures in Kwaraqae. However, they are attested in the lexicon with the Pijin borrowings. For example:

3.27) /ba.nis.ment/ ‘punishment’
/do.ma.tri/ ‘dormitory’
/e.lek.trik/ ‘electricity’
/siks/ ‘six’

3.2.2.3 Vowel Sequences and Diphthongs

Sequences of two vowels which occur at the syllable nucleus are articulated as diphthongs. There are five in the data, one of which, /æi/, also has an allophone [æ]:

3.28) /ei/ [ei]

/ŋwei/ [ŋʷei] ‘uncle’
/tei/ [tei] ‘who’
/is.teiʔ/ [is.teiʔ] ‘bed’
/ein/ [ein] ‘eat; with’
/?eis/ [ʔeis] ‘fall’
/keim/ [keim] ‘POSS.1PL.EXCL.AL’
3.29) /au/ [au]  

/nauk/ [nauk] ‘1SG’  

/su.rau/ [su.rau] ‘parrot’  

/sau.li.a/ [sau.li.a] ‘defy so. or sth.’  

/ha.taub/ [ha.taub] ‘priest’

3.30) /ao/ [əʊ]  

/dao/ [dəʊ] ‘arrive’  

/ʔaok/ [ʔaʊk] ‘shout; 2SG’  

/maraok/ [ma-raʊk] ‘green’  

/kʷao/ [kʷəʊ] ‘be white’  

/bu.lao/ [bu.ləʊ] ‘be growing’  

/ma.daom/ [ma.dəʊm] ‘month’

3.31) /ou/ [ɔu]  

/kwou/ [kʷəʊu] ‘away’  

/tou/ [təʊ] ‘far away’  

/hou/ [həʊ] ‘stone’  

/sahou/ [sa.həʊ] ‘grub, larvae’  

/dou/ [dəʊ] ‘hold’  

/sou.ŋeir/? [sou.ŋeir?] ‘build’

3.32) /æ/ [æ]  

/kwa.ra.?æ/ [kʷa-ra.?æ] ‘PLACE NAME’  

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/tae/ [tae] ‘why, what’
/nae.nae/ [nae.nae] ‘be quiet’
/ŋwae/ [ŋʷae] ‘people’
/rae.hi.a/ [rae.hi.a] ‘climb sth.’
/laen/ [laen] ‘above’

3.33) /æ/ [æ]

/kaem/ [kæm] ‘lizard’
/a.læh/ [a.læh] ‘PLACE NAME’
/aeh/ [æh] ‘woman, wife’
/heiʔ.ɾæd/ [heiʔ.ɾæd] ‘rod’
/sae.sæʔu.an/ [sæ.ʃæʔu.an] ‘guess’
/twæʔei.a/ [twæʔei.a] ‘pierce, strike’

Other vowel sequences can occur across syllable boundaries when adjacent syllables are open (V or VV), as this syllable structure is permitted in Kwaraqae. For example:

3.34) /u.i.se.ru/ [u.iːɻu] ‘necklace’
/o.ɐi/ [o.ɐi] ‘joke’
/u.i.eʔn/ [u.iɛn] ‘throw’
/tae.i.ja/ [tae.ɨja] ‘sew’
/ha.tu.eil.si.a/ [ha.tu.eil.si.ɐ] ‘talk back at so.’
/rao.rao.auk/ [rao.rao.auk] ‘work non-stop’
3.2.2.4 Reduplication

As suggested by Moravcsik (1978), the process of reduplication allows speakers to differentiate linguistic forms in a quantitative manner by the repetition of sounds. In Kwaraqae, lexical forms can exhibit both complete and partial reduplication, although many of the reduplicated forms are completely copied. There appears to be no restriction on the number of syllables which can be copied. Some of these reduplications do not appear in their simplex forms. Examples of complete reduplication, with a semantically related simplex form are:

3.35) [jat] ‘one’ [jat.jat] ‘first’
[ŋjɔl] ‘twist’ [ŋjɔl.ŋjɔl] ‘argue’
[ɛ ngân] ‘go’ [ɛ ngân.ɛ ngân] ‘continue’
[tuˌa] ‘stay’ [tuˌa.tuˌa] ‘stay a while’
[buŋ] ‘lift’ [buŋ.buŋ] ‘lift repeatedly’
[haŋ] ‘talk’ [haŋ.haŋ] ‘reply’

Examples of complete reduplication for which a simplex form could not be elicited are:

3.36) [ŋəŋŋəŋ] ‘be sour’
[ɔkŋɔk] ‘hot’
[tiʔ.tiʔ] ‘small’

Partial reduplication includes forms like the following:

3.37) [ma.ma.li.u] ‘be sleeping’
[ma.li.u.li.u] ‘over sleep, sleep in’
[ŋiŋi.du.a] ‘honey’
[oʔ.du.du.a] ‘valley’

Reduplication occurs in nominal and verbal structures, its functions being both semantic, to intensify meaning (5.2.2.1; 7.1.3.3), and grammatical, as a nominaliser (5.2.2.1) and a valency-decreasing device (7.1.2.4).

3.3 Stress

Word stress is determined by the prominence of a particular syllable or syllables and typically involves voice pitch, loudness, duration and quality of the segments (Laver, 1994; Goedemans & van der Hulst, 2008). It is proposed that primary word stress in Proto-Oceanic occurred on the penultimate syllable (Lynch, 2000; Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002). However, the data in this project demonstrates a fixed stress pattern where primary stress falls on the initial syllable for bisyllabic words (3.38), as it does for trisyllabic words (3.39), and even for those of four syllables or more (3.40):

3.38) [ˈlu.ɔm] ‘house’
[‘jat.jat] ‘first’
[‘le.ak] ‘go’
[‘soʔ.ik] ‘evening’
[‘sei.jan] ‘know’
[‘to.an] ‘have’
[‘eil.eil] ‘quickly’
[‘souŋeiʔ] ‘make, build’

3.39) [‘ni.ni.u] ‘palm’
[‘si.siʔan] ‘crushed bamboo’
[‘ha.no.a] ‘village’
[‘a.so.wa] ‘day’
[‘su.li.a] ‘about’
[‘ɔʔ.ɔ.la] ‘garden’

3.40) [‘na.hi.nu.a] ‘place name’
[‘a.ra.ɾa.a] ‘peace’
[‘eil.eil.ŋi.a] ‘shake sth.’
[‘ɔ.ɾae.ʔi.ɾiʔ] ‘show off’
[‘ɔs.ɔs.u.ɛk] ‘be lying’
[‘ɛk.ʃi.ja.na] ‘be ashamed’

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For words undergoing morphophonemic processes which involve suffixation (vowel harmony, object indexing, causative and applicative suffixes), primary stress remains on the root or stem (3.41). However, when the derivational process involves prefixation (reduplication, causation, reciprocity), stress is shifted from the stem to the prefix to maintain the initial position for stress marking (3.42):

3.41)  

|  |  
|---|---|
| ['lu.ɔm] | ['lu.ɔ.meʔ] |
| 'house' | 'house-type; type of house' |
| ['tu.a] | ['tu.aʔan.a] |
| 'life' | 'life-POSS.3SG.INAL.-VH; living' |
| ['laŋ] | ['haʔ.laŋ.a] |
| 'be dry' | 'CAUS-dry-OBJ.3; make sth.dry' |

3.42)  

|  |  
|---|---|
| ['kʷeir] | ['ʔuiʔ.kʷeir.kʷeir] |
| 'scrape' | 'metal.tool-DUP.scrape; scraper' |
| ['jat] | ['jat.jat.a] |
| 'one' | 'DUP.one-VH; first' |
| ['jur.jur] | ['jur.jur.u] |
| 'wind' | 'DUP.wind-VH; wind' |
| ['se.a] | ['se.se.a] |
| 'say' | 'DUP.say-OBJ.3; used to say' |

Stress is not phonemic in Kwaraqae, and not all words carry stress. As suggested by Hayes (1995), some grammatical words are often
unstressed and these are found in the texts with words such as *nei* ‘FUT.3SG’, *i* ‘LOC’, and *nouaq* ‘NEG’.

According to Goedemans & van der Hulst (2008), stress placement on the initial syllable as presented in the data above is the second most common pattern for languages with fixed stress. WALS (World Atlas of Language Structures online [http://wals.info/](http://wals.info/)) includes in its genetically balanced sample of languages, two closely related Oceanic languages from the Solomon Islands with this pattern, these being Arosi and Lavukaleve.

### 3.4 Syllable Transformations

This section addresses the operations which affect syllable structure: vowel harmony, epenthesis, apocope, syncope and metathesis.

#### 3.4.1 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony in Kwaraqae is an autosegmental operation, occurring across syllable boundaries. As vowel harmony is only found on nouns and pronouns, it is a useful indicator of noun class membership, although not all nominal forms attested in the data have a nominal suffix (5.2.2.5). Reasons for this irregularity may involve apocope. Loss of word-final vowels is also a result of metathesis, and is perhaps motivated by a preference for closed syllables which is demonstrated by the fact that the CVC syllable is the most common in the data.
In Kwaraqae, the vowel element in a word final syllable is copied and added to the root as a suffix, so that the word final vowels “agree” (Maddieson, 2008b). As can be seen in the data from 3.43, this copying process produces a vowel with the same articulatory features of height, backness/frontness and roundedness. When the element to be copied is a diphthong, the resulting suffix is a single vowel matching the final diphthongised vowel for [± low].

An important consequence of this operation is the change in syllable structure, as forms frequently resyllabify to conform to the Onset First Principle proposed by Clements and Keyser (1983) which states that syllable-initial consonants are “maximised” before syllable-final consonants. For example:

3.43)  [keim]  [kei.mi]  ‘POSS.1PL.EXCLAL’
     [jur.jur]  [jur.ju.ru]  ‘wind’
     [nauk]  [nau.ku]  ‘1SG’
     [ku.wəl]  [ku.wa.la]  ‘place’
     [han]  [ha.na]  ‘food’
     [ta.taeh]  [ta.tae.he]  ‘floor’
     [tol]  [to.o]  ‘inland’
     [jat.jat]  [jat.ja.ta]  ‘first’

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[si.si.?an]  [si.si.?a.ŋa]  ‘crushed bamboo’

Vowel harmony occurs with loanwords which supports its status as a robust phonological operation in the language, even though it does not always occur:

3.44)  [wik]  [wi.ki]  ‘week’
       [bas]  [ba.sa]  ‘bus’
       [ɛ.a.hi]  [ɛ.a.hi.li]  ‘airport’
       [ɛ.lɛk.tri]  [ɛ.lɛk.tri.ki]  ‘electricity’
       [ɾɔt]  [ɾɔ.tɔ]  ‘road’

3.4.2 Epenthesis

Text data from this thesis demonstrates that speakers may insert an epenthetic [d] between morpheme boundaries, particularly words in rapid speech to form the intermorphemic segment /ndə/. The three examples here involve the cardinal number ‘two’ Ɂo or ordinal numeral ‘second’ Ɂu.

For example:

3.45)  [an ɗʁu.an wik]  ‘in the second week’
       [hein ɗɾo ɔ.a ki]  ‘in two hours’
       [ɡoʔ Ɂo akʷa]  ‘less than twenty’

While this does not occur very often, it may be the result of Kwararae speakers interacting with speakers of other Southeast Solomonic
languages, where homorganic prenasalised voiced stops such as /d/ are part of the phoneme inventory.

3.4.3 Apocope and Syncope

Apocope, or loss of a final element, and syncope, loss of an internal element (Lass, 1984, p. 187), is very common in spoken Kwarakae. This occurs with both consonants and vowels, sometimes with more than one phoneme being lost, and even with forms having variations of both types of loss:

3.46) apocope

/ae.i.joʔ/ /ae/  ‘S.2SG’
/a.li/ /al/  ‘bite’
/kei.mil/ /keim/  ‘1PL.EXL
/koʔo/ /koʔ/  ‘grandparent/child’
/ko.roaʔ/ /kor/  ‘1DU.INCL’
/ku.ma.ɾa/ /kumar/  ‘kumara’
/ni.ʔ/ /ni/  ‘3SG’
/od.ʔa/ /od/  ‘erect walls’
/seis.sir/ /seis/  ‘do’
/ʔau.ko/ /ʔau/k/  ‘2SG’
3.47) syncope

/di.aʔ/ /diʔ/ ‘if’
/kei.mil/ /keil/ ‘1PL.EXL
/kou.mul/ /koul/ ‘2PL’
/ko.roʔ/ /koʔ/ ‘2DU’

3.48) apocope and syncope

/ki.raʔ/ /kia/ ‘3PL’
/ku.lu.aʔ/ /kula/ ‘1PL.INCL’
/loʔko/ /lok/ ‘that, there’

3.4.4 Metathesis

As mentioned in 2.3.3, metathesis is a phonological characteristic of Kwaraqae. Data from this project has produced some forms which follow the $C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1V_2C_2$ transformation from Heinz (2005a, 2005b, 2005c), although there are others which undergo different patterns of metathesis, demonstrating other morphophonemic operations such as deletion and vowel changes.

The data presented here show examples of metathesised forms which occurred with both speakers in the project during elicitation and text recording sessions. There did not seem to be any particular preference for a metathesised form over a non-metathesised form at any given time.
Sometimes, both forms were produced in the same text by the same speaker.

Nominals undergoing metathesis include those in 3.49 which demonstrate the C1V1C2V2 - C1V1V2C2 pattern of transformation. The form [ka.hɔ] ‘water’ produces a diphthong [aɔ] in the process:

3.49) [ma.hu.la] [ma.hu.al] ‘fire’
[ka.hɔ] [kɔɔh] ‘water’
[a.su.ˈhɛ] [a.su.ɛh] ‘rat’
[ki.ˈra] [ki.ar] ‘FUT.3PL’
[ni.ka] [ni.ak] ‘IMP.3SG’
[ti.sa] [ti.as] ‘teacher’

The forms [ma.hu.al] ‘fire’ and [kɔɔh] ‘water’ above, also undergo deletion to produce the variant forms [mɔh] and [koh] respectively, while the metathesised [a.su.ɛh] ‘rat’ is attested as undergoing vowel harmony to produce [a.su.ɛ.ˈhɛ]. The pronominal forms [ki.ar] ‘FUT.3PL’ and [ni.ak] ‘IMP.3SG’ show that even closed class pronominals are subject to metathesis, while [ti.as] indicates that borrowed terms may be treated this way too.

Other nominals illustrate metathesis with an accompanying vowel change (3.50). For example, the metathesised vowels in [ŋ“a.ɔ] ‘friend’ and [luma] ‘house’ are resyllabified, forming the diphthongs [æe] and [uɔ]
respectively. Also, like [a.su.ɛ.hɛ] ‘rat’ above, the metathesised form
[ŋʷa.ɛd] is found in the data with a vowel harmonising suffix producing
[ŋʷae.δɛ]. When metathesised, the [a] in [lumo] is raised to the back vowel
[o], while [a] is raised to a front vowel [ɛ] in [si.ɛn].

3.50) [ŋʷa.de]      [ŋʷa.ɛd]      ‘friend’
      [lu.ma]      [luɔm]      ‘house’
      [si.na]      [si.ɛn]      ‘sun’

Yet other nominals undergo vowel changes and apocope when
metathesised (3.51). In the case of [li.man] ‘five’, a final consonant [n] is
lost before the transformation, while in [ha.ŋ.o.a] ‘village’, the vowel [a] is
deleted prior to metathesis. The form [ha.ŋ.o.a] becomes monosyllabic.

3.51) [li.man]      [li.əm]      ‘five’
      [ha.ŋ.o.a]      [həon]      ‘village’

Rather than having an element deleted during metathesis, [u.ta] ‘rain’ with
a VCV pattern, has a glide inserted and the vowel [a] raised to [ə] during
the metathesis process to produce a form conforms to the CVVC template
proposed by Heinz (2005a, 2005b, 2005c):

3.52) [u.ta]      [wuət]      ‘rain’

The form [ku.la] ‘place’ shows glide insertion and [a] raising to the lax
central [ə], the structural positions changing from CVCV to CVCVC:
3.53) [ku.la] [ku.wəl] ‘place’

The form [a.so.a] ‘day’ is attested with an epenthetic glide [w], but loses both final [a] or [wa] before metathesising to form the monosyllabic [aos]:

3.54) [a.so.(w)a] [aos] ‘day’

Verbs also undergo metathesis, and this frequently affects the morphology. For example, in 3.55, the transitive verbs lose their object indexing suffix –ə (7.1.2.2) before being metathesised:

3.55) [i.du.-a] [i.ud] ‘move sth.’
    [i.ku.-a] [i.uk] ‘move sth.’
    [u.hi.-a] [uih] ‘fill sth.’

Other verbs affected in this way are transitive verbs which are applicative with -Cia (7.1.1.2). The forms [ha.si.a] ‘plant sth.’ and [ŋa.li.a] ‘carry sth.’ both undergo vowel raising (low-high to mid-high), which produce the diphthong [ei]. The form [hu.ri.a] ‘cut up sth.’ shows deletion of [a] before the metathesis. There is no change to the vowels [u] and [i] which are already high. In the examples below, the suffix –ə is no longer apparent:

3.56) [ha.-si.a] [heis] ‘plant sth.’
    [ŋa.-li.a] [ŋeɪl] ‘carry sth.’
    [hu.-ri.a] [hu.ɪr] ‘cut up sth.’
The following transitive verb [dɔŋ.a] ‘follow sth.’ metathesises the object suffix –ə, which replaces the rounded vowel in the stem with the glide [w]:

3.57) [dɔŋ.a] [dwan] ‘follow sth.’

Another example, intransitive [la.hou] ‘carry’, shows deletion of the final vowel [u], then metathesis resulting in a raising of the vowels [əʊ] to [ou]. This is the same template operating (C₁V₁C₂V₂ → C₁V₁V₂C₂), but with irregularities in the vowels which fill the positions:

3.58) [la.hou] [buh] ‘carry’

The verb [k.ak] ‘go’ was alternatively produced as monosyllabic [lae], undergoing deletion of the final consonant [k] followed by metathesis of the vowels. The resulting form [lae] does not follow the same patterns as preceding examples, the vowels changing from mid-low to a low diphthong. This irregularity is not altogether unusual for a frequently used verb such as ‘go’:

3.59) [k.ak] [lae] ‘go’

Verbs from the restricted class of conjunct and modifying predicates are subject to methathesis. The first two examples below, [su.li.a] ‘be about sth.’ and [kar.ŋi.a] ‘be near sth.’, lose their object indexing suffix, while [kar.ŋi.a] undergoes a vowel change as well. The third example, [di.ʔi.a]
'be like sth.' metathesises with its object suffix –a but appears to lose a high vowel [i], as the [i] in the stem of the final form does not lengthen:

3.60)  [su.li.-a]  [su.il]  ‘be about sth.’
[kar.ŋi.-a]  [ka.ŋŋ]  ‘be near sth.’
[di.ʔi.-a]  [di.aʔ]  ‘be like sth.’

The following intransitive form [a-ra.ɾɔ.a] ‘be peaceful’ illustrates a complex sequence of operations including deletion of the final [a] followed by a metathesis of the vowel [ɔ] and the consonant [ɾ] to produce [a-ra.ɾɔ]. A further process has produced an apparently reduplicated form:

3.61)  [a-ra.ɾɔ.a]  [aɾ.ɔɾ]  ‘be peaceful’

Forms other than verbs undergoing metathesis are [ɛ.tan] ‘one’ and [nɛ.ma] ‘or’, which both involve the vowel change mid-low [ɛ] to low [a]. In the case of [ɛ.tan], there is a deletion of [n] before the metathesis, followed by the insertion of the glide [j]:

3.62)  [nɛ.ma]  [nam]  ‘or’
[ɛ.tan]  [jat]  ‘one’

Many of the examples demonstrate that metathesis is often combined with other syllable transformations such as apocope, syncope, epenthesis and vowel harmony. The complexity of the above examples suggests that for the speakers in this project, a number of phonological changes, some of
which are competing, are simultaneously taking place, and the changes
have yet to settle into regular patterns.

3.4.5 Morphophonemic Fusion

Morphemes may become phonemically fused across word boundaries in
spoken Kwaraqae. The resulting forms have undergone metathesis and
deletion. They typically occur with commonly used forms such as the set of
imperfective pronouns in 5.2.1.4. For example:

3.63) /ki.ɾaʔ/ + /ka/ \rightarrow /ki.ak/
3PL    IMP       IMP.3PL

/ni.ʔaʔ/ + /ka/ \rightarrow /ni.ak/ or /ni.k/
3SG    IMP       IMP.3SG

/kei/ + /ka/ \rightarrow /kei.ka/ or /keik/
1PL.EXCL IMP     IMP.1PL.EXCL

3.5 Orthography

As stated earlier, a major goal of this thesis was to achieve a synchronic
description of Kwaraqae, so the researcher devised an orthography which
is phonemic, being based on the spoken language produced by the
language consultants during the project. The following table shows the
orthographic conventions used to represent the data along with their
phonemic form and phonetic realisation. The following commentary explains selection decisions for some of the symbols.

Table 3-3: Orthographic conventions in this grammar sketch.

<table>
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<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Phonetic Form</th>
<th>Orthographic Form</th>
<th>Example</th>
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As described above (3.1.3), /a/ has two allophones, [a] and [e]. These have both been assigned the orthographic symbol 'a', as this symbol was
considered by the language consultants and the researcher to be the most appropriate. The diphthong /æə/ and its two allophones [æ] and [æː] are orthographically represented as ‘æ’.

Although the existing orthographies and texts represent the glottal stop /ʔ/ as an apostrophe, it is represented in this thesis as a ‘q’ as the researcher decided it would be advantageous to follow other grammar sketches, where the glottal stop is also represented as a ‘q’ (cf. Lichtenberk, 2008).

The complex segment /ŋ/ is represented as ‘ng’. Phonetically complex segments such as [kʰ], [gʷ] and [ŋʷ] are represented orthographically as ‘kw’, ‘gw’ and also ‘ngw’. These symbols were chosen for typographical convenience, and for reading consistency, even though trigraphs may seem a less economical method of representing a single phonemic segment. The examples in subsequent chapters use this orthography unless phonetic forms are relevant to the discussion. The word list and text transcriptions also follow these conventions.
4 Basic Order Typology

This chapter discusses the typological characteristics of Kwarąqae, presents a general overview of the basic constituent orders in the language, and defines the grammatical relations and word classes presented in subsequent chapters.

4.1 Typological Characteristics

4.1.1 Morphosyntactic Behaviour

One established method commonly employed for grouping languages into ‘types’ is to examine the dominant patterns of morphology that they exhibit. There are two main criteria: the degree to which words are divisible into distinct morphemes known as the Index of Synthesis, represented diagrammatically in Figure 4-1, and the number of meanings expressed by a single morpheme, referred to as the Index of Fusion as shown in Figure 4-2 (Comrie, 1989, Whaley, 1997).

![Figure 4-1: The index of synthesis (adapted from Whaley, 1997).](image)

Isolating (one morpheme per word)  Synthetic (many morphemes per word)
Languages can also be 'typed' according to the syntactic relationship of the constituents; whether it is the head or the dependent constituent which is morphologically marked.

4.1.1.1 Synthesis

In regard to the first criterion, Kwaraqae can be described as more isolating than synthetic, as it tends to have a one-to-one relationship between morphemes and words:

4.1)  

\[ 	ext{Eiya, oqla ki kir soungeiqn oqla aol ki,} \]
Okay, garden PL 3PL make garden taro PL

\[ oqla butet ki, hein se-an oqla ki \]
garden potato PL and in-POSS.3SG.INAL garden PL

\[ kir ha-sia uh ki... \]
3PL plant-TRANC sugar cane PL

'Okay, they make gardens of taro, gardens of potato, and in the gardens they plant sugar cane…'

Kwaraqae also has a fixed word order (discussed further in 4.3.1) which is a feature commonly found in isolating languages (Whaley, 1997).
4.1.1.2 Fusion

With respect to fusion, there are some forms, typically the pronominal paradigms, which are morphologically fused. The negative pronominal system for example, blends person, number and mood in a single form so that *kias* indicates third person plural negative ‘they don’t’, and *neis* refers to first person singular negative ‘I don’t’.

However, there are many other terms, particularly verb forms, which are agglutinative. The morphological processes such as affixation exhibit this type of fusion. Like most languages which are agglutinative (Payne, 1997), Kwaraqae employs suffixes, and this is the dominant pattern of affixation, though it is by no means exclusively suffixing:

4.2) *Hanoa* *diq* *kwei-ngyol-ngyol-ei-qang* *ni* *raeq*

village if RECIP-DUP-twist-SUFF-NOM 3SG come.up
‘If arguing occurs in the village…’

4.3) *Odoa-l-an* *luom-a* *neq* *ae*

erect.walls-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL  house-VH SUB 2SG

*busaow-a…*

thatch-OBJ.3

‘It’s the erected walls of the house which you thatch…’
4.1.1.3 Head and Dependent Marking

Where there is morphological marking of constituents in Kwaraqae, this tends to occur on the phrasal head\(^1\). For example, for inalienably possessed nouns, the marking is on the head noun:

4.4) \(lim-an\) \(gwat\)

\(\text{leg-POSS.3SG.INAL pig}\)

‘pig’s leg’

Head marking is present in verb phrases where transitive verbs index their direct object with a suffix (see section 4.3.2):

4.5) \(Keiseiq\) \(qaok\) \(toqsi-a\) \(luom\) \(oe\)

\(\text{when 2SG make.roof-OBJ.3 house POSS.2SG.AL}\)

\(ka\) \(sui\) \(naq\) \(qaok-o\) \(bikngi-a\) \(naq\)

\(\text{IMP TERM COMP 2SG-VH tie.down-OBJ.3 COMP}\)

\(luom\) \(oe\ldots\)

\(\text{house POSS.2SG.AL}\)

‘When you have finished making the roof of your house, you tie it down on your house…’

Reciprocity and nominalisation are also marked on the verb as in examples 4.2 and 4.3 above. One exception is the possessive relationship in alienably possessed pronominal noun phrases where it is the dependent constituent which is marked:

\__________

\(^1\) Following Nichols (1986), the ‘head’ is deemed to be the constituent “which governs…or otherwise determines the possibility of occurrence” of all other constituents in a phrase.
4.6) \([\text{haon}]_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{keim}]_{\text{DEP}}\)

village  
POSS.1PL.AL.EXCL

‘our village’

4.7) \([\text{maq} \ nau]_{\text{DEP}} [\text{haon}]_{\text{HEAD}}\)

father  
POSS.1SG.INAL

village

‘my father’s village’

To summarise, it seems that Kwaraqae tends towards an isolating type and where synthetic, it is more agglutinative than fusional. It is also predominantly head-marking, which is a common pattern in Melanesian languages (Nichols & Bickel, 2008).

4.1.2 Basic Constituent Order

Basic constituent order is another way to ‘type’ languages. For this trait, Kwaraqae can be described as having a basic word order of subject-verb-object (SVO) in declarative, transitive clauses (see section 4.2). This order is relatively fixed, and is typical of Austronesian languages in general (Crowley, 2003), and most of the Southeast Solomonic languages in particular (Lynch, Ross & Crowley):

4.8) \([\text{Kia}]_{3} [\text{ahi-a}]_{V} [\text{maq \ kir} ki \ \text{hein} \ \text{tyaq} \ \text{kij}]_{O}\)

3PL  help-OBJ.3  father  POSS.3PL.INAL  PL and  mother  PL

‘They help their fathers and mothers’

4.9) \([\text{Kia}]_{3} [\text{tabu-a}]_{V} [\text{kuwal}]_{O}\)

IMP.3PL  clean.up-OBJ.3  place

‘They will clean up the place’
According to Dryer (2008) however, a more useful order typology is that which identifies the order of the verb and object, and correlates this order with other constituent orders. In Kwaraqae the basic order of constituents in noun phrases reveals a pattern whereby the noun is typically followed by its relative clause or possessor (except in phrases such as 4.7 above). Kwaraqae also has prepositions rather than postpositions. When these characteristics are grouped with the basic order of verb and object, Kwaraqae fits the language type which can be described as ‘head-dependent’. This is summarised in table 4-1.

Table 4-1: Summary of constituent order in Kwaraqae for five basic orders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Constituent Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Clauses</td>
<td>V-O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adpositions</td>
<td>Prepositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive(G) and Head Noun (N)</td>
<td>N-G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Noun (N) and Modifier (M)</td>
<td>N-M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Clause (Rel) and Head Noun (N)</td>
<td>N-Rel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affixes</td>
<td>Suffixes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As demonstrated by Dryer (2008) in maps 95, 96 and 97 of WALS (World Atlas of Language Structures), VO order correlates strongly with prepositions and N-Rel consituent order across the world’s languages. Just over 40% of the languages in the sample are VO and prepositional, which is the second most common type, and a frequently found combination in the Pacific region. Nearly 49% are VO and N-Rel, also a
common pattern in the Pacific. Kwaraqae then, with its basic constituent orders of VO, N-Rel, and prepositions is typologically characteristic of Austronesian languages in the Pacific region.

4.2 Basic Clause Structure

Clauses in Kwaraqae can be either non-verbal or verbal. Their minimal structure consists of a noun phrase (NP) and a predicate.

4.2.1 Non-verbal Clauses

The predicate of a non-verbal phrase can be a NP (4.10), a prepositional phrase (PP) (4.11, 4.12), or a locative interrogative pronoun (INT) (4.13):

4.10) \( Ni \ [oan \ madaom \ ki]_{NP} \)

\( 3SG \ six \ month \ PL \)

‘He (child) is six months old’

4.11) \( Haon \ keim-i \ [i \ Alaeh]_{PP} \)

\( \text{village} \ \text{POSS.1PL.EXCL.AL} \ \text{PLACE Alaeh} \)

‘Our village is in Alaeh’

4.12) \( Ni \ [sa \ tol]_{PP} \)

\( 3SG \ \text{LOC} \ \text{inland} \)

‘It (our village) is inland’

4.13) \( Ni \ [heiqbein]_{INT?} \)

\( 3SG \ \text{where} \)

‘Where is it (your village)?’
Predicate nominals are discussed further in 6.4, while locative predicates are described in 9.3.

4.2.2 Verbal Clauses

Verbal predicates minimally consist of a single verb which is intransitive (4.14 - 4.15), and a transitive verb and its object (4.16 - 4.18):

4.14) \textit{Kei}l \quad [ka \quad \textit{leak}]_{\text{VP}} \quad i \quad \textit{hanoa}... \quad 1\text{PL.EXCL} \quad \text{IMP} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{home} \quad 'We are going home...'

4.15) \textit{Kia} \quad [\textit{dao}]_{\text{VP}} \quad \textit{soqleh} \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{evening} \quad 'They come home in the evening'

4.16) \textit{Kui} \quad [\textit{ali-a} \quad \textit{gwa}t]_{\text{VP}} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{bite-OBJ.3} \quad \text{pig} \quad 'The dog bit the pig'

4.17) \textit{Kei}l \quad \textit{ka} \quad [\textit{ngeil} \quad \textit{na} \quad \textit{bas-a}]_{\text{VP}}... \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{IMP} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{DEF} \quad \text{bus-VH} \quad 'We will take the bus...'

4.18) \textit{Ni} \quad [\textit{lis-e} \quad \text{neh} \quad \text{nia}]_{\text{VP}} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{see-OBJ.3} \quad \text{knife} \quad \text{POSS.3SG.AL} \quad 'He sees his knife'

Independent main clauses can form subordinating (10.2, 10.3, 10.4), or coordinating (10.5) complex clauses. There is also a pre-clausal 'slot' which seems to function as a foregrounding device 11.5).
4.3 Grammatical Relations

The grammatical functions of NPs relate the semantic and pragmatic roles of participants to the way they are encoded and overtly expressed in the grammar (Andrews, 2007). As the coding options available are far more limited than the number of meanings that can be expressed, languages must find ways of systematically mapping these. According to Andrews (2007), there are three “core grammatical functions” involved in this mapping. These are A, P and S, which are summarised in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2: The grammatical functions A, P and S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Function</th>
<th>Prototypical Semantic Role</th>
<th>Relationship with Verb in clause</th>
<th>Morpho-syntactic treatment</th>
<th>Related Grammatical Relation in Kwarqae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Argument of 2-argument verb in PTV (^2)</td>
<td>As for agent in transitive clause</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>Argument of 2-argument verb in PTV</td>
<td>As for patient in transitive clause</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Single argument</td>
<td>As for single argument of intransitive clause</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^2\) Primary transitive verbs (PTV) are a class of 2-argument verbs which take the semantic roles agent and patient, these suggested by Andrews (2007) as being fundamental roles in all languages.
There are three main strategies which languages use to structurally code the NP relations or grammatical functions; constituent order, cross referencing or indexing on the verb, and morphological marking of a NP argument. As described in 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, Kwaraqae makes use of the first two of these strategies.

4.3.1 Fixed Constituent Order

In Kwaraqae, word order is relatively fixed, so this is a major coding strategy. For intransitive clauses having only one core NP argument, the single participant is labelled as the grammatical function S and is positioned before the verb, so the order is SV:

4.19)  \([Ni]_S \quad [manat]_V\)

3SG       think

‘He thinks’

4.20)  \([Kiraq]_S \quad [leak]_V\)

3PL       go

‘They went’

For transitive clauses with two NP arguments, the pre-verbal argument is A, while the post-verbal argument is P. The order is AVP:

4.21)  \([Kiax]_A \quad [tabu-a]_V \quad [qal]_P\)

IMP.3PL     make-OBJ.3 garden

‘They will clean up the garden’
4.22) \([\text{Qaok-o}]_A \ [\text{lae} \ \text{tuhu-a}]_V \ [\text{dior} \ \text{oe} \ \text{ki}]_P\)  
2SG-VH go cut up-OBJ.3 post POSS.2SG.AG PL  
‘You go cut up your posts’

Clausal adjuncts such as PPs (4.11, 4.12, 4.14) or adverbial phrases (AP)  
(examples 4.23, 4.24) occur either clause initially or clause finally. They do  
not generally appear between the verb and its NP arguments:

4.23) \([\text{Soqleh}]_AP \ [\text{ki}]_A \ [\text{ueil} \ \text{meiq}]_V\)  
afternoon 3PL return towards  
‘In the afternoon they return’

4.24) \([\text{Kia}]_A \ [\text{dao}]_V \ [\text{soqleh}]_AP\)  
3PL arrive afternoon  
‘They arrive in the afternoon’

4.3.2 Cross Referencing

Cross referencing or ‘agreement’ is a further coding strategy. For transitive  
clauses, the verb is indexed with a suffix (OBJ.3) as can be seen above in  
examples 4.16, 4.18, 4.21, and 4.22. This cross-references the P  
argument as the suffix is only present in transitive clauses.

When the P argument is foregrounded in the pre-clausal slot (11.5), it is  
also indexed on the transitive verb in the main clause:

4.25) \([\text{Ta ru goq} \ \text{neq} \ \text{kiar} \ \text{og-a}]_P \ \text{kia} \ \text{hasi-a}\)  
anything SUB 3PL want.OBJ.3 3PL plant-OBJ.3  
‘Anything they want, they plant (it)’
4.26) [...[keiseiq hu-an stadi-qang] p kiar se-a
    time for-POSS.3SG.INAL study-NOM 3PL say-OBJ.3

    ein prep time
    with prep time
    ‘...the time for studying, they called it prep time’

4.3.3 Nominative/Accusative System

As demonstrated in Table 4-2, A and S occupy the same pre-verbal position in transitive and intransitive clauses, and are not indexed on the verb in contrast to P, which is post-verbal, and is cross-referenced on the verb. This pattern of NP marking indicates that Kwaraqae is a nominative/accusative language.

4.3.4 Justification of Subject and Object

While the grammatical functions A, P and S tend to be found in all languages, the grammatical structures encoding these relations are language-specific (Andrews, 2007). In Kwaraqae, the similar syntactic treatment of the grammatical functions A and S in contrast to that of the function P (word order and cross-referencing), justifies the selection of the grammatical relations ‘subject’ and ‘object’ in the grammatical description.

4.4 Word Classes

The grammatical word classes selected for this thesis are defined according to the morphosyntactic behaviour of prototypical members, an
approach based on the prototype theory of cognitive semantics, which has been suggested as a useful classificatory tool to enable cross-linguistic comparison (Cruse, 2004). While the labels such as noun and verb are “widely understood terms” and useful for linguistic description (Payne, 1997), they are applied here in regards to the morphosyntactic properties of Kwaraqae.

4.4.1 Nouns

In this thesis a prototypical noun is categorised as a time-stable entity within the domain of space (Langacker, 2008), identified in the grammar by its ability to head a noun phrase. Nouns in Kwaraqae form an open class and frequently occur with a vowel harmonising suffix. There are two overlapping sub-systems; the first distinguishes between vocatives, proper nouns and common nouns (5.1.1-5.1.3), while the second makes a distinction in the grammatical expression of alienable and inalienable possession (5.1.4). These are summarised in Table 4-3 and Table 4-4.
Table 4-3: Noun system 1: Vocative, proper and common nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System 1</th>
<th>Vocatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do not occur with personal articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cannot be modified by definite article, plural marker <em>ki</em>, or quantifiers and determiners</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper Nouns</th>
<th>Person Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cannot be modified by definite article, plural marker <em>ki</em>, or quantifiers and determiners</td>
<td>Male names occur with <em>sa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female names occur with <em>i</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place Names</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occur with place name and locative marker <em>i</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Nouns</th>
<th>Mass Nouns (low countability)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cannot be modified by plural marker <em>ki</em>, or quantifiers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count Nouns (high countability)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can be modified by definite article <em>na</em>, plural marker <em>ki</em>, quantifiers and determiners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4-4: Noun system 2: Alienable and inalienable possession.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System 2</th>
<th>Alienable Possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indirect possession with independent free form possessive determiners</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inalienable Possession</th>
<th>Body parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directly possessed by suffixes</td>
<td>Abstract Nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locative Nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part-whole Relations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.2 Verbs

A prototypical verb expresses relationships within the domain of time and involves change (Langacker, 2008). Verbs are distinguished in the grammar by their ability to head verb phrases, a prototypical verb being a transitive verb, indexed for its direct object argument. The grammatical sub-categorisation is made in terms of Hopper and Thompson's (1980) notion of transitivity, and Evan's (2003) study of valency-changing devices in Proto-Oceanic. Although most of the sub-classes are open to new membership (Table 4-5), there are some less prototypical groupings which do not (Table 4-6). Open class intransitives are discussed in 7.1.1, open class transitives in 7.1.2, and restricted class verbs are described in 7.1.3.
Table 4-5: The open class verb system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Open Classes (Open membership)</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Invariant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No affixation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive with –a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive with haq-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive with –Cia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor subjects – applicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer subjects – causative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive with –Cein</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Transitive Indexed for direct object |
| Invariant (Transitive only) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphology</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suffixed with –a</td>
<td>(No intransitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixed with –Cia</td>
<td>(No intransitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive when reduplicated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-6: The closed classes of verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Closed Classes (restricted membership)</th>
<th>Conjunct and Modifier Predicates</th>
<th>Proprietary Verbs</th>
<th>CTPs (complement-taking predicates)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suffix with →a</td>
<td>Suffix with →aq</td>
<td>Take clause as complement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.3 Pronouns

Pronouns are defined as substitutes for nouns and noun phrases and are represented by several closed-class sets of independent forms as follows:

- Non-future personal pronouns (5.2.1.1)
- Negative Pronouns (5.2.1.2)

These pronouns are morphologically fused forms of the non-future pronouns and the negator kas.

- Future pronouns (5.2.1.3)
- Imperfective pronouns (5.2.1.4)

This set are morphologically fused forms of the non-future pronouns and the imperfective marker ka.

- Indefinite Pronouns (5.2.1.5)
- Demonstrative Pronouns (5.2.1.6)
There are two of these; *ei*‘this/that one’ and *tiei*‘these, those ones’

- Reflexive Pronouns (5.2.1.7)

### 4.4.4 The Definite Article *na*

There is a single article *na*‘the’ used infrequently to express definiteness with common nouns (6.1.1.1). There is no indefinite article.

### 4.4.5 The Plural Marker *ki*

The marker *ki* is used with count nouns to indicate that more than one entity is being referred to (6.1.2.5).

### 4.4.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers modify count nouns by indicating “quantity or scope” (Schachter & Shopen, 2007). There are closed class sets of both non-numeral (6.1.1.2.1) and numeral quantifiers (6.1.1.2.2) in Kwarakae.

### 4.4.7 Demonstrative Modifiers

This closed class set of modifiers “demonstrate the object they refer to” (Payne, 1997). These are: *neqe*‘this (proximal)’ *loqko*‘that (intermediate)’, and *loqba*‘that (distal)’. There is also a pair used for endophoric textual cohesion: *huin*‘the latter’, and *huir*‘the former’, and two further forms used in narratives *huqko*‘that’, and *biar ‘that’* (6.1.2.4).
4.4.8 Possessive Determiners and Possessive Suffixes

A closed class set of free form determiners modifies alienably possessed nouns (6.1.2.2), while a paradigm of suffixes are available for expressing possession directly on inalienably possessed nouns (5.1.4.2).

4.4.9 Subordinator neq

The subordinator neq marks relative clauses (6.1.2.3), but frequently combines with other subordinating (10.3) and coordinating markers (10.5).

4.4.10 Coordinators

A closed class set of independent markers coordinate structures at

- the noun phrase level (*ma*‘and, but’, *hein*‘and, with’, *nam*‘or’, *nam…hein*‘either…or’ – see 6.3)
- the clausal level (*ma*‘and, but’, *hein*‘and’, *nam*‘or’, *si*‘but’, *ber ma* ‘although, but’, *loq*‘and’ – see 10.5)
- the textual level (*ber ma*‘but, however’, *uner*‘and, so, well’, *goq* ‘then’, *sui*‘then’, *baelbalei an*‘in regards to’, *loq*‘also, and’, *diq*‘if’, *lal*‘instead’ – see 10.5)

4.4.11 Pre-verbal Markers

There are two pre-verbal markers:

- The progressive imperfective *ka* (IMP) (8.2.1)
- The marker of temporal immediacy *hiq* (IMM) (8.2.2)
4.4.12 Post-verbal Markers

Two post-verbal markers are used to signal aspectual distinctions:

- The grammatical completive *naq*(COMP) (8.3.1)
- The lexicalised completive *sui*(TERM) (8.3.2)

4.4.13 Post-verbal VP Modifiers

There is a large set of seventeen post-verbal modifiers which occur in the verb phrase. They express a variety of meanings: *mal*‘like’, *goq*‘just’, *beis* ‘first’, *qua*‘yet’, *dangaol*‘completely’, *bol hein*‘approximately’, *liu*‘very’, *long*‘also’, *loq*‘again’, *nam*‘must’, *hiyuk*‘together’, *sui*‘along’, *seil*‘I think’, *meiq*‘toward’, *kwou*‘away’, *alaq*‘up’, *tueil*‘down’. These are described in 8.4.1-8.4.14.4.

4.4.14 Negators

There are two free form markers involved in negation (NEG) *nouaq* and *kas* (11.4). The form *kas* is frequently fused with the non-future personal pronouns to form a set of negative pronouns (5.2.1.2).

4.4.15 Prepositions

There are three types of prepositions in Kwarqae:

- predicating prepositions: *sulía*‘be next to sth.’, *diqia*‘be like sth.’, *kargnia*‘be close to sth.’, *lihua*‘be better, more than sth.’, *kalia*‘go around sth.’ (7.1.3.1)
• locative prepositions. This group is subdivided into locative prepositions: *guan* ‘head, top of sth.’, *hahan* ‘top of sth.’, *olhan* ‘bottom of sth.’, *man* ‘front of sth.’, *burian* ‘back of sth.’, *ninman* ‘side of sth.’, *sean* ‘inside sth’, *saolhan* ‘middle (vertical) of sth.’, *tohngan* ‘middle (horizontal) of sth.’, *islan* ‘end of sth.’, *nemneman* ‘edge of sth.’ (5.1.4.2.4), and locative markers (Loc) *i* ‘to’, and *sa* ‘to’ (9.1.1).

• general prepositions: *hein* ‘with’, *ein* ‘with’, *an* ‘to, at, from, by’, *heis* ‘away from’, *suii* ‘about, along’ (9.1.2).

4.4.16 Verbal Particles

These are a set of prepositions which co-occur with verbs to make a variety of idiomatic meanings depending on the verb: *ein, an, huan, uan, sulia* (9.2).

4.4.17 Adverbial Clause Substitutes

There are three groups of lexemes which act as substitutes for adverbial clauses:

• Temporal Adverbials: *taeqan* ‘today’, *roqki* ‘yesterday’, *guan ki* ‘day before yesterday’, *guan leh* ‘three days ago’, *rorod* ‘tomorrow’, *haoh nei* ‘two days hence’, *kweil teiq* ‘three days hence’, *i naoq* ‘formerly’, *buir* ‘after’, *kareng* ‘soon’ (10.3.1.1)

• Manner Adverbials: *quri* ‘thus’ (10.3.1.2)
• Locative Adverbials: *i neqe* ‘here (proximal)’, *i neqer* ‘there (intermediate)’, *i loqba* ‘there (distal)’, *i toqba* ‘down there (distal)’ *i huqba* ‘up there (distal)’, *i buir* ‘next to’ (10.3.1.3)

4.4.18 Adverbial Subordinators

These markers introduce adverbial clauses. They are:

• *han* ‘so’ for purpose clauses (10.3.2.1)
• *si* ‘because’ for reason clauses (10.3.2.2)
• *diqia* (*diaq, diq*) ‘if’ for conditional clauses (10.3.2.3)

The markers *han* ‘so’ and *si* ‘because’ can co-occur with the general subordinator *neq*.

4.4.19 Discourse Markers

There are a small set of markers used in discourse: *eiya* ‘okay’, *quri ma* ‘well, can I ask’, *ne* ‘eh’, *ubein* ‘you know’, *kwa* which seems to signal the end of the clause, and *re* which appears like a tag question (11.6).
5 Nouns

In Kwaraqae, nouns are identifiable by their behavior as heads of noun phrases. They also frequently occur with a vowel harmony suffix (5.2.2.2). The purpose of this chapter is twofold: firstly to present a system by which nouns can be grammatically categorised (5.1), and secondly to describe the structure of the nominal head (5.2).

5.1 Grammatically Defined Nominal Sub-classes

As with other languages in the Oceanic sub-group (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002), nouns in Kwaraqae can be divided into two subsystems. The first system treats proper nouns (person names and place names), vocatives (address terms) and common nouns (all others) differently by marking the former with /or sa, while the latter two groups are unmarked. Vocatives are distinguished from common nouns by their inability to be modified. The second system is a binary classification where the semantic concept of alienable or inalienable possession is expressed in the grammar, either indirectly by the use of free form determiners, or directly by means of suffixes attached to a bound nominal root. The two systems are depicted in Figure 5-1.
Figure 5-1: The two subsystems of nominal classification in Kwaraqae.

The two sub-systems are independent although there is some predictability of membership according to the semantic domain of the noun. For example, common count or common mass nouns which are body parts, certain abstract nouns, kinship terms, locative nouns and part/whole relations are typically bound stems, and inalienably possessed. Other common count and mass nouns are free stems, and generally alienably possessed. Table 5-1 demonstrates the overlap between the two sub-systems.
Table 5-1: The overlap between the two nominal sub-systems in Kwaraqae.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Inalienably Possessed</th>
<th>Alienably Possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common - Mass</td>
<td>li-ak</td>
<td>ngingidua nau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>思考-POSSESS.3PL.INAL</td>
<td>‘their thinking’</td>
<td>‘my honey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common- Count</td>
<td>aey-aum ki</td>
<td>gwat kiraq ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot-POSSESS.2SG.INAL PL</td>
<td>‘your feet’</td>
<td>‘their pigs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.1 Vocatives

Vocatives are generally kinship forms of address which are distinguished from proper nouns as they occur without the use of personal articles. They are neither mass nor count nouns, as they cannot be modified by determiners or numerals. Some examples of these forms:

5.1) **Koq Helen**

‘Grandma Helen (maternal grandmother)’

**Tyaq**

‘Mum’

**Maq**

‘Dad’

5.1.2 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns are those which speakers use to name people and places. They are obligatorily preposed with articles *i* (female and place names) and *sa* (male names), both of which have homonyms as locative markers.
(see 9.1.1). Proper nouns may not be modified by the article na, the plural marker ki quantifiers, demonstratives, or possessive determiners in pragmatically unmarked discourse (these modifiers are discussed in section 6.1)

5.1.2.1 Personal Names

The names of people are obligatorily marked for gender by two personal articles. The article i is a feminine marker, while sa indicates that the personal name refers to a male. Personal gender articles must be preposed to the proper noun. They are not used to address a person directly. For example:

5.2)  
\[ l \quad \text{Christina} \quad \text{kuki-a} \quad \text{aol} \]
\[ \text{FEM} \quad \text{Christina} \quad \text{cook-OBJ.3} \quad \text{taro} \]
'Christina cooks the taro'

5.3)  
\[ Kui \quad \text{ali-a} \quad \text{sa} \quad \text{George} \]
\[ \text{dog} \quad \text{bite-OBJ.3} \quad \text{MASC} \quad \text{George} \]
'The dog bit George'

To form an interrogative, the pronoun tae ‘who’ is used in tandem with the personal article according to the gender of the person being enquired about. It occupies the same clausal position as the nominal that it replaces. For example:
5.4)  l  tae  neq  ka  leak?
   FEM  what  SUB  IMP  go
   'Who (female) will go'

5.5)  Sa  tae  neq  ka  leak?
   MASC  what  SUB  IMP  go
   'Who (male) will go?

As shown in examples 5.4 and 5.5, and 5.14 below, the subordinator neq
is sometimes used to head a subordinating clause which follows the
interrogative pronoun (see also hiyet ‘how many’ (6.1.1.2.2), and angyet
‘when’ 10.3.1.1).

5.1.2.2 Place Names

Institutionalised place names are generally preposed with the place name
article i (PLACE) which is also the personal article for female names. For
example:

5.6)  Leka uan  i  Tabaqa  neq  ae
   go  toward  PLACE  Tabaqa  SUB  2SG

   kos  i  Auek…
   go.down  PLACE  Aoki…
   ‘To get to Tabaqa, by going down to Aoki…”

5.7)  l  Alaeh  ni  i  Kwaraqae
   PLACE  Alaeh  3SG  PLACE  Kwaraqae
   ‘Alaeh is in Kwaraqae’
5.8) \( i \) **Honiara** \( ni \) **doe, ma i** **Nahinua**

PLACE Honiara 3SG big, but PLACE Nahinua

\( ni \) **tiqiq goq**

3SG small just

Honiara is big, but Nahinua is much smaller.

As a locative article, \( i \) may refer solely to the name of a place as in 5.7. (\( i \) **Alaet**), and 5.8 (\( i \) **Honiara, i Nahinua**), or it may be used to simultaneously refer to the name of a place and also to indicate direction as in 5.6 (\( i \) **Auek** ‘to Aoki’) (locative use of \( i i \) is described in 9.1.1.1 along with the locative marker \( sa \)).

Place names can also be used as proper nouns to refer to the people who live in the region or to the language that they speak:

5.9) **Kwaraqae** or **ki tua sa tol**

Kwaraqae many PL live LOC inland

‘Most Kwaraqae people live inland’

5.10) **Ngwae** or **i Solmoen ki**, people many PLACE Solomon Islands PL,

\( alaq \) **ein** **Kwaraqae**

talk with Kwaraqae

‘Many people in the Solomon Islands speak Kwaraqae’
To form an interrogative asking about a place, the place name article is optionally preposed to the pronoun \textit{heiqbein} or \textit{heiq} ‘where’, and is positioned in the clause where the place name would ordinarily appear:

5.11) \textit{Sukul qaok tua an-a ni tio i heiqbein?}  
school you stay at-VH 3SG situated PLACE where  
‘The school that you attended, where is it?’

\textit{…ku leak sukul i Weitria}  
1SG go school PLACE White River  
‘…I went to school at White River’

5.12) \textit{…qaok huat i Honiara nam qaok}  
2SG be.born PLACE Honiara or 2SG

\textit{huat i hanoa i Maltia?}  
be.born LOC village PLACE Malaita  
‘…were you born in Honiara, or were you born in the village in Malaita?’

\textit{Nauk huat i Honiara}  
1SG be.born PLACE Honiara  
‘I was born in Honiara’

5.1.3 Common Nouns

Common nouns are subdivided in the grammar by the number system where some nouns are able to be counted and have “high countability”, while others are conceptualised as mass entities and have “low countability” (Gil, 2008). Typical count nouns are those which refer to
objects such as qei ‘tree’, luom ‘house’, aol ‘taro’, and ngwae ‘person’.

Mass nouns are typically entities such as eis ‘sea’, mangmang ‘air’, and mwaq ‘mud’. This numerical distinction is grammatically signalled at the phrase level rather than on the noun itself so is explained in chapter 6 (6.1.1.2, 6.1.2.5).

To form an interrogative seeking information about a common noun, the expression tae ‘what’ is used (5.13, 5.14) or to ask for information in general, houqua(t) can be used (5.15):

5.13)  Tae hu-an niaq gwaqbi?
      what  for-POSS.3SG.INAL  3SG  oven.bake
      ‘What is she cooking for the feast?’

5.14)  Uri ma i Adauwa hang tae ki neq koka
      well  LOC Adauwa  food what  PL  SUB  IMP.2PL
      ani sa sukul?
      eat  LOC  school
      ‘Well, at Adauwa, what sort of food did you use to eat at school?’

5.15)  ...bae keil ka, keil ka houqua bein kwa?
      FUT  1PL.EXCL  IMP  1PL.EXCL  IMP  what  INT  DISC
      Keil ka haqkoso-a ru ki...
      1PL.EXCL  IMP  unload-OBJ.3  thing  PL
      ‘...we will, we will, what is it? We will unload the things...’

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5.1.4 Alienable/inalienable distinction

According to Nichols and Bickel (2008) in their survey of possession in *The World Atlas of Linguistic Structures Online* (WALS), around 82% of languages signal possession on nouns with a binary system such as the alienable and inalienable pattern of possession found in Kwaraqae. Lynch, Ross & Crowley (2002) note that this type of nominal system is particularly common among Oceanic languages.

The binary system in Kwaraqae is iconically represented in the grammatical structure. Inalienable possession is expressed by the direct affixation of a closed set of suffixes to a bound stem, while alienable possession is represented by the indirect postmodification of a free stem by a closed-class set of free forms inflected for person and number. This pattern is demonstrated in Table 5-2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inalienably Possessed Nouns</th>
<th>Alienably Possessed Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct Possession</td>
<td>Indirect Possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lim-auk</em></td>
<td><em>tyaq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm-POSS.ISG</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my arm'</td>
<td>POSS.1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'my mother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-2: Direct and indirect possession.
5.1.4.1 Alienably Possessed Nouns

Alienably possessed nominals are the largest group of nouns in Kwaraqae. Some examples of these free forms are shown in Table 5-3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alienably Possessed Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Alienably Possessed Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gwer</td>
<td>‘frog’</td>
<td>qei</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beinkin</td>
<td>‘cup’</td>
<td>arang</td>
<td>‘spear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biqa</td>
<td>‘bamboo flask’</td>
<td>asowa</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boq</td>
<td>‘banana’</td>
<td>haowad</td>
<td>‘cave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hataub</td>
<td>‘priest’</td>
<td>hou</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isteiq</td>
<td>‘bed’</td>
<td>karae</td>
<td>‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liok</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
<td>rod</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakwaol</td>
<td>‘bat’</td>
<td>sui</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yol</td>
<td>‘canoe’</td>
<td>oeb</td>
<td>‘arm band’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The indirect pattern of possession for these noun types is described as part of the noun phrase in 6.1.2.2.

5.1.4.2 Inalienably Possessed Nouns

Directly possessed nouns must be used with the suffixes in Table 5-4 which are inflected for person and number, and are from several semantic domains as described below.
Table 5-4: Paradigm of possessive suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>-auck</td>
<td>-akor</td>
<td>-ak(ul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>-aum</td>
<td>-aumroq</td>
<td>-amul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an keraq</td>
<td>-ad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.4.2.1 Body Parts

Directly possessed nouns are often body parts as demonstrated in Table 5-5 and examples 5.16 - 5.18:

Table 5-5: Examples of inalienable body part nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body Part Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Body Part Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lim-</td>
<td>'arm, hand'</td>
<td>lu-</td>
<td>'neck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liy-</td>
<td>'back'</td>
<td>rak-</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ser-</td>
<td>'belly'</td>
<td>lih-</td>
<td>'teeth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwo-</td>
<td>'head'</td>
<td>eil-</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulu-</td>
<td>'back bone'</td>
<td>bubu-</td>
<td>'bottom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
<td>aey-</td>
<td>'leg, foot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.16) *luana*  *ni*  *gwana*
hair-POSS.3SG  3SG  black
‘his/her/its hair is black’
5.17) \( ...qaok-o\ raeq\ an\ sa\ to\ leak\ ein \)
2SG-VH come.up to LOC inland go with

\textit{aey-aum}
foot-POS.2SG.INAL
‘...you go inland on foot’

5.18) \textit{gu-an\ gwat}
head-POS.3G.INAL pig
‘The pig’s head’

5.1.4.2.2 Abstract Nouns

Also belonging to the sub-group of inalienably possessed nouns, are
nouns representing less concrete entities, including nominalisations which
are also inseparable from, or belong to, their animate owner. For example:

5.19) \textit{li-ak}
think-POS.1PL.INCL.INAL
‘our thinking’

5.20) \textit{saetaq-l-an}
angry-NOM-POS.3SG.INAL
‘his/her anger’

5.21) \textit{nunh-an}
shadow-POS.3SG.INAL
‘his/her/its shadow’

5.22) \textit{tua-l-ak}
live-NOM-POS.1PL.INCL.INAL
‘our life’
5.23) Haonhak-a nei halhal-an-a...
   village.foreign that custom-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH
   ‘That urban custom…’

5.1.4.2.3 Locative Nouns

Locative nouns are a further group of bound stems. Although they do not
refer to time-stable ‘things’ so are not prototypical nouns, they are included
in the discussion here as they share the structural characteristic of being
bound with the possessive suffixes in Table 5-4. They also display some
of the semantic features of nouns.

From a typological perspective it is, according to Ross, Lynch and Crowley
(2002), not at all unusual for “locative parts” to be inalienably possessed in
this manner in Oceanic languages.

These noun-like forms belong to the semantic category of intrinsic spatial
reference where a figure is located in reference to the inherent facets of a
grounded object (Levinson & Wilkins, 2006). So, although the terms listed
in Table 5-6 are not ‘things’, they could be semantically described as time-
stable as they refer to components of the grounded object which do not
change even when the position of the figure or the viewer alter. They are
part of the grounded object and are thus inalienably possessed by it.
Table 5-6: Locative nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>‘top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hah-</td>
<td>‘top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olh-</td>
<td>‘bottom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-</td>
<td>‘front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buri-</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninm-</td>
<td>‘side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se-</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saolh-</td>
<td>‘middle (vertical plane)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohng-</td>
<td>‘middle (horizontal plane)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isl-</td>
<td>‘end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemnem-</td>
<td>‘edge’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.24)  
Kiak      toqsi-a       hah-an       sao  
IMP.3PL throw up-OBJ.3 top-POSS.3SG.INAL sago palm leaf  
‘They will throw the sago palm leaves on top (of the house)’

5.25)  
Selen      ki       se-an       ngweiq  
money      PL inside-POSS.3SG.INAL basket  
‘The money is inside the basket’
5.26) Kir soungen qoqa gu-an
3PL make-OBJ.3 garden top-POSS.3SG.INAL

wua ki
mountain PL
‘They make the gardens at the top of the mountains’

5.27) ...niaq ngeil ngwae or ki buri-an
3SG carry people many PL back-POSS.3SG.INAL
‘...it (a pickup truck) can carry many people on the back’

Other noun-like locatives are those expressing temporal space, which is also time-stable in that no matter from which time point the speaker refers to the event, its temporal location does not change:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hu-</td>
<td>‘for (duration)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buri-</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noniy-</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-7: Locative nouns expressing temporal space.

5.28) Aeh nei neq ka leak an haon kiraq
wife POSS.1SG.AL SUB IMP go to village 3PL

hu-an teiq wik
for-POSS.3SG.INAL one week
‘It’s my wife who will go to their village for one week’
5.29) *Ni dao buri-an hang-a*
3SG come after-POSS.3SG.INAL feast-VH
‘He came after the feast’

5.30) ...
keika tua-tua naq noniy-an
IMP.1PL.EXCL DUP-stay COMP after-POSS.3SG.INAL

ka leaq naq nika akwa naq
IMP be.good COMP IMP.3SG feel.well COMP

‘We stayed for a while and afterwards he felt all better’

A further form used with verbs of motion (*leak*‘go’, *loh*‘fly’) and suffixed with the third person inalienable possessive -*an* is *uan*‘towards’:

5.31) *Goq heis Brisbane ka leak*
then away.from Brisbane IMP go

*u-an i hanoa*
towards- POSS.3SG.INAL LOC home
‘Then from Brisbane we will head home’

5.1.4.2.4 Part-whole Relations

Part-whole relations in Kwaraqae are frequently directly possessed structures and express relationships between nouns which are permanent or inherent (Dryer, 2007). The ‘part’ relation is a bound noun and must be affixed with the possessive suffixes in Table 5-4 (although *mag*-‘seed’ can also form compounds – 5.2.3.2). Table 5-8 shows examples of nouns
which are from the semantic domains of flora and fauna and other inanimate entities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part-Whole Relation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ro-an</td>
<td>niu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf-POSS.3SG.INAL</td>
<td>coconut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mag-an</td>
<td>qei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seed-POSS.3SG.INAL</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak-an</td>
<td>tateil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flower-POSS.3SG.INAL</td>
<td>hibiscus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kweimkweim-an</td>
<td>neh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handle-POSS.3SG.INAL</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abab-an</td>
<td>noq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wing-POSS.3SG.INAL</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2 Structure of the Nominal Head

This section describes the structures which are heads of noun phrases in Kwaraqae. Three basic groups can be identified: those which typically have a monomorphemic stem (vocatives and proper nouns), those which can form a complex structure (common and alienably/inalienably possessed sub-groups), and finally, those which can act as substitutes for the former two groups and even for entire noun phrases (pronouns).
While the monomorphemic vocatives and proper nouns have been described above (5.1.1, 5.1.2), and pronouns are addressed next, the complex nominals occupy the remainder of the chapter.

5.2.1 Pronouns

Whereas nouns form an open class of lexemes, pronouns form closed-class sets which are substitutes for nouns and noun phrases (Schachter & Shopen, 2007). In Kwaraqae, all pronominals are independent free forms. Each of the sets may be inflected for person and number, and there are frequently one or more variations available to speakers. The number system allows speakers to distinguish between singular, dual and plural (more than two), while person not only permits reference to the speaker (1st person), the person addressed (2nd speaker), or all other referents (3rd person), it also shows a distinction in the first person forms for dual and plural by allowing the speaker to include or exclude the addressee in the speech event.

The pronouns described here include:

- non-future personal pronouns (5.2.1.1)
- negative pronouns (5.2.1.2)
- future pronouns (5.2.1.3)
- imperfective pronouns (5.2.1.4)
- indefinite pronouns (5.2.1.5)
• possessive pronouns (5.2.1.6)
• demonstrative pronouns (5.2.1.7)

5.2.1.1 Non-Future Personal Pronouns

Non-future personal pronouns in Kwaraque are set out in Table 5-9.

Table 5-9: Non-future personal pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>nauk ~ ku</td>
<td>koroaq ~</td>
<td>kuluaq ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nouwaq ~ nao</td>
<td>kor ~</td>
<td>kul ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kioq</td>
<td>keil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd   Person</td>
<td>qaok ~ ko</td>
<td>koroq ~ koq</td>
<td>koomul ~ koul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aeioq ~ ae</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd   Person</td>
<td>niaq ~ ni</td>
<td>keraq</td>
<td>kiraq ~ kiar ~ ki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lynch, Ross & Crowley (2002, p. 35) suggest that the dual forms for many Oceanic languages contain an element related to the number ‘two’. This could be the case in Kwaraque, as ro ‘two’ appears in both first and second dual person forms, and as –r- in the third person dual pronoun keraq. The plural forms kuluaq ‘1PL.INCL’ and koomul ‘2PL’ may be related to the cardinal number ul ‘three’, although this link is not obvious for the third person plural kiraq.
All of the pronouns, apart from *keraq* (3DU), are attested with variant forms, while first and second person singular have two different forms, each with an abbreviated or contracted option. In general it would seem that the non-contracted forms such as *nouwaq* (1SG), *aeiyoq* (2SG) and *kuluaq* (1PL.INCL) are used in pragmatically marked structures. For example, *nouwaq* and *kuluaq* are used in fronted clauses (11.5) while *aeiyoq* is also used to form interrogatives with the marker *mo* (11.1).

The non-abbreviated forms and their variants can be placed in the same clause to mark reciprocity (5.32-5.34), the longer form typically acting as the direct object argument while the shorter form occupies subject position\(^1\). For example:

5.32) \[\text{Kor} \quad \text{seiyan} \quad \text{koroaq?} \]
\[1\text{DU.INCL} \quad \text{know} \quad 1\text{DU.INCL} \]
‘Do we understand each other?’

5.33) \[\text{kiar} \quad \text{se leaq} \quad \text{goq} \quad \text{an} \quad \text{kiraq} \]
\[3\text{PL} \quad \text{be.happy} \quad \text{just} \quad \text{of} \quad 3\text{PL} \]
‘...they are just happy with each other’

5.34) \[\text{Kiär} \quad \text{oga} \quad \text{kiraq} \]
\[3\text{PL} \quad \text{like} \quad 3\text{PL} \]
‘They love each other’

\(^1\) A further strategy for expressing reciprocity and reflexivity is with the verbal prefix *kwei*- (7.1.3.4).
In 5.35, the meaning is reflexive, the pronominal in direct object position being *amil*, which was not attested in any other position in the data:

5.35) Keik bisi goq amil an-a na
IMP.1PL.EXCL be.busy just 1PL.EXCL with-VH DEF
soungeiq-lan intafiu ki
make-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL interview PL
We just busied ourselves with the interviewing'

The non-future form *ae* (2SG) can be used to refer to an impersonal generic referent similar to the English 'one' or 'you' as it is in 5.36 when giving instructions on how to make a house, although it can also be used personally (5.37):

5.36) Eiya od-’lan luma qaok
okay erect.walls.NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL house 2SG
seiyan ae odo-a ein saousa
know 2SG erect.walls-OBJ.3 with woven.sago

nam ae busaow-a luom
or 2SG thatch-OBJ.3 house
‘Okay, erecting the house walls, you do this with woven sago palm leaves or you thatch the house.’

5.37) Leak ngeil isteiq oe ku leak sa
go take bed POSS.2SG.AL 1PL.INCL go LOC
dom-o lia an kuwal ae tio an
dormitory-VH look for place 2SG lie.down on
'Go and get your belongings and we will go to the dormitory and look for a place for you to sleep'

Pronominal discourse referents which are sequential or continuous in discourse are often abbreviated. For example, nauk (1SG) becomes ku, qaok (2SG) becomes ko, niaq (3SG) becomes ni, and kiraq (3PL) becomes ki. Example 5.38 illustrates this with qaok (2SG):

5.38)  

Qaoq-o ko oal haol ki sui qaok-o  
2SG-VH 2SG put beam PL TERM 2SG-VH

ototto-a luom oe ka sui ko  
frame-OBJ.3 house POSS.2SG.AL IMP finish 2SG

ato-a sui ko toqsi-a naq  
put.rafters.on-OBJ.3 TERM 2SG make.roof.-OBJ.3 COMP

‘After you put up the beams, then you can finish framing your house, then you put on the rafters then make the roof.’

The non-future personal pronouns can function as heads of either subject or object noun phrases, so are distributed in the same positions as the nouns they replace. Some examples of non-future pronoun use from the texts in subject position are:

5.39)  

Nauk kore-a kin Solmoen  
1SG marry-OBJ.3 woman Solomon Islands

‘I am married to a woman from the Solomon Islands’
5.40)  
---

\[ Kioq \ toqan\ ual\ ngyal\ ki \]

\[ 1DU.EXCL \ have\ three\ child\ PL \]

‘We have three children’

5.41)  
---

\[ ...ki\ leak\ siru-a\ mousuaq... \]

\[ 3PL\ go\ clean.up-OBJ.3\ bush \]

‘...they go and clean up the bush...’

Examples of the non-future personal pronouns in object position are:

5.42)  
---

\[ Bar\ ngwae\ ki\ lisi-a\ niaq \]

\[ several\ people\ PL\ see-OBJ.3\ 3SG \]

‘Several people see him’

5.43)  
---

\[ Nouaq\ ta\ ngwae\ kas\ rongw-a\ nouwaq \]

\[ NEG\ some\ people\ NEG\ hear-OBJ.3\ 1SG \]

‘No one hears me’

5.44)  
---

\[ Nouaq\ ta\ ngwae\ kas\ rongw-a\ kuluaq \]

\[ NEG\ some\ people\ NEG\ hear-OBJ.3\ 1PL.INCL \]

‘No one hears us’

The non-future pronouns are also used in subject position to co-reference the foregrounded nominal in a fronted clause (PRE) (discussed in 11.5):

5.45)  
---

\[ Eiya,\ [ngyal\ ki]]_{PRE}\ kia\ ahi-a\ maq\ kir \]

\[ okay,\ child\ PL\ 3PL\ help-OBJ.3\ father\ POSS.3PL.AL \]

\[ ki\ hein\ tyaq\ ki\ sa\ oqla \]

\[ PL\ and\ mother\ PL\ LOC\ garden \]

‘Okay, the children (they) help their fathers and mothers in the garden.'
5.46) \( [\text{Haon keim}]_{\text{PRE}} \ ni \ i \ \text{Tabaq}\a \\
\text{village} \ POSS.1\text{PL.EXCL.AN} \ 3\text{SG} \ PLACE \ Tabaqa \n\text{‘Our village (it) is in Taba’a’}

Pronouns can be marked with the vowel harmony suffix. Here are two examples:

5.47) \textbf{Nauk-u} se-a… \\
1\text{SG-VH} say-OBJ.3 \\
\text{‘I said…’}

5.48) …\textit{neq} kei\textit{li} ka sui \\
\text{SUB} 1\text{PL.EXCL} IMP TERM \\
\text{‘…which we finished’}

5.2.1.2 Negative Pronouns

Negation in Kwaraqae involves two elements, an invariant negative marker \textit{nouaq} and a negative marker \textit{kas}. In this section, the structure of the marker \textit{kas} is described, while the clausal distribution of both \textit{nouaq} and \textit{kas} is discussed in 11.4.

In rapid speech, the negative marker \textit{kas} undergoes morphological fusion with the non-future personal pronouns in Table 5-9. Table 5-10 demonstrates this process.
Table 5-10: The fusion of non-future pronouns and the negative marker *kas*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-future Pronouns</th>
<th>Negative Marker</th>
<th>Resulting Negative Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nauk</em></td>
<td><em>kas</em></td>
<td><em>neis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ae</em></td>
<td><em>kas</em></td>
<td><em>eis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>niaq</em></td>
<td><em>kas</em></td>
<td><em>nias</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kiraq</em></td>
<td><em>kas</em></td>
<td><em>kias</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This morphological fusion is not obligatory; speakers can choose to use a non-future pronoun and the marker *kas* rather than the contracted forms.

The two clauses below exemplify this.

5.49) *Kira nouaq kas dao*

3PL NEG NEG come

‘They don’t come’

5.50) *Nouaq nias dao*

NEG NEG.3SG come

‘He does not come’

The fusion is also not a regular morphophonemic process. For example, with the first person dual inclusive form *kwaes*, it is difficult to determine if the source is the original independent pronoun *koroaq* or its alternative *kor*. Table 5.11 sets out the complete negative pronoun set.
Table 5-11: The negative pronoun set

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>neis</td>
<td>kwaes</td>
<td>kios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>eis</td>
<td>kos</td>
<td>kaos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>nias</td>
<td>keras</td>
<td>kias</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following are examples of the negative pronouns with the invariant negator *nouaq*, and the fused pronoun replacing a noun or noun phrase.

5.51) *Oqola ki nouaq kias soungeiqn teiq ogloqang...*  
      garden PL NEG NEG.3PL make one garden  
      ‘Regarding gardens, they (the people in the villages) don’t make one garden area...’

5.52) *l hanoa i Tabaqa, luom ki nouaq kias*  
      LOC village PLACE Tabaqa house PL NEG NEG.3PL  
      *dao goq an ro akwal ki*  
      come only to two ten PL  
      ‘The houses in the villages at Tabaqa, (they) number less than twenty’

5.53) *...nauk tuatua ku mateiq goq nouaq*  
      1SG stay 1SG be.sick but NEG  
      *neis se-a hu-an tias ki*  
      NEG.1SG say-OBJ.3 to-POSS.3SG.INAL teacher PL
‘...I was boarding (at school) and I got sick, but I didn’t tell the teachers’

5.2.1.3 Future Pronouns

Table 5-12 sets out the paradigm of pronouns used by speakers to refer to future time. Some of the forms are identical to the non-future forms (*ae* (2SG), *keroq* (1DU.EXCL), *keraq* (3DU), *keil* (1PL.EXCL)). Examples 5.54-5.56 demonstrate their use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td><em>nei</em></td>
<td><em>kioq</em></td>
<td><em>keroq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td><em>ae</em></td>
<td><em>koka</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td><em>nia</em></td>
<td><em>keraq</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.54) *Nei* *alaq* *suli-a* *keil* *ka*

FUT.1SG talk about-OBJ.3 1PL.EXCL IMP

*leak* *i* *hanoa*

go LOC home

‘Today I will talk about our trip home’

5.55) *...nia* *ngeil ul ao-a* *ki*

FUT.3SG take three hour-VH PL

‘...it will take three hours’
5.56)   Goq  keil  ka  leak  tua  hein  maq  
then  FUT.1PL.EXCL IMP  go  stay  with  father

nau  hein  tyaq  nau  i
POSS.1SG.INAL  and  mother  POSS.1SG.INAL  PLACE

Honiara
Honiara
‘Then we will go and stay with my father and mother in Honiara’

5.2.1.4 Imperfective Pronouns

A further set of fused forms are the imperfective pronouns which unite the non-future pronouns and the imperfective marker *ka* (*ka* discussed in 8.2.1). This process is demonstrated in Table 5-13, while Table 5-14 sets out the paradigm of forms.

Table 5-13: The morphological fusion of imperfective *ka* and the non-future pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-future Pronoun</th>
<th>Imperfective Marker</th>
<th>Resulting Imperfective Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nauk</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
<td><em>neik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keimil</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
<td><em>keik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niaq</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
<td><em>niak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiraq</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
<td><em>kiak</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5-14: Imperfective pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>neik</th>
<th>korkei</th>
<th>kuk</th>
<th>keika~keik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kwou</td>
<td>koka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>nika<del>nik</del></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kiaik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>niaik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms for the second person singular and the third person dual were not attested during the data collection, however, examples 5.57 and 5.58 are a sample of those pronouns that were:

5.57)  …tiei  kiaik  se-a  ein  na  taksı  ki
PRO.DEDEM  IMP.3PL  say-OBJ.3  with  DEF  taxi  PL
‘…these ones they call taxis’

5.58)  …keika  tuatua  naq  nonly-an  ka
IMP.1PL.EXCL  stay  COMP  after-POS.3SG.INAL  IMP

leaq naq nika akwa naq
good  COMP  IMP.3SG  feel.well  COMP
‘…we stayed and chatted then after that, he felt better’

5.2.1.5 Indefinite Pronouns

Kwaraqae also has a set of forms that can be used as a substitute for indefinite nouns and noun phrases. These express referents that may be known to the speaker but not the addressee, or that are unimportant to
both speaker and hearer, and so are not specified. These are listed below in Table 5-15.

### Table 5-15: Indefinite pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite Pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ta</em></td>
<td>'some'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ta ngwae</em></td>
<td>'someone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ta ru</em></td>
<td>'something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toqtoq</em></td>
<td>'each'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>teqhou</em></td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngwae ki teqhou</em></td>
<td>'everyone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ru teqhou</em></td>
<td>'everything'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>goq</em></td>
<td>'any, none'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(nouaq) goq ta ru</em></td>
<td>'nothing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ta ru goqan</em></td>
<td>'anything'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nouaq ta ngwae</em></td>
<td>'no one'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the forms are compounded, which is not unusual among the world’s languages (Haspelmath, as cited in Aikhenvald, 2007). Some examples of indefinite quantifiers are:
5.59)  \( \text{Aol ki nam butet ki nam ta ru goqan} \)
taro   PL or potato PL or anything

\( neq kir oga kia hasi-a... \)
SUB 3PL want 3PL grow-OBJ.3
‘Taro or potatoes or anything that they want to grow…’

5.60)  \( \ldots \text{tarek ki kiar teiq mateil teqhou long,} \)
truck PL 3PL one be.different all also

\( \text{teiq mateil toqtoq long an niq hu} \)
one be.different each also of 3SG for
‘…the trucks are all different, each one from the other’

5.61)  \( \text{Kia sabngiq ka qeis teqhou goq an sa} \)
3PL duct IMP fall all just to LOC

\( \text{luom} \)
house
‘They just duct it all (water) into the house’

The negative indefinites are mostly expressed with the negative marker
\( \text{nouaq} \):

5.62)  \( \text{Nouaq nias ein ta ru} \)
NEG   NEG.3SG eat something
‘He ate nothing’

\[\text{2 Although this was the gloss suggested, it is difficult to determine whether \text{Nouaq nias ein ta ru} means ‘he ate nothing’, ‘he didn’t eat something’ or ‘it wasn’t him who ate something’ (it was someone else who did it).}\]
Negative indefinites, such as the compounded form *nouaq ta ngwae* ‘no one’, sometimes also require the use of the clausal negative marker *kas*:

5.63)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nouaq</em></td>
<td>nobody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ta ngwae</em></td>
<td>hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kas</em></td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rongwa</em></td>
<td>1SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Nobody hears me’

5.2.1.6 Possessive Pronouns

To emphasise possession of a nominal without specifically mentioning it, speakers can substitute the generic nominal form *ru* meaning ‘person’ or ‘thing’ for the noun, and postpose it with the alienable possessive determiners from Table 6-6 to yield the examples and meanings indicated in Table 5-16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphatic Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ru</em></td>
<td><em>nei</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thing</td>
<td>‘mine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ru</em></td>
<td><em>oe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thing</td>
<td>‘yours’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ru</em></td>
<td><em>kiar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thing</td>
<td>‘theirs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.1.7 Demonstrative Pronouns

Other pronominal forms which are used as substitutes for nouns and noun phrases are the two demonstrative pronouns (PRO.DEM) which are listed in
Table 5-17 and exemplified in 5.64- 5.67. These have an anaphoric deictic function by ‘pointing back’ to the noun or noun phrase that they represent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ei</em></td>
<td><em>tiei</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this one’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘these ones’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-17: Demonstrative pronouns.

5.64)  
\[Ei\] neq kiar se-a ein pikup ki…

PRO.DEM  SUB  3PL  say-OBJ.3  with  pickup  PL

‘This one that they call a pickup truck…

5.65)  
\[Ei\] doe ki niaq ngeil ul akleiq

PRO.DEM  be.big  PL  3SG  carry  three  ten

ngwae-qang uner  kwa
people.NOM  thus  DISC

‘The big ones (buses) can carry thirty people or so’

5.66)  
\[…ei\] suli-a  ro heiqngeil ki

PRO.DEM  be.about-OBJ.3  two  year  PL

‘…this one (child) is about two years old’

5.67)  
\[Tiei\] kiar se-a ein bas ki

PRO.DEM  3PL  say-OBJ.3  with  bus  PL

‘These ones they call buses’

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To form an interrogative, speakers simply place the pronoun *houqua* ‘which’ after the demonstrative to produce *ei houqua*? ‘which one?’.

5.2.2 Complex Nominal Structures

This section considers the nominals labelled as complex structures in Figure 5.2. It describes the types of stems and the morphological processes by which they are formed. These processes can be derivational, where new material is added to a stem to create new words and meanings, and inflectional, where the word class of a structure is grammatically specified (Aikhenvald, 2007). Kwaraqae nominal structures are formed by both processes.

A useful guide for the discussion of complex nominals is the type and degree of structural complexity between the stem and its associated structures. This can be represented as a continuum (Figure 5-2) where more tightly bonded nominal stems and affixes are arranged toward one end, while more loosely bonded nominal structures occupy the opposite end.

![Figure 5-2: The degree of structural bonding in complex nominals](image-url)
For example, reduplicated nominals are tightly bonded as they consist of stem and a prefix which must be an exact or partial replica of the stem. The vowel harmonising suffix is not as tightly bonded, as it is selected from the vowel phoneme inventory according to the phonological features of the stem final vowel. Possessive suffixes are selected from a closed class set according to the person and number of the possessor, and are dependent on the stem, not for phonological features, but for the bounded nature of its structure.

Nominalised structures are even less tightly bonded as their form is neither dependent on the phonology nor the morphology of the stem, but the word class, which is typically a verb. Compounds are less tightly bonded again, as they are generally two independent lexemes structurally united for semantic reasons (although Kwaraqae has a sub-class which are bound structures); there is no intervening material between the components. The associative suffix –eq is a linking device inserted between two contiguous nominals so is considered less tightly bonded than compounds, while nouns which modify other nouns by simply being juxtaposed, are considered to have the most loosely bonded relationship.

The remainder of the chapter describes each of these complex nominal structures (apart from possessive suffixes which are discussed with inalienable nouns in 5.1.4.2) as follows:
• Nominal reduplication (5.2.2.1)
• Vowel harmony (5.2.2.2)
• Nominalisation (5.2.2.3)
• Compounds (5.2.2.4)
• Associative suffix (5.2.2.5)
• Nouns modifying other nouns (5.2.2.6)

5.2.2.1 Nominal Reduplication

Reduplication is a process which produces a complex form from a simpler stem by copying either part of the stem (partial reduplication) or the complete word or stem (full reduplication). According to Moravscik (1978) and Rubino (2008), the communicative purpose of reduplication can be semantic involving augmentation or dimunition for example, or it can be grammatical.

In Kwaraqae, reduplication (DUP) occurs across and within both noun and verb classes, and is therefore both derivational and inflectional. Nominalised reduplicated forms show mainly complete copying of the stem, although partial stem copying can be observed in qiliya ‘dig out’ and its reduplicated form qil.qilya ‘drain’. The stem can be copied more than once as in tatata ‘waterfall’.

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Reduplicated nominals may be affixed with other nominal morphology such as the suffixes of vowel harmony (5.68), nominalisation (5.69), and a combination of these (5.70):

5.68) \textit{yur-yur-u}  
DUP\textit{-wind-VH}  
‘wind’

5.69) \textit{ngeis-nges-qang}  
DUP\textit{-hard-NOM}  
‘strength, power’

5.70) \textit{si-si-qang-a}  
DUP\textit{-crushed.bamboo-NOM-VH}  
‘crushed bamboo’

The data suggest that the function of nominal reduplication in Kwaraqae is to both nominalise verbs, which is a derivational operation as the lexeme undergoes a change in word class, and to extend the meaning of a nominal simplex form by intensification which is a semantic function. This is demonstrated in Table 5-18.
Table 5-18: Reduplicated nominals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simplex Form</th>
<th>Simplex Word Class</th>
<th>Nominal Reduplicated Form</th>
<th>Reduplicative Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bul</em></td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td><em>bul.bul</em></td>
<td>Semantic: intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be dark, dim'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'gravesite'</td>
<td>Grammatical: [V→N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kweir</em></td>
<td>Vt</td>
<td><em>kweir.kweir</em></td>
<td>Semantic: nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to scrape'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'scraper'</td>
<td>Grammatical: [V→N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngus</em></td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td><em>ngus.ngus</em></td>
<td>Semantic: Intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'spit'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'saliva'</td>
<td>Grammatical: [V→N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qiliya</em></td>
<td>Vt</td>
<td><em>qili.qili</em></td>
<td>Semantic: Intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dig out sth'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'drain'</td>
<td>Grammatical: [V→N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwang</em></td>
<td>N</td>
<td><em>kwang.kwang</em></td>
<td>Semantic: intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gun'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'thunder'</td>
<td>Grammatical: nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwaol</em></td>
<td>N</td>
<td><em>kwaol.kwaol</em></td>
<td>Semantic: intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rope'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'long rope'</td>
<td>Grammatical: nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplicated forms such as *kwangkwang* ‘thunder’, *kaekaecta* ‘cicada’, and *tatata* ‘waterfall’ suggest that reduplication can be used as an onomatopoeic device.

Reduplication occurs with common mass, common count and alienably possessed nouns, so it can be described as a reasonably productive process in Kwaraqae. For example:
Common mass nouns

5.71) ‘...neq yur.yur-u nouaq kas taeqi-a
SUB DUP.wind-VH NEG NEG pull.out-OBJ.3

sao ki
sago.palm.leaf PL
‘...so that the wind doesn’t pull out the sago palm leaves’

Common count nouns

5.72) ...kul se-a ein uig-kweir.kweir ki
1PL.EXCL say-OBJ.3 with metal-scaper PL
‘...we call them 'scrapers’

Alienably possessed nouns

5.73) ngingidua nei
honey POSS.1SG.AL
‘my honey’

5.2.2.2 Vowel Harmony Suffix

The phonemic operation of vowel harmony is described in 3.4.1. Here it is discussed in its morphological role as an indicator of noun class membership, as it is only found on this class of words. In this role, vowel harmony is an inflectional process.

As the vowel harmonising suffix is not a fully productive process of affixation, it is not a reliable test of ‘nounhood’. For example, the harmonising vowel suffix can be omitted on the same noun in the same
utterance even where this noun is fulfilling a similar grammatical role in the sentence:

5.74)  ...ei **ngwein-e** niaq siok heiqngeil,
...this one boy-VH 3SG nine year

**goq** ei **ngwein** tiqtig nei niaq
then this one boy be.small POSS.1SG.AL 3SG

**liam** heiqngeil
five year
‘...this one is a boy and he is nine years old, this one, my small son, is five years old’

5.75) **Kia** yat **soungeiqn** sisi-qang **kiak**
3PL first prepare crushed.bamboo-NOM IMP.3PL

**oal** kiak **hotqi-a** sisi-qang-a **ka**
put IMP.3PL nail-OBJ.3 crushed.bamboo-NOM-VH IMP

tio an odo-a...
stay on erect.wall-OBJ.3
‘First they prepare the crushed bamboo then they can nail the crushed bamboo up to keep it on the wall frame...’

Nominals which may occur with the vowel harmony suffix include the subtypes of common nouns (5.74, 5.75), alienably and inalienably possessed nouns (5.76, 5.77) but not proper and local nouns.
5.76) *Haonhak-a*  nei
village.foreign-VH  POSS.1SG.AL
‘My town’

5.77) *Haonhak  ki  kul  tuaq-an-a…*
town  PL  POSS.1PL.EXCL.AL  life-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH
‘Our urban life…’

Other grammatical operations which may also occur with vowel harmony
are nominal reduplication (5.78), nominalisation (5.75), nominal
compounding (5.76) and pronominalisation (5.79):

5.78)  …*neq yuryur-u  nouaq  kas  taeqi-a  sao  ki*
…SUB wind-VH  NEG  NEG  pull.out-OBJ3  sago.palm.leaf  PL
‘so that the wind won’t pull out the sago palm leaves’

5.79)  *Eiya  ka  sui  nauk-u  uiel  meiq…*
okay  IMP  finish 1SG-VH  return towards
‘Okay, when I have finished, I will return…’

Although vowel harmony suffixation is not a consistent inflectional
morphological process, there are also many examples throughout the
texts of borrowings with a harmonised suffix such as *oklok-o* ‘o’clock’,
*enjin-i* ‘engine’, *transport-o* ‘transport’, *Einglis-i* ‘English’, and *melon-o*
‘melon’.
5.2.2.3 Nominalising Affixes

In Kwaraqae, the suffixes -qang, -lan, -eiq, and (u)aq nominalise both verbs and nouns. They are described below in reference to Comrie & Thompson’s (2007) categorisation, which suggests that the resulting structures can be categorised as either the name of an activity or state, or they can be grouped according to the types of arguments to which they refer; agentive, instrumental, manner, objective, locative or reason nouns, for example. Comrie and Thompson (2007) state that nominalised structures are said to behave syntactically like other nouns, and relate to their associated verb or adjective by morphological or semantic means. Abstract nouns can be formed from more concrete ones, and concrete nouns can be semantically extended to produce larger, smaller or less desirable versions of the original noun (Comrie & Thompson, 2007).

5.2.2.3.1 Nominalising Suffix –qang

Nouns are derived from verbs as well as nouns using the suffix –qang. Nominalised verbs mostly name an activity or state related to their verbal source which is an intransitive verb. The resulting nouns are then typically non-count or mass nouns. Table 5-19 and examples 5.80 and 5.81 demonstrate -qang.
Table 5-19: Verbs undergoing nominalisation with the morpheme –qang.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Word Class</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
<th>Nominalising Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alaq</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>alaqang</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to talk’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the talking’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngeisngeis</td>
<td>Va</td>
<td>ngeisngeisqang</td>
<td>Semantic: state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be hard’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the strength’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngyolngyol</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>ngyolngyoleikang</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to argue’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the argument’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alngeiq</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>alngeiqang</td>
<td>Semantic: state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to promise’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the promise’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruqqwat</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>ruqqwatqang</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to hunt pigs’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘pig hunting’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kweima</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>kweimaqang</td>
<td>Semantic: state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to love’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the love’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saetaqa</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>saetaqaqang</td>
<td>Semantic: state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to be angry’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the anger’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seiyan</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>seiqrugqang</td>
<td>Semantic: state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to know, understand’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the knowledge’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.80) ...neq kiar se-a ein ngeis-ngais-qang areiqkwao
...SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3 with DUP.hard-NOM white.man
‘...which they call white man’s power (lit. white-man’s strength)’

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5.81) \( \text{Diaqdiaq bein haon kia ala-qang biar} \)
\( \text{DUP-be.like INT village POSS.3PL.INAL talk-NOM that} \)

\( ki \) huial?
\( \text{PL happen} \)

‘What if that kind of talking happened in our village’

The nominalised nouns in Table 5-20 are augmented versions of concrete nouns and are also count nouns which become pluralised.

Examples 5.82 and 5.83 show their use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Noun</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngwae</td>
<td>ngwaeqang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘people, man’</td>
<td>‘group of people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogola</td>
<td>ogolaqang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘garden’</td>
<td>‘garden areas’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.82) \( Ei \) doe ki niaq ngell ul akleiq
This one big PL 3SG carry three ten

\( ngwae-qang… \)

people-NOM

‘The big ones can carry thirty people’

5.83) \( Oqola ki nouaq.kias soungein teiq \)
garden PL NEG NEG.3PL make one
oqla-qang kir soungel-n bar oqla-qang
garden-NOM 3PL make several garden-NOM
‘They don’t just make one garden area, they make several
garden areas’

The suffix -qang can be used in conjunction with reduplication
(ngeisngeisqang ‘strength’, ngyolngyeleiqang ‘argument’), and is subject
to vowel harmony (5.84). It would also seem that this suffix can nominalise
other nominalised forms:

5.84) Qaok se-an haon loqko eiht-eiq-ang-a...
      2SG inside-POS.3SG.INAL village LOC hoe-NOM-NOM-VH
‘You do the hoeing inside the village there …’

5.85) …kiraq nouaq ta kwei-ngyol.ngyol-eiq-ang
      3PL NEG any RECIP-DUP-twist-NOM-NOM
‘…they don’t have any arguing’

Table 5-21 shows the suggested sequence of morphological operations
which result in the complex form ngyolngyeleiqang.
Table 5-21: Sequence of morphological operations for *ngyolngyoleiqang*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Word Class</th>
<th>Morphological Operation</th>
<th>Morphological Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ngyol</em></td>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to twist’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngyol.ngyol</em></td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>Valence Reduction</td>
<td>Semantic: Intensity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to argue’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Grammatical: [Vt→Vi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngyol.ngyoleiq</em></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Nominalisation</td>
<td>Semantic: Result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘argument’</td>
<td>Common Count</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grammatical: [V→N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngyol.ngyoleiq-ang</em></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Nominalisation</td>
<td>Semantic: Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the arguing’</td>
<td>Common Mass</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grammatical: Sub-class change [N_{count} \rightarrow N_{mass}]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix –*qang* is frequently used with borrowings:

5.86) \[\text{Tio neqer ka deing ngwae ngali-a ka nou} \]

*stay there IMP day people board-OBJ.3 IMP be.busy*

\[\text{ein fisingqang huir…} \]

*with fishing-NOM the.former*

‘They stayed there all day then people boarded it (the barge) to go fishing’
5.2.2.3.2 Nominalising Suffix –/s

The suffix –/s is used to nominalise verbs. It is itself modified by an inalienable possessive suffix from Table 5-25, resulting in suffixes with the forms –\text{lan} ‘way-POSS.3SG.INAL’, –\text{ak} ‘way-POSS.3PL.INAL’, –\text{amil} ‘way-POSS.1PL.EXCL.INAL’ etc. It is most frequently attested in the data with the third person singular form –\text{an} as demonstrated in Table 5-22 and the examples following. The nominalised forms name an activity or state related to the source verb, and express the idea of ‘way of V-ing’, which, according to Comrie and Thompson (2007), can be described as a manner nominalisation.
Table 5-22: Verbs undergoing nominalisation with the suffix –l-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Word Class</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
<th>Nominalising Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soungeq</td>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>soungeq-l-an</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to build, make'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the building of'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lisi</td>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>lisi-l-an</td>
<td>Semantic: state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to see'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the look of'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odo</td>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>odoa-l-an</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to build walls'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the wall building of'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doe</td>
<td>Va</td>
<td>doe-l-an</td>
<td>Semantic: state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be big'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the size of'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngeil</td>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>ngei-l-an</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to carry'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the carrying of'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il</td>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>i-l-an</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to dig'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the digging of'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leak</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>leak-l-amil</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to go'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'our way of going'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hang</td>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>hang-l-amil</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to eat'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'our way of eating'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>og-l-amil</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to garden'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'our way of gardening'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tua</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>tua-l-amil</td>
<td>Semantic: activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to live'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'our way of living'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.87) ...kiak bisi goq amil an-a na
IMP.1PL.EXCL be.busy just 1PL.EXCL with-VH DEF

soungeiq-lan intafiu ki
make-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL interview PL
‘...then we would busy ourselves with the interviewing
(making of the interviews)’

5.88) Odoa-1-an luma neq ae
build.wall-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL house SUB 2SG

busaow-a
thatch.OBJ.3
‘To build the house wall you thatch it (the way of building the
house wall is that you thatch it)’

5.89) Eiya goq ogola doe-1-an ogola
Okay only garden be.big-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL garden

ki nouaq kias doe liu ogla ki
PL NEG IMP.3PL be.big very garden PL
‘Okay, so the garden sizes (the way of its being big) are not
very big’

5.90) ...ru uner ki han ngei-1-an ngwae ki
thing thus PL for carry-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL people PL
‘...things like that for carrying (the way of carrying) people’

As with other nominal forms, the derived noun can be preposed with the
definite article na (example 5.87), and can sometimes undergo vowel
harmony.
5.91)  ...kal hakleq-ru neq kiar o-a lan-a...
some egg-thing SUB 3PL put.on-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH
‘...things shaped like eggs which they turn on (light bulbs)...’

5.2.2.3.3 Nominalising Suffix –eiq

The suffix –eiq functions as an objective nominaliser which produces a
noun from a verb that has a passive meaning such as ‘a thing/person that
is V-ed’, or a noun designating a “result or typical ‘cognate’ object of an
action” (Comrie & Thompson, 2007). Table 5-23 gives examples from the
data.

Table 5-23: Types of verbs nominalised by the morpheme –eiq.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
<th>Nominalising Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manat</td>
<td>manteiq</td>
<td>Semantic: cognate object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to think’</td>
<td>‘the thought’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngyolngyol</td>
<td>ngyolngyoleiq</td>
<td>Semantic: result of action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to argue’</td>
<td>‘the argument’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eihta</td>
<td>eihteiq</td>
<td>Semantic: result of action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to hoe sth’</td>
<td>‘the hoeing’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the suffix –eiq can nominalise a reduplicated form
(ngyolngyoleiq), it was not found with vowel harmonising or on
compounds, although it is possible that this is due to the limited number of
examples from the data.
5.2.2.3.4 Nominalising Suffix -(u)aq

The suffix -(u)aq nominalises intransitive verbs as shown in Table 5-24 and the examples beneath. The resulting nouns are activities (lohoaq ‘the flight’) as well as states (rebrebaq ‘the width’).

Table 5-24: Intransitive verbs nominalised with -(u)aq.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Word Class</th>
<th>Derived Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>leak</em></td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td><em>lek-aq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the trip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lo</em></td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td><em>loho-aq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fly’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the flight, flying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mal</em></td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td><em>maliu-aq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>re</em></td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td><em>rebre-b-aq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be wide’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the width (back, shoulders)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wu</em></td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td><em>wung-aq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘clear rubbish’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the rubbish clearing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kw</em></td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td><em>kwoung-aq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the drinking’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.92)  
\[ \text{Taeqan lek-aq sa eisi ber-e na ru} \]

today go-NOM LOC sea so-VH DEF thing

\[ \text{hu kiar se-a naq ein enjin ki huin…} \]

for 3PL say-OBJ.3 COMP with engine PL the.latter

‘So today, the trips by sea, those things which they call engines…

5.93)  
\[ \text{…loq baelbaleiq-an kwouqng-aq ber…} \]

so in.regards-POSS.3SG.INAL drink-NOM so

‘...so in regards to drinking…’

The suffix -(u)aq also acts as a proprietive verbal suffix (7.1.3.2).

5.2.3 Nominal Compounding

Compounds are defined in this thesis in reference to Haspelmath (2002), who suggests that a compound is a complex lexeme consisting of two or more base lexemes without intervening morphological material, and to Katamba & Stonham (2006), who note that these lexemes are typically pre-existing words simply joined together, although there are bound bases which are “word-forming units”.

Further analysis is made in regard to both Haspelmath (2002) and Katamba & Stonham (2006) by firstly considering the word classes of the constituents, as a syntactic ‘head’ is likely to determine the word class of a compound, and secondly by observing the hierarchical structure of this syntactic ‘head’, as this is closely paralleled by its semantic criteria. Thus,
compounds are either endocentric structures, where there is a semantic head “inside” the compound, or exocentric structures, where a semantic head takes its meaning from the compound as a whole, rather than just from the parts (Haspelmath, 2002; Katamba & Stonham, 2006).

In Kwaraqae, compounds can be formed from open class nouns and verbs as well as closed classes as the example *kuwalanlae* ‘place to go’ (5.98) demonstrates. The resulting compounds can be both nouns as described here, or verbs as described in 7.2.3.

To sub-classify Kwaraqae nominal compounds, structural heads can be identified by the semantic criteria suggested above, that is, their behaviour as exocentric or endocentric. However, as the nominal compounds and the majority of verbal compounds are endocentric, a more useful classification can be constructed around the morphosyntactic characteristic of boundedness, as there are compounds in Kwaraqae where the base lexemes are free, but another group of compounding forms where one or more of the components can be bound structures. These forms do not appear in the lexicon on their own (although the form *hak* ‘foreign/ship’ is an exception – 5.103-5.107).

One morphological process which co-occurs with nominal compounds is vowel harmony (5.103, 5.107). Although reduplicative forms were not
attested as bases for compound nouns, they can occur as lexemes for
verbal compounds (see 7.66).

Nominal compounds can be formed with borrowed words (*heiqabol
‘round.entity’ + ‘apple’ → ‘apple’, *kinyu hak* ‘canoe’ + ‘foreign’ → outboard
boat’). They can also be formed from common count nouns (*ngyal ngwein
‘child’ + boy’ → ‘son’, *areiqkwao* ‘white’ + ‘man’ → ‘foreigner’) and
inalienable nouns (*tuaqana hak* ‘life-POSS.3SG.INAL’ + ‘foreign’ → urban
life’). No examples of compounded mass nouns have been found yet.

5.2.3.1 Nominal Compounds with Free Bases

Nominal compounds with free bases are presented in Table 5-25. They
are endocentric and in each case, the compound has a head constituent
(H) which is a noun, modified by another noun or a verb to yield a
compound with the meaning ‘a type of X. For example, with the
compound *ngyal kin* ‘daughter’, the dependent *kin* ‘girl’ modifies the head
*ngyal* ‘child’ by specifying what type of child is being denoted. These
endocentric compounds have heads which appear either to the left
(*[ngyal]*-kin ‘child’ + ‘female’ → ‘daughter’) or to the right (*madaom [sien]*-h
‘moon’ + ‘sun’ → ‘moonlight’) of their dependent modifiers.
Table 5-25: Endocentric nominal compounds with free bases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-compounded Forms</th>
<th>Compounded Form</th>
<th>Constituent Word Class</th>
<th>Compound Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ngyal kin</strong></td>
<td>[ngyal]₃, kin</td>
<td>N + N</td>
<td>type of child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘child’ ‘female’</td>
<td>‘daughter’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ngyal ngwein</strong></td>
<td>[ngyal]₃, ngwein</td>
<td>N + N</td>
<td>type of child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘child’ ‘boy’</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ngwae huat</strong></td>
<td>[ngwae]₃, huat</td>
<td>N + N</td>
<td>type of man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘man’ ‘born’</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>madaom sien</strong></td>
<td>madaom [sien]₃</td>
<td>N + N</td>
<td>type of light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘moon’ ‘sun’</td>
<td>‘moonlight’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>teiq tal</strong></td>
<td>teiq[tal]₃</td>
<td>N + N</td>
<td>type of road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one’ ‘road, path’</td>
<td>‘road’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>areiq kwao</strong></td>
<td>[areiq]₃,kwao</td>
<td>N + N</td>
<td>type of man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘man’ ‘white’</td>
<td>‘white man, foreigner’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sao usa</strong></td>
<td>[sao]₃,usa</td>
<td>N + V</td>
<td>product made from doing sth to sago palm leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sago palm leaf’</td>
<td>‘woven sago palm leaves’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘weave’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kuwal an lae</strong></td>
<td>[kuwal]₃,anlae</td>
<td>N + PREP + V</td>
<td>type of place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘place’ ‘POSS.3SG.INL’</td>
<td>‘place of going (toilet)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate some of the compounds from Table 5-25.
5.94) *Nouaq nauk toqan ro ngyal ngwein ki*
1SG 1SG have two child boy PL

*hein teiq ngyal kin*
and one child girl
‘I have two sons and one daughter’

5.95) ...*neq kiar se-a ein sitoa ki huin*
SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3 with store PL DEM

*areiq-kwao ki se-a ein supamaket ki*
white-man PL say-OBJ.3 with supermarket PL
‘...those which they call stores, foreigners call supermarkets’

5.96) *Keil ka dong-a teiq-tal*
1PL.EXCL IMP follow-OBJ.3 one-road

*uan sa tolo-o...*
toward-POSS.3SG.INAL LOC inland-VH
‘We followed the road inland...’

5.97) ...*ae odo-a ein sao-usa...*
2SG erect.walls-OBJ.3 with weave-sago.palm.leaves
‘...you erect the walls with woven sago palm leaves...’

Of note is the form *kuwalanlae* in the following example which has the third person inalienable possessive suffix *-an* inserted between the open class constituents *kuwal*’place’ and *lae* ‘go’:
5.98) \( \ldots \text{halhal kia se-a neq} \)
custom POSS.1PL.EXCL.AL say-OBJ.3 SUB

\( \text{ru diaq kabar ki kuwal-an-lae ki} \ldots \)
thing be.like toilet PL place-POSS.3SG.INAL-go PL
‘...our customs say that things like toilets and places of going (toilets)...’

5.2.3.2 Nominal Compounds with Bound Bases

As stated above, there are a number of nominal compounds formed with base lexemes which are structurally bound; they do not tend to occur by themselves in the lexicon, apart from \textit{hak}-, which can be both (see Table 5.27 below). Although they are mostly modifiers which precede a semantic head, these bound forms can also be postposed as can be seen with \textit{hak}- below, and \textit{heiq}-when compounded as a verb (7.2.3.2). In Table 5-26, the heads are all nouns.

Although these bound affixes may have once been analysed as classifiers, they are considered here as compounding structures for several reasons. They appear in the data more frequently as structurally bound rather than as free forms, and this might be unexpected for an isolating-type language. When they are postposed to their head constituent as with \textit{hak} ‘foreign’, they are subject to vowel harmony as are other nouns (5.103).

When compounded, they can be modified with the definite article \textit{na} and indefinite quantifiers, also like other nouns (5.99, 5.100). They fit the semantic description of an endocentric compound where a dependent
constituent is a hyponym of a compound head with the meaning ‘a type of $X$’. This semantic relationship involves culturally salient qualities such as shapes ($heiq$ ‘round entities) and spatial awareness ($hīq$- ‘type of group’). The form $heiq$- occurs in verbal structures as well as here with nouns. Overall these terms don’t seem to form a distinct class in the contemporary system.

An alternative analysis may be to describe the compounds as functioning in a genitive or associative type relationship, rather than a compounding one, as the forms express the meaning ‘a type of $X$’. In this respect, they are not unlike the forms linked with the associative suffix discussed below (5.2.3.3), as they seem to have a very similar semantic function. They just occur without the linking suffix -$eq$. This is one area which requires future research.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound Form</th>
<th>Compound Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>heiq-</strong></td>
<td>heiq-ru</td>
<td>‘fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘type of round entity’</td>
<td>‘round-thing’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heiq-kikiur</td>
<td>‘betel nut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heiq-neng</td>
<td>‘lamp, light bulb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘round-torch’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heiq-ngel</td>
<td>‘nut, year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘round-nut’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heiq-noq</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘round-bird’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heiq-gonan</td>
<td>‘his, her, its heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘round-heart.POSS.3SG.INAL’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heiq asowa</td>
<td>‘day (the entire day)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘round day’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hiq-</strong></td>
<td>hiq-ru</td>
<td>‘group of things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘type of group’</td>
<td>group-thing’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiq-uh</td>
<td>‘sugar cane bundle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘group-sugar.cane’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiq-lol</td>
<td>‘ant’s nest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘group-ant’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiq-kakeid</td>
<td>‘giant black ant’s nest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘group-giant.black.ant’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mag-</strong></td>
<td>mag-ru</td>
<td>‘seed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘type of seed’</td>
<td>‘seed-thing’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mag-kweil</td>
<td>‘corn seed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘seed-corn’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>boat-</strong></td>
<td>boat-karae</td>
<td>‘chicken parcel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘type of parcel for cooking food in’</td>
<td>boat-iaq</td>
<td>‘fish parcel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-26: Bound nominal compounds.

148
Examples 5.99 and 5.100 show *heiq-*‘round entity’ in its role as a bound nominal compound. It also occurs as a bound verbal compound (7.2.3.2), and has a homonym elsewhere in the grammar as the interrogative pronoun meaning ‘where’ (9.1.1.1):

5.99)  \[Sui niak sehoal loq “Uri ma, kaol nga\l \\
\text{then IMP.3SG ask again well 2PL carry} \\
\text{ta heiq-kikiur re?”} \\
\text{some round.entity-betel.nut INT} \\
‘Then he asked again, “Well, do you have any betel nut?”}

5.100) \[Na heiq-neng ki, i naoq kul \\
\text{DEF round.entity-torch PL LOC formerly 1PL.INCL} \\
\text{se-a ein heiq-neng ki, niaq kwos} \\
\text{say-OBJ.3 with round.entity-torch PL 3SG be.bright} \\
\text{se-an luom} \\
\text{inside-POSS.3SG.INAL house} \\
‘Light bulbs, which we formerly called torches, are bright inside the house’

The bound form *hiq-* is shown in Table 5.26 as a nominal compound, but can also both occur as a verbal compound (7.2.3.2). *Hiq* has a homonym as a free form marking the immediate future (IMM) in verb phrases (8.2.2) and as part of the temporal sequential marker *mal hiq* ‘then’ (8.2.2).

Other forms which are being categorised as bound forms are *hoh* ‘pile’ or ‘heap’ (5.101), and *ouh*, a measure of some entity *ouh beret* ‘loaf of bread’,
ouh haon 'piece, area of land' and ouh masuq 'area of forest' (5.102) They are included with the bound forms as they were not attested without a co-occuring nominal.

5.101) ...
lift.repeatedly  be.like  3PL  always.say-OBJ.3

manat toqan  [hoh  ru]  ngwaoro...
remember  pile  thing  be.heavy
‘lifting repeatedly is like being reminded of those piles of heavy things…’

The form ouh indicates a measure of some physical entity. For example,

5.102) ...
SUB  be.situated  inside-POSS.3SG.INAL  area

masuq  huqko
forest  that
‘...(a stream) which was situated inside that area of forest’

The form hak- can be either bound or free as shown in Table 5-27. As a bound base, hak- is the semantic modifer of an endocentric compound noun meaning ‘foreign entity’, and it occurs post-posed to its semantic head (5.103, 5.104).
Table 5-27: Bound nominal compounds with *hak*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound Form</th>
<th>Compound Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hak-</em></td>
<td><em>gwer-hak</em></td>
<td>'cane toad (introduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘foreign’</td>
<td>‘frog-foreign’</td>
<td>species’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>haon-hak</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘town’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘village-foreign’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>teiq-tal-hak</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one-road-foreign’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kinyu hak</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘outboard (boat)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘canoe foreign’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuaq-an hak</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘urban life’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘life.POSS.3SG.INAL foreign</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.103) *Loq, haon-hak-a kul*
also village-foreign-VH POSS.1PL.EXCL.AL

tuaq-an-a
life-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH
‘Also, our urban life…’

5.104) *Teiq-tal-hak ki na ru kiar soungeiqn*
one-road-foreign PL DEF thing 3PL build

long han *i-l-an* tal ki...
also for dig-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL road PL
‘Also, for urban roads, they build machines for digging the roads…’

As a free form *hak* can mean ‘foreign’ (5.105), or alternatively ‘ship’ (5.106). In 5.108, *hak* is preposed to the verb *loh* ‘fly’ to form the nominal
compound ‘aeroplane’, or a ‘type of flying ship’. It is acting as the semantic head in this position:

5.105) \textit{Tuaq-an} \quad \textit{hak} \quad \textit{ki} \quad \textit{nei} \quad \textit{uner}
\begin{center}
life-POSS.3SG.INAL\quad foreign\quad PL\quad that\quad be.about
\end{center}

‘Urban life is like that’

5.106) \textit{Taeqan} \quad \textit{hak} \quad \textit{ki} \quad \textit{long, hak} \quad \textit{doe} \quad \textit{ki} \quad \textit{long}
\begin{center}
today\quad ship\quad PL\quad also\quad ship\quad big\quad PL\quad also
\end{center}
\begin{center}
\textit{neq ka ngeil ngwae long}
\end{center}
SUB\quad IMP\quad carry\quad people\quad also

‘Today it’s also ships, big ships which carry people too’

5.107) \textit{Hakloho} \quad \textit{ka leak liu i Brisban…}
\begin{center}
aeroplane-VH\quad IMP\quad go\quad through\quad PLACE\quad Brisbane
\end{center}

‘The plane will go to Brisbane…’

The compound \textit{teiqtalhak} ‘urban road’ (5.104), shows that it is possible for compounded forms like \textit{teiqtal} ‘road’ (5.96) to be available as base lexemes for further compounding.

5.2.4 Associative Suffix –\textit{eq}

The suffix –\textit{eq} (ASSOC) can be described as an associative affix following Hyslop (2001) and Lichtenberk (2008). The components of the associated nominal in Kwaraqae are structurally less tightly bonded than compounded forms, as there is an intervening suffix between the two nominals,
rendering them non-contiguous. The associative suffix is also semantically less bonded because the relationship is one of association which expresses a type of genitive relation, where one nominal is a type or quantity of the other. In this relationship, the ‘possessor’ is typically non-specific, as can be demonstrated by comparing the use of –eq with the specific type of possession exhibited with affixation of the closed class set of inalienable suffixes (Table 5-4).

For example, when suffixed with –an ‘POSS.3SG.INAL’, the inalienable noun gu- ‘head, top’ refers to a specific possessor as in guan gwat ‘the pig’s head’ or the head belonging to a particular pig. When suffixed with the associative suffix –eq, to form gweq-, as in gweq-gwat, the possessor is a non-specific member of the class of ‘pigs’, and the meaning changes to refer to a bare head or skull which is ‘of a pig’.

Examples of the associative suffix –eq are given in Table 5.28. As the table shows, two of the forms affixed with –eq are bound nouns, while the rest are independent free forms. The stems are common nouns (5.1.3), locative nouns (5.1.4.2.4) and a post-verbal modifier (8.4.11).
Table 5-28: The associative suffix -eq.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixed</th>
<th>Non-affixed</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Form</strong></td>
<td><strong>Form?</strong></td>
<td><strong>Form?</strong></td>
<td><strong>Form?</strong></td>
<td><strong>Form?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>loum-eq</em></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>'type of house'</td>
<td><em>luomeq sao</em></td>
<td>'sago palm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>luomeq tiab</em></td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'timber house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kweilt-eq</em></td>
<td>no</td>
<td>'container of sth'</td>
<td><em>kweilteq ru</em></td>
<td>'container'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>kweilteq hang</em></td>
<td>'plateful of food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hiyuk-eq</em></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>'gathering of something'</td>
<td><em>hiyukeq qei</em></td>
<td>'pile of wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>hiyukeq kin</em></td>
<td>'group of girls'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hang-eq</em></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>'type of food'</td>
<td><em>hangeq ru</em></td>
<td>'type of food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>haki-eq</em></td>
<td>no</td>
<td>'type of egg'</td>
<td><em>hakleq-ru</em></td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>hakleq-noq</em></td>
<td>'bird’s egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>hakleq-karae</em></td>
<td>'chicken’s egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gweq-</em></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>'type of bare head, skull'</td>
<td><em>gweq-ru</em></td>
<td>'skull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>gweq-ngwae</em></td>
<td>'human skull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>gweq-gwat</em></td>
<td>'pig skull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>gweq-kuar</em></td>
<td>'bare, rocky place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>meq-</em></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>'type of hole'</td>
<td><em>meq-koh</em></td>
<td>'water well'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>meq kiyul</em></td>
<td>'burrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>meq kwakwa</em></td>
<td>'animal hole, hole, nest in tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>meq liok</em></td>
<td>'cup of tea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>meq-ti</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 5.108 shows –eq when it is suffixed to the independent free form nominal luom ‘house’:

5.108) ki soungeiq luom luom-eq sao ki
3PL build house house-ASSOC sago.palm.leaf PL
ty they build sago palm leaf houses

In 5.109, the form kweit.eq ru ‘some type of container’ is used to refer to a container for water, which does not have a specific name in Kwaraqae:

5.109) ...nia bokt-a naq m-an bus
FUT.3SG block.off.OBJ.3 COMP front-POSS.3SG.INAL spring

loqba naq ka leak naq meiq ka laeleak
there COMP IMP go COMP towards IMP continue

ka qeis naq meiq se-an
IMP fall COMP towards inside-POSS.3SG.INAL

kweit-eq ru neq kiar soungeiqn long
container-ASSOC thing SUB 3PL build also

hu-an...
to-POSS.3SG.INAL
‘...it will block off the front of the spring there so that the water will continue to fall into a tank which is also built for this purpose...’

Like gweq- above, meq- is formed from a locative noun (5.1.4.2.4), in this case, m- meaning ‘front’ or ‘entrance’. Here suffixed with –eq, it is used to refer to types of holes. In the examples below, it is made more specific by
being modified with the definite article na(6.1.1.1), and the non-numeral quantifier kal’some’ (6.1.1.2.1):

5.110)  ...sa sukul ohodeing ki keik kwoug ti
LOC school morning PL IMP:1PL.EXCL drink tea
hein [na meq-ti] goq
with DEF hole-tea just
‘...at school in the mornings, we drank tea, just a cup of tea’

5.111)  ...niaq lisi-a [na kal meq kiyul
3SG look-OBJ.3 DEF some hole animal.hole
tiqtiq] neqer...
small there
‘...he saw a small burrow there...’

The form hakleq-‘egg’ is illustrated in the following example where the speaker is describing a light bulb. Again there is modification by the non-numeral quantifier kal/to be more specific about hakl-eq-ru, the egg type things called lightbulbs:

5.112)  ...niaq leakleak ka ruq se-an-a
3SG go.on.and.on IMP enter inside-POSS.3SG.INAL.VH
ru neq kal hakl-eq-ru neq kiar
thing SUB some egg-ASSOC-thing SUB 3PL
oalan-a...
light.up-OBJ.3
‘...it (electricity) goes on and on and goes into things which are like eggs that they light up (lightbulbs)...’
The assoicative affix was not attested with vowel harmony, nor with reduplicated forms.

5.2.5 Nouns Modifying Nouns

In Kwaraqae, nouns can modify other nouns by simple juxtaposition:

5.113)  ...diq-a  kwaol  adioq  ki...
       be.like-OBJ.3  rope  vine  PL
       ‘...they are like ropes of vine...’

5.114)  l  hanoa  oqla  ki...
       LOC  village  garden  PL
       ‘In the village gardens (gardens of the village)...’

The semantic relationship between the two nominals is a type of genitive relation [X of Y]. Both structural and semantic characteristics of this type of nominal exhibit the most loosely bonded types of nominal structures, as there is no overt morphology between the nouns, and the meaning of the whole construction is made up of the meaning of the parts. There is no need for the resulting structure to be listed speareately in the lexicon.
6 The Noun Phrase

Noun phrases (NP) are “syntactic constituents which serve as arguments to verbs” (Dryer, 2007). In Kwaraqae, these syntactic constituents may be single nominal heads (6.1), or nominal heads with optional modifiers (6.2):

6.1) \( ...[\text{kia}]_{NP} \text{toqan } [\text{hang-a}]_{NP} \text{ka } \text{bol } \text{hein} \quad [\text{heiqngeil}]_{NP} \)
\( \text{3PL have food-VH IMP approximately year} \)
‘...they will have food for about a year’

6.2) \( ...\text{ma } [\text{na ru-i huin}]_{NP} \quad [\text{ru } \text{neq kiar se-a}] \)
and DEF thing-VH the.latter thing SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3
\( \quad [\text{e} \text{i} \text{n}] \quad [\text{ngeisngeis-qang}]_{REL} \quad [\text{NP}...] \)
with strong-NOM
‘...and this thing which they call electricity...’

An NP may be combined with another NP to form a more complex one:

6.3) \( \text{Keil } \text{ka } \text{leak } \text{tua } \text{hein } [\text{[maq nau]}]_{NP} \)
\( \text{1PL.EXCL IMP go stay with father POSS.1SG.AL} \)
\( \quad [\text{hein } [\text{tyaq } \text{nau}]_{NP}]_{NP} \)
and mother POSS.1SG.AL
‘We will go and stay with my father and mother’

NPs can also be predicating:

6.4) \( ...\text{goq ei } \text{sulia} \text{ ei } \text{ngwein-e niaq [siok] } \)
then this.one next this.one-VH boy 3SG nine
hedqnejp[NP...
year
‘...then the next one is a boy and is nine years old’

While nominal heads are described in chapter 5, the purpose of this chapter is to describe other NP elements (6.1), coordinating NPs (6.2), and the role of the NP as a predicate (6.3).

6.1 NP Elements

Figure 6-1 illustrates the typical distribution of NP elements preceding and following the nominal head. The following discussion is organised around the order presented here.

![Diagram of noun phrase structure](image)

**Figure 6-1:** The order of elements in the noun phrase.
6.1.1 Pre-nominal Elements

There are two groups of structures which occur before the nominal head. The first are the proper noun articles \( i \) (PLACE, FEM) and \( sa \) (MASC)\(^1\) (see 5.1.2), and the definite article \( na \) (DEF), which is described below. The second group of pre-nominal elements are quantifiers, both non-numeral (QUAN) and numeral (NUM).

6.1.1.1 The Definite Article \( na \)

In Kwaraqae, common nouns are modified by the definite article \( na \). There is no indefinite article.

The marker \( na \) is not an obligatory element of the noun phrase and not used very often, but when present, it is always preposed to the head noun:

\[
6.5) \quad Eiya, \ [na \ tataeh-e] \ ae \ soungeiqn \ ein \ [na
\]
Okay, DEF floor-VH 2SG build with DEF

\[
\text{niniu]}
\]
palm.bark

‘Okay, you build the floor with palm bark’

\[
6.6) \quad Keil \ leak \ seis \ naq \ [na \ intafiu \ ki]
\]
1PL.EXCL go do COMP DEF interview PL

‘we did the interviews’

That \( na \) is not obligatory is evidenced in examples 6.7 and 6.8 taken from the same text, where the clause structures are similar in both cases:

\[
-\]

\(^1\) Both \( i \) and \( sa \) have other roles as locative markers (9.1.1).
6.7) ...kiak soungeiq-n [na ogola]
    IMP.3PL make-OBJ.3 DEF garden
    ‘...they can make the garden’

6.8) Kiak tabu-a [♀ ogola]...
    IMP.3PL clean.up-OBJ.3 garden
    ‘They will clean up the garden…’

*Na* is used with borrowings, and also to encode definiteness in direct
object NPs as above (6.7), and subject NPs (6.9):

6.9) *Na* ru neq kiar se-a ein rola...
    DEF thing SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3 with roller
    ‘The thing which they call a roller…’

The function of *na* would seem to be to draw the hearer’s attention to a
particular referent. In the following text excerpt, the speaker has previously
indicated that there are many different kinds of transport in Honiara, but
uses *na* to draw attention or foreground specific types:

6.10) ...tiei kiak se-a ein [na taksi ki],
    these ones IMP.3PL say-OBJ.3 with DEF taxi PL

    tiei kiak se-a ein [na pikup ki]
    these ones IMP.3PL say-OBJ.3 with DEF pickup.truck PL
    ‘...these ones are called taxis, these ones are called pickup trucks’
When specificity is not important, *na* is not used, as, for example, in 6.60 below. The definite article *na* may co-occur with the plural marker *ki* (6.6, 6.10).

### 6.1.1.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are noun modifiers which “indicate quantity or scope” (Schachter & Shopen, 2007). In Kwaraqae quantifiers can be divided into non-numeral and numeral sets.

#### 6.1.1.2.1 Non-Numeral Quantifiers

The set of non-numeral quantifiers in Kwaraqae is listed in Table 6-1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Numeral Quantifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>teghou</em></td>
<td>‘all, every’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>or</em></td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ro</em></td>
<td>‘both’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bar (ru goq)</em></td>
<td>‘few, several’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ta</em></td>
<td>‘some, any’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ti</em></td>
<td>‘some, any’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nouaq ta</em></td>
<td>‘none, not any’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kal</em></td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toqtoq</em></td>
<td>‘each’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of their use are:

6.11)  
\[ Keik-a \quad tua \quad beis \quad bol \quad hein \quad [kal \quad bar \]
\[ 1PL.\text{EXCL-VH} \quad stay \quad first \quad approximately \quad some \quad several \]
\[ ao-a \quad uner]\]
\[ hour-VH \quad be.\text{about} \]
‘We just stayed for several hours…’

6.12)  
\[ …nouaq \quad [\text{ta} \quad kwei-nyolngyol-\text{ei-qang}] \]
\[ \text{NEG} \quad \text{any} \quad \text{RECIP-argue-NOM-NOM} \]
‘…not any arguing’

6.13)  
\[ Qaok \quad toq-long-an \quad [ti \quad ngyal]? \]
\[ 2SG \quad \text{have-also-have} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{children} \]
‘Do you also have some children?’

6.14)  
\[ Ni \quad tio \quad sa \quad luom-a \quad [nouaq \quad ta \]
\[ 3SG \quad \text{be.situated} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{house-VH} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{some} \]
\[ ngwa-ngia-qang] \quad sa \quad luom-e \]
\[ \text{bless-TRANA-NOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{house-VH} \]
‘If the house is close (to the toilets) there will be no blessings for it’

Quantifiers are often compounded (\text{nouaq ta} ‘no, none’ – 6.14) . They typically precede the noun they modify. However when co-occurring with the plural article \text{ki} they can follow it:

6.15)  
\[ …ni \quad gwagriaq \quad si \quad [qe\text{i} \quad ki \quad or] \]
\[ 3SG \quad \text{be.cool} \quad \text{because} \quad \text{tree} \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{many} \]
‘…it was cool because there were many trees’
Examples 6.16 and 6.17 show that it is possible for the non-numeral quantifier teqhoun ‘all’ to be non-contiguous with the nominal that it is modifying:

6.16) Keik leak teqhoun naq an sa tol
IMP.1PL.EXCL go all COMP to LOC inland
‘We all went inland’

6.17) kiar teiq mateil teqhoun long,
3PL one be.different all also

teiq mateil toqtoq long an ni hu
one be.different each also from 3SG for
they are all different, each one from the other’

6.1.1.2.2 Numeral Quantifiers

The number system in Kwaraqae is a decimal system. There are two types of numeral quantifiers: cardinal numbers (Table 6-2) and ordinal numbers (Table 6-3). There are two sets of cardinal numbers which differ pragmatically for the numbers one to ten, the finger-counting set mostly suffixed with the –an (POSS.3SG.INAL). Of note is the term for ‘five’ liam or liman which doubles as the term for ‘his/her arm or hand’.
Table 6-2: Cardinal numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal Number (counting on fingers)</th>
<th>Cardinal Number (counting objects)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etan, yat</td>
<td>teiq</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru’an</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul</td>
<td>ul</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heiqan</td>
<td>hei</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liman</td>
<td>liam</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onoan</td>
<td>oan</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiuan</td>
<td>hiu</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwoal</td>
<td>kwoal</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikwan</td>
<td>siok</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tang hual</td>
<td>akwal; teiq akwal</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akleiq ru ma teiq ru</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘eleven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akleiq ru ma ro ru</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘twelve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro akleiq ru; ro akwal</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro akleiq ru ma teiq ru</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘twenty-one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul akleiq ru</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘thirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tal ngaeq ru</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘hundred’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro tal ngaeq ru</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘two hundred’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cardinal numbers are typically preposed to the head noun.

6.18) ...bol hein toq [ro akleiq ngwae-qang uner] approximately count twenty people-NOM be about ‘...groups numbering about twenty people’

6.19) ...niaq ngeil [akleiq ngwae ma liam ngwae-qang] 3SG carry ten people and five people-NOM ‘it carries groups of fifteen people’
It is not necessary for the plural marker to be used with the cardinal numbers, although it can be:

6.20) \[\text{Nauk toqan [hei ngyal ki]; [ro ei kin} \]
\[1SG \text{ have four child PL two this.one girl} \]
\[\text{ki] hein [ro ei ngyal ngwein ki} \]
\[\text{PL and two this.one son PL} \]

‘I have four children; two girls and two boys’

There is no term expressing the idea of ‘zero’. Negative or null quantity is expressed by modifying the nominal with the indefinite nouaq ta ‘no, none’ (6.14, 6.21):

6.21) \[\ldots \text{nouaq ta boat kas dao naq kwa} \]
\[\text{no boat NEG arrive COMP DISC} \]
\[\ldots \text{no boats came’} \]

To enquire about quantity, the single word hiyet ‘how many’ can be used in place of the corresponding numeral, followed by a subordinating clause headed with neq:

6.22) \[\text{Uri ma [hiyet ngyal ki] neq qaok toqan} \]
\[\text{DISC how.many child PL SUB 2SG have} \]
\[\text{sa tuaq oe?} \]
\[\text{LOC family POSS.2SG.AL} \]

‘How many children do you have in your family?’
6.23) \textit{Kioq toqan [ul ngyal ki]}  
1DU.EXCL have three child PL  
‘We have three children’

Ordinal numbers, which “identify the referent in terms of order” (Dryer, 2007), are derived from the cardinal numbers and can either precede (6.26) or follow the noun that they modify (6.24, 6.25).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal Number</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yatayt</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruqan</td>
<td>‘second’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulan</td>
<td>‘third’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.24) [\textit{Gwat yatayt-a}] ni bobaeq  
pig first-VH 3SG fat  
‘The first pig is fat’

6.25) \textit{Eiya, [wik yatayt-a] aeh nei…}  
okay week first-VH wife POSS.1SG.AL  
‘Okay, the first week my wife…’

6.26) \textit{Keil ka ueil long meiq an}  
1PL.EXCL IMP return also towards of  
[ruqan \textit{wik} an diseba naq]  
second week of December COMP  
‘We will also return by the end of the second week of December’
6.1.2 Post-nominal Elements

There are five NP elements which typically follow the head noun. These are: adjectives (6.1.2.1), possessive determiners (6.1.2.2), relative clauses (6.2.2.3), demonstratives (6.1.2.4) and the plural marker *ki*/(6.1.2.5).

6.1.2.1 Adjectives

There are two verbs in the corpus which may also be used adjectivally as post-nominal markers. They are *doo* ‘big’ and *tiqtiq* ‘small’:

6.27) * Keil leak naq sa [tarek doe] NP
1PL.EXCL  go COMP LOC truck be.big
‘We went on the big truck’

6.28) ...kiak raeq-hia naq hah-an
IMP.3PL climb.up-TRANA COMP on.top-POSS.3SGINAL
[gweqhou doo neger] NP
rock be.big that
‘...they climbed up on top of that big rock’

6.29) * Niaq ngeil akleiq ngwae ma liam ngwae-qang,
3SG carry ten people and five people-NOM
[ei tiqtiq ki] NP
this.one small PL
‘They carry groups of fifteen people, the small ones’

6.30) * Na buak nege suil [teiq ngyal ngwein tiqtiq] NP
DEF book this be.about one child boy small
‘This book is about a small boy’
6.1.2.2 Possessive Determiners

Nominal heads from the sub-class of alienable nouns (5.1.4.1) are indirectly possessed by a closed-class set of possessive determiners inflected for person and number (Table 6-4), those indicated by an asterisk being homonymous with a non-future pronoun from Table 5-9.

Table 6-4: The set of possessive determiners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Person</td>
<td>nei</td>
<td>koro ~</td>
<td>*keroq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nau</td>
<td>*kor</td>
<td>*kioq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Person</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>*keroq</td>
<td>komu ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Person</td>
<td>nia</td>
<td>keraq</td>
<td>*kiraq ~</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*homonymous with non-future pronoun

Possessive determiners follow the head noun in simple possessive constructions, and precede *ki when the head noun is pluralised (6.33):

6.31) [Haon keim]<sub>NP</sub> ni i Tabaqa
village POS.S.1PL.EXCL.AL 3SG PLACE Taba’a
‘Our village is in Tabaqa’

6.32) Ber ma baelbaleiq an [halhal kiar]<sub>NP</sub>...
but in.regards to custom POSS.3PL.AL
‘But, in regards to our custom...’
6.33) Qaok-o lae tuhu-a [dior oe ki]NP
    2SG-VH go cut.up-OBJ.3 post POSS.2SG.AL PL
    ‘You go cut up your posts’

The possessive determiners are sometimes subject to vowel harmony:

6.34) Haon keim-i ni sa tol
    village POSS.1PL.EXCL.AL.VH 3SG LOC inland
    ‘Our village is inland’

Examples 6.35 and 6.36 demonstrate the position of the possessive
determiner in noun phrases where the head noun is possessed by another
noun phrase which is itself also possessed. This is shown firstly when it is
in subject position, then secondly, when the noun phrase is in an oblique
phrase. In both examples, the determiner follows the noun it modifies
although the head noun is preposed in the PP in 6.36.

6.35) [[Areq neiNP haon]NP kiraq karngi-a
    husband POSS.1SG.AL village 3PL be.close-OBJ.3

    long kwou komu i Nahinua
    also close POSS.2PL.AL PLACE Nahinua
    ‘My husband’s village is close to yours at Nahinua’

6.36) Kioq leak dao naq [i [luom [ngwei
    1DU.EXCL go come COMP LOC house uncle

    nau]NP ]NP ]PP
    POSS.SG.AL
    ‘We went to my uncle’s house’
Nominals in coordinating inalienably possessed constructions can be modified individually as in 6.37, or the possessive determiner can be elided when the possessor of the preceding noun phrase is the same (6.38):

6.37) \([\text{maq } \text{kiraq}] \quad \text{hein} \quad [\text{tyaq } \text{kir}] \quad \text{ki}\]
father POSS.3PL.AL and mother POSS.3PL.AL PL
their fathers and mothers'

6.38) \(\text{Ngyal ki ahi-a } [\text{maq } \text{kir}] \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{hein}\)
child PL help-OBJ.3 father POSS.3PL.AL PL and
\([\text{tyaq } \emptyset \text{ki}]\)
mother PL
'The children help their father and mothers'

In possessive noun phrases with full nominals rather than determiners, possession is marked on the head constituent and the dependent nominal can either follow (6.39, 6.40) or precede (6.41):

6.39) \(\text{Ni tuhu-a } [\text{gu-an } \text{heiq-luae}]\)
3SG cut.off-OBJ.3 head-POSS.3SG.INAL PREF-snapke
'He cut off the snake’s head'

6.40) \(\text{Kir soungeiqn } [\text{gu-an } \text{wua ki}]\)
3PL build-OBJ.3 head-POSS.3SG.INAL mountain PL
'They build them on top of the mountains'

6.41) \([\text{Haonhak } \text{ki kul}]_{\text{NP}} \quad \text{tuaq-an-a})_{\text{NP}}...\)
village.foreign PL POSS.1PL.AL life-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH
'Life in our towns…'
A genitive relationship between two NPs can also be signalled with use of the preposition *an* meaning ‘of’ (see also 9.1.2.3, example 9.32).

6.42)  

\[ \text{Wik yatat [an madaom toqko noheba]FP...} \]

week first of month next November

‘In the first week of November…’

6.1.2.3  

**Relative Clauses**

Relative clauses function as nominal modifiers, as they “specify the role of the referent” in a noun phrase (Andrews, 2007, p. 206). They are indicated in Kwararqae by an invariant subordinator *neq*. For example:

6.43)  

\[ \text{Ngweiq toaq alok ki [neq kia leak} \]  

group male boy PL SUB 3PL go

\[ \text{se-an huil bol-o]REL kia leak mas kik bol} \]  
in-POSS.3SG.INAL field ball IMP.3PL go play soccer

‘The young boys who go to the soccer field play soccer’

6.44)  

\[ \text{Ki toqan na ru [neq areikwao se-a} \]  

3PL have DEF thing SUB white.man say-OBJ.3

\[ \text{ein eingsien ki} \]  

with engine PL

‘They have the things which white men call engines’

Within the noun phrase, relative clauses are followed by the plural marker *ki* when it is present:
6.45) \(Ber\ ma\ \text{diq} \ [\text{ngyal} \ [\text{neq} \ \text{leak} \ \text{lan}]_{\text{REL}} \ \text{ki}]_{\text{NP}}\)
but if child SUB go school PL

\(\text{nouaq} \ \text{kias} \ \text{leak} \ \text{sa} \ \text{oqla} \ \text{ki}...\)
NEG NEG.3PL go LOC garden PL
‘But if the children, who are school-aged, don’t go to the gardens…’

6.46) \([\text{Ru} \ [\text{neq} \ \text{han} \ \text{il-l-an}]_{\text{REL}} \ \text{tal}]_{\text{REL}} \ \text{ki}]_{\text{NP}}\)
thing SUB for dig-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL road PL

\([\text{neq} \ \text{kiar} \ \text{se-a} \ \text{ein} \ \text{buldoz} \ \text{ki}]_{\text{REL}}...\)
SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3 with bulldozer PL
‘Things for road-digging, which are called bulldozers, …’

As relative clauses are complex clausal structures, they are discussed in more detail in 10.4. with other complex clauses.

6.1.2.4 Demonstrative Modifiers

Demonstrative modifiers “demonstrate the object they refer to” (Payne, 1997). In Kwarakae, locative demonstratives modify the head nominal by drawing the hearer’s attention to some entity either close to the speaker (proximal), further away from the speaker, but near to the hearer (intermediate), or further away from both speaker and hearer and possibly out of sight (distal). Speakers can use the plural article \( \text{ki’} \) to indicate that more than one entity is involved. These are shown in Table 6-5 with examples of their use in 6.47-6.51.
Table 6-5: Locative demonstrative modifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td><em>neqe</em></td>
<td><em>loqko</em></td>
<td><em>neqer</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td><em>neqe ki</em></td>
<td><em>loqko ki</em></td>
<td><em>neqer ki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘these’</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
<td>‘those’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.47) \textit{Digi-a \ [oqngaq to l neqe]}...
be.like-OBJ.3 garden.work inland DEM
‘Like this inland gardening…’

6.48) \textit{[Ngyal loqko] nia kyat}
child DEM 3SG tall
‘That child is tall’

6.49) \textit{[Gwat neqe ki] kiraq hiol}
pig DEM PL 3PL be.hungry
‘These pigs are hungry’

6.50) \textit{[Takan bul loqko ki] kiraq kwa}
flower frangipani DEM PL 3PL be.white
‘Those frangipani flowers are white’

6.51) \textit{Eiya [ngyal ngwein tiqtiq neqer] niaq liam}
okay child boy small DEM 3SG five

\textit{heiqngeil ki}
year PL
‘Okay, that small boy was five years old’
The demonstrative modifiers occupy a postnominal slot in noun phrases.

In plural forms, the article *ki* always follows the demonstrative. They do not co-occur with the definite article *na*.

Apart from the set of demonstratives in Table 6-4, there is a pair of forms used expressly for textual reference to create links between the nominal elements in discourse (cf. Halliday & Mattheissen, 2004). These are *huin* ‘this, the latter’, being a referent just recently mentioned (indicated with a dotted underline), and *huir* ‘that, the former’, meaning a referent mentioned earlier in the discourse (underlined). For example:

6.52)  

```
...ki a toqnaq an-a kinyu hak ki huir
3PL have of-VH canoe foreign PL the.former
‘...they have those foreign canoes.’
```

```
Ki toqan na ru neq areiqkwo se-a
3PL have DEF thing SUB white.man say-OBJ.3
```

```
ein eingsien ki.
with engine PL
‘They have the things which white men call engines’
```

```
Kiar se-a ein na enjin ki huin...
3PL say-OBJ.3 with DEF engine PL the.latter
‘They call these things engines...’
```

```
Taeqan leaq sa eis-s ber-e na ru hu
today go-NOM LOC sea-VH so-VH DEF thing to
```
A further demonstrative, *huqko* 'that', occurs in the narratives of one of the speakers in this project, but only with referents previously mentioned in the text, and only those firstly modified by the demonstrative *neqer* 'that'. *Huqko* can therefore be described not only as anaphoric, but endophoric as it is referencing entities only present in the text itself.

Another demonstrative, *biar* 'that', appears sporadically across several different texts. While a structural pattern of use is difficult to define, the consultants suggested *biarm* modifies referents with which both speaker and
addressee are familiar. It is possible therefore that the function of biaris
exophoric.

6.1.2.5 The Plural Marker ki

The plural marker ki signifies that more than one nominal entity, typically a
count noun, is being referred to. It can be described as “pure” plural, as it
does not encode any other features such as animacy or specificity (Dryer,
2007). Ki is typically postposed to the head nominal, and positioned after
the other post-nominal NP elements with which it co-occurs. For example,
it appears in the data with demonstratives (6.49, 6.50) and numerals (6.53,
6.54):

6.53) [ul aoa ki]
three hour PL
‘three hours’

6.54) [ro akwal ki]
two ten PL
‘twenty’

Ki co-occurs with the demonstrative pronoun e'i (5.2.1.7) and the two
adjectives doe ‘big’ and tiqtiq ‘small:

6.55) [Ei doe ki]...
this.one big PL
‘The big ones…’

6.56) [Ei tiqtiq ki]…
this. one small PL
'The small ones…'

Plural *ki* follows possessive determiners (6.57, 6.58), and is postposed to relative clauses (6.59):

6.57)  *Tuhu-a*  [dior oe ki]*…
cut.up-OBJ.3 post POSS.2SG.AL PL
‘You cut up your posts…’

6.58)  …*kia ahi-a*  [maq kir ki]  hein
3PL help-OBJ.3 father POSS.3PL.AL PL and

[tyaq ki]  
mother PL
‘…they help their fathers and mothers’

6.59)  *Ber ma*  diq  [ngyal [neq leak lan]REL ki]NP…
but if child SUB go school PL
‘But if the children who are school-aged…

*Ki* co-occurs with the definite article *na* (6.1.1.1), but more often than not, it is used without *na* as in the following example:

6.60)  …*hein se-an*  [oqla ki] kir hasi-a
and inside-POSS.3SG.INAL garden PL 3PL grow.OBJ.3

[uh ki],  [boq ki],  [beiqar ki],
sugar.cane PL banana PL cabbage PL

[tomoat ki],  hein [silat ki]
tomato PL and shallot PL
'and in the gardens they grow sugar cane, bananas, cabbages, tomatoes and shallots'

*Ki* also appears to operate across coordinating noun phrases:

6.61) \[ ...\text{kiak} \quad \text{kwik} \quad \text{maqsi-a} \quad [[\text{maq} \quad \text{kiraq}] \quad \text{IMP.3PL} \quad \text{cook} \quad \text{wait-OBJ.3} \quad \text{father} \quad \text{POSS.3PL.AL} \]

\[ \text{hein} \quad \text{[tyaq} \quad \text{kir]} \quad \text{ki]]} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{mother} \quad \text{POSS.3PL.AL} \quad \text{PL} \]

‘...they will cook and wait for their fathers and mothers’

*Ki* can also be inserted between the interrogative pronoun *heiqbein*

‘where’:

6.62) \[ \text{Maq} \quad \text{oe} \quad \text{hein} \quad \text{tyaq} \quad \text{oe} \quad \text{father} \quad \text{POSS.2SG.AL} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{mother} \quad \text{POSS.2SG.AL} \]

\[ \text{[ru} \quad \text{heiq} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{bein]}? \quad \text{person} \quad \text{where} \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{INT} \]

‘Where are your parents from?’

6.2 Noun Phrase Coordination

Noun phrase coordination in Kwaraqae combines “two or more units of the same type” into “a larger unit” (Haspelmath, 2007, p. 1). Haspelmath (2007) represents coordination as A (-link-) B, where A and B are “coordinands” deemed to be structurally symmetrical units, and ‘link’ is a “coordinator”, the particle which links A and B.
Table 6-6 demonstrates the closed class set of coordinators used to construct coordinating noun phrases in Kwaraqae. *Ma*, *hein*, and *nam* also combine larger clausal units as well as noun phrases (see 10.5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coordinator</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ma</em></td>
<td>‘and’</td>
<td>conjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘but’</td>
<td>adversative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hein</em></td>
<td>‘and, with’</td>
<td>conjunctive - comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nam</em></td>
<td>‘or’</td>
<td>disjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nam…hein</em></td>
<td>‘either…or’</td>
<td>emphatic correlative coordinator</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coordination can be asyndetic where the coordinands are simply juxtaposed:

6.63) 3SG take four hour-VH PL five hour-VH PL be about ‘...it takes about four to five hours’

6.64) 3PL eat DEF rice-VH cabbage-VH noodle-VH ‘They ate rice, cabbage, and noodles’

The most common pattern of coordination at both noun phrase and clause level in Kwaraqae is monosyndetic which involves a single coordinator of
the type A co-B. This type can be seen in 6.65 where intonation breaks
and pauses indicated by the use of commas yield a constituency division
of [A] [co-B]:

6.65) ...kir hasi-a uh ki, boq ki,
3PL plant-OBJ.3 sugar.cane PL banana PL

beiqar ki, [tomat ki], [hein silat ki]
cabbage PL tomato PL and shallot PL
‘...they plant sugar cane, bananas, cabbages, tomatoes and
shallots’

Haspelmath (2007) suggests three semantically motivated categories of
coordination relevant here to the discussion of Kwara’ae: conjunction,
disjunction and adversative.

6.2.1 The Noun Phrase Coordinator ma

The coordinator ma simply combines two noun phrases and can be
glossed as ‘and’:

6.66) ...talbon ma mankoh ki...
latrine and bathroom PL
‘...latrines and bathrooms’

Ma forms a conventionalised unit with numerals in the quantifier system
(6.1.1.2), and as such can be labelled as a “natural conjunction”
(Haspelmath, 2007):
6.67)  
\textit{Niaq akwal ma teiq hei’ngeil}

3SG ten and one year

‘She is eleven years old’

6.68)  
\ldots niaq ngeil akleiq ngwae ma liam ngwae-qang\ldots

3SG take ten people and five people-NOM

‘...it takes groups of fifteen people.’

As well as its conjunctive behaviour, \textit{ma} frequently takes an adversative role in coordinating noun phrases:

6.69)  
\ldots nouaq louq hoh hak-a ma baj-a hu

NEG NEG many ship-VH but barge-VH to

‘...no, not a lot of ships, but a lot of barges’

In discourse, \textit{ma} forms part of the marker \textit{quri ma} ‘well’ and the textual coordinator \textit{ber ma} ‘but’ (10.5.3).

6.2.2 The Noun Phrase Coordinator \textit{hein}

Although \textit{hein} ‘with’ is used as a preposition for accompaniment (underlined in 6.70), it also takes on the role of a coordinator (6.70, 6.71) where it likewise expresses the idea of accompaniment and can be described as a comitative conjunction (Haspelmath, 2007):

6.70)  
\textit{Goq keil ka leak tua \textit{[hein]} [maq}}

then 3PL.EXCL IMP go stay with father
nau] hein [tyaq nau] PP
POSS.1SG.INAL and mother POSS.1SG.INAL
‘Then we will go and stay with my father and mother’

6.71) Nouwaq nauk toqan [ro ngyal ngwaen ki]
1SG 1SG have two son PL

hein [teiq ngyal kin].
and one daughter
‘I have two sons and one daughter’

Hein is described in its role as a preposition in 9.1.2.1.

6.2.3 The Noun Phrase Coordinator nam

Nam can be described as an inclusive disjunction where one or both of
the propositions are true (Haspelmath, 2007). For example:

6.72) Ti keiseiq [meq-ti hein bisket-e] nam [meq-ti
sometimes cup-tea with biscuit or cup-tea

hein na beret]
with DEF bread
‘Sometimes a cup of tea with biscuits or tea with bread’

6.73) [Aol kj] nam [butet kj] nam [ta ru goqan]…
taro PL or potato PL or anything
‘Taro, or potatoes or anything…’

Emphatic coordination can be achieved in Kwaraque by using nam and
hein together as correlatives meaning ‘either/or’:
6.74) \( Sui \ asowa \ teiq \ nodol-o \ neqe \ nam \)
then day one noodle-VH that either/or

\( hein \ taeyo \ hein \ reis-i \)
with tuna with rice-VH

‘At lunchtime those same noodles either with tuna or with rice’

6.3 Predicate Nominals

According to Payne (1997), predicate nominals are phrases in which “the semantic content of the predication is embodied in a noun”. There are two types: proper inclusion and equation. The data below show examples of these types of structures in Kwaraqae, firstly inclusion (6.75, 6.76), then equation (6.77, 6.78)

6.75) \( Ei \ aq-an-a \ ni \ oan \)
this.one eldest-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH 3SG six

\( hei\rqneil \ ki \)
year PL
‘The eldest one is six years old’

6.76) \( Ei \ kaedaeq \ nouwaq \ i \ Selwyn \ keiseiq \)
okay time 1SG PLACE Selwyn when

\( keil \ fom \ wan\ldots \)
1PL.EXCL form one
‘Okay, the time I was at Selwyn, when we were in form one’
6.77) Kamiaq ru sa tol neq
1PL.EXCL thing LOC inland SUB
‘We are just bush people’

6.78) Niaq haqtaubu lok
3SG priest that
‘He is the priest’

These two predicate sub-types are treated in the same manner. There is no copula; the predicate nominal simply follows its subject NP.
7 Verbs

Verbs are defined as elements which are heads of verb phrases and are analysed in this sketch by considering their semantic, morphological and distributional characteristics. While the prototypical semantic features of verbs are outlined in 4.4, and their distributional behaviour within the verb phrase is described in chapter 8, the purpose of the current chapter is to outline a system for their grammatical classification, and to give an account of verb stems and their affixes.

7.1 Grammatically Defined Sub-classes


Hopper and Thompson (1980) define prototypical transitive verbs as those with two or more participants where there is a highly “potent” agent and “totally affected” object. At the other end of this continuum, is a prototypical intransitive verb with only one participant, which is low in “potency”. In Kwaraqae, this distinction is a useful starting point for a grammatical categorisation, as prototypical transitive verbs fitting this
criteria are indexed for their object argument with the suffix –a (7.1) while prototypical intransitive verbs are unmarked (7.2):

7.1) \[ \text{Ni soungi-}a \text{ gwat} \]

\[ 3\text{SG kill-OBJ.3 pig} \]

‘He killed the pig’

7.2) \[ l \text{ Adauwa ni tio naq sa tol-o} \]

\[ \text{PLACE Adauwa 3SG be.situated COMP LOC inland-VH} \]

\[ naq \]

\[ \text{COMP} \]

‘Adauwa is situated inland’

As many verbs in Kwaraqae can be both intransitive and transitive, additional sub-categorisation can be achieved by following Evans (2003), who demonstrates how the macro-role (Van Valin, 2001) of the intransitive subject argument corresponds to particular morphosyntactic devices which co-occur with a verb when it is transitivised. For example, intransitive verbs with undergoer subjects are generally verbs expressing states, or processes and process actions (after Chafe, 1970) which, when transitivised, have a highly affected patient. In Kwaraqae these verb types are mainly affixed with the prefix haq- (7.1.1.2.1), or the suffix –Cia (7.1.1.2.2).

An example of this type of transitivising process is provided by the stative intransitive verb mae ‘be dead’ which takes a single undergoer subject
argument. *Mae* is transitivised with the suffix *haq* to become *haqmae* ‘extinguish’ which has an agent subject causing a direct object patient to be highly affected; it is turned off (lamp) or put out (fire). This type of morphosyntactic derivation is a causative one (cf. Evans, 2003; Payne, 2006; Tallerman, 2005).

On the other hand, intransitive verbs with actor subjects generally expressing actions such as *gaq* ‘laugh’, can be transitivised with the suffix *Cia*¹ to create *gaqsia* ‘laugh at someone/thing’, thus introducing a direct object argument, but one that is not greatly affected. This derivation is known as applicative (cf. Evans, 2003; Payne, 2006; Tallerman, 2005). In Kwaraqae, intransitive verbs with actor subjects are mainly transitivised with the suffix *-Cia* \((7.1.1.2.2)\).

The following classification is therefore made by considering verbs for:

- their prototypical status as an intransitive or transitive verb
- their morphosyntactic behaviour
- the macrorole of the intransitive subject if they have an intransitive form

¹ *C* represents a thematic consonant. The thematic consonant in modern Oceanic languages is thought to reflect the original Proto Oceanic stem-final consonants (Evans, 2003).
• the semantic structure of the verb; whether it is a state, process, action, or process action (Chafe, 1970)

A schematic representation of the verb class system devised for this project is provided below in Figure 7-1. This is a generalised illustration of the relationships between the criteria listed above. Not all verbs in the corpus fit this pattern.

![Diagram of Kwaraqae verb classes](image)

Figure 7-1: Kwaraqae verb classes.

The verbs which meet the criteria for the scheme in Figure 7-1 are prototypical in that they encode temporal relationships (Langacker, 2008),

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and they belong to an open class. However, there are other words in the
data which are not typical verbs, although they appear in the grammar with
verbal morphology. They form restricted subclasses and are discussed
separately in 7.1.3.

7.1.1 Intransitive Verbs

As stated above, intransitive verbs are those with single arguments which
are typically morphologically unmarked. These verbs can be sub-
categorised according to whether they remain invariant (7.1.1.1) or take
valency-increasing morphology, including:

- the prefix *haq-* (7.1.1.2.1)
- the suffix –*Cia* (7.1.1.2.2)
- the suffix –*Cein* (7.1.1.2.3)
- the suffix –*a* (7.1.1.2.4)

Also noted are a small number of intransitive verbs which appear to have
more than one valency-increasing option (7.1.1.2.5).

7.1.1.1 Invariant Intransitives

The data show a large group of verbs for which a transitive counterpart
could be not elicited from the consultants in this project. These verbs
include both undergoer and actor subject verbs, and are predicates of
actions and states. Their structure can be both simplex or reduplicated.
Table 7-1 and examples 7.3 and 7.4 show a sample of non-reduplicated forms which have intransitive actor subjects and are predicates of actions, while Table 7-2 and examples 7.5 and 7.6 are all stative simplex verbs with intransitive undergoer subjects.

Table 7-1: Simplex invariant intransitive verbs with actor subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leak</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dao</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalil</td>
<td>'run'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eing</td>
<td>'cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas</td>
<td>'play'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abuil</td>
<td>'roll'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aong</td>
<td>'crawl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twad</td>
<td>'cough'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3) Keil raeq goq sa tarek-e keil  
1PL.EXCL come.up just LOC truck-VH 1PL.EXCL

ka leak naq  
SUB go COMP
'We just climbed up onto the truck and we left'

7.4) Na ru neq kiar se-a ein rola ma  
DEF thing SUB 3PL say-OBJ:3 with roller and

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nia abuil hah-an rot-o...
3SG roll on.top-POSS.3SG.INAL road-VH
‘The machine which is called a roller rolls the surface of the road…’

Table 7-2: Simplex invariant intransitive verbs with undergoer subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gwa</td>
<td>‘be black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaq</td>
<td>‘be good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mowir</td>
<td>‘be alive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hioi</td>
<td>‘be hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beiborur</td>
<td>‘be kneeling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eibei</td>
<td>‘be smooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reab</td>
<td>‘be wide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqheih</td>
<td>‘be bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dad</td>
<td>‘be smooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kweis</td>
<td>‘be wild’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5) …nia baba tal-a ka taeq ka dad...
3SG be.flat road-VH IMP be.level IMP be.smooth
‘…it makes the road flat and level and smooth…’

7.6) Si rot-o nouaq kias leaq long...
because road-VH NEG NEG.3PL be.good also
‘Because the road is also not good…’
Table 7-3 and examples 7.7-7.9 show a number of reduplicated forms which are apparently fossilised as no simplex form could be elicited. They have both actor and undergoer intransitive subjects and are verbs of actions and states. These can be partially (ei-bei‘be smooth’) or completely reduplicated (eil-eil‘be quick’).

Table 7-3: Reduplicated invariant intransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Macrorole of Verb</th>
<th>Semantic Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ei-bei</td>
<td>‘be smooth’</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eil-eil</td>
<td>‘be quick’</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat-mat</td>
<td>‘be different’</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiq-tiq</td>
<td>‘be small’</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak-tak</td>
<td>‘be messy’</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo-yo</td>
<td>‘be sour’</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dok-dok</td>
<td>‘be short’</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qui-qui</td>
<td>‘fish (by rod)’</td>
<td>actor</td>
<td>action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwaed-kwaed</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
<td>actor</td>
<td>action</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.7)   ...neq kwaet  lek-aq-a  ka  eileil  long  nei
       SUB  make  go-NOM-VH IMP  be.fast  also  that
       ‘...which makes that trip fast also’
7.8) …ni teiq matmat toqtoq loq…
3SG one be.different each and
‘…each one is different and…’

7.9) Diqia tuaq ki tiqtiq, ogla tiqtiq long
if family PL be.small garden be.small also
‘If the families are small, the gardens are also small’

7.1.1.2 Intransitives with Valence-increasing Morphology

Some intransitives do undergo morphological affixation to produce a transitive form introducing of a second participant. The grammatical function of this introduced participant may be either the subject (A) or the direct object (P) argument of the transitive. When the intransitive subject (S) corresponds with the P argument and the newly introduced participant is the A argument, the function of the valency-increasing device is a causative one. Alternatively, when intransitive S corresponds with the transitive A argument and the new participant is the P argument, the morphological operation is applicative (cf. Evans, 2003; Tallerman, 2005; Payne, 2006).

Following is a description of each of the valency-increasing devices in the Kwaraqae verb system.

________________________

2 Grammatical functions and grammatical relations are discussed in 4.3.
7.1.1.2.1 Intransitives with the Prefix *haq-*

Intransitives which transitivise with the prefix *haq-* typically have a single intransitive undergoer subject and express states and processes. As the valence increase involves the introduction of an A argument, the function of *haq-* is causative. The resulting transitive may be optionally indexed for its direct object argument with the transitive –*a* suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
<th>Semantic Role of Intransitive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ad</em> 'be awake'</td>
<td><em>haq-ad-a</em></td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>doe</em> 'be big'</td>
<td><em>haq-doe</em></td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sui</em> 'be finished'</td>
<td><em>haq-sui-a</em></td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>langlang</em> 'be dry'</td>
<td><em>haq-lang-a</em></td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maman</em> 'be truthful'</td>
<td><em>haq-manan</em></td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gwear</em> 'be cold'</td>
<td><em>haq-gwari-a</em></td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sag</em> 'be straight'</td>
<td><em>haq-sag-a</em></td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples 7.10-7.12 demonstrate how the intransitive verbs and their transitive equivalents are used:

7.10) $Keil \quad ka \quad maong \quad keil \quad ka \quad hang \quad beis$

1PL.EXCL IMP stop 1PL.EXCL IMP eat first

'We stopped and we ate first'

$Kiak \quad haq-maongwu-a \quad beis \quad tarek-e$

IMP.3PL CAUS-stop-OBJ.3 first truck-VH

'They stopped the truck first'

7.11) $Kia \quad sabngiq \quad ka \quad qeis \quad teqhou \quad goq \quad an \quad sa \quad luom$

3PL duct IMP fall all just to LOC house

'They (water pipes for toilets and bathrooms) all just came down into the house together'
Ni haq-asi-a belet
3SG CAUS-fall-OBJ.3 plate
'He dropped the plate'

7.12) ...diaq kaol tua amul sean haon neqe
if 2PL stay 2PL in-POSS.3SG.INAL village this

seil animol neq keil-i ka sui
we.think crab SUB 1PL.EXCL.VH IMP finish
'...if you stay in this village, we think our crabs will be finished (eaten up)'

Ni kwaet keil ka haq-sui-a aol
3SG make 1PL IMP CAUS-finish-OBJ3 taro
'He made us finish (eating) the taro'

Example 7.12 is notable as it expresses causation in two ways: a morphological causative with the suffix haq, and a syntactic causative with the complement taking predicate kwaet (see 10.2.1.2).

In the preceding and following examples, the introduced A participant tends to be animate, manipulating or causing some other entity to be affected in some way, although this is not always the case. In 7.16, the causee is an inanimate nominal argument (areoplane).

7.13) Nia haq-lang-a ngyal kin
3SG CAUS-be.dry-OBJ.3 child
'She dried the child (after bathing)'
7.14) \( Ni \ haq-li-a \ na \ hang-a \)
3SG CAUS-look-OBJ.3 DEF food-VH

'He spoiled the food'

7.15) \( Niaq \ haq-gwouqu-a \ na \ buket-e \ koh \)
3SG CAUS-be.empty-OBJ.3 DEF bucket-VH water

'He emptied the bucket of water'

7.16) \( Nia \ eilheiq \ kwei-liu \ mal \ quri \ ka \)
3SG turn RECIP-pass.by like like.that IMP

\( haq-sag-a \ mal \ ti \ ru \ an-a \)
CAUS-be.straight-OBJ.3 like some thing from-VH

\textit{ababan}
wing-POSS.3SG.INAL

'It (aeroplane) turns itself around like that, then straightens up something from its wing (for landing)'

In her discussion of valency-changing devices in Proto-Oceanic, Evans (2003) lists \textit{faqa-} as the Kwaraqae reflex of the reconstructed forms \textit{*pa-} and \textit{*paka-}, and suggests that the valency-changing function is causative. This affix is not attested with the data for this thesis in this form, but it is found in the written texts of Burt and Kwa’ioloa (1992) and Kwa’ioloa and Burt (2001) (see 2.4 and 2.5). Taking into account the phonological characteristics of allophony between /l/ and /h/ (3.1.2), and those of apocope (3.4.4) and metathesis (3.4.3) which would appear to operate in
the Kwaraqae spoken register compiled during this study, it seems likely that *haq* is a reflex of Proto-Oceanic *pa* or *paka*.

7.1.1.2.2 Intransitives with the Suffix -Cia

The suffix -Cia derives a transitive form from an intransitive one, the first element C being a lexically determined “thematic consonant” (Evans, 2003). The final element is the transitive suffix -a (see 7.1.2.2), which indexes the direct object argument and would appear to be obligatory.

The function of -Cia is to signal an additional core argument, the nature of which varies according to the macrorole of the intransitive verb. For undergoer subject verbs, the resulting transitive is causative (S and O correspond), while for actor subject verbs, the derived transitive is applicative (S and A correspond).

3 Support for the analysis of -Cia presented here can be found in Evans’ (2003) study of valency-changing devices in Proto Oceanic which found that many Oceanic languages have -Ci- as a transitivising option, particularly those from the Southeast Solomonic family. Evans also suggests that -Ci- is a reflex of Proto Oceanic *-C* also thought to have both causative and applicative functions. The thematic consonant in modern Oceanic languages is thought to reflect the original Proto Oceanic stem-final consonants (Evans, 2003).
Intransitive verbs from the data which express causation with \(-C_\text{ia} (\text{TRANC})\) are listed in Table 7-5. These verbs are intransitive process and state verbs (Chafe, 1970).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(er)</td>
<td>(e-\text{ria})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be bent’</td>
<td>‘bend sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(giol)</td>
<td>(giol-\text{sia})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sway’</td>
<td>‘roll, push sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mok)</td>
<td>(mok-\text{hia})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘smell’</td>
<td>‘smell sth.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples demonstrate these verbs. In 7.17, the newly introduced argument of the transitive verb \(\text{eria}^4\) is the A argument, which undergoes a bending process by an agent:

7.17) \(\text{Heiq-beiab} \ [ni]\_s \ er\)  
round-pibe  3SG  be.bent  
‘The pipe is bent’

---

4 The verb \(\text{eria}’\) to bend sth.’ is being shown with the morpheme boundary \(e-\text{ria}\) although it is not clear where the boundary actually is.
[Ni]ₐ e-ria [heiq-beiab]ₒ
3SG bend-TRANC pipe
‘He bent the pipe’

In 7.18, the intransitive S argument is part of a state-changing process.
The additional argument of the transitive verb is an agent, acting upon an
object which causes the side-to-side process to become a roll:

7.18) [Hak]ₛ giol
ship sway
‘The ship sways (from side to side)’

[Ni]ₐ giol-sia [qe]ₒ suli-a kuwal qoat
3SG roll-TRANC log along-OBJ.3 place hill
‘He rolled the log down the hill’

The -Cia suffix also functions as an applicative. Table 7-6 suggests that
this suffix introduces a new direct object participant where the macrorole
of the underived intransitive is an actor, and the event expressed is a type
of action.
Table 7-6: The applicative suffix –Cia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aok</td>
<td>aokhia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shout’</td>
<td>‘shout at s.o.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syu</td>
<td>suyhia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bathe’</td>
<td>‘bathe s.o.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uiel</td>
<td>uielsia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘return’</td>
<td>‘repay s.o.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwouq</td>
<td>kwouqhia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>‘drink sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngus</td>
<td>nguslia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘spit’</td>
<td>‘spit on sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngu</td>
<td>ngulia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sing’</td>
<td>‘sing sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nang</td>
<td>nangsia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘strike, hit’</td>
<td>‘hit s.o.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lia</td>
<td>lisia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘look’</td>
<td>‘see sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eileil</td>
<td>eileil-ngia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hurry’</td>
<td>‘shake sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruq</td>
<td>ruq-hia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘enter’</td>
<td>‘enter sth.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The examples below demonstrate the use of the intransitive and derived transitive forms with –Cía operating with an applicative function (TRANA).

7.19) …taeqan [kía]s syu naq i luom goq huin…

today 3PL bathe COMP LOC house just the.latter
‘…today, they just bathe in this house…’

[Kiraq]A syu-hia [ngyal kin]O
3PL bathe-TRANA girl
‘They bathed the girl’

7.20) …[nauk]s uel sa sukul-u
1SG return LOC school-VH
‘I returned to school’

Quri ma [nį]s uel-sia [selen oe]O naq?
well 3SG return-TRANA money POSS.2SG.AL COMP
‘Well, did he repay your money?’

7.21) [Korkei]s kwouq naq
IMP.2DU.INCL drink COMP
‘We can drink now’

[Kiraq]A kwouq-hia koh beiyar ka sui
3PL drink-TRANA water all IMP TERM
‘They drank all the water’

7.22) [Kir]s nang … [kía]s nang-sia [karaong-o]O…
3PL strike IMP.3PL strike-TRANA shellfish-VH
‘They arrived…they got stuck into the shellfish…’
7.23)  [Kia]s  leak  lia  an  kuwal  bol  ogola  ki
3PL  go  look  for  place  be.suitable  garden  PL
‘They go and look for a suitable place for the gardens’

Keiseiq  [qaok]A  li-sia  [kuwal]o  ...
when  2SG  see-TRANA  place
‘When you see a place…’

7.24)  Taego  nia  ruq  se-an  goq
today  3SG  enter  inside-POS.3SG.INAL  just
‘Today, it (electricity) just goes inside…’

Ei,  keiseiq  hu  kiar  ruq-hia  masuqu...
Okay  when  for  3PL  enter-TRANA  forest
‘Okay, when they went into the forest…’

Although the verb ‘to smell sth’ can be expressed as an asymmetrical
complex nuclei mok toqan(10.2.1.2), speakers also have the option of
introducing an A argument which suggests that the function of –Cia would
be causative. However, the semantic role of this argument is as an
experciencer, which suggests a macrorole of undergoer (Van Valin, 2001).

Following Evans (2003), who chooses to analyse verbs of smelling as
undergoers also, -Cia can be said to have an applicative function with the
Kwaraqae verb mok

7.25)  Taan  bul  neqe  ki  [kiraq]s  mok  asiel
frangipani.flower  this  PL  3PL  smell  be.sweet
‘These frangipani flowers smell sweet’
\[ [Nauk]_A \quad \text{mok-hia} \quad \text{[takan bul]}_B \]

1SG smell-TRAN frangipani.flower

'I smell the frangipani flowers'

7.1.1.2.3 Intransitives with the Suffix -Cein

The suffix –Cein (APPL), although not frequent in the corpus, would seem to be a valency-increasing device which attaches to intransitive verbs with actor subjects and expresses actions where the S argument corresponds with the A argument of the transitive verb. An agent is moving or manipulating some entity so that it comes into contact with something or someone (Evans, 2003). Its function is therefore applicative\(^5\). Some examples are listed in Table 7-7.

\[^{5} \text{It is possible that this suffix is a reflex of Proto Oceanic} \text{'akinjil} \text{which Evans (2003) lists as having an applicative function (among others), with semantic roles denoting concomitance with verbs of motion such as Kwaraqae} \text{nouqein 'keep busy with'}, \text{and products with bodily-function verbs like Kwaraqae} \text{mowatein 'spit out something'}.\]
Table 7-7: The applicative suffix –Cein.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>louh</em></td>
<td><em>louh-tein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pull, lift’</td>
<td>‘lift sth. up, out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mowa</em></td>
<td><em>mowa-tein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘vomit’</td>
<td>‘spit out sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nang</em></td>
<td><em>nang-tein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘strike’</td>
<td>‘throw down s.o. (as in wrestling)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toq</em></td>
<td><em>toq-mein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘count’</td>
<td>‘count money, read sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>heiq</em></td>
<td><em>heiq-tein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td>‘go around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>heiq-heiq-tein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘circle around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>haoq-tein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘be lifted up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>kat-hein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘put sth. in ground (as in posts for housebuilding)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>nou-qein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘keep busy with sth.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 7.26 illustrates the applicative function of -Cein when it is affixed to the intransitive stem louh ‘to lift’:

7.26)  
\[ \text{[Keil]}_{s} \text{ ka louh ka laeleak ka rod meiq...} \]
\text{1PL.EXCL IMP lift IMP continue IMP night toward}
\text{‘We continued loading into the night...’}

\[ \text{[Keil]}_{A} \text{ louh-tein [gweghou kij]}_{O} \]
\text{1PL.EXCL lift-APPL rocks PL}
\text{‘We lifted the rocks’}

Although not all of the verbs in Table 7-7 are attested with intransitive forms, the suffixed forms all take a direct object argument and are all actions verbs. As suggested by Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002), the P⁶ argument often represents instruments as seen in 7.27. Examples of verbs with suffix -Cein from the data are:

7.27)  
\[ \ldots \text{goq yuryur-u lal hu ka haoq-tein an} \]
\text{then wind-VH instead for IMP lift.up.by-APPL to}
\[ \text{kuwal neq nia loh u-an} \]
\text{place SUB 3SG fly toward-POSS.3SG.INAL}
\text{‘...then instead, it (areoplane) is lifted up by the wind to the place toward which it is flying...’}

7.28)  
\[ \text{Tuhu-a dior oe ki ko} \]
\text{cut-OBJ.3 post POSS.2SG.AL PL 2SG}

⁶ See 4.3 for discussion of grammatical functions A, P and S.
**kat-hein**  
*dior oe ki ka sui...*  
set.in.ground-APPL post POSS.2SG.AL PL IMP TERM

‘You cut up your posts, then you set your posts in the ground...’

7.1.1.2.4 Intransitives with the Suffix –a

A very small sub-group of intransitives become transitive when indexed directly with the object suffix –a (OBJ.3- see 7.1.2.2). These verbs have intransitive actor subjects and are all actions. Table 7-8 lists four verbs from this category while 7.29-7.31 show examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>iud</em></td>
<td><em>idu-a</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'move'</td>
<td>'move sth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| *iuk*             | *iku-a*         |
| move'             | 'move sth.'     |

| *kos*             | *koso-a*        |
| 'go down'         | 'let sth down'  |

| *dou*             | *douw-a*        |
| 'hold'            | 'hold onto sth' |

7.29)  
**Kiraq iud sean luom doe**  
3PL move in-POSS.3SG.INAL house be.big

‘They moved into the big house’

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7.30)  
Ni  iuk  hein  tuaq  nia  an  ta  hanoa  
3SG  move  with  family  POSS.3SG.ALM  to  some  village  
‘He moved his family to the next village’  

Ni  iku-a  sea  naqan  
3SG  move-OBJ.3  chair  that  
‘She moved the chair’  

7.31)  
Ni  dou  an  hou  
3SG  hold  to  stone  
‘He holds the stone’  

Ni  douw-a  kui  toqan  
3SG  hold-OBJ.3  dog  have  
‘He holds onto the dog’  

7.1.1.2.5  Intransitives with More than One Morphological Device  
Kwaraqae has a small number of intransitive verbs which occur with more  
than one valency-increasing device. For example, nang ‘strike, hit’ takes  
both applicative -Cia to produce nangsia ‘strike, hit something’ (7.22) and  
the applicative suffix –Cein to create nangtein ‘to throw someone down’  
(Table 7-7).
Another verb which has more than one valency-changing device is *su* ‘cover’ which means ‘defile something’ when it takes the suffix –*a* and ‘defy something’ when it appears with the suffix –*Cia*.

7.32)  
\[ ...si \quad ru \quad huir \quad ki \quad an \quad halhal-a \]
\[ ni \quad su-a \quad nouaq \quad nias \quad tio \quad sa \quad luom \]
because thing the.former PL for custom-VH
3SG defile-OBJ.3 NEG NEG.3SG stay LOC house
‘...because those things defile customs if they are situated in the house’

7.33)  
\[ Ni \quad sau-lia \quad halhal \quad kia... \]
3SG defy-TRANA custom POSS.1PL.AL
‘It defies our customs...’

7.1.2 Transitive Verbs

Although many Kwaraqae verbs have both intransitive and transitive forms, there are also a number described in this section which appear as transitives only. These are:

- transitives with –*Cia*(7.1.2.1)
- transitives with the direct object suffix –*a* (7.1.2.2)
- invariant transitive *soungeiqn* (7.1.2.4)

Also described is the reduplicative device which reduces the valency of transitive verbs so that they become intransitive (7.1.2.3).
7.1.2.1 Transitive with \(-Cia\)

A large group of verbs are affixed with the suffix \(-Cia\), but unlike those in 7.1.1.2.2, no intransitive stem could be elicited, suggesting that \(-Cia\) has become fossilised on these verbs. Without intransitive stems, the ability to accurately decide the function of \(-Cia\) for this group is reduced, as there is no obvious syntactic correspondence between an intransitive S argument and the transitive A or P arguments. However, some idea of function can be gauged from the semantic role of the patient argument and the degree it is affected. It would seem that, although these verbs would prototypically be transitive actions, when suffixed with \(-Cia\), the majority are process actions, where an agent does something to a patient of a process, although this patient is not always highly affected. This indicates an applicative function (TRANA). A selection are shown in Table 7-9.
Table 7-9: Transitive verbs with –Cia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Affected Patient?</th>
<th>Suggested Function of –Cia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hal-sia</td>
<td>'to gut an animal'</td>
<td>Highly</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka- lia</td>
<td>'give birth to sth.'</td>
<td>Highly</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga- lia</td>
<td>'carry, take, board sth.'</td>
<td>Not highly</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruq- hi-a</td>
<td>'wear sth.'</td>
<td>Not highly</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doq- hi-a</td>
<td>'burn sth.'</td>
<td>Highly</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han- si-a</td>
<td>'spear sth.'</td>
<td>Highly</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko- ni-a</td>
<td>'roast sth.'</td>
<td>Highly</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi- ri-a</td>
<td>'chop sth.'</td>
<td>Highly</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o- li-a</td>
<td>'cut up sth.'</td>
<td>Highly</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho- lia</td>
<td>'buy sth'</td>
<td>Not highly</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go- ni-a</td>
<td>'look after sth. or s.o.'</td>
<td>Not highly</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following shows examples of these verbs:

7.34) \[...qak\text{-}o \text{ bik-}\text{ngia} \text{ naq} \text{ luom}\]

2SG-VH tie.down-TRANa COMP house

\[oe \quad i\]

POSS.2SG.INAL LOC

‘...you tie them (the sago palm leaves) down onto your house...’

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7.35)  
*Kir ha-sia uh ki, boq ki...
3PL plant-TRANA sugar.cane PL banana PL
'They plant sugar cane, bananas…'

7.36)  
*Kiak ho-ria ru neq kiar se-a
IMP.3PL buy-TRANAthing SUB IMP.3PL say-OBJ.3

ein reis ki...
with rice PL
'They buy things which are called rice…'

7.1.2.2   Transitive with-*a*

Another large group of transitive verbs in Kwaraque which lack an
intransitive form are those indexed for their direct object arguments with
the suffix –*a*(OBJ.3). This suffix is invariable for number. For example, the
object arguments below are plural, while those transitive verbs in
examples 7.40 and 7.41 have singular direct objects:

7.37)  
…nauk takdalh-a hang biar ki...
1SG forget-OBJ.3 food that PL
‘…I forget that food’

7.38)  
…ni ili-y-a tal ki...
3SG dig-OBJ.3 road PL
‘…it (road-digger) digs the roads…’

Although this affix co-occurs with the transitivising suffixes *haq*-(7.1.1.2.1)
and *-Cia*(7.1.1.2.2, 7.1.2.1), it also appears alone on many other verbs.
These verbs are typically transitive only, suggesting that the suffix *-a* has
become part of the verb stem, and its function has been lost. Again it is
not possible to ascertain the exact function of -a by considering the
macrorole of an intransitive stem. However, by looking at the type of
semantic roles and the affectedness of the direct object argument, it is
possible to guess the transitivising function of -a. Table 7-10 lists some of
these verbs, while the examples following demonstrate their use. It would
seem that most of these verbs are action processes with a highly affected
patient. The function of the suffix is to specify a P argument, which
suggests an applicative function for -a. The P argument may be in the
matrix clause, or a nominal which is fronted (11.5).
Table 7-10: Transitive verbs with the suffix –a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tabu-a</td>
<td>‘clean up sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eiht-a</td>
<td>‘hoe sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sad-a</td>
<td>‘burn sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwei-a</td>
<td>‘pick up sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gio-a</td>
<td>‘tilt sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ato-a</td>
<td>‘put rafters on a house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bokt-a</td>
<td>‘shut, block sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bus-a</td>
<td>‘kill sth with a knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but-a</td>
<td>‘wrap up sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dong-a</td>
<td>‘follow s.o.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duqru-a</td>
<td>‘cook sth. in bamboo flask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumo-a</td>
<td>‘comb, punch sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us-a</td>
<td>‘weave sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siru-a</td>
<td>‘clean up sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taei-a</td>
<td>‘sew, weave sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiliy-a</td>
<td>‘dig sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ueiy-a</td>
<td>‘break, snap sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lado-a</td>
<td>‘join sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lae-a</td>
<td>‘stab sth. with a knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heid-a</td>
<td>‘paint sth.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.39) Keiseiq kiar **tabu-a** na kuwal-a ka
when 3PL clean.up-OBJ.3 DEF place-VH IMP

sui goq kiak **eiht-a** naq na oqola
finish then IMP.PL hoe.OBJ.3 COMP DEF garden
‘When they finish cleaning up the place, they can hoe the garden’
7.40) \textit{ki sad-a talah-a han og-ngaq}  
\texttt{3PL make.fire-OBJ.3 fire-VH for garden-NOM}  
they make fires for the gardening

7.41) \textit{Kiak gwei-a naq touh-u}  
\texttt{IMP.3PL pick.up-OBJ.3 COMP rubbish-VH}  
‘They pick up the rubbish…’

7.42) …\textit{taeqan abab-an huir goq hu}  
\texttt{today wing-POSS.3SG.INAL the.former just for}  
\textit{nia heiq-heiq-tein uri nia teiq gio-a quri}…  
\texttt{3SG DUP-round-APPL thus 3SG one tilt-OBJ.3 thus}  
‘…today with just these wings, it (aeroplane) circles around like this, and it tilts it (one wing) like this…’

7.43) \textit{Qaok-o ko oal haol ki sui qaok-o}  
\texttt{2SG-VH 2SG put.up beam PL COMP 2SG-VH}  
\textit{ototto-a luom oe ka sui ko}  
\texttt{frame-OBJ.3 house POSS.2SG.INAL IMP TERM 2SG}  
\textit{ato-a…}  
\texttt{put.up.rafters-OBJ.3}  
‘You put up the beams, then you frame your house and put up the rafters on it…’

7.1.2.3 Valency-decreasing Reduplication

Although verbal reduplication has other functions in the grammar (7.2.1),
there is some evidence that it can be employed to reduce the valency of a
transitive verb so that it becomes intransitive. Table 7-11 gives examples of the simplex and reduplicated forms, while 7.45 demonstrates the ‘loss’ of the P argument with the verb *sea* ‘to say sth.’. The presence of the transitive suffix –*a* on the intransitive reduplicated forms is unexpected here.

Table 7-11: Reduplicated valence-reduced verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simplex Form</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>taga</em></td>
<td><em>tagtag</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘spread sth out’</td>
<td>‘flap wings(bird)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hia</em></td>
<td><em>hiahia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘suspect sth.’</td>
<td>‘be careful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lulua</em></td>
<td><em>lululul</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘search’</td>
<td>‘keep searching’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sea</em></td>
<td><em>sesea</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘say sth.’</td>
<td>‘used to say’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.44)  

...ku *mateiq* goq *nouaqneis* *se-a*

1SG be.sick just NEG NEG.1SG say-OBJ.3

*hu-an* *tias* *ki*
to-POSS.3SG.INAL teacher PL

‘...I got sick but I didn’t tell the teachers’

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7.1.2.4 Irregular Verb soungei\text{qn}

The verb *soungei\text{qn}* 'to make, build, or prepare' is a particularly frequent transitive verb in the data. It is a process action with an agent that manipulates or affects a patient in some way. However, it does not occur with the expected morphological marking of other transitive verbs, and appears in a number of different forms in the data:

7.45) $Oq\text{la } k\text{i } k\text{ir } soungei\text{qn } oq\text{la } aol \ k\text{i}$  
\hspace{3cm} Garden PL 3PL make-OBJ.3 garden taro PL  
\hspace{3cm} 'They make taro gardens'  

7.46) $Ng\text{wae } n\text{eq } k\text{iak } soungei\text{q } lu\text{om } k\text{i}$…  
\hspace{3cm} people SUB IMP.3PL build.OBJ3 house PL  
\hspace{3cm} 'People who build houses…'  

7.47) $K\text{iar } soungei\text{en } l\text{ong } suil \ na \ heiq\text{noqo}$  
\hspace{3cm} 3PL build.OBJ.3 also because DEF round.bird  
\hspace{3cm} goq huin  
\hspace{3cm} just the.latter  
\hspace{3cm} 'They build them (planes) this way because birds are a bit like this'
As it is not uncommon for the most frequently used words in languages to pattern irregularly (Crowley, Lynch, Siegel & Piau, 1999), there is some justification in analysing *soungeiqun* as an irregular transitive verb in Kwaraqae.

7.1.3 Verb Categories with Restricted Membership

The two sets of verbal structures described in this section are atypical verbs in that they have restricted membership. The first group, which ordinarily function as conjunctions or phrasal adjuncts such as prepositions and adverbs, act as predicates when they are suffixed with transitive –a. The second group are those which take the suffix –(u)a but involve structures which tend to be properties. The resulting verbs are derived from nouns, or are semantic extensions of intransitive verbs, so do not undergo a valency change. There is also a third group which has restricted membership as complement-taking predicates. As these involve complex structures, they are described in 10.2.1.2.

7.1.3.1 Conjugt and Modifier Predicates

There is a small set of structures which seem to behave as verbs by being indexed with the transitive suffix –a although they have alternative roles in the grammar as adverbs (10.3.1), prepositions (9.1.2) and verbal modifiers (8.4). They are set out in Table 7-12 and demonstrated below.
Table 7-12: Verbal conjuncts and modifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Verbal Form</th>
<th>Non-Verbal Gloss</th>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Verbal Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suil ~ suiliq</td>
<td>‘about’ (preposition); ‘along’ (modifier)</td>
<td>suli-a</td>
<td>‘be next to sth, be about sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diq, diaq,</td>
<td>‘if’ (adverbial subordinator)</td>
<td>diqi-a</td>
<td>‘be like sth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diqia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kareng</td>
<td>‘soon’ (adverb)</td>
<td>kargni-a</td>
<td>‘be close to sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lihua</td>
<td>‘above, more’ (adverb)</td>
<td>lihu-a</td>
<td>‘be better (more) than sth.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference in function is demonstrated with suil, suiliq and sulia where in 7.48, it firstly preposes the noun phrase ro wik ki ‘two weeks’, so it is a preposition. It then occurs in a VP with liu ‘pass by’, so its role is as a VP modifier. In the last excerpt however, it acts as a predicate and is indexed for its direct object argument with the suffix -a.

7.48) ...keil ka tua suil ro wik ki i

1PL.EXCL IMP stay about two week PL PLACE

Honiara
Honiara
‘...we will stay for about two weeks in Honiara’

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...mal neq na bas ki, tarek, taksi ki ru uner ki
like SUB DEF bus PL truck taxi PL things.like.that

kiar liu suliq
3PL pass.by along
‘...for the buses, trucks, taxis and things like that, they travel along’

Ei aqan-a ni oan heiqngeil ki naq
this.one eldest-VH 3SG six year PL COMP

ei suli-a ro heiqngeil ki
this.one be.next.to-OBJ.3 two year PL
‘...this one, the eldest, he is six years now, the next one is two years old’

In 7.49, *diq* is an adverbial subordinator for a condition clause, while *diqia*
functions as a non-verbal predicate:

7.49) \[ \text{Diq qaok leak ein ru neq kiar se-a} \]
if 2SG go with thing SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3

\[ \text{ein na spid boat...} \]
with DEF speed boat
‘If you take a thing which is called a speed boat…’

..ei han loho-aq long sa saol ni
this.one for fly-NOM also LOC sky 3SG

221
diqi-a       heiqnoq     ki     huin
be.like-OBJ.3   bird      PL     the.latter
‘…this one is also for flying in the sky, it’s like birds, this one’

In 7.50, kareng is a single-word temporal adverbial clause (10.3.1.1), while kargia takes on verbal functions and indexes its direct object kuwal
‘place’:

7.50)     Kareng  ni  ka  dao
soon    3SG   IMP   come
‘He will come soon’

Nia  laelae  nia  kargia-a  naq  kuwal  lok...
3SG   go    3SG   be.close.to-OBJ.3   COMP   place there
‘It (aeroplane) goes close to the place there…

Likewise, in 7.51, lihua is firstly a spatial adverb then predicating:

7.51)     Ni  tar-a  yol  i  lihua
3SG  pull-OBJ.3   canoe    LOC   up.above
‘He pulled the canoe out (of the water)’

…ni  lihu-a       hu  kui  hoet
3SG  be.better-OBJ.3   than    FUT.1PL.INCL   paddle

mal  tol  an-a  yol  ki
like   inland   by-VH  canoe   PL
‘…it’s better than how we usually paddle by canoe inland’

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Example 7.51 also shows that in Kwaraqae, the comparative is expressed verbally with the predicate adverb *lihua*.

### 7.1.3.2 Proprietary Verbs

The suffix -(u)aq has two morphosyntactic functions in Kwaraqae. The first is to nominalise verbs, and is described in 5.2.2.3.4. The second function, described here, is to either derive a verb from a noun (Table 7-13), or to semantically extend an intransitive verb (Table 7-14). In each case, the stems are typically those expressing a state, a quality, or terms related to the weather and the environment. The derived verb takes on the qualities of something (becoming x-like), or expresses the idea of possessing a lot of something (have a lot of x). The resulting forms are properties so are labelled here as proprietary verbs after Lichtenberk (2008, p. 62), who identifies a similar pattern of affixation in Toqabaqita. As Table 7-13 shows, these forms frequently involve reduplication by either having a reduplicated stem, or reduplicating a stem during the derivation.
Table 7-13: Propriete verbs derived from a noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Derived Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuryur</td>
<td>yuryur-uaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wind’</td>
<td>‘be windy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kobur</td>
<td>kobur-uaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘storm’</td>
<td>‘become stormy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rod</td>
<td>rodrod-uaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dark, night’</td>
<td>‘become dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siong</td>
<td>sionsiong-aq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drizzle, light rain’</td>
<td>‘be drizzling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulbul</td>
<td>bulbul-uaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘star’</td>
<td>‘be star-like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sol</td>
<td>sol-uaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘salt’</td>
<td>‘be too salty’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7-14: Proprietary verbs undergoing semantic extension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Derived Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngarngar</td>
<td>ngarngar-aq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be prickly, thorny'</td>
<td>'be too prickly, thorny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwear</td>
<td>gwagri-aq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be cold'</td>
<td>'become cooler'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyat</td>
<td>ketket-aq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be long'</td>
<td>'be longish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mio</td>
<td>miomio-aq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be red'</td>
<td>'be reddish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aoraor</td>
<td>araro-aq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be peaceful'</td>
<td>'become peaceful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maliu</td>
<td>mamali-uaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be asleep'</td>
<td>'be sleepy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples from the texts show the morphosyntactic and semantic effects of the –(u)aq suffix:

7.52) …kiak lado-a naq ru huir ki an
IMP.3PL join-OBJ.3 COMP thing the.former PL to

ru ketket-aq hu diaq kaoq ki…
thing be.long-PROP for be.like bamboo PL
‘…they join up those things, the long things like bamboo…’
7.53) ...ni ka taeq ka su tagtragaeq ka raeq
3SG IMP come.up IMP dive take.off IMP come.up
toqba sa saol-o raeq-raeq-raeq ka
up.there LOC sky-VH DUP-DUP-come.up IMP
laelaek ka bulbul-uaq long...
continue IMP star-PROP also
‘...it (aeroplane) goes up, dives, then takes off and goes up into the sky, going up and up and up, continuing until it is star-like…’

7.54) ...kiak haq-sag-a i hanoa ni
IMP.3PL CAUS-be.straight-OBJ.3 LOC village 3SG
araro-aq ka tio nam an
be.peaceful-PROP IMP stay must to
‘...they will straighten it out (arguing) to make sure that it stays peaceful in the village’

7.55) ...ni gwagri-aq si qei ki or
3SG be.cool-PROP because tree PL many
‘...it was cool because there were many trees’
7.2 Structure of the Verb

Having described the morphosyntactic structure of verbs in regard to their grammatical categorisation, the remainder of this chapter describes verbal structures which have no bearing on transitivity status, although their semantic behaviour may be relevant to their function. These structures are affixes (reduplication, reciprocity) and compounding.

7.2.1 Verbal Reduplication

Although verbal reduplication (DUP) in Kwaraqae can be valency-decreasing (7.1.2.4), it also functions as a semantic intensifier where the meaning of intransitive verbs are extended to indicate continuation or habitualisation of a motion or state. Their forms may be completely reduplicated (leak - leakleak) or partially reduplicated (maliu - ma-maliu).

Examples of reduplicated verbal forms are set out in Table 7-15 below.
Table 7-15: Reduplicated verbs with their simplex forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simplex Form</th>
<th>Verbal Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>leak</em></td>
<td><em>leak</em>leak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>‘go on and on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tua</em></td>
<td><em>tuatua</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘live, stay’</td>
<td>‘used to stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tio</em></td>
<td><em>tiotio</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be situated, stay’</td>
<td>‘remain, stay on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>su</em></td>
<td><em>susu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dive’</td>
<td>‘fish by continued diving’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>loh</em></td>
<td><em>lohloh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fly’</td>
<td>‘jump up and down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>louh</em></td>
<td><em>louhlouh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pull’</td>
<td>‘lift repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maliu</em></td>
<td><em>ma-maliu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>‘be sleeping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maliu</em></td>
<td><em>maliu-liu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>‘oversleep, sleep in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dao</em></td>
<td><em>daodao</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘come, arrive’</td>
<td>‘used to come’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with reduplicated nominals, verbal reduplicated forms typically involve a single copied morpheme, although *lohlohloh* ‘to fly on and on’, *lululul*
‘keep searching’, *raeegraeqraeq* ‘to come up and up’, and *qesqesqesqes* ‘to go down and down’ demonstrate the possibility of multiple repetition to achieve an even greater intensified meaning.

The pairs of text excerpts below show the structural and semantic effects of verbal reduplication in Kwaraqae:

7.56) *Nei alaq suli-a kei1 ka leak i hanoa*
*FUT.1SG talk about-OBJ.3 1PL.EXCL IMP go LOC home*
‘I am going to talk about our trip home’

*…ni leak-leak ka ruq se-an-a*
*3SG DUP-go IMP enter in-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH*

*ru neq kal hakleq-ru neq kiar oalan-a*
*thing SUB some egg-thing SUB 3PL light.up-OBJ.3*
‘…it(electricity) goes on and on and enters some egg-shaped things which light up’

7.57) *Ni su-a nouaq nias tio sa luom*
*3SG defile-OBJ.3 NEG NEG.3SG be.situated LOC house*
‘It (toilets) defiles it (house) when it is situated in the house’

*Kia lia ma neq diaq-ba ki se-sea*
*3PL look and SUB be.like-like PL DUP.say*

*kukusu taetaeq-an naq neq ka*
*coconut.crab shell-POSS.3SG.INAL COMP SUB IMP*
tio-tio...
DUP-be.situated
‘They saw, like they used to say, the coconut crab shells
still remaining…’

7.58) ...taeqan nia loh ka toq an aon...
today FUT.3SG fly IMP land on ground
‘…today it will fly then land on the ground…’

...nia loh-loh-loh, nia qeis-geis-qeis kargi-a
3SG DUP-DUP-fly 3SG DUP-DUP-go.down close.to-OBJ.3

long aon-o...
also ground-VH
‘…it flies on and on and on, then it goes down, down, down
close to the ground…’

7.2.2 Reciprocal and Reflexive kwei-
Reciprocal and reflexive forms are “correferential with a co-occuring
nominal” and generally express the idea of mutual action (Schachter &
Shopen, 2007, p. 28). Examples of these forms are listed in Table 7-16.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reciprocal Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwei-liu</td>
<td>'go around and around non-stop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwei-ngyolngyol</td>
<td>'argue' (with each other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwei-hatei</td>
<td>'argue' (with each other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwei-duqiduqi</td>
<td>'retaliate, pay s.o. back (for wrong-doing)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwei-makior</td>
<td>'two-faced, say something bad behind another’s back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwei-ma</td>
<td>'to be friends' (with each other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwei-mantae</td>
<td>'to be sad, sympathise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwei-nangtei</td>
<td>'wrestle with s.o.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 5.2.1.1, the option of expressing these relationships with non-future pronouns in direct object position was demonstrated. However, in Kwaraqae, reciprocity can also be an inflectional operation on the verb stem whereby the prefix *kwei-* can be used by speakers to express the idea of ‘each other’ when the subject and object are the same referent(s). In such cases there is no co-referential object pronoun. An example of this is shown in 7.59.

7.59) Hanoa diq kwei-ngyolngyol-ei-qang ni raeq...
    village if RECIP-argue-NOM-NOM 3SG come.up
    'If arguments come up in the village…'
Events where a subject is conceptualised as acting reflexively can likewise be expressed by the affixation of this prefix and is illustrated in 7.60.

7.60) \( \ldots nia \enspace loh \enspace ka \enspace teiq \enspace eilheiq \enspace kwei-liu \)
FUT.3SG fly IMP one turn REFL-pass.by

\( beis \enspace toqba \enspace sa \enspace saol-o\ldots \)
first up.there LOC sky-VH
‘...it (aeroplane) will fly, turn once, then go round and round first up there in the sky...’

Reflexivity and reciprocity would seem to be conceptually inherent in the Kwaraqae verb of emotion \textit{kweimantae} ‘be sad, sorry’:

7.61) \( Keil \enspace kwei-mantae \enspace sul-i-a \enspace niaq \enspace leak \)
1PL.EXCL REFL-sad because-OBJ.3 3SG go
‘We are sad because he left’

The verb \textit{kweima} ‘be friends’ would seem to require an independent pronoun as an object argument along with the affixed verb form:

7.62) \( \ldots kiar \enspace goni-a \enspace digi-a-ba \enspace niaq \enspace na \)
3PL look.after-OBJ.3 like-OBJ.3-like 3SG DEF

\( ngwae \enspace kwei-ma \enspace kiar \)
people be.friends 3PL
‘...they looked after it (frog) as if it was their friend (as if the people were friends with each other)’

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The prefixation of *kwei*-in comparison to a coreferenced pronoun in direct object position syntactically represents a tighter, more bound relationship. It is possible that this is a reflection of the reciprocal and reflexive meanings inherent in particular verbs. More data would be necessary to investigate this hypothesis.

7.2.3 Compound Verbs

As with nominal compounds (5.2.2.4), verbal compounds are defined following firstly Haspelmath (2002), who states that they are complex structures of two or more base lexemes without intervening morphological material, and secondly Katamba & Stonham (2006), who note that these lexemes are typically pre-existing words simply joined together, although there are bound bases which are “word-forming units”. Further analysis is made in regard to both Haspelmath (2002) and Katamba & Stonham (2006) by considering the word classes of the constituents, the presence of a semantic head (H), and the type of head-dependent relation expressed if a head is identifiable.

Kwaraqae does not use compounding very often as it is predominantly an isolating language. However, for those words from the data which fit the criteria above, a classification is made for verbal compounds according to the free or bound status of their component bases.
7.2.3.1 Compound Verbs with Free Bases

The verbal compounds with free bases from the data are shown in Table 7-17. There is only one example of an exocentric compound, the remainder all being endocentric. As with the endocentric nominal compounds, the headed constituent of an endocentric verbal compound can be positioned either at the left or right periphery.

Table 7-17: Compound verbs with free bases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-compounded Forms</th>
<th>Compounded Form</th>
<th>Constituent Word Class</th>
<th>Compound Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tal ngwaroq</td>
<td>tal[ngwaroq]i</td>
<td>N + V</td>
<td>endocentric incorporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘road’ ‘be soft’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doarein abih</td>
<td>[doareiq]i:yiq</td>
<td>V + N</td>
<td>endocentric incorporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hang.up sth’ ‘clothes’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruq gwat</td>
<td>[ruq]i:gwat</td>
<td>V + N</td>
<td>endocentric incorporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hunt’ ‘pig’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat maman</td>
<td>[hat]i:maman</td>
<td>V + N</td>
<td>endocentric incorporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘talk’ ‘truth’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat ueil</td>
<td>[hat]i:ueil-sia</td>
<td>V + V</td>
<td>endocentric (type of talk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘talk’ ‘return’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagtag raeq</td>
<td>tagtag[raeq]i</td>
<td>V + V</td>
<td>endocentric (type of going up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘flap’ ‘go up’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haon usia</td>
<td>haonusia</td>
<td>N + V</td>
<td>exocentric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘village’ ‘meet s.o.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The endocentric compounds formed from noun and verb bases show object incorporation, where the noun, which would ordinarily be a direct object of the verb, becomes incorporated into the verb, and the verbal constituent becomes the semantic head, expressing the meaning 'a type of X'. For example, in the compound *ruggwat* 'pig-hunt', the semantic head is the verb *ruq* 'hunt' which is modified by the noun *gwat* 'pig' to express a type of hunting. Examples 7.63 and 7.64 show these types of verbal compounds.

7.63) \[...goq\] uner \[goq\] kwaet ru ki ka \[tal-ngwaroq\] long \[huin\] \nthen be about just make thing PL IMP way-be.easy also the.latter ‘...so it just makes that easy also’

7.64) \[Ni\] leak doarei-yih \n3SG go hang.up-clothes ‘She is hanging up the clothes (to dry)’

The endocentric compound *hatuielsia* ‘talk back to someone’ is not only formed by a combination of the two free lexeme bases *hat* ‘talk’ and *uiel* ‘return’, it also has the suffix -*Cia* attached, which introduces an additional argument in direct object position for this compound.
The compound *tagtagraeq* ‘take off’, as shown in example 7.65 below, has a reduplicated lexeme base *tagtag* ‘flap’, which modifies the semantic head, *raeq* ‘go up’. It is endocentric as it describes a type of ‘going up’. Although typically used for birds, it has undergone semantic extension to include the ‘taking off’ motion of a plane.

7.65)   …*ni ka tagtag-raeq ka raeq toqba*
       3SG IMP flap-go.up IMP come.up up.there

   *sa saol-o…*
   LOC sky-VH
   ‘…it (areoplane) takes off, goes up there into the sky…’

With *haonusia* ‘block, close up something’, neither of the base lexemes *haon* ‘village’ or *usia* ‘meet someone’ are related hierarchically with one another nor there is an identifiable semantic head “inside” the compound itself. The compound meaning arises from the whole structure (Haspelmath, 2002). Thus, the compound is exocentric being more than the sum of the individual component parts.

7.2.3.2  Compound Verbs with Bound Bases

Table 7-18 sets out the bound bases which form compound verbs in Kwaraqae. Each of these forms can also be found as base lexemes in nominal compounds (5.2.2.4.2).
Table 7-18: Compound verbs with bound bases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound Form</th>
<th>Compound Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>heiq-</em></td>
<td><em>bik-heiq</em></td>
<td>'cover cooking fire with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'round'</td>
<td>'- -round'</td>
<td>stones and leaves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>eil-heiq</em></td>
<td>'turn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'- -round'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gweq</em></td>
<td><em>gweq-hou-aq</em></td>
<td>'be too stoney'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bare head, skull'</td>
<td>'bare.head/skull-stone-PROP'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The bound forms can be found at either the left or right periphery. The forms *bikheiq* ‘to cover cooking fire with stones and leaves’ and *eilheiq* ‘turn’ would seem to be examples of compounds where both bases are bound, as neither *bik* nor *eil* could be elicited as free forms. It is therefore difficult to determine their semantic contribution to the compound form, and to decide whether these compounds are endocentric or exocentric. However, according to Katamba & Stonham (2006), compounds such as *bikheiq* and *eilheiq* can be analysed as exocentric as they have less easily determined meanings and must be listed separately in the lexicon. Example 7.66 demonstrates the use of *eilheiq*.
7.66) ...taeqan nia loh ka teiq eil-heiq kwei-liu
    today 3SG fly IMP one -round RECIP-pass.by

    beis toqba sa saol-o...
    first up.there LOC sky
    ‘...today it flies once round, then turns first up there in the sky...’

The compound *gweqhouaq* ‘be too stoney’ has a bound base *gweq* ‘bare head, skull’ modified by a free base *hou* ‘stone’ so is endocentric. It also takes the proprietary suffix *(u)aq* (7.1.3.2), suggesting that bound compounds are subject to morphological affixation as are free compounds such as *hatueilsia* ‘talk back to someone’.
8 The Verb Phrase

This chapter describes the Kwaraqae verb phrase (VP). A VP can consist of a single verb as in the following two imperatives (imperatives are discussed in 11.2):

8.1) \textit{Eileil!}
be.quick
‘Hurry up!’

8.2) \textit{Ngeiq!}
take
‘Give it!’

Alternatively, a VP can comprise a verb as the head with verbal modifiers including tense and aspect markers, a nominal phrase (NP) as a direct object argument (chapter 6), and/or a prepositional phrase (PP)\(^1\) as an oblique argument (chapter 9). For example, 8.3 shows the intransitive verb \textit{ueil} ‘return’ with the modifier \textit{long} ‘again’ (8.4.8), a post-verbal directional modifier \textit{meiq} ‘hither, towards’ (8.4.14.1), a PP, and the completive marker \textit{naq} (8.3.1):

8.3) \textit{Eiya goq keil [ka ueil long meiq}
okay then 1PL.EXCL IMP return again towards

\(^1\) Justification for the inclusion of the PP in the VP is given in 8.3.2 with the section describing the terminal marker \textit{sui}.

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[an ruqan wik an diseba]_{PP} naq]_{VP}
to second week of December COMP
‘Okay, then we will return here again towards the end of the second week of December’

Kwaraqae is predominantly an isolating language, so the VP elements are free forms. A formal description can be made by considering the order of elements within the phrase, and the other constituents with which they co-occur. A very generalised scheme of constituent order is shown below in Figure 1.

![Figure 8-1: A generalised representation of constituent order in the verb phrase.](image)

The discussion here includes the VP constituents presented in Figure 1 with two exceptions; the NP and the PP, which are described in chapter 6 and chapter 9 respectively. The remaining constituents are phrasal elements which are not core arguments of the verb and are described as markers and modifiers. Markers are a closed class set of four elements which typically occupy a specific position in the VP, and which are involved in the temporal and aspectual systems of the language (ka, hiq,
naq, and sui). Post-verbal modifiers are a much larger group whose phrasal positioning and functions are less systematic.

The VP elements are presented in the following order:

- The VP head
- The pre-verbal markers
  - the imperfective progressive marker ka (8.2.1)
  - the temporal immediacy marker hiq (8.2.2)
- The post-verbal markers
  - the completive marker naq (8.3.1)
  - the terminal marker sui (8.3.2)
- The post-verbal VP modifiers (8.4)

These structures are analysed firstly by describing their position in the VP, and secondly by examining their function.

8.1 The Verb Phrase Head

The prototypical head of a verb phrase is a transitive or intransitive verb as described in chapter 7. Serial verb constructions are less prototypical heads and are described in 10.1.

8.2 The Pre-verbal Markers

There are two free form markers which consistently appear pre-verbally. The first, *ka*, is an imperfective marker which indicates the duration of an
event or state, and encodes meanings of progression (8.4, 8.6), habitualisation (8.5, 8.6) and the future (8.4). The second, *hiq*, is a marker of temporal immediacy, signalling that the time between two states of affairs or events is particularly short.

8.2.1 The Marker *ka*

When the marker *ka* is present, it is typically the first pre-verbal element of the VP:

8.4) \[ \text{Keil} \quad [\text{ka} \quad \text{ngeil} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{bas-a} \quad i \quad \text{neqe}]_{VP} \]
\[ 1\text{PL.EXCL} \quad \text{IMP} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{DEF} \quad \text{bus-VH} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{here} \]

\[ \text{keil} \quad [\text{ka} \quad \text{leak} \quad \text{u-an} \quad i] \]
\[ 1\text{PL.EXCL} \quad \text{IMP} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{toward-POSS.3SG.INCL} \quad \text{PLACE} \]

\[ \text{Auckland}]_{VP} \]

Auckland 'We will be taking the bus from here and we will go to Auckland'

8.5) \[ \text{Keil} \quad [\text{ka} \quad \text{ngeil} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{tarek}]_{VP} \quad \text{keil} \]
\[ 1\text{PL.EXCL} \quad \text{IMP} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{DEF} \quad \text{truck} \quad 1\text{PL.EXCL} \]

\[ \text{leak} \quad \text{naq} \quad \text{sa} \quad \text{tarek} \quad \text{doe} \]
\[ \text{go} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{truck} \quad \text{be.big} \]

'We took the usual truck; we went on the big lorry'
As shown in 8.6, the marker *ka* may become morphologically fused with a preceding pronominal subject marker (see 5.2.1.4 for description of these), which is shown here as part of the VP:

8.6) \[
\text{An asowa } \text{ki ohodeing } \text{ki kia ad in day PL morning PL 3PL be.awake } \\
\text{ohodeing [kiak duqur ka sui]}_{\text{VP}} \text{ goq morning IMP.3PL cook IMP finish then } \\
\text{[kiak leak naq sa oqla]}_{\text{VP}} \text{ IMP.3PL go COMP LOC garden} \\
\text{‘Each day in the mornings they wake up, they cook, then when they are finished, they go to the garden’} \\
\]

That *ka* precedes the other pre-verbal VP marker *hiq* (8.2.2), is shown in the following example:

8.7) \[
\text{…diaqba ngwae neq leak se-an be.like people SUB go inside-POSS.3SG.INAL } \\
\text{ki [ka hiq kos naq]}_{\text{VP}} \text{ haq-sia naq 3PL IMP IMM go.down COMP leave-TRANA COMP} \\
\text{‘…it’s like the people who go inside, they just climb down and leave it (the plane)’} \\
\]

The marker *ka* sometimes combines with the marker *naq* in the same VP (explained below). For example:

8.8) \[
\text{Goq [keik tua naq i hanoa deing]}_{\text{VP… then IMP.1PL.EXCL stay COMP LOC village day}} \\
\text{‘Then we stayed in the village overnight…’} \\
\]
8.9) **Ngwei nau neq mateiq [ka tio**
uncle POSS.1SG.AL SUB be.sick IMP lie.down

**naq an\j\vp keil dao goq nik taeq**
COMP on 1PL.EXCL arrive then IMP.3SG get.up

**[ka alaq naq]\vp**
IMP talk COMP

‘My uncle who was feeling sick, was in bed. We arrived then he got up to talk to us’

*Ka* is part of the aspectual system of Kwaraqae. According to Comrie (1989a), aspect is concerned with “relative time reference” and the different ways of viewing the “internal temporal constituency of a situation”.

Following Comrie’s (1989a) approach, *ka* can be described as encoding an imperfective view, where the internal temporal structure of a situation is viewed as durative, that is, the situation is seen as one which lasts or persists over a certain period of time. *Ka* also indicates that a situation is unbounded with no specific beginning and/or endpoints, and that states of affairs are constant; there is no change involved. In Kwaraqae *ka* marks progressive or continuous processes and habitualised events or states.

For example, in 8.10 and 8.11, the verbs *lia* ‘look’, *sea* ‘say something’ and *tua naenae* ‘stay quiet’ are processes of ‘looking’, ‘saying’ and ‘staying quiet’, which are conceived as progressive, so the marker *ka* appears in the VP. The events are unbounded and unchanging:
8.10) Sui ngyal ngwaen huqko [ka lia
then child boy DEM IMP look

se-an taebut hu nia ki]VP...
inside-POSS.3SGINAL boot for POSS.3SG AL PL
‘Then that boy was looking inside his boots…’

8.11) Gog nik se-a hu-an kui
then IMP.3SG say-OBJ.3 to-POSS.3SGINAL dog

huqko ka tua naenae
that IMP stay be.quiet
‘Then he told the dog to stay quiet’

The stative verbs tua ‘stay’ in 8.8, and tio ‘lie down’ in 8.9, are marked with ka to indicate a durative aspect, the states of ‘staying’ and of ‘lying in bed’ continuing on into the future at the time of reference. These are actions already taking place, but without a specified endpoint so are progressive.

The event verbs taeq ‘get up’ and alaq ‘talk’ (8.9) are also marked for this interpretation. However, in these text excerpts, the speaker has also indicated by the use of naq(COMPO) in the VPs with tua ‘stay’, tio ‘lie down’, and alaq ‘talk’, that the event has a terminal point; it has been completed.

In examples 8.5 and 8.6 above, where the speaker is referring to events such as leak ‘go’, ngeil ‘take, board’, duqur ‘cook’ and sui ‘finish’, kais used to indicate that the type of duration is habitual; the events occur over an extended period (8.5) or are iterative (8.6). The event described in 8.7,
where the going-down event (kos) can be conceived as being enacted by a number of different passengers over an extended period of time, is also habitual.

It would seem that ka not only encodes imperfective aspect, but also expresses future time. For example, in 8.4, the speaker is describing a trip that he will take. The event verbs ngeil ‘take, board’ and leak ‘go’ are marked with ka, indicating that the ‘taking of the bus’ and the ‘going to Auckland’ are viewed as imperfective; the actions are seen to persist over an unspecified time period without change. However, as these events have not yet taken place, ka is simultaneously expressing future time.

Kais also involved in subordinate clauses with complement taking predicates like sea ‘say sth’ and seiyan ‘know’ (see 10.2.1.3).

8.2.2 The Marker hiq

The marker hiq precedes the verb as seen in 8.12, and follows ka when they co-occur (8.7 above).

8.12)    Nia    ngeil    naq    ta    ro    aos    hei    aos
         FUT.3SG  take  COMP  some  two  day  four  day

uner    ki    [hiq    dao    i    Auek]$vp$
be.about  PL   IMM  arrive  PLACE Auki

‘It will take about two to four days, before you arrive at Auki’
The function of *hiq* would seem to be temporal immediacy (IMM), as the VP including *hiq* indicates a state of affairs or an event which occurs immediately following an event in a preceding VP. *Hiq* enables speakers to specifically indicate that the time between the two events or states is particularly short. For example, in 8.12, the arrival at Auki is immediately preceded by a two-to-four day trip to reach it. In 8.7 above, the people are inside the plane and experience an immediate change of state when they climb out to leave it.

The marker *hiq* is also a component of the sequential expression *mal hiq* ‘then’ which indicates a sequence of events. In this expression, *mal* is not part of the same VP as *hiq*, but occurs at the end of the preceding clause (s). For example:

8.13)  
...sui [nauk pas naq i Selwyn
then 1SG pass.exams COMP PLACE Selwyn

*mal*[s nauk [hiq ueil][s] ku dao loq sa
SEQ 1SG IMM return 1SG arrive REP LOC

*haon lob i Honiara
home there PLACE Honiara
‘...then I passed my exams at Selwyn College, then I went back home to Honiara’
8.14) ...kiak hot-qi-a sisi-gang-a ka
IMP.3PL nail-OBJ.3 crushed.bamboo.NOM-VH IMP

tio an odo-a /ka sui mal\[VP kiak
stay to erect.walls-OBJ.3 IMP finish SEQ IMP.3PL

/hiq busaow-a luma\[VP
IMM thatch-OBJ.3 house
‘...they nail on the bamboo so it stays up, they finish erecting
the walls, then they thatch the house’

*Mal* also has a role as an equative post-verbal modifier in the VP. This is
discussed below in 8.4.1.

### 8.3 The Post-verbal Markers

Apart from NPs (chapter 6) and PPs (chapter 9), the VP constituents
which follow the VP head are the complective aspectual markers *naq* and
*sui*, and the post-verbal modifiers (8.4).

#### 8.3.1 The Marker *naq*

The post-verbal marker *naq* (COMP) is a free form, although, as example
8.16 shows, it is occasionally compounded with the preposition *an* ‘to, at’
to form *naqan*. *Naq* is typically located immediately after the VP head:
8.15) *Keil [leak naq]*$_{VP}$ *keil [ka dong-a]*
1PL.INCL go COMP 1PL.INCL IMP follow-OBJ.3

*naq teiqtal u-an sa tol-o]*$_{VP}$
COMP road toward-POSS.3SG.INAL LOC inland-VH

'We left and followed the road inland'

8.16) *Ku [ueil naq-an i Auek]*$_{VP}$
1SG return COMP-to PLACE Auki

'I went all the way back to Auki'

8.17) *[Dao naq meiq hein boat huir]*$_{VP}$ *[stat]
arrive COMP towards with boat the.former start

*naq soqleh huir]*$_{VP}$ *keil [ka mof naq]*$_{VP}$
COMP evening the.former 1PL.INCL IMP move COMP

*[lodim naq hak hein na enjin huir ki]*$_{VP}$
load COMP ship with DEF engine that PL

'It (truck) arrived with the boat and we got started that
evening and we loaded up the ship with those engines'

Less typically, *naq* is found at the end of the VP (see also 8.3 above):

8.18) *...goq nauk [leak ngeil [tarek-e]*$_{NP}$ *naq]*$_{VP}$
then 1SG go board truck-VH COMP

‘...then I boarded a truck’

A further possibility is for *naq* to be placed once after the verb, and then
again after other constituents in phrase-final position. Example 8.19 shows
*naq* being repeated in the VP after a PP and a following adverb, while in
example 8.20 *naq* is repeated in the VP, then in phrase final position in
subordinating adverbial clauses:

8.19)  
\[Keil\]  \[leak ka dao naq [i Auek]_{PP}\]  
\[1\text{PL.INCL} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{IMP} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{PLACE} \quad \text{Auki}\]  
\[asowa_{ADV} \quad naq\]_{VP}\]  
\[\text{day} \quad \text{COMP}\]  
‘We arrived at Auki exactly at midday’

8.20)  
\[...kiak [gwei-a naq touhu naq]_{VP} [han toqeiis uk-\text{i-an} naq an teiq kula\]  
\[\text{IMP.3PL} \quad \text{pick.up-OBJ.3} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{rubbish} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{for}\]  
\[\text{huin}_{ADV} [han doqhi-a-i-an naq huin]_{ADV} \]  
\[\text{the.latter for burn-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{the.latter}\]  
‘…they pick up all the rubbish for piling up in one place so that this can be burned’

In example 8.21, VP1 illustrates again this type of repetition, while in VP2, *naq* is repeated after each of the PPs. In VP3 *naq* is placed back in its
typical position immediately after the verb:

8.21)  
\[Nauk [leak naq [an Honiara Sekondri]_{PP} naq]_{VP1}\]  
\[1\text{SG} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Honiara} \quad \text{Secondary} \quad \text{COMP}\]  
\[ku [leak [an i Maliat]_{PP} naq\]  
\[1\text{SG} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{PLACE} \quad \text{Malaita} \quad \text{COMP}\]  

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[an fom fo hein feif]\textsubscript{PP} naq\textsubscript{VP\textsubscript{2}} nauk [ueil
to form four and five COMP 1SG return

naq meiq [i Tenaru]\textsubscript{PP} [hu-an
COMP towards PLACE Tenaru for-POSS.3SG.INAL

fom siks]\textsubscript{PP} \textsubscript{VP\textsubscript{3}}
form six
‘I went to Honiara Secondary School, then I went to Malaita
and completed form four and five, then I returned to Tenaru
for form six’

When an NP which would regularly appear in a PP of the VP is placed at
the front of a sentence and relativised, the marker naq shifts with it:

8.22) Ber ma oqola ki naq [neq kuwal]\textsubscript{REL\textsubscript{C}} ngwae
but garden PL COMP SUB place people

hanoa ki [kia ngeil hang an]\textsubscript{VP}
village PL 3PL take food from
‘But it’s only the gardens which are the places where
the village people (they) get their food’

8.23) Taeqan na eingsien huir naq [neq nia
today DEF engine that COMP SUB 3SG

kweiqi-a higeis]\textsubscript{REL\textsubscript{C}} ka raeq naq kinyu
strike-OBJ.3 wake IMP come.up COMP canoe

huir [ka lae kakeis nahoaq naq sa eis]\textsubscript{VP
that IMP go propel wave COMP LOC sea
‘Today that engine, which strikes up a wake, propels the
canoe through the sea’
8.24)  

\[ Taeqan \ ru \ huir \ ki \ naq \ \text{[neq ka tole-a]} \]

\( \text{today thing that PL COMP SUB IMP flow-OBJ.3} \)

\[ meiq \ \text{kaho[REL]} \ [\text{ka laeleak[VP]} \ [\text{ka dao}]] \]

\( \text{toward water IMP continue IMP arrive} \)

\[ m-an \ \text{luom} \ \text{ki[VP]} \]

\( \text{front- POSS.3SG.INAL house PL} \)

‘Today those are the things (pipes,) which keep bringing the water right into the houses’

Like \( ka \), \( naq \) is part of the aspectual system in Kwaraqae. However, whereas \( ka \) is pre-verbal and marks imperfective aspect, \( naq \) is completive, its function being either to indicate that a durative situation has been terminated, or to signal a transition from one state to another (cf. Dahl, 1987; Lichtenberk 2008). This is iconically represented by the order of elements in the VP, where the durative marker \( ka \) precedes the verb, while the completive \( naq \) signals an endpoint by being positioned after the verb. Alternatively, \( naq \) terminates an existing state of affairs by being placed after the verb. For example, in 8.19, the ‘act of arriving’ (\( \text{leak ka dao naq} \)) has duration but is iconically signalled as being a completed event with the positioning of \( naq \) after the verb \( dao \) ‘arrive’.

Support for this analysis is provided by the fact that \( naq \) does not occur with \( ka \) in the corpus when \( ka \) encodes future meaning. This is consistent
with the completive role proposed here for *naq*, as an unbounded future event would necessarily exclude completion.

In examples 8.15, 8.16, and 8.20, the completive *naq* is used to indicate that the actions *leak*‘go’, *donga*‘follow’, and *ueil*‘return’, are each being conceptualised as completed, while in 8.17 and 8.20 the speaker is narrating events which occurred in the past, so uses the completive *naq* to present the actions as completed, one state of affairs transitioning into the next. This has the pragmatic effect of moving the narrative along. The repetition of *naq* in example 8.21 could be explained as pragmatic, where the speaker wishes to emphasise the completion of each stage in a series of events.

In 8.20-8.24, the repeated *naq* is positioned after objects. This could be to signal total affectedness of the object. For example, in 8.20, *touhu* ‘rubbish’ may be followed by the completive *naq* to express the idea that ‘all’ of the rubbish was being picked up. In 8.22, the speaker may wish to emphasise that the gardens are the ‘only’ place that the village people can get their food.

An alternative analysis for *naq* may be to propose that *naq* functions as a marker of telic aspect. Evidence for this is provided following Hyslop (2001), where stative verbs are suggested as having an inchoative reading
when marked by a telic marker. In the data for this project, there was only one example where this might apply:

8.25) ...keika tuataua naq noni-an  
IMP.1PL.EXCL stay COMP after-POSS.3SG.INAL

ka leaq naq nika akwa naq  
IMP be.good COMP IMP.3SG feel.well COMP
‘...we stayed and later he improved and felt better’

Here, the verb *leaq* ‘be good’ can be translated as having an inchoative meaning ‘become better, improve’. However, to investigate telicity further may require text types and topics other than those in this corpus. For example, Hyslop (2001) states that telic aspect is used with Lolovoli when speakers wish to emphasise events which occurred in the distant past. These event-types do not appear in any of the Kwaraqae texts collected for this project.

8.3.2 The Marker *sui*

Apart from its role as an intransitive verb meaning ‘finish’, and a conjunction which can be glossed as ‘then’ (10.5.9), the form *sui* is a post-verbal marker (TERM) which regularly takes phrase-final position when it is present. For example:
8.26) *Sukul-u-aq si nauk [huat i*

school-VH-NOM because 1SG be.born PLACE

_Honiara suiruV nauk an heiŋneil 1980 uner*

Honiara TERM 1SG of year 1980 about

‘With schooling, because I was born in Honiara about 1980...’

8.27) ...

...loq kiar ka se-a “Nouaq koul ka

and 3PL IMP say-OBJ.3 NEG 2PL IMP

*moh loq tueil beil huqba suiruV”*

move again down side that TERM

‘...and they said “No, you should go further down to that side” (to unload some things from a truck)’

In example 8.26 where su i is the final element in the VP, the PP *i Honiara* occurs within the VP, hence its inclusion in the schema presented in Figure 1, even though it is not a core argument. However, 8.26 was the only example from the corpus. On the other hand, a further point in support of the analysis of including the PP in the VP is that there were no examples of *suiru* preceding a PP in the data.

Example 8.28 demonstrates the differences between *su i* in its role as an intransitive verb ‘finish’, and *su i* as a VP marker. When *su i* is a verb, it more often than not appears in the data along with the imperfective marker *ka*. When *su i* is an aspectual marker, it does not appear with *ka*.  

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8.28) \( Qaok-o \quad ko \quad [oal \quad haol \quad ki \quad sui]_{VP} \)
2SG-VH 2SG put beam PL TERM

\( qaok-o \quad ototto-a \quad luom \quad oe]_{VP} \quad [ka \quad sui]_{VP} \)
2SG-VH frame-OBJ.3 house POSS.2SG.AL IMP finish

\( ko \quad [ato-a \quad sui]_{VP} \)
2SG put.rafters.on-OBJ.3 TERM

‘You put up the beams, you finish framing your house, then you put on the rafters’

Like \textit{naq} above, the function of \textit{sui} is completive; it refers to the endpoint or termination of an event. For example, in 8.28, the house-building activities of putting up the beams \textit{(oal haol ki)} and the rafters \textit{(atoa)} are presented in a series of completed events; there is no mention of the duration or progression of any of these actions. In 8.27, \textit{sui} is used to emphasise the final stage of a movement towards and down to a particular place. It is the successful completion of this event which is being drawn into focus.

In contrast to \textit{naq}, \textit{sui} has a reduced range of functions, simply marking the termination of a situation. Taking into account its role as the verb ‘finish’, it would seem that \textit{sui} may best be described as a lexicalised completive marker, while \textit{naq} is a grammatical completive marker.
8.4 The Post-verbal VP Modifiers

The post-verbal modifiers described in this section follow the completive marker *naq*. The set of modifiers are shown in Table 8-1 along with their function\(^2\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mal</em></td>
<td>‘like, such as’</td>
<td>equative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>goq</em></td>
<td>‘just’</td>
<td>limiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>beis</em></td>
<td>‘first’</td>
<td>precedentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qua</em></td>
<td>‘yet’</td>
<td>anterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dangaol</em></td>
<td>‘completely’</td>
<td>exhaustive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bol hein</em></td>
<td>‘approximately’</td>
<td>approximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>liu</em></td>
<td>‘very, really’</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>long</em></td>
<td>‘also’</td>
<td>additive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>loq</em></td>
<td>‘again, more’</td>
<td>repetitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nam</em></td>
<td>‘must’</td>
<td>obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hiyuk</em></td>
<td>‘together’</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>suil</em></td>
<td>‘along’</td>
<td>translocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>meiq</em></td>
<td>‘toward’</td>
<td>ventive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwou</em></td>
<td>‘away’</td>
<td>andative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>alaq</em></td>
<td>‘up’</td>
<td>ascending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tueil</em></td>
<td>‘down’</td>
<td>descending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>seil</em></td>
<td>‘perhaps, I think’</td>
<td>epistemic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, positioning of the modifier in the VP is after the verb and before an NP or a PP, and when the completive marker *naq* is present in the VP, this typically takes the immediate post-verbal slot (see 8.3.1). As can be

\(^2\) Some of the modifiers have similar functions to those described by Lichtenberk (2008) for Toqabaqita. This section therefore follows his terminology where applicable.
seen in a number of the examples below (8.29, 8.37, 8.39, 8.48), it is possible for more than one modifier to occur in a single VP, although no significant ordering was observed when multiple modifiers were present. Some of the modifiers have additional roles and meanings in other parts of the grammar which are noted with each modifier as it is described.

8.4.1 The Modifier *ma*l

The post-verbal marker *ma*l’like’ appears after the verb, although there may be another element (8.29) between it and the verbal head. The function of *ma*l is equative or comparative, expressing the idea of one entity being ‘like’, or an example of, another:

8.29) ...ni mateil dangaol *ma*l heis tuaq
3SG be.different completely like away.from life

i tol haon hanoa
LOC inland home village
‘...it is completely different from life inland at home in the village’

8.30) ...nia eilheiq kweiliu *ma*l quri, ka
3SG turn go.around like thus IMP

*haq-sag-a* 
CAUS-be.straight-OBJ.3 like some thing from-VH
abab-an…
wing-POSS.3SG.INAL
‘…it turns and goes around like so, and straightens out something, such as a thing from the wing…’

8.31) …nia kweiqi-a higeis ka raeq naq kinyu
FUT.3SG strike-OBJ.3 wake IMP come.up COMP canoe

huir ka lae kakeis nahoaq naq sa eis
the.latter IMP go propel wave COMP LOC sea

ni lihu-a hu kui hoet mal
3SG be.more.OBJ.3 than FUT.1PL.INCL paddle like

tol an-a yol ki
inland in-VH canoe PL
‘…it (engine) will make a wake come up and this canoe will be propelled along the sea, it’s better than we paddle, like with inland canoes’

As noted above in 8.2.2, mal forms part of the sequential expression mal hiq, although it does not have an equative meaning in this role.

8.4.2 The Modifier goq

Within a VP, the limiter goq ‘just, only’ can occur after the verb (8.32, 8.34), both before and after core argument NPs (8.32) and before (8.34) and after (8.35) PPs. The function of goq is to limit or restrict a situation or state of affairs. For example in 8.33, the speaker is using goq to indicate that a cup of tea was the only drink the students were given at school,
while in 8.34 and 8.35 the restriction involves a ‘down-playing’ of the arriving and washing actions:

8.32) \[...niaq \ [ngeil \ goq \ [ru]_{NP} \ [diq \ [liam \ ngwae}\]
     3SG carry only thing be.like five people

\[ki]_{NP} \ goq_{VP}

PL only

‘...it only carries five people’

8.33) \[Keik \ [kwouq \ [ti]_{NP} \ hein \ [na \ meq-ti]_{NP} \ goq_{VP}\]
     IMP.1PL.EXCL drink tea with DEF QUAN-tea only

‘We drank tea, only a cup of tea’

8.34) \[Leak \ [ka \ dao \ goq \ [i \ [Auek]_{PP}\]
     go IMP arrive only PLACE Auki

‘I just arrived at Auki...’

8.35) \[...ngwae \ ki \ taeqan \ kia \ [syu \ naq \ [i \ luom]_{PP}\]
     people PL today 3PL wash COMP LOC house

\[goq \ huin]_{VP}

just the.latter

‘...people, today they just wash in their house, these people’

\[Goq\] has a further role as a clausal conjunction (10.5.9) which can be frequently glossed as ‘then’.

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8.4.3 The Modifier *beis*

In all examples from the texts, the precententive modifier *beis*‘first’ is positioned immediately following the verb. The function of *beis* is to indicate that one event precedes another. Here in example 8.36, this refers to the act of eating which occurs before the journey is continued, and in 8.37 the travellers stay and rest for several hours before any other event occurs.

8.36) Keil laeleak ka dao se-an  
1PL.INCL continue IMP arrive inside.POSS.3SG.INAL  

tohng-an naq tal-a keil ka maong  
middle-POSS.3SG.INAL COMP road-VH 1PL.INCL IMP stop  

keil [ka hang beis]VP  
1PL.INCL IMP eat first  
‘We continued until we reached the middle of the journey, stopping to eat first’

8.37) Keil maong keika [tua beis bol hein  
1PL.EXCL stop IMP.1PL.EXCL stay first approximately  

bar oa uner]VP  
several hour be.about  
‘We stopped and stayed firstly for several hours or so’

8.4.4 The Modifier *qua*

There is only one example of the anterior modifier *qua*‘yet’ in the data, and it is positioned after the verb. The function of *qua* is to indicate a
forthcoming event not yet achieved, as in 8.38, where the speaker is implying that a particular destination will be reached, but hasn’t been at the time of reference in his narrative:

8.38) *Bat nouaq keil kas dao qua an kuwal...*  
but NEG 1PL.INCL NEG arrive yet at place  
‘But we hadn’t yet reached the place...’

8.4.5 The Modifier *dangaol*

The exhaustive modifier *dangaol*‘completely’ appears after the verb, and in 8.39, it precedes the equative modifier *mal*. While *dangaol* can be translated as ‘completely’, so might seem to be aspectual, this is not the case, as it refers to a whole event being ‘exhausted’ or totally affected, and is therefore not about internal temporal consituency.

8.39) *Uner, ni mateil dangaol mal heis*  
well 3SG be.different completely like away.from  
*tuaq i tol haon*  
life LOC inland village  
‘Well, it’s completely different from life in the village inland’

8.4.6 The Modifier *bol hein*

The approximate modifier *bol hein*‘approximately’ is placed after the verb in 8.40, although it can follow other modifiers (*beis* – see 8.36). It can be described as a compounding modifier as it is a complex lexeme formed from two free form bases, *bol* being an intransitive stative verb meaning
'be suitable’, and *hein* a comitative preposition meaning ‘with’ (9.1.2.1).

*Bol hein* is used when speakers want to be non-specific about a situation:

8.40)  
\[
\text{Sao \ ka \ tio \ [ka \ dao}
\]
\[
sago.palm.leaves \ IMP \ stay \ IMP \ arrive
\]

\[
\text{bol hein \ liam \ heiqnageil \ kij}_{VP}
\]
\[
\text{approximately \ five \ year \ PL}
\]

‘Sago palm leaves (on the houses) last up to approximately five years’

8.41)  
\[
\text{Nauk \ [tua-tua-tua \ bol hein \ ul \ madaom}
\]
\[
1SG \ DUP-DUP-stay \ approximately \ three \ month
\]

\[
\text{ki \ naq}_{VP}...
\]
\[
\text{PL \ COMP}
\]

‘I stayed on for about three months…’

8.4.7 The Modifier *liu*

The intensifier modifier *liu* ‘very’ is positioned in 8.42 after the verb. The function of *liu*, is to intensify the meaning of the verb in the VP.

8.42)  
\[
\text{Eiya, goq \ ogola \ doe-l-an \ ogola}
\]
\[
\text{okay \ then \ garden \ big-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL \ garden}
\]

\[
\text{ki \ nouaq \ kias \ doe \ liu \ ogla \ ki}
\]
\[
\text{PL \ NEG \ NEG.3PL \ be.big \ very \ garden \ PL}
\]

‘Okay, so the garden sizes, there are not very big’

There is a hyponomous form in the lexicon which is an intransitive verb meaning ‘pass by or through’.

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8.4.8 The Modifier *loq*

The repetitive modifier *loq* ‘again’ is placed after the verb (8.43, 8.44). It can also mean ‘more’ or ‘extra’ as shown in 8.45, when it is placed after the NP argument. Its function in the VP is therefore to signal repetition or extension of an event:

8.43)  
...*keika ueil loq hein sa hak-a kwa*  
IMP.1PL.EXCL return again with LOC ship-VH DISC  
‘...we returned again with the ship’

8.44)  
...*goq keil ka raeq loq sa tarek-e*  
then 1PL.EXCL IMP come.up again LOC truck-VH  
*goq ka leak naq*  
then IMP go COMP  
‘...then we climbed up onto the truck again and we left’

8.45)  
*Dao neger keika [angka loq]VP [sueil*  
arrive there IMP.1PL.EXCL be.at.anchor again be.about  
*[ta ro ao-a]NP loq]VP nei kwa*  
some two hour-VH again there DISC  
‘We arrived and anchored there again for about two hours more’

*Loq* also functions as a clausal conjunction meaning ‘and, also’ (10.5.6).

8.4.9 The Modifier *nam*

The modifier *nam* ‘must’ signals obligation or the necessity for some event or state to occur:
8.46) *Uner aos ki teghou kia leak nam*
    so day PL all 3PL go must

    *sa oqla ki*
    LOC garden PL

    ‘So, everyday, they must go to the gardens’

8.47) *Hakloh-o kiar iliy-a nam kula*
aeroplane 3PL dig-OBJ.3 must place

    *hu-an i aon*
    for-POSS.3SG.INAL LOC ground

    ‘For aeroplanes, they must level out a place on the ground’

8.4.10 The Modifier *long*

The additive modifier *long* ‘also, too’ is typically placed after the verb as seen in 8.48-8.50. As an additive modifier, the function of *long* is to indicate that a state or event is additional to one which already exists.

8.48) *Areq nei haon kiaq [karngi-a*
husband POSS.1SG.AL village 3PL be.close-OBJ.3

    *long kwou haon komu i Nahinua]*
    also away from village POSS.2SG.AL PLACE Nahinua

    ‘My husband’s village is also close to your village at Nahinua’

8.49) *Eiya goq keil ka [ueil long meiq*
okay then 1PL.EXCL IMP return also towards
an ruqaŋ wik an diseba naq\_{\text{VP}}
to second week of December\ COMP
‘Okay, then we will return again around the second week of
December’

8.50) \ldots goq uner goq kwaet ru ki [ka
then be.about LIM make thing PL IMP
\vspace{1pt}talŋwaro long huin\_{\text{VP}}... be.easy.way also the.latter
‘...it’s about just making these things easier also...’

In example 8.51, long\ is placed at the end of a relative clause:

8.51) Sui keiseiq niaq ueil meiq nouwaq [neq
then when 3SG return towards 1SG SUB
nei [leak i hanoa i Maliat han
FUT.1SG go LOC village LOC Malaita for
\vspace{1pt}teiq wik-i long\_{\text{VP}} \text{REL}\C one week-VH also
‘Then when she returns, it’s I who will go to the village in
Malaita also for one week’

A further ordering possibility is shown in 8.52, where long\ is inserted within
the verb toqan ‘have’ (this discussed further in 9.1.2.3):

8.52) Aok [toq-long-an ti ngya\_n\_{\text{VP}}?
2SG have-also-have some child
‘Do you also have children?’

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8.4.11 The Modifier *hiyuk*

The single example in the corpus of the modifier *hiyuk* ‘together’ is shown in 8.53, where it has been positioned after the verb. Its function is to indicate that the participants are collectively affected by the verb.

8.53) …tyaq nau hein maq nau
     mother POSS.1SG.AL and father POSS.1SG.AL

     nouaq kias [tua hiyuk uner]VP,…
     NEG NEG.3PL live together be.about

     ‘…my mother and my father did not live together about
     then…’

8.4.12 The Modifier *suil*

The modifier *suil* ‘along’ follows the verb and in 8.54, also the completive marker *naq*. Its function is to indicate motion along:

8.54) …kiar kos naq suil kokosa huqko…
     3PL go.down COMP along path that

     ‘…they went down along that path…’

*Suil* is a variant of *sulia* which also occurs as a non-verbal predicate meaning ‘be about sth.’ (7.1.3.1), and a preposition ‘about, approximately’ (9.1.2.5).

8.4.13 The Modifier *seil*

The post-verbal epistemic modifier *seil* ‘I think’ occurs after the verb in 8.55 but in an adverbial clause in 8.56. The function of *seil* is, as Payne
(1997) suggests, to indicate the speakers commitment to the truth of the
clause. Payne (1997) also notes that epistemic adverbs can become
lexicalised from verbs of cognition. The modifier *seil* seems to be an
eample of this type of lexicalisation as it shares part of the phonological
shape of the cognitive verb *seiyana‘know’:

8.55) \( N\text{ia} \ [n\text{geil} \ seil \ ro \ aoa-qang-a \ wan \ ein \ haf \)
3SG take I think two hour-NOM-VH one with half
\( u\text{ner} \ \ goq \)\_VP
be.about only
‘It takes, I think, only about two-and-a-half hours’

8.56) \( \ldots m\text{a} \ [l\text{isi-a} \ na \ kal \ meq \ kwakwa \ sa} \)
and see-OBJ.3 DEF some QUAN hole LOC

\( t\text{ohng-an} \ q\text{e}i \ neqer \)\_VP \( [seil \ meq \ liok] \)\_ADV
middle-POSS.3SG.INAL tree there I think QUAN hole
‘…and he saw a hole in the middle of it (tree), perhaps a type
of bird’s nest’

8.4.14 The Post-verbal Directional Modifiers

There is a closed class set of post-verbal modifiers that specifically relate
to direction, and this may be expressed metaphorically. While their
grammatical behaviour is the same as the other modifiers which are post-
verbal, they are grouped here for their similarity in function. The set is
*meiq ‘towards’, kwou ‘away from’, alaq ‘up’ and tueil ‘down’.*
8.4.14.1 The Modifier meiq

Positioning for the modifier meiq ‘towards’ would seem to be after the verb (8.57, 8.58), although not when completive naq is present (8.59), or other modifiers such as long (8.60):

8.57) Soqleh kia [ueil meiq]_vp kiat kwik maqsia...
    evening 3PL return towards IMP.3PL cook wait
    ‘In the evening, they return home, they cook and wait…’

8.58) …ber ma asueh-e lai neq lad
    but rat instead SUB burst.out

    meiq i man
    towards LOC outside
    ‘…but it was a rat which burst out (of the hole) instead (toward the boy)…’

8.59) …kiat ri ma nouaq ta ngwaq kas [hnathat
    IMP.3PL call but NEG some people NEG reply

    naq meiq]_vp
    COMP towards
    ‘…they called but no one replied’

8.60) Eiya goq keil ka [ueil long meiq an
    okay then 1PL.EXCL IMP return also towards to

    ruqan wik an diseba naq]_vp
    second week of December COMP
    Okay, then we will return again around the second week of December’
The function of *meiq* is to encode motion toward a deictic centre. It is typically used with verbs from the semantic domain of motion such as *uel* ‘return’ (8.56) and *lad*’burst out’ (8.57). However, it also possible for the motion to be metaphorical, so *meiq* is used with verbs from other semantic domains such as communication (8.59), verbs of state (especially when expressed as imperfective) (8.61), factive verbs (8.62) and verbs of manipulation (8.63):

8.61) ...*kiak ad meiq ohodeing*...
IMP.3PL be.awake towards morning
‘...they woke up in the morning...’

8.62) ...*kiar sougeiql naq ru diaq long heiq-haoq*
3PL build COMP thing be.like also round-bamboo

*ki, areiqkwao ki neq sounganiq meiq*
PL white.man PL SUB build towards
‘...they build things like bamboo pipes; it’s white men who build them’

8.63) ...*elektrik-i niaq neq ni kwaet meiq heiq-un*
electricity-VH 3SG SUB 3SG give towards round-torch
‘...electricity, it’s the thing which makes the light’

8.4.14.2 The Modifier *kwou*

Example 8.64 shows the modifier *kwou*’away from’ occurs after the verb, while 8.65 and 8.66 show that it can be preceded by other VP elements such as the completive marker *naq*, and modifiers such as *loq*. 

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8.64) …kiak [lia kwou tuei]_VP…
IMP.3PL look away from down
‘…they looked down…’

8.65) Nauk sukul an ei uaq neq i
1SG attend.school to this.one be.old SUB LOC

loqko kargni-a naq kwou i
there be.close.to-OBJ.3 COMP away from PLACE

Ngalibiu
Ngalimbiu
‘I attended the old school which was located close by, away at Ngalimbiu’

8.66) …kia [taeq iud loq kwou]_VP…
3PL get up move again away from
‘…they got up and moved away again…’

The function of kwou is to encode direction away from a deictic centre.

As for meiq, kwou is not only used with motion verbs. It is also used metaphorically as shown above with lia ‘look’ (8.64), and kargnia ‘be close to something’ (8.65).

The modifier kwou described here has a homonym kwou, which is the imperfective pronoun ‘second person dual’ (5.2.1.4).
8.4.14.3 The Modifier *alaq*

The modifier of ascent *alaq* ‘up’ only occurs once in the corpus where it is placed within a prepositional phrase rather than adjacent to the verb. The function of *alaq* in 8.67 is to indicate a position upwards from that of the deictic centre:

8.67) \[ Ei \quad luom \quad hu \quad kiar \quad tuaq-an-a \quad niaq \]
\[ \text{okay} \quad \text{house for} \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{live-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH} \quad 3\text{SG} \]

\[ [taeq \quad tio \quad hah-an \quad alaq \quad kai \quad hial]_{VP} \]
\[ \text{come.up} \quad \text{be.situated} \quad \text{on.top-POSS.3SG.INAL} \quad \text{up} \quad \text{some hill} \]

‘Okay, the house that they lived in was up on top of a hill’

The modifier *alaq* has a homonymous form in the lexicon as an intransitive verb meaning ‘talk’.

8.4.14.4 The Modifier *tueil*

The modifier of descent *tueil* ‘down’ appears in the VP after other modifiers such as *long* (8.68) and *kwou* (8.69). Its function is to indicate downwards movement such as that in 8.68, which expresses downward movement to a place, and 8.69, where the movement is downwards with the eyes:
8.68) Keil\ ka [ueil long tueil i Nahinua]_{VP}
1PL.EXCL IMP return also down PLACE Nahinua
'We went back down again to Nahinua'

8.69) …kiak [lia kwou tueil]_{VP} ma i heiq ngwaed
IMP.3PL look away.from down and somehow friend
keraq lok tua goq-an
POSS.3DU.AL there sit just-to
'...they looked down and somehow their friend was just sitting right there'
9 The Prepositional Phrase

In Kwaraqae, a prepositional phrase (PP) expresses the grammatical positions of oblique or non-core arguments in the VP. It has a free form preposition at its head, and an NP (chapter 6) as a dependent constituent.

As Figure 8-1 shows, the PP is typically positioned after other verbal constituents such as the completive marker naq, modifiers and NPs (although not sui ‘TERM’). However, the PP can be positioned immediately after the verb head, in particular, when it follows certain verbs. When this occurs, the preposition in the PP often forms an idiomatic expression with the verb. For example, the CTP sea ‘say’ when followed by the preposition ein ‘with’ forms the expression sea ein, which can be glossed as ‘call something or call someone something’. When paired with the preposition huan ‘to, for’, sea becomes sea huan ‘tell someone something’:

9.1) Nik sea ka keilheiq se-an...
   3SG say IMP glance inside-POSS.3SG.INAL
   ‘He thought he would glance inside...’

9.2) ...kiar sea ein na spid boat ki
   3PL say with DEF speed boat PL
   ‘...they call them speed boats’
9.3) Goq nik sea huan kui huqko ka tua naenae...
then 3SG say to dog that IMP stay be.qiet
‘Then he told the dog to be quiet…’

Prepositions which act in this manner are referred to by Schachter and Shopen (2007) as “verbal particles” and are described in 9.2.

While PP heads can become closely associated with verbs to form verbal particles, complete PPs can also replace the verb in a VP to act as locative predicates. This type of construction is described in 9.3.

The first section of this chapter describes the types of prepositions which act as the PP head and the functions which they encode.

9.1 Prepositions

There are three types or sets of prepositions in Kwaraqae which are summarised below in Table 9-1.
Table 9-1: The types of prepositions in Kwaraqae.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition Type</th>
<th>Set Members</th>
<th>Relevant Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction and Modifier</td>
<td><em>sulia</em> 'be next to sth.'</td>
<td>7.1.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicates</td>
<td><em>diqia</em> 'be like sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kargnia</em> 'be close to sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>lthua</em> 'be better, more than sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kalia</em> 'go around sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative Prepositions</td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td>9.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markers</td>
<td><em>sa</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative Nouns</td>
<td><em>guan</em> 'head, top of sth.'</td>
<td>5.1.4.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>hahan</em> 'top of sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>olhan</em> 'bottom of sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>man</em> 'front of sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>burian</em> 'back of sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ninman</em> 'side of sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sean</em> 'inside sth'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>saoacman</em> 'middle (vertical) of sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tohngan</em> 'middle (horizontal) of sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>islan</em> 'end of sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>nemneman</em> 'edge of sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Prepositions</td>
<td><em>hein</em> 'with'</td>
<td>9.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ein</em> 'with'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>an</em> 'to, at, from, by'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>heis</em> 'away from'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>suil</em> 'about, along'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first group, conjunct and modifier predicates, are indexed with the direct object suffix –a, so are analysed as a type of verb. For example:

9.4) \( \ldots ber ma \quad ei\-ya \quad is \quad diqi\-a \)
but foot-POSS.3SG.INAL NEG.3SG be.like

heignaq ki
bird PL
‘...but the feet are not like birds...’

The second group, locative prepositions, comprise firstly a set of prepositional locative nouns, which are suffixed with the inalienable possessive third person singular –an (9.5) and secondly a pair of locative markers (9.6):

9.5) \( Goq \ u\-ner \quad ki\-ar \quad u \quad olh\-an \quad kal \quad qei\ldots \)
and so 3PL stand under-POSS.3SG.INAL some tree
‘And so they stood under a tree...’

9.6) \( Eiya, \quad lek-aq \quad u\-an \quad sa \quad tol-o, \)
okay go-NOM toward-POSS.3SG.INAL LOC inland-VH

ngwae i hanoa ki long neq...
people LOC village PL also SUB
‘Okay, the trip inland, it’s also the village people who...’
The final group of prepositions comprises a small closed set which are morphologically unmarked. These express a range of meanings. For example:

9.7) *Dao naq meiq hein boat huir...* 
arrive COMP toward with boat the.former
'It (truck) arrived with this boat…'

9.1.1 Locative Markers

There are only two members of this set; *i* and *sa*. Both have homonyms in the grammar.

9.1.1.1 The Locative Marker *i*

The locative marker *i* (LOC) has a homonym which is an obligatory article for two sub-types of proper nouns; those which refer to the names of females (5.1.2.1), and those which name places (5.1.2.2). As a locative marker, *i* preposes common nouns such as those referring to locations such as *hanoa* ‘village’, *luom* ‘house’, *aon* ‘ground’, and *tol* ‘inland’:

9.8) ...*qaok huat i heiq? Qaok huat i*
2SG be.born PLACE where 2SG be.born PLACE

*Honiara nam qaok huat [...i hanoa]* *<sup>pp</sup>*
Honiara or 2SG be.born LOC village
i Maliat?
PLACE Malaita
‘...were you born in Honiara or were you born in the village at Malaita?’

9.9) Eiya, kiak dao [i luom]PP beil an soqleh ki...
okay IMP.3PL arrive LOC house side of evening PL
‘Okay, they arrive home toward the evening…’

9.10) ...uner ni mateil dangaol mal heis
be.about 3SG be.different completely like away

tua [i tol]PP haon hanoa
life LOC inland village village
‘...it’s completely different from life at home in the village inland’

The marker i also combines with other locative terms of reference such as the deictic expressions described in 10.3.1, which replace adverbial clauses of place (i neqe ‘here’, i neqer ‘there’, i loqko ‘there’, i loqba ‘down there’, lihua ‘above’, olah ‘below’, ma ‘outside’), and time (i naoq ‘formerly’, ‘i buir ‘after, next’):

9.11) Keil ka ngeii na bas-a [i neqe]PP...
1PL.EXCL IMP take DEF bus-VH LOC here
‘We will take the bus from here...’

9.12) Taeqan ngwae or toqtoq na kiar oga hang
today people many each DEF 3PL want food
kia leak naq [i loqba]PP se-an luom...
3PL go COMP LOC there inside-POSS.3SG.INAL house
‘Today anyone who wants food can go there, inside a store...’

9.13) Diaq qaok leak qaok leak ku quri
if 2SG go 2SG go 1PL.INCL thus

[i buir-i]PP bae ae supend heis sukul-u
LOC next-VH FUT 2SG be.suspended away school-VH
‘If you go like this again, next time we will suspend you from school’

9.14) ...kiak lia [i lihua]PP kiaq lia [i olah]PP
IMP.3PL look LOC above IMP.3PL look LOC below
‘...they looked up and they looked down...’

The locative marker i is used with the interrogative expression heiq, or
heiqbein ‘where’, which is positioned in the phrase where the locative
nominal would be placed in a declarative clause. For example:

9.15) Sukul qaok tua an-a ni tio [i heiqbein]PP?
school 2SG stay at-VH 3SG be.situated LOC where
‘The school that you went to, where was it?’

Niaq tio [i Gweil]PP
3SG be.situated LOC Gweil
‘It’s in Guadalcanal’
The locative marker *i* can also be found itself preposed with a general preposition:

9.16)  

\[ \text{\ldots kei l oga kei l ka haq-koso-a} \]

1PL.EXCL want 1PL.EXCL IMP CAUS-go.down-OBJ.3

\[ ru neq e ki [an i loqba]_{PP} \]

thing this PL to LOC there

‘...we wanted to unload these things down there

The function of *i* is to indicate a locative relationship between the verb in the VP, and the nominal phrase in the PP. This is also the function of the locative marker *sa* (9.1.1.2). However, there is a contrast in the specificity of the semantic relationship that *i* and *sa* encode. With *i*, the speaker has no need to specify which place in particular is being referred to. For example, in 9.8, the speaker is contrasting two locations; an urban centre (*i Honiara*) and a rural village on the island of Malaita (*i hanoa i Malaita*). It is not necessary to be more specific, so *i* is selected as the preposition to convey a generalised locative meaning. In both 9.9 and 9.10, *i* heads the PPs as the speakers are referring to non-specific houses and inland villages. In 9.11-9.14, the deictic expressions refer to places (*i neqe* ‘here’, *i loqba* ‘there’, *i lihua* ‘above’, *i ola*) and a time (*i buir*) which are also not specified.

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9.1.1.2 The Locative Marker *sa*

The locative marker *sa*(LOC) has a homonym which is an article for personal names of males (5.1.2.1). As a preposition, *sa* heads PPs with nominals of place (*oqola*‘garden’, *haon*‘village’, *tol*‘inland’, *saol*‘sky, clouds’, *eis*‘sea’, *sukul*‘school’), people (*tuaq*‘family’, *klas*‘class’), time (*rod*‘night’), and moving entities (*tarek*‘truck’, *hak*‘ship’):

9.17)  
...mal nauk hiq ueil ku dao loq
   SEQ 1SG SEQ return 1PL.INCL arrive again

   *[sa haon]*PP lob i Honiara
   LOC village there PLACE Honiara
   ‘...then I returned, we went home again to Honiara’

9.18)  
...nouwaq naq hein dig nau neq
   1SG COMP with cousin POSS.1SG.AL SUB

   kioq raeq *[sa tolo]*PP
   1DU.EXCL come.up LOC inland-VH
   ‘...it’s my cousin and I who went inland’

9.19)  
*Uri ma hiyet ngyal ki neq qaok toqan*
   well how.many child PL SUB 2SG have

   *[sa tuaq oe]*PP?
   LOC family POSS.2SG.AL
   ‘Well, how many children do you have in your family?’

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9.20)  ...ka dao an nein oklok [sa rod-o]PP naq
IMP arrive at nine o’clock LOC night-VH COMP
‘...we arrived at nine o’clock at night'

Sa is also used with the locative noun tohngan.

9.21)  Keil leak laeleak ka dao goq
1PL.EXCL go continue IMP arrive only

[sa tohng-an teiqtal-a]PP...
LOC middle-POS.3SG.INAL road-VH
‘We continued on until we arrived at the half-way point along the road…’

The preposition sa sometimes occurs preceded by another preposition.

For example:

9.22)  ...niaq toq ka dou [ein sa aon-o]PP...
3SG land IMP glide with LOC ground-VH
‘...it (plane) lands by gliding to the the ground…’

9.23)  ...keika veil loq [hein sa hak-a]PP kwa
IMP.1PL.EXCL return again with LOC ship-VH DISC
‘...we returned again with the ship’

As mentioned above (9.1.1.1), sa is a locative preposition along with i but signifies a contrast in the specificity of the semantic relationship that is encoded. Whereas i can be used to generalise about the location of an entity, sa is selected when the speaker wishes to be more specific. For
example, in 9.17, *haon*, a variant of *hanoa* ‘village’, is preposed with *sa* and translated as ‘home’. Thus, the speaker is not only referring to a village as in 9.8, but a specific village; her home.

A contrast in specificity can also be seen between 9.10 and 9.18, where, in the former example, *i* is used not to refer to a specific village, but one somewhere inland. On the other hand, in 9.18, the location is being specified, as the speaker is going up (*raeq*) to a particular inland place. The use of *sa* with the locative noun also supports the analysis of contrast in specificity as *tohngan teiqtala* ‘the middle of the road’ is a specific place.

A further contrast in the data is the use of *hanoa* ‘village’ and its metathesised variant *haon*. *Hanoa* is always used with *i*, while *haon* is found only with *sa*. This pattern was not attested with other lexical items, so it is difficult to judge its relevance. It may be that, along with specificity, there is a contrast for formality or familiarity encoded in the use of these two terms, *sa* being preferred for referring to familiar places and/or for informal speech events.

### 9.1.2 General Prepositions

The closed class set of general prepositions is set out in Table 9-2. They express a range of meanings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hein</td>
<td>'with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ein</td>
<td>'with, by'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an</td>
<td>'to, in, at from, of, by'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heis</td>
<td>'away from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saul</td>
<td>'along'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.1.2.1 The Preposition *hein*

The preposition *hein* 'with' can be seen below in the semantic role of accompaniment, firstly with an animate being (9.24), and secondly with an inanimate entity (9.25):

9.24)  Keil   ka  ueil  i  hanoa  [hein
       1PL.EXCL IMP return LOC village with

   tyไa  nau]PP
mother     POSS.3SG.AL
'Ve returned to the village with my mother'

9.25)  ‘Fi  nau  ki  kiar  holiq  ka
       fee     POSS.1SG.AL PL 3PL be.paid IMP

   bol  naq  [hein heiqngeil  neqe]PP’
be.exact COMP with year this
'My fees have been paid for the whole of this year'
*Hein* also has a role as a conjunction glossed as ‘and’ between NPs (6.3.2) and clauses (10.5.7).

9.1.2.2 The Preposition *ein*

The preposition *ein* can be glossed as ‘with, by’ and expresses the role of material when used with factive verbs (*soungeiqn* ‘build’, *odoa* ‘erect walls’, *otottoa* ‘frame house’, *busaowa* ‘thatch’) and accompaniment (9.27, 9.28):

9.26) *Soungeiqn* hah-an luom oe
build on.top-POSS.3SG.INAL house POSS.2SG.AL

*ein* sao\^[p]p
with sago.palm.leaves
‘The top of the house is built with sago palm leaves’

9.27) *Ae* leak [ein tarek-e iet\^[p]p i Auek-e
2SG go with truck-VH cargo PLACE Auki-VH
‘You go by cargo truck to Auki’

9.28) …*ubein* nei teiq eil [ein lekaq\^[p]p sa oqla
you.know that one dislike with going LOC garden
‘…you know, that’s the one dislike with going to the garden’
9.1.2.3  The Preposition *an*

The general locative preposition *an* can be glossed as ‘to, in, at, from, of, by’, so has a wide range of semantic roles, from goal (9.29), location (9.31), partitive (9.30, 9.32), range (9.33), and source (9.34):

9.29)  ...ku leak sukul i Weitrai stat naq
      1SG go school PLACE White River start COMP

      [an klas wan]PP ka dao naq [an klas siks]PP...
      in grade one IMP arrive COMP to grade six

      ‘...I went to school at White River, started in grade one and reached grade six...’

9.30)  Wik yatyat [an madaom toqko noheba]PP...
      week first of month next November

      ‘In the first week of November...’

9.31)  kia lia [an kuwal ki teqhou]PP
      3PL look in place PL all

      ‘They looked everywhere’

9.32)  ...ma qaok seiyal fitti kilo neqe ki
      and 2SG know fifty kilo this PL

      neq hung [an grafol-o]...
      SUB be.full of gravel-VH

      ‘...and you know, with bags of fifty kilos, full of gravel...’
Examples 9.33 and 9.34 show that in a relative clause, where the prepositional object is the head, the preposition an is positioned clause-finally:

9.33) \(Eiya, \text{soungeiq}-\text{l-an} \quad \text{luma} \quad \text{yat yat}\)

okay build-NOM-POSS.3SGINAL house first

\(a e \quad \text{lulu-a} \quad \text{li a} \quad u-an\)

2SG search.for-OBJ.3 look toward-POSS.3SGINAL

\(k u w a l \ [\text{neq} \ a e \ \text{soung ei qn} \ \text{luma} \ \text{an}]^{\text{RELC}}\)

place SUB 2SG build house on

‘Okay, to build your house, you first look around for a place which you build your house on’

9.34) \(B e r \text{ ma} \quad \text{ogola} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{naq} \quad [\text{neq} \ ku w a l \ ngwae}\)

but garden PL COMP SUB place people

\(h a n o a \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{kia} \quad \text{n ge i l} \quad \text{hang} \quad \text{an}]^{\text{RELC}}\)

village PL 3PL take food from

‘But the gardens are the places which village people get their food from’

An can express ‘of’ in genitive constructions (9.30, 9.32). It is also homophonous with the inalienable third person singular possessive suffix –an.
The Preposition *heis*

The preposition *heis* ‘away from’ has dependent NP arguments which are typically places (9.35, 9.36), although in 9.37, the NP is an abstract noun *tuaq* ‘life’:

9.35)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
  l & hanoa & oqla & ki & kir & sounge iqn \\
  LOC & village & garden & PL & 3PL & make \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
gu-an \quad wua \quad ki \quad ka \quad tou \\
on.top\text{-}POSS.3SG.INAL \quad mountain \quad PL \quad IMP \quad be.far.away \\
\]

*long [heis hanoa]*\text{pp...}  
also away.from village  
‘The village gardens, they make them on top of the mountains, also far way from the village...’

9.36)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  Goq & [heis & i & Brisban]*pp & ka & leak \\
  then & away.from & LOC & Brisbane & IMP & go \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
u-an \quad i \quad hanoa... \\
toward\text{-}POSS.3SG.INAL \quad LOC \quad home \\
‘Then, from Brisbane, we will travel home (to the Solomon Islands)...’
\]

9.37)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
  ...uner & ni & matei l & dangaol & mal & [heis & tuaq]*pp \\
  well & 3SG & be.different & completely & like & away.from & life \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
[i \quad tol \quad haon \quad hanoa]*pp \\
LOC \quad inland \quad home \quad village \\
‘...well, it's completely different from life at home in the village inland’
\]
9.1.2.5 The Preposition *suil*

*Suil* appears as a variant of the prepositional predicate *sulia* ‘next to sth’ (7.1.3.1). It also behaves as a preposition meaning ‘about, along’. For example (see also 7.48):

9.38) …*kiar kos naq [suil kokosa huqko]*PP…
3PL go.down COMP along path.downhill that ‘…they went down along that path…’

9.2 Verbal Particles

Verbal particles are prepositions which co-occur with verbs (Schachter & Shopen, 2007). As shown by the sample in Table 9-3, verbal particles in Kwaraqae are formed from all three groups of prepositions: conjunct and modifier predicates (*sulia* ‘be about sth.’), locative nouns (*huan* ‘for-

POSS.3SG.INAL’, *uan* ‘toward-POSS.3SG.INAL’), and general prepositions (*ein* ‘with’, *an* ‘to, for, from, of, at’).

Table 9-3: Prepositions as verb particles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verbal Expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ein</em></td>
<td><em>sea</em></td>
<td><em>sea ein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘with’</td>
<td>‘say sth.’</td>
<td>‘call sth. or so. sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>eil</em></td>
<td><em>eilaq ein</em></td>
<td>‘refuse sth.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dislike’</td>
<td><em>mouq</em></td>
<td><em>mouq ein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘be scared’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘be frightened of sth.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to, in, at from, of, by'</td>
<td>'be.awake'</td>
<td>'watch sth.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be.situated'</td>
<td>'lie in bed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be.dead, die'</td>
<td>'die from sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'arrive'</td>
<td>'reach'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'for'</td>
<td>'give, make sth.'</td>
<td>'give sth. to s.o.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'whistle'</td>
<td>'whistle at so.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'answer'</td>
<td>'answer so.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'say sth.'</td>
<td>'tell so. sth.'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'toward'</td>
<td>'think'</td>
<td>'think about sth.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'look at sth.'</td>
<td>'look for sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cry'</td>
<td>'cry for so.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'about sth.'</td>
<td>'think'</td>
<td>'think sth. over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'look at sth.'</td>
<td>'look after sth. or so.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'talk'</td>
<td>'talk about sth.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples from the data include the following:

9.39) Leak ngeil isteiq oe ku leak sa
go take bed POSS.2SG.AL 1PL.INCL go LOC
dom-o lia uan kuwal ae tio an
dormitory-VH look for place 2SG lie.in.bed
‘Go and get your belongings and we will go to the dormitory
to look for a place for you to lie down (sleep)’

9.40) Taeqan nei alaq suli-a ogola l hanoa
today FUT.1SG talk about-OBJ.3 garden LOC village
‘Today I am going to talk about the gardens in the village’

9.41) …nia toq ka dou ein sa aon-o…
3SG land IMP hold with LOC ground-VH
‘…it (plane) lands, glides to the ground…’

In the following example, the verbal particle ḫu- is positioned inside a PP,
where it seems to share the possessive suffix –an with the bound locative
noun se-‘inside’. So, although the verb and its particle are adjacent in the
examples above, this seems not to be obligatory for lia ḫuan ‘look for sth.’:

9.42) Sui ngyal ngwein huqko ka lia
then child boy that IMP look
[se-an taebut hu nia kij]PP
inside-POSS.3SG.INAL boot for POSS.3SG.AL PL
‘Then that boy was looking inside his boots…’
Verbal particles can be distinguished from prepositions by the idiomatic meanings they develop when associated with certain verbs. For example, *uan* 'towards' and *sulia* 'be about sth.' combine with the verb *manat* 'think' to produce *manat uan* 'think about something' and *manat sulia* 'think something over' (also see 9.1-9.3 above for *sea* 'say'). As these types of meanings are non-compositional, the verb and its particle must be listed together in the lexicon. Therefore, verbal particles in Kwaraqae can be described as lexicalised prepositions.

It would seem that the verbs which become associated with a preposition in this manner are those which do not take valence-changing morphology - in particular, the applicative suffixes *Cia, -Cein* (7.1.1.2.). They are either intransitive or are fossilised transitives like *sea* 'say sth.' and *lia* 'look at sth.'. Verbal particles may perhaps be an alternative strategy for introducing another argument to the VP, and in the process, semantically extending the available resources in the lexicon by analytical rather than derivational means.

9.3 **Locative Predicates**

As mentioned in the introductory discussion, PPs can act as predicates.

These are locative phrases as shown in examples 9.43 and 9.44:
9.43) Kamiaq  ru  [sa  tol]_PP  ki  neq
1PL.EXCL  thing  LOC  inland  PL  SUB
'We are just people from the bush'

9.44) Ni  [sa  tol]_PP
3SG  LOC  inland
'It’s inland'

Locative predication is also found in interrogative clauses with the
interrogative pronoun heiqbein (or heiq):

9.45) Ngwae  nyal  ki  heiq?
child  PL  be.where
'Where are the children?'

9.46) Haon  komu  ni  heiqbein?
village  POSS.2PL.AL  3SG  be.where
'Where is your village?'

9.47) Areq  oe  ngwae  heiqbein?
husband  POSS.2SG.AL people  be.where
'Where is your husband from?'
10 Complex Clauses

In Kwaraque, verbs are combined to produce several different types of complex clauses. Following Payne (1997), these complex structures are analysed here according to the degree of syntactic integration between the verbal elements. There are five basic types presented on the continuum below (Figure 10-1).

Serial verb constructions (SVC), which are a sequence of one or more verbs acting together as a single predicate (Aikhenvald, 2007), show the highest degree of syntactic integration, while coordinating clauses show a low degree of syntactic integration; they are simply two independent clauses in a structurally symmetrical relationship (Haspelmath, 2007). In between these two extremes are three other clause types, complement, adverbial and relative, collectively labelled as subordinating clauses. In
subordinating clauses, one of the clausal elements acts as the head in a matrix clause (MAT), while the other is its dependent (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang, 2007). Each of these clause types are described in the order presented in Figure 10-1.

10.1 Serial Verb Constructions

As stated above, SVCs are sequences of verbs which act together as a single predicate (Aikhenvald, 2007). In Kwaraqae, SVCs share one argument structure. Two sub-types can be observed; those where the verbs are contiguous, and those where they are not. Following Barbour (2009), the former type can be labelled as complex nuclei, while the latter type are described as SVCs with complex cores.

10.1.1 Complex Nuclei

Complex nuclei are the most highly integrated SVCs. Not only do they share one set of subject and object arguments, their verbal elements are also contiguous. They share aspectual and polarity markers, and a direct object is indexed on the final verbal element in the SVC. For example, in 10.1, the verbs are simply juxtaposed with no intervening material, and there is a subject (SBJ) and an object (OBJ) argument, the latter being indexed on the second verb. The completive marker naq is shared, indicating that the two verbs be conceptualised as a single event:
10.1) ...[kia]_{SBJ} leak ruq-hia naq [masuq huqko]_{OBJ}...
3PL go enter-TRANAP COMB forest that
‘...they went into that forest...’

Example 10.2 demonstrates the placement of constituents in a complex
nuclei with negative polarity:

10.2) ...nouaq nias dao eilei nei kwa
NEG NEG.3SG arrive be.quick there DISC
‘...it didn’t arrive there quickly’

While verbs from open non-restricted classes typically form SVCs,
complex nuclei can be formed with verbs from restricted classes as seen
below, where the second verbal elements are conjunct and modifier
predicates (7.1.3.1) which also index their direct objects with the suffix -a.

10.3) Taeqan nei alaq sul-i-a ogola i hanoa
today FUT.1SG talk be.about.OBJ.3 garden LOC village
‘Today I will discuss (talk about) gardening in the village’

10.4) Nia qeis-qeis-qeis kargni-a long
FUT.3SG DUP-DUP-fall be.close.OBJ.3 also
aon-o long
ground-VH also
‘It (aeroplane) continues to descend until it is close to the
ground’

A further distinction between complex nuclei and complex cores is that
complex nuclei tend to translate in English as a single predicate:
10.5) 

...niak teiq alaq long an uner...

IMP.3SG relax talk also to about

‘...he mumbled something...’

10.6) 

...ni taeq dao saolh-an

3SG get.up arrive middle(vertical)-POSS.3SG.INAL

‘...it is half-full’

Example 10.7 illustrates a type of SVC suggested by Barbour (2009) as
typical for complex nuclei, as it encodes a culturally significant activity. The
consultants for this project explained that it is common for the children in
the villages to return from the gardens and begin preparations for the
evening meal while waiting for their parents. This event is serialised using
two independent verbs kwik ‘cook’ and maqsiya’wait’ to describe this single
contiguous activity:

10.7)  

Sogleh kir ueil meiq kiak kwik maqsi-a

evening 3PL return toward IMP.3PL cook wait-OBJ.3

maq kiraq hein tyaq kir ki

father POSS.3PL.AL and mother POSS.3PL.AL PL

‘In the evening they return home to cook and wait for their
fathers and mothers’

One propositional type observed in nuclei SVCs are those in examples
10.2 above, 10.8 below which encode “event-arguments” (Aikhenvald,
2007), where the second verb, being attributive, specifies the manner of
the event in the first verb:

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10.8) \textit{Kiar sese leaq goq an kiraq}
3PL say be.good just to 3PL
‘They are just happy with each other’

Verbs of sensation and cognition form serial verbs with \textit{toqan} ‘have’:

10.9) \textit{Nauk mia toqan ngingidua naqan}
1SG taste have honey that
‘I taste the honey’

10.10) \textit{Nauk sam toqan hou qokqok ki}
1SG touch have stone hot PL
‘I touch the hot cooking stones’

10.11) \textit{Nauk mok toqan takan bulbul}
1SG smell have flower frangipani
‘I smell the frangipani flower’

10.12) \textit{Ni manat toqan barat niaq}
3SG think have brother POSS.3SG.AL
‘He remembers (thinks about) his brother’

Temporal sequence and temporal progression are commonly expressed with complex nuclei. For example, the motion verb \textit{leak} ‘go’, frequently appears as the first verb in a temporal sequence of sub-events indicating motion along a path, while a second verb connotes the successful attainment of a goal. The completive \textit{naq} (8.3.1) is used to signal that the event should be conceptualised as a single whole (10.13-10.15), or the
marker *sui* is used to emphasise the end point or termination of the event (10.16):

10.13) \[ Goq \ nouwaq \ hein \ diq \ nau \ kioq \]  
then 1SG with cousin POSS.1SG.ALG 1DU.EXCL  
*leak* \[ dao \ naq \ i \ luom \ ngwei \ nau \]  
go arrive COMP.LOC house uncle POSS.1SG.INAL  
‘Then my cousin and I, we went to my uncle’s house’  

10.14) \[ \ldots goq \ nauk \ leak \ ngeil \ tarek-e \ naq \ldots \]  
then 1SG go take truck-VH COMP  
‘...then I took the truck...’  

10.15) \[ Keil \ leak \ seis \ naq \ na \ intafiu \ ki \]  
1PL.EXCL go do COMP DEF interview PL  
‘We did the interviews’  

10.16) \[ Nei \ leak \ haqsi-a \ iaq \ ki \ sui \]  
FUT.1SG go leave-OBJ.3 fish PL TERM  
‘I will leave the fish’  

The verb *laeleak* ‘continue’ occurs in core nuclear SVCs, although more frequently in complex cores (see 10.1.2 below). According to Aikhenvald (2007), motion verbs are commonly grammaticalised as markers of continuation. It is quite possible therefore that *laeleak* is a grammaticalised form of *leak* ‘go’ in SVCs, although it can occur as an intransitive verb outside SVCs. When it occurs in complex nuclei, *laeleak* is positioned as
the final verb indicating temporal progression, the imperfective *ka* also
signalling that the event is progressive:

10.17) \[\text{Keil} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{hang} \quad \text{laeleak} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{sui} \quad \text{mal}\]
1PL.EXCL IMP eat continue IMP finish SEQ

\[\text{keil} \quad \text{hiq} \quad \text{leak} \quad \text{loq}\]
1PL.EXCL SEQ go again

‘We finished eating then we carried on’

10.18) \[\text{Ngweiq} \quad \text{ki,} \quad \text{hang} \quad \text{ki,} \quad \text{kiar} \quad \text{su} \quad \text{hahiq}\]
basket PL food PL 3PL cover put.over

\[\text{laeleak} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{sui} \quad \text{goq…} ‘\]
continue IMP finish then

Baskets, food, they finished putting on the covers, then…’

10.19) \[\text{Keil} \quad \text{leak} \quad \text{laeleak} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{dao} \quad \text{goq} \quad \text{sa}\]
1PL.EXCL go continue IMP arrive until LOC

\[\text{tohng-an} \quad \text{teiqtal-a…}\]
middle-POSS.3SG.INAL road-VH

‘We continued on, until *(goq)* we reached *(dao ar)* the half-
way point along the road…’

10.1.2 Complex Cores

While the verbal elements in Kwaraqae complex nuclei are contiguous and
demonstrate a high degree of syntactic integration, the verb sequences in
the examples below are non-contiguous, and therefore less cohesive.
Subject and object arguments are still shared as for complex nuclei, but aspectual markers such as *ka* ‘IMP’ (10.20), and *naq* ‘COMP’ (10.24, 10.25) are not. Any of these structures, except subjects, may appear between the verbal constituents, including direct objects, which are indexed on a transitive verb within the core (10.21). Example 10.20 demonstrates the contrast between a complex nuclei (underlined), and the verb sequences being discussed here:

10.20) \[\begin{array}{cccccc}
Ni & ka & taeq & ka & su & tagtagreaq & ka
\end{array}\]
\[\begin{array}{cccccc}
3SG & IMP & go.up & IMP & dive & take.off & IMP
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
raeq & toqba & sa & saol-o
\end{array}\]
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
go.up & there & LOC & cloud-VH
\end{array}\]

'It (aeroplane) goes up, dives, takes off, going up there into the clouds, continuing to climb up and up and up’

The fact that neither subject arguments nor phrasal coordinators are found between the verbal elements suggests that these non-contiguous verb sequences are complex cores, so this is the analysis being presented here. However, a larger corpus with more examples of these types of sequences may reveal that this is not the case, and this section may require reanalysis. The following commentary discusses the types of sequences being analysed as complex cores.
Event-arguments, which are propositions expressed by complex nuclei (10.7-10.9), are expressed by complex cores:

10.21) Keika  ludngi-a  tarek  huir  laeleak  ka
IMP.1PL.EXCL  load-OBJ.3  truck  that  continue  IMP

hung  goq
be.full  until
‘We continued loading that truck until it was full’

Although a main strategy for expressing causation in Kwaraqae is
affixation on the verb (7.1.1.2.1, 7.1.1.2.2), a further means is
demonstrated here in complex cores with the verb kwaet ‘give, send’. The
proposition is a cause-effect relation, kwaet acting as the verb of cause,
while a second verb is the verb of effect. In this type of structure, the
arguments are switch-subjects or have a “switch-function” (Aikhenvald,
2007), where the argument functioning as the object of the verb kwaet
becomes the subject of the following verb (underlined):

10.22) Ni  kwaet  lek-aq-a  ka  eileil  long
3SG  give  go-NOM-VH  IMP  be.long  also
‘It makes the trip fast also’

10.23) Ni  kwaet  kuk  alheih
3SG  give  IMP.1PL.INCL  agree
‘He made us agree’
In examples 10.24 and 10.25, the event in the SVC is a two-part sequence, this being reflected in the surface structure where the verbs are separated by the imperfective marker ka which encodes progressive aspect.

10.24) \( Ngweiq \ \text{n}gyl-a \ \text{t}ua \ \text{k}a \ \text{lia}l-i-a \ldots \)
\( \text{group} \ \text{child-VH} \ \text{stay} \ \text{IMP} \ \text{look.at.OBJ.3} \)

‘The boys stayed to watch it (a truck)’

10.25) \( Keil \ \text{le}ak \ \text{k}a \ \text{d}ao \ \text{n}aq \ i \ \text{Auek} \)
\( \text{1PL.EXCL} \ \text{go} \ \text{IMP} \ \text{arrive} \ \text{PERF} \ \text{LOC} \ \text{Auki} \)
\( \text{asowa} \ \text{n}aq \)
\( \text{day} \ \text{COMP} \)

‘We arrived at Auki at midday’

The following complex core demonstrates iconic constituent order where the order of structures represents the temporal order of the event. It also shows synonymous verb serialisation where the verbs of movement are repeated for emphasis. The verb laeleak is used here to indicate temporal progression, along with the progressive marker ka:

10.26) \( Keil \ \text{m}of \ \text{n}aq \ \text{m}of \ \text{k}a \ \text{l}aeleak \ \text{k}a \)
\( \text{1PL.EXCL} \ \text{move} \ \text{COMP} \ \text{move} \ \text{IMP} \ \text{continue} \ \text{IMP} \)
\( \text{d}ao \ \text{sa} \ \text{haon} \ \text{lo}qko \ldots \)
\( \text{arrive} \ \text{LOC} \ \text{village} \ \text{there} \)

‘We left, continuing on, and arriving at that place…’
10.27) …keil ka louh ka laeleak ka rod meiq...  
1PL.EXCL IMP carry IMP continue IMP be.night toward  
‘…we carried (the things), continuing into the night…’

10.2 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses (COM) are predications which are themselves arguments of a predicate, thus they can be described as embedded structures (Noonan, 2007). They demonstrate a lesser degree of syntactic integration than SVCs as they are structurally separate from the matrix clause (MAT).

In Kwaraqae, complement clauses are the object argument of the predicate they complement. For example, in 10.28, the complement clause is the object of the predicate se’a ‘to say sth.’ and is accordingly indexed on this verb:

10.28)  [Maq nau se-a]_{MAT} [nauk ueil naq  
father POSS.3SG.AL say-OBJ.3 1SG return COMP  

sa  sukul]_{COM}  
LOC  school

‘My father told me to go back to school’

In Kwaraqae there are two types of complements: S-like (sentence-like) complements, which according to Noonan (2007), are found in all languages, and nominalised complements. Not all predicates can take a complement clause as an argument; those that can are known as
complement taking predicates (CTPs), and certain CTPs tend to match with a particular complement type.

10.2.1 S-like Complements

S-like complements are those which are structurally sentence-like. They are less tightly bonded semantically and syntactically than nominalised complements (10.2.2 below). Two sub-types of s-like complements can be identified in Kwaraqae. The first sub-type which is described here are s-like indicative complements where the complement clause is structured like a simple declarative clause (10.29). The second sub-type are subjunctive s-like complements and are identifiable by the use of future pronominals (5.2.1.3) and/or the aspectual marker ka (8.2.1). These structural differences are motivated by the ‘mood’ of the speaker who can indicate their attitude or involvement in an event by encoding this in the grammar. As suggested by Noonan (2007), statements or assertions are typically indicative, while expressions of doubt and uncertainty are subjunctive.

10.2.1.1. S-like Indicative Complements

S-like indicatives are complements which closely resemble declarative type sentences as can be seen in 10.29,10.30 and 10.31. They are simply statements about an event. As such they are syntactically ‘unmarked’ in comparison to the s-like subjunctive complements below. In 10.30 and
10.31, the complements are object arguments of the transitive predicates
*kweimantae sulia*‘be sad about sth.’ and *sea*‘to say sth.’, so they are
indexed on the CTP.

10.29)  \[Kiar \ hieis\]_{MAT}  \[nouaq \ neis \ sukul \ naq\]_{COM}
3PL  think  NEG  NEG.1SG  attend.school  COMP
‘They thought I was not attending school’

10.30)  \[Keil \ kweimantae \ suli-a\]_{MAT}  \[niaq \ leak\]_{COM}
1PL.EXCL  be.sad  about-OBJ.3  3SG  go
‘We are sad that he went’

10.31)  \[Kiak \ se-a\]_{MAT}  \[nauk \ ueil \ naq \ sukul\]_{COM}
IMP.3PL  say-OBJ.3  1SG  return  COMP  school
‘They told me to go back to school’

Applying Noonan’s (2007) classification of semantic classes, the CTPs
represented here are propositional (*hieis*‘think’), commentative
(*kweimantae sulia*‘be sad about sth’) and utterance CTPs (*sea*‘say sth’).

10.2.1.2.  **S-like Subjunctive Complements**

As stated above, s-like subjunctive complements are marked with future
pronominals and/or the imperfective marker *ka*. For example:

10.32)  \[Ni \ hi-a\]_{MAT}  \[kui \ leak \ naq\]_{COM}
3SG  suspect-OBJ.3  FUT.1PL.INCL  go  COMP
‘He thinks (suspects) that we should go’
10.33) [Ni alheih\textsubscript{MAT} niaq alaq\textsubscript{COM} 3SG agree FUT.3SG talk

‘He agreed to talk’

10.34) Etan neq [keil hiq rong naq\textsubscript{MAT} Telecom first SUB 1PL.EXCL IMM hear COMP Telecom

ka leak meiq naq-an kwa\textsubscript{COM} IMP go toward COMP-to DISC

‘It’s the first we’ve heard that Telecom is coming (to come)’

10.35) Keiseiq [qaok lisi-a kuwal\textsubscript{MAT} [ae when 2SG see-OBJ.3 place FUT.2SG

soungeiqn luma an\textsubscript{COM} goq... build house on then

‘When you see a place to build your house on, then...’

The preceding examples represent CTPs which are predicates of knowledge (\textit{hia} ‘suspect sth, guess sth’), propositional attitudes (\textit{alheih} ‘agree’), and immediate perception (\textit{rong} ‘hear’, \textit{lisi-a} ‘see sth’).

Another group of CTPs are modal-type verbs. In 10.36-10.38, the CTP \textit{oga} ‘want, wish’ is a two-place desiderative predicate taking an experiencer subject argument and a sentential object argument as the thing wanted or wished:

10.36) …neq [kiar og-a\textsubscript{MAT} [kia hasi-a\textsubscript{COM}… SUB 3PL want-OBJ.3 FUT.3PL plant-OBJ.3

‘…which they want to plant...’
10.37) \[ma \ [keil \ og-a]_{MAT} \ [keil \ ka} \]
but 1PL.EXCL want-OBJ.3 FUT.1PL.EXCL IMP

\[haq-koso-a \ ru \ neqe \ \text{ki}_{\text{COM}}\ldots\]
CAUS-go.down-OBJ.3 thing this PL
‘...but we wanted to unload these things..’

10.38) \[\text{[Ni og-a]}_{MAT} \ [ngweiq ngyal-a \ ka \ tua \ araro-aq]_{\text{COM}}\]
3SG wish-OBJ.3 group child-VH IMP stay be.quiet-NOM
‘He wished the children would be quiet’

The verb *seiyan* ‘know’ also occurs as a modal CTP, here imparting a
degree of ability (10.39, 10.40) and used also for indirect requests (10.41):

10.39) \[\text{[Nauk seiyan]}_{MAT} \ [nei \ rit \ ka]_{\text{COM}}\]
1SG can FUT.1SG read IMP
‘I know how to (can) read’

10.40) \[\text{Od-l-an} \ luma \ [\text{qaok seiyan]}_{MAT}\]
erect.walls-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL house 2SG can

\[\text{[ae odo-a ein saousa]}_{\text{COM}}\]
FUT.2SG erect.walls-OBJ.3 with woven.sago.palm
‘Erecting the house walls, you can erect the walls with woven sago palm’

10.41) \[\text{[Qaok seiyan]}_{MAT} \ [ae \ ahi-a \ nouaq?]_{\text{COM}}\]
2SG know FUT.2SG help-OBJ.3 1SG
‘Can you help me?’
Seiyan can also occur in a structure where there is one set of grammatical arguments shared by the CTP and the complement predicate. Noonan (2007) refers to these structures as clause unions. For example:

10.42) Luom-eq sao [ni seiyen ka]_{MAT}
       house-of sago.palm.leaves 3SG can IMP
       [tio ka daoqan liam heiqngeil ki]_{COM}
       keep IMP reach five year PL
       ‘A sago palm house, it can last up to five years’

Another modal-type predicate kat ‘might’, which is dubitative, also demonstrates argument sharing between the CTP and its complement clause:

10.43) [Nia kat]_{MAT} [dao meiq]_{COM}
       FUT.3SG might arrive towards
       ‘She might come’

10.44) [Kuk kat]_{MAT} [li-sia niaq rorod]_{COM}
       IMP.1PL.INCL might see-TRANC 3SG tomorrow
       ‘We might see her tomorrow’

10.45) ...[gwerhak-a kat]_{MAT} [oag sa meq kiyul huqko]_{COM}
       frog-VH might hide LOC burrow that
       ‘...the frog might be hiding in that burrow’
Argument sharing can be seen with the CTP *eilaq* ‘dislike, refuse’ which behaves like the modals *seiyan* and *kat*.

10.46) \([Ni \ eilaq \ kas]^{MAT} [\text{leak} \ meiq]^{COM}\) 
3SG dislike NEG go toward
‘He refuses (does not want) to come’

10.47) \([Ni \ eilaq \ kas]^{MAT} [\text{ngeil} \ selen]^{COM}\) 
3SG dislike NEG take money
‘He refused (does not want) to take the money’

Although the verbs in examples 10.42-10.47 could perhaps be described as SVCs (10.1), they are analysed here as CTPs because the semantic relationship between the CTP and its complement is different from that which is found between the verbal constituents of an SVC. The verbs in 10.42-10.47 are modals which signal the degree of possibility (10.42, 10.43, 10.44), and volition (10.46, 10.47) expressed by the speaker about the event in the complement. As seen in the examples above (section 10.1), these kinds of meanings are not expressed between the verbs in SVCs.

10.2.2 Nominalised Complements

Nominalised complements are predicates that have become verbal nouns.

The three examples from the corpus are nominalised activities. For example:
10.48) \([Nauk\,\text{takdalh-a}]_{\text{MAT}}\, [\text{danis-qang}]_{\text{COM}}\)
1SG forget-OBJ.3 dance-NOM
'I have forgotten how to dance'

The nominalised form \(\text{danisqang}'\text{dancing}'\) becomes the object complement of the predicate \(\text{tahdalha}'\text{forget}'\) and as such, is indexed on the verb and becomes the 'thing' that has been forgotten.

The object argument of a nominalised transitive verb is expressed with a genitive relation to the nominalised verb. This is encoded by means of a possessive suffix on the nominalised verb:

10.49) \(\ldots\text{ma neq\, dui-l-an\, ngyal\, ki\, [nouaq}\)
but SUB study-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL child PL NEG

\(\text{kias\, og-a}]_{\text{NUC}}\, [\text{ein-l-an}\, \text{reis\, huqko}]_{\text{COM}}\)
NEG.3PL like-OBJ.3 eat-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL rice that
‘...but the students don't like eating that rice’

10.50) \([Nauk\,\text{manattoqan}]_{\text{NUC}}\, [\text{ha-sia-l-an}\)
1SG remember plant-TRANC-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL
\(\text{aol}]_{\text{COM}}\)
taro
'I remember how to grow taro'

10.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses (\(\text{ADV}\)) modify verb phrases and entire clauses by simply adding information (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang, 2007). In this respect
they are not as syntactically integrated as complement clauses, although they are still subordinating, being dependent on the matrix clause (MAT).

In Kwaraqae, it is possible to identify two types of adverbial clauses as described by Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007). There are those which can be substituted by a single word, and those which cannot. Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) suggest that the former “express that two events have something in common” as opposed to the latter, where the event in one clause modifies that in the other.

Of the three devices which Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) suggest mark adverbial clauses, Kwaraqae employs only one: subordinating morphemes. Some of these morphemes have additional roles in the grammar.

The subordinators occupy clause-initial position in the adverbial clause, while the adverbial clause itself can either precede or follow the matrix clause. Table 10-1 presents a summary of the adverbial subordinators, along with the types and semantic roles of the adverbial clauses that they mark.
Table 10-1: The adverbial subordinators.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbial Subordinator</th>
<th>Other Role</th>
<th>Adverbial Clause Type</th>
<th>Semantic Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>keiseiq</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Single word substitute</td>
<td>Temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'when'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>quri</em></td>
<td>Discourse marker (quri ma) (11.6)</td>
<td>Single word substitute</td>
<td>Manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thus'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>diq</em></td>
<td>Conjunct predicate (<em>diq</em>) (7.1.3.1)</td>
<td>Single word substitute</td>
<td>Manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'like'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>han, han neq</em></td>
<td>Subordinator (<em>neq</em>) (10.4)</td>
<td>No single word substitute</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'so that'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>si, si neq</em></td>
<td>Coordinator (<em>si</em>) (10.5) Subordinator (<em>neq</em>) (10.4)</td>
<td>No single word substitute</td>
<td>Reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'because'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>diqia, diaq, diq</em></td>
<td>Conjunct predicate (7.1.3.1)</td>
<td>No single word substitute</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'if'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.3.1 Adverbial Clauses Allowing Single Word Substitution

As indicated in Table 10-1, adverbial clauses allowing single word substitution are those of time, manner and location.
10.3.1.1 Temporal Adverbial Clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses are introduced by the subordinator \textit{keiseiq} 'when':

10.51) \[ Sui \text{ [keiseiq niaq ueil meiq]_{ADV} nouwaq } \]
then when 3SG return towards 1SG

\[ neq \text{ nei } leak \text{ i } hanoa \]
SUB FUT.1SG go LOC village

'Then, when she returns, it' me who will go to the village'

10.52) \[ [Keiseiq keil tiqtiq aos ki teqhoul]_{ADV} [keil} \]
when 1PL.EXCL be.small day PL every 1PL.EXCL

\[ ka \text{ leak sukul}_{MAT} \]
IMP go school

'Every day when we were small, we went to school'

Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) suggest that adverbial subordinators such as \textit{keiseiq} are often also relative clause markers.

Example 10.53 shows that this applies in Kwaraqae, as the clause marked with \textit{keiseiq} is modifying the nominal \textit{kaedaeq} 'time', so it is a relative clause:
10.53)  \[ Ei \quad [\text{kaedaeq}]_{\text{NOM}} \quad [\text{nouwaq} \quad i \quad \text{Selwyn}]_{\text{REL}} \quad [\text{keiseiq} \quad keil]_{\text{NOM}} \quad \text{fom} \quad \text{wan}]_{\text{REL}...} \]

okay time 1SG PLACE Selwyn when 1PL.EXCL form one

'Okay, the time I was at Selwyn, when we were in form one…'

The subordinator *diq* 'if', although used mainly for adverbial conditional clauses (10.3.2.3), is used here with a temporal meaning, which according to Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) is not altogether unusual:

10.54)  \[ Diq \quad ki \quad dao \quad naq \quad sa \quad oq[a]_{\text{ADV}} \quad ni \quad leaq \quad naq \quad \text{when} \quad 3PL \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{garden} \quad 3SG \quad \text{be.good} \quad \text{COMP} \]

'When they got to the garden, it was alright'

Temporal information can additionally be expressed by the morphemes shown in Table 10-2. Examples of their use are demonstrated in 10.55-10.57 below.
Table 10-2: Single word substitutes for temporal adverbial clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal Expression</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taeqan</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roqki</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guan ki</td>
<td>‘day before yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guan leh</td>
<td>‘three days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rorod</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haoh nei</td>
<td>‘two days hence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kweil teiq</td>
<td>‘three days hence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i naoq</td>
<td>‘formerly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i niger</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i neqer</td>
<td>‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kareng</td>
<td>‘soon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.55) Taeqan<sub>ADV</sub> nei alaq suli-a oqola

today FUT.1SG talk be.about-OBJ.3 garden

i hanoa

LOC village

‘Today, I am going to talk about gardening in the village’

10.56) Rorod<sub>ADV</sub> qoak leak sa klas-a

tomorrow 2SG go LOC class-VH

‘Tomorrow you go to class’

10.57) … i naoq<sub>ADV</sub> kul se-a ein heiqneng ki…

formerly 1PL.INCL say-OBJ.3 with torch PL

‘… formerly, we called them torches…’

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The interrogative expression *angyet* ‘when’, combined in the example here with the subordinator *neq*, is used to ask for temporal adverbial information:

10.58) \[ \text{angyet neq niaq dao meiq?} \]  
\[ \text{when SUB 3SG arrive towards} \]  
‘When is he coming?’

10.3.1.2 Manner Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial manner clauses are subordinated with *quri* ‘by, so’ or *diq*, a variant of *diqia* ‘be like’. In both examples below, the adverbial clause follows the matrix clause:

10.59) \[ [\text{nia loh}]_{\text{MAT}} [\text{quri ka tag-a abab-an}]_{\text{ADV}} \]  
\[ \text{3SG fly by IMP flap-OBJ.3 wing-POS.3SG.INAL} \]  
‘It flies by flapping its wings’

10.60) \[ ...[\text{niaq ngeil goq ru}]_{\text{MAT}} [\text{diq liam ngwae ki goq}]_{\text{ADV}} \]  
\[ \text{3SG carry only thing like five people PL only} \]  
‘...it only carries things like up to five people’

Adverbial clauses expressing manner may be substituted by the single word *quri* ‘thus, like so’:

10.61) \[ O \text{ ira ni leaq buir nouaq eis} \]  
\[ \text{Okay well 3SG be.good after NEG NEG.2SG} \]
leak naq quri_{ADV}
go COMP thus
’Okay, well that’s good, next time don’t go off like that’

10.62) ...nia heiq-heiq-tein quri_{ADV} nia teiq gio-a quri_{ADV}...
3SG DUP-round-APPL thus 3SG one tilt-OBJ.3 thus
‘...it circles around like that, it tilts one wing like that...’

10.3.1.3 Locative Adverbial Clauses

Although the data produced no clear examples of a locative adverbial clause subordinator, single words acting as substitutions were observed, and are shown in Table 10-3, followed by examples of their use in 10.63-10.66.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbial Locative Expression</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i neqe</td>
<td>‘here (proximal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i neqer</td>
<td>‘there (proximal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i loqba</td>
<td>‘over there (intermediate)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i toqba</td>
<td>‘down there (distal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i huqba</td>
<td>‘up there (distal)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10-3: Single word substitutes for locative adverbial clauses.

10.63) Keil ka ngeil na bas-a i neqe_{ADV}
1PL.EXCL IMP take DEF bus-VH LOC here
‘We will take the bus here’
10.64) …nia toq ka lalil mal ka laeleak mal
FUT.3SG land IMP run SEQ IMP continue IMP

ka hiq maong naq i neqer ADV naq...
IMP LIM stop PERF LOC there COMP
‘…it lands, runs, continues along, then just stops there…’

10.65) Dao neqerADV keil ka haq-koso-a
arrive there 1PL.EXCL IMP CAUS-go.down-OBJ.3

ru huir ki
thing that, the former PL
‘We arrived there, we unloaded those things’

10.66) Taegqan nia hung naq i loqba...
today FUT.3SG be.full PERF LOC there
‘Today, it (water tank) will get full there…’

10.3.2 Adverbial Clauses Unable to be Substituted by a Single Word

The remaining sub-types of adverbial clauses cannot be substituted by a single word and occur with one or more subordinators. They are adverbial clauses of purpose, reason, and condition.

10.3.2.1 Purpose Clauses

Purpose clauses can be signalled with the use of han ‘so’. Example 10.69 shows that han is sometimes accompanied by the subordinator neq.

10.67) Goq kiak leak [kiak tabu-a kuwal]MAT
then IMP.3PL go IMP.3PL clean.up.OBJ.3 place
so garden IMP continue IMP TERM
‘They will go and clean up the place so they can make the garden’

3SG roll on.top-POSS.3SG.INAL road-VH so SUB
‘It rolls the surface of the road so that the latter is level’

10.3.2.2 Reason Clauses

Although Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) observe that many
languages structure their reason and purpose clauses with the same
morphology, this is not the case in Kwaraqae. The subordinator used to
express reason is si’because’. As above for han, si is optionally used with
the marker neq.

3SG be.cool because tree PL many
‘It was cool because there were many trees’

10.70) [Si rot-o nouaq kias leaq long]ADV
because road-VH NEG NEG.3PL be.good also

3SG take four hour-VH PL
‘Because the roads are not very good, it takes four hours…’
10.71) \([l \ hanoa \ o'la \ ki \ kir \ souneiqn\]
LOC village garden PL 3PL make.OBJ.3

gu-an wua ki ka tou
on.top-POS.3SG.INAL mountain PL IMP far.away

long heis \(hanoa\)\^[MAT] [si neq gwat ki
also away.from village because SUB pig PL

\(ka\ ein\ ogola\ \(ki\)\^[ADV]
IMP eat garden PL
‘The village gardens, they make them up in the mountains,
far away from the village because the pigs eat the
gardens’

To ask for the information found in a reason clause or purpose clause,
speakers can use the interrogative forms \(huan\ tae\) ‘why’:

10.72) \(Kiraq\ eing\ \(huan\ tae\)?
3PL cry why
‘Why are they crying?’

10.3.2.4 Conditional Clauses

Clauses of condition are subordinated with the marker \(diqia\) ‘if’ or its
variants \(diaq\) and \(diq\). Conditional clauses express reality conditionals
which refer to habitual or generic events as the following two examples
demonstrate:
10.73)  
[Diqia tuaq ki doe]_{ADV} [o’la ki doe long]_{MAT}
\[
\text{if family PL be.big garden PL be.big also}
\]
\[
\text{‘If the families are big, the gardens are also big’}
\]

10.74)  
[Diq qoak leak ein ru [neq kiar se-a]
\[
\text{if 2SG go with thing SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3}
\]
\[
\text{ein na spid boat ki[REL]_{ADV}...}
\]
\[
\text{with DEF speed boat PL}
\]
\[
\text{‘If you go in something called a speed boat…’}
\]

Example 10.76 refers to another type of reality conditional where the speaker is talking about a past event. It also has condition interdependency where the clauses are dependent on one another, the first clause expressing a condition, while the second states a consequence:

10.75)  
[Diaq nouaq eis moid-i]_{ADV} [ma nouaq eis}
\[
\text{if NEG NEG.2SG be.willing-OBJ.3 but NEG NEG.2SG}
\]
\[
\text{hang long soqleh]}
\]
\[
\text{eat also evening}
\]
\[
\text{‘If you weren’t willing to do that, then you didn’t eat in the evening either’}
\]

10.4 Relative Clauses

As noted in 6.1.2.3, relative clauses (REL) are dependent structures which modify nominal arguments, their function being to “delimit” and “specify the role” of the referent (Andrews, 2007). They are less highly integrated than
complement and adverbial clauses as they modify a nominal argument of the matrix clause, rather than the predicate itself. They are considered here in their role as clausal structures which are subordinate to the matrix clause (MAT).

In Kwaraqae, relativisation is achieved with the subordinator *neq* which is typically positioned at the front of the relative clause. Apart from its role as a relativiser, *neq* is also sometimes used in conjunction with other subordinators, such as those introducing adverbial clauses (10.3.2.1, 10.3.2.2) and with the coordinator *ma* ‘and’ when a following proposition expresses negative polarity (10.5.1). Hence its label as a subordinator (SUB).

The following examples show that the relative clause is external to the nominal it is modifying, and tends to follow the nominal:

10.76)  
Auek sina [neq sien]_{REL} ka qokqok  
Auki sun SUB shine IMP be.hot  
‘At Auek, the sun, which was shining, was hot’

10.77)  
...ngwai nau [neq matei]_{REL...} ka tio  
uncle POSS.1SG.AL SUB be.sick IMP in.bed  
‘...my Uncle, who was sick, was in bed...’

10.78)  
Kia leak li-a an kuwal [neq  
3PL go look-OBJ.3 for place SUB
bol oqola ki[REL]
be.suitable garden PL
‘They go and look for a place that is suitable for the gardens’

10.79) [Goq nouwaq naq hein diq nau] [neq
just 1SG COMP with cousin POSS.1SG.INAL SUB

kioq raeq sa toł-o[REL]
1DU.EXCL come.up LOC inland-VH
‘It was just my cousin and I who went inland’

It is possible for the relative marker *neq* to be placed at the end of a relative clause as is it here when modifying a predicate nominal. This example is exceptional in the data however (relativisation of predicate nominals discussed further below):

10.80) Kamaq [ru sa toł neq][REL
1PL.EXCL thing LOC inland SUB
‘We are just people from the bush’

Andrews (2007) notes that relative clauses can be structurally free, where the nominal being modified is non-specific. This occurs in Kwarakae too.

For example:

10.81) Kiak hasi-a tae [neq kiar oga naq][REL
IMP.3PL plant-OBJ.3 what SUB 3PL want COMP
‘They can plant whatever that they want’

The relativised nominal may be coreferenced within the nominal clause:
10.82) *Ngwe* [neq kia]k soungelq *luom k[i]REL kia*k
people SUB IMP.3PL build house PL IMP.3PL

soungelq *luom naq*
build house COMP

‘The people who build houses, they become house-builders’

In 10.83-10.85, the relativised nominal is a predicate nominal:

10.83) *Ohodeing k[i]REL* [neq kia]e *ein beret-e hein*
morning PL SUB 3PL eat biscuit-VH with

na [ti]REL
DEF tea

‘It was in the mornings that we ate biscuits and tea’

10.84) *Eiya, wikend k[i]REL* [neq keika]l *leak sa oqala*
okay weekend PL SUB IMP.1PL.EXCL go LOC garden

‘It was in the weekends, that we went to the gardens’

10.85) *Ei [neq] kiar se-an *ein pikup
PRO.DEM SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3 with pickup

[k[i]REL [neq niaq ngeil ngwe]e or k[i]REL
PL SUB 3SG carry people many PL

‘It’s this one, which they call a pickup, that carries many people’

This strategy not only delimits the relativised nominal, but it seems to play a pragmatic role in the discourse where the nominal is foregrounded and contrasted with the preceding or following information. This can be seen in
the following pair of sentences where the speaker is talking about the materials with which village houses are built:

10.86) Eiya, i hanoa luom ki kir soungeiqn
      okay LOC village house PL 3PL build.OBJ.3

ein sao.
      with sago.palm.leaves

'Okay, the houses in the village, they make them with sago palm leaves'

Hah-an luom ki [neq kir soungeiqn
      on.top-POSS.3SG.INAL house PL SUB 3PL build.OBJ.3

ein kab[REL]
      with iron

'It's the top of the house which they build with iron'

Likewise in this example where the speaker accuses a group of boys of eating too many coconut crabs:

10.87) Koul ka uri ma[neq taeqan kukus an
      2PL IMP well SUB today coconut.crab in

haon kei-ii ka sui[REL]
      village POSS.1PL.EXCL IMP finish

'Well it's you who are finishing all the coconut crabs in our village'

The same strategy is used in the following example, when the speaker is comparing the ages his children:
10.88) \( Ei \ aqa\-a\ ni\ oan\ heiq\-neil\ ki\ naq \)
this.one eldest-VH 3SG six year PL COMP

\( ei\ sulia\ ro\ heiq\-neil\ ki\ ei \)
this.next next two year PL this.one

\( susbu\-ir-i\ [\text{neq} \ hiu\ madaom\ kij_{REL}] \)
youngest-VH SUB seven month PL

‘The eldest one is now six years old, the next one is two years old and it’s the youngest one who is seven months old’

In regards to the range of grammatical functions which are available for relativisation, these can be direct objects (10.78, 10.81), and, as predicted by the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie (1977), subjects (10.76, 10.77, 10.79).

10.5 Coordination

As stated in 6.3 (Noun Phrase Coordination), coordination is a process whereby “two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit” (Haskelmath, 2007). Haspelmath (2007) represents this as \( A (-\text{link-}) B \), where \( A \) and \( B \) are “coordinands” deemed to be structurally symmetrical units, and ‘link’ is a “coordinator”, the marker which links \( A \) and \( B \).

In 6.3 it was established that coordination in Kwaraqae can be asyndetic as well as monosyndetic. These two types are shown here for clausal coordination in 10.89 (asyndetic) and 10.90 (monosyndetic).

10.89) \( \ldots loq\ [ei\ lae\-lan\ eileil\ kij_{A}] \)
and this.one go-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL be.quick PL

\[ ei \text{ lae-I-an ka saheiq ki]}_a \]
this.one go-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL IMP be.slow PL
‘...and some will go fast, but others will go slowly’

10.90) Kei\text{ t\text{e}iq li-a ma [kal enjin-i lae}
1PL.EXCL relax look-OBJ.3 and some boat come

ka liu naq kwaj\text{A [ma kei}l kaormi-a
IMP go COMP DISC and 1PL.EXCL wave.over.OBJ.3

\text{naq mei}q]_{co-S}
COMP towards
‘We watched and a boat came and we waved it over towards us’

Example 10.90 suggests the constituency division for the monosyndetic type is [A [co B], where the second occurrence of \textit{ma} follows the discourse particle \textit{kwajA} which is used clause-finally (see 11.6).

In Kwaraque, coordinators are found not only at the NP level (6.3) or between clauses as demonstrated in 10.91, they also operate at the textual level. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), these coordinators, which they call “conjunctions”, mark the logical relations between the clausal elements of a piece of text or discourse. Crombie (1985), states that these logical relations can be described as expressing either cause and effect, comparison or contrast, or relations that involve time or space. In this grammar, all terms which link the same types of
‘units’ together to from larger structures as described by Haspelmath (2007) are labelled as coordinators. Table 10-4 summarises the clausal and textual coordinators, their function in the grammar following Haspelmath (2007), and the semantic relations that they express following Crombie (1985).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coordinator</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Semantic Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ma</em></td>
<td>'and'</td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td>Bonding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'but'</td>
<td>Adversative</td>
<td>Contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ber</em></td>
<td>'so, well'</td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td>Cause-effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ber ma</em></td>
<td>'although, but'</td>
<td>Adversative</td>
<td>Contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>si</em></td>
<td>'but'</td>
<td>Adversative</td>
<td>Contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nam</em></td>
<td>'or'</td>
<td>Disjunctive</td>
<td>Alternation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>loq</em></td>
<td>'and then'</td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td>Sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hein</em></td>
<td>'and'</td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td>Bonding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(goq) uner</em></td>
<td>'and so, well'</td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td>Reason-result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>goq, sui</em></td>
<td>'then'</td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td>Sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baelbaleiq an</em></td>
<td>'in regards to'</td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td>Bonding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lal</em></td>
<td>'instead'</td>
<td>Disjunctive</td>
<td>Supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Alternation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>buir</em></td>
<td>'after'</td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
<td>Sequence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The coordinators are discussed in the order presented in Table 10-4 with examples from the clausal and textual levels.

10.5.1 The Coordinator *ma*

The coordinator *ma* occurs both by itself and in combination with other terms. Alone, it plays a conjunctive role (10.91), and an adversative role when the following proposition has a negative meaning (10.92):

10.91) $\ldots niak\ lisi-a\ kal\ qei\ dokdok\ neqer$
IMP.3SG see-OBJ.3 some tree be.short that

$\text{ka\ raeq\ ka\ raeq\ ma\ ka\ lisi-a}$
IMP come.up IMP come.up and IMP see-OBJ.3

$na\ kal\ meq\ kwakwa\ldots$
DEF some QUAN hole

‘he saw a very short tree and he climbed it and saw a hole…’

10.92) $\text{Kiak\ se-a\ nei\ leak\ sukul-u}$
3PL.EXCL say-OBJ.3 FUT.1PL go school-VH

$\text{ma\ nauk\ eil\ naq}$
but 1SG refuse COMP

‘They said I should go back to school but I refused’

When *ma* acts as a coordinating adversative followed by a negated clause, the relativiser *neq* is frequently (though not always) added:
10.93) \( Ei \) \( keil \) \( arangim \) transpot-o \( hein \) \( ta \)
ookay 1PL.EXCL arrange transport-VH with some

\( ngwae \) \( ma \) \( neq \) \( nouaq \) nias \( dao \)
man but SUB NEG NEG.3SG arrive

\( eileil \) \( nei \) \( kwa \) \( ma \) \( keil \) \( oga... \)
be.quick there DISC but 1PL.EXCL want

‘Okay, we arranged transport with someone, but it didn’t
arrive there on time, but we wanted to…’

The coordinator \( ma \) is also found in the following example with the locative
interrogative \( i heiq \) ‘where’. Here it is glossed as ‘and somehow’ and
expresses a bonding relation between two events:

10.94) \( \ldots kiak \) \( ad \) \( meiq \) \( ohodeing \) \( ma \) \( i heiq \)
IMP.3PL be.awake towards morning and somehow

\( gwerhak \) \( biar \) \( noqan \) \( naq \) \( heis \) \( luom \)
frog that lose COMP away.from house

‘…they woke up in the morning and somehow that frog had
escaped away from the house’

10.95) \( \ldots kiak \) \( lia \) \( kwou \) \( tueil \) \( ma \) \( i heiq \) \( ngwae \)
IMP.3PL look away down and somehow friend

\( keraq \) \( lok \) \( tua \) \( goq-an \)
POSS.3DU there sit just-on

‘…they looked down and somehow their friend was sitting
right there’

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10.5.2 The Coordinator *ber*

The coordinator *ber* ‘so’ is shown here in its conjunctive role in a cause and effect relation:

10.96) …niaq *baba* *tal-a* *ka* *teaq* *ka* *dad*  
3SG be.flat road-VH IMP be.level IMP be.smooth  
*ubein* *han* *kia* *ru* *diq* *na* *tarek* *ki* *ka*  
you.know for 3PL thing like DEF truck PL IMP  

*hah-an* *liu*  
on.top.POSS.3SG.INAL pass.by  

*ber* *diqi-ba* *kia* *liu* *kia* *eibe-i* *na*  
so be.like-like 3PL go 3PL be.smooth DEF  

*an* *ba* *kia* *sese-a*  
like 3PL say-OBJ.3  
‘…it’s flat, the roads are level and smooth, you know, for things like trucks to travel along on top so it’s like they (trucks) go along smoothly, as they say’

10.5.3 The Coordinator *ber ma*

*Ma* ‘and’ combines with *ber* ‘so’ to from *ber ma* ‘but’ which is adversative by forming a contrasting relation between two propositions, here shown firstly at the clausal level (10.97), and then at the textual level (10.98):

10.97) …*nia* *laelae* *goq* *ka* *toq* *long* *an* *i*  
FUT.3SG go then IMP land also on LOC  

*aon* *long* *ber ma* *ei-y-an* *is*  
ground also but leg-POSS.3SG.INAL NEG.2SG  

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diqia heiqnoq ki...
be.like bird PL
‘...it goes then lands also on the ground but its legs are not like a bird’s...’

10.98) ...ei ngweiq ta ngwein kiak siuar
this.one group some boy IMP.3PL cut.grass

long buri-an domatri kiar.
also behind-POSS.3SG.INAL dormitory POSS.3PL
‘...all the boys, they cut the grass behind their dormitory.’

Ber ma neq oga-daq ngengeqiyal
but SUB emotion-POSS.3PL.INAL be.very.angry

naq prifekt huqko
PERF prefect that
‘But, they felt really angry with that prefect (summing up an event at school)’

10.5.4 The Coordinator si

The coordinator si/’but’ also marks adverbial clauses of reason ‘because’ (10.3.2.2). In its role as a coordinator it is adversative, signalling a contrast between two propositions:

10.99) ...goq ei ngwaen tiqtiq nei
then this.one son be.small POSS.3SG.INAL

niaq liam heiqngeil si susbuir-i niaq ul
3SG five year but last.born-VH 3SG three
heiqngeil ki
year PL
‘…then my young son is five years old but my youngest is three years old’

10.5.5 The Coordinator *nam*

The coordinator *nam* ‘or’ has an homonymous form as the VP modifier *nam* ‘must’ (8.4.10). In its role here it is disjunctive, indicating an alternating relation between two events:

10.100) ...qaok huat i Honiara nam qaok huat
2SG born PLACE Honiara or 2SG born

i hanoa i Maliat?
LOC village PLACE Malaita
‘...were you born in Honiara or were you born in a village in Malaita?’

10.5.6 The Coordinator *loq*

*Loq* ‘and then, also’ has an additional role as a VP modifier meaning ‘again, more’ (8.4.9). Here it is conjunctive, bonding two structures together.

10.101) ...ngweiq ngyak-a ka lia loq ad
group child-VH IMP look and be.awake
‘...the boys stared’

10.102) Haon-hak-a nei halhal-an-a
village-foreign-VH POSS.1SG.AL custom-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH
loq baelbal-eiq-an kwoq-ngaq kia
and concern-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL drink-NOM POSS.3PL.INAL
‘That’s the custom in our town. And in regards to
drinking…’

10.5.7 The Coordinator *hein*

The coordinator *hein* ‘and’ is both a conjunctive coordinator and a
comitative preposition ‘with’ (9.1.2.1). According to Haspelmath (2007), it
is not unusual for a marker like *hein* to share these two roles. In 10.103,
*hein* is simply bonding two propositions together:

10.103) Kir sounceiqn oqla aol ki, oqla butet
3PL make.OBJ.3 garden taro PL garden potato

ki, hein se-an oqla ki
PL and inside-POSS.3SG.INAL garden PL

kir ha-sia uh ki
3PL plant-TRANC sugar.cane PL
‘They make taro gardens, and potato gardens and in the
gardens they plant sugar cane’

10.5.8 The Coordinator (*goq*) uner

The coordinator (*goq*) uner ‘and so, well’ is conjunctive. *Uner* is frequently
found in the discourse expression *ru uner ki* ‘and things like that’. As a
coordinator, it encodes a reason-result relation:

10.104) Ber ma oqola ki naq neq kuwal
but garden PL COMP SUB place
ngwae hanoa ki kia ngeil hang an.
people village PL 3PL take food from
‘But, the gardens, they are the place from which the village
people get their food’

Uner aos ki teqhou kia leak nam sa
so day PL all 3PL go must LOC

oqla ki
garden PL
‘So every day they must go to the gardens’

When goq combines with uner, the relation becomes sequential:

10.105) Goq uner kiar u olh-an kal qei…
and.so 3PL stand under-POSS.3SG.INAL some tree
‘And so (then), they stood under a tree…’

10.5.9 The Coordinators goq and sui

Both goq and sui ‘then’ have alternative roles in the grammar as members
of the VP; goq is a restrictive modifier (8.4.2), and sui is aspectual,
marking the termination or endpoint of an event (8.3.2). As coordinators
they have a sequential meaning. For example:

10.106) Hakloh-o ka leak liu i Brisban nia
aeroplane-VH IMP go through PLACE Brisbane FUT.3SG

ngeil ul oa ki.
take three hour PL
‘The plane will go to Brisbane which will take three hours.’

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Goq heis i Brisban ka leak
then away PLACE Brisbane IMP go

u-an i hanoa
toward-POSS.3SG.INAL LOC home
‘Then from Brisbane we will travel home’

10.107) Eiya, wik yatyat-a aeh nei naq ka leak
okay week first-VH wife POSS.1SG.AL COMP IMP go

an haon kiraq hu-an tei wik.
to village POSS.3PL.AL for-POSS.3SG.INAL one week
‘Okay, the first week my wife will go to her village for one week.’

Sui keiseiq niaq ueil meiq…
then when 3SG return towards
‘Then when she has returned…’

10.5.10 The Coordinator baelbaleiq an

The coordinator baelbaleiq an ‘in regards to, concerning’ is conjunctive,
simply bonding two propositions:

10.108) …taeqan…kia syu naq sa luom
today 3PL wash COMP LOC house

Baelbaleiq an kabar-gang ki…
in regards to go.to.the.toilet-NOM PL
‘…today they wash inside their house. In regards to toilets…’
10.5.11 The Coordinator *lal*

The coordinator *lal* 'instead' is disjunctive and encodes inter-propositional relations of supplementary alternation. While other coordinators are positioned between the clauses they are coordinating, in the example below, *lal* is placed at the end:

10.109) *Areiqkwao ki se-a ein supamarket ki.*
white.man PL say-OBJ.3 with supermarket PL

‘White men call them supermarkets.’

*Kuluaq kul se-a goq ein luom han*
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL say-OBJ.3 just with house for

*uk-l-an hang-a lal.*
pile-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL food-VH instead

‘We just call it a house for storing food instead’

10.5.12 The Coordinator *buir*

The coordinator *buir* 'after' is conjunctive and joins clauses indicating sequential events:

10.110) *Goq kiak tuhu-a qei ki buir*
then IMP.3PL chop.down-OBJ.3 tree PL after

*tuhu-a qei ki*
cut.up-OBJ.3 tree PL

‘Then, they chop down the trees, and after that, they cut them up’
11 Pragmatically Marked Structures

The structures described in this chapter are those suggested by Payne (1997) as having a clausal element which is assigned an unusual or marked status during the act of communication. In Kwaraqae, these structures include interrogative, imperative, negated and fronted clauses. A further final section describes the discourse markers observed in the texts.

While declarative sentences represent the most frequent type in Kwaraqae, have a basic constituent order of SVO, and are expressed with the full range of aspect and mood markers, the marked structures discussed here are less basic in that they can be described as being derived from declaratives. They do not express the same wide range of speech acts.

11.1 Interrogative Clauses

In accordance with König and Siemund's typological observations (2007), there are two basic interrogative types in Kwaraqae: polar interrogatives and constituent interrogatives.
11.1.1 Polar Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives may be expressed by intonational marking where voice pitch is heightened toward the end of a declarative clause as illustrated in 11.1 and 11.3. These types of questions are typically answered in the affirmative with *iyu* ‘yes’:

11.1) \[ \text{Goq keiseiq qaok tiqtiq koul leak sa oqla ki?} \]

Then when 2SG be.small 2PL go LOC garden PL

‘Then, when you were small, did you all go to the gardens?’

\[ \text{iyu ... sukul sui ueil meiq keil ka} \]

Yes school TERM return towards 1PL.EXCL IMP

\[ \text{dong-a long tyaq nau sa oqla} \]

follow-OBJ.3 also mother POSS.1SG.AL LOC garden

‘Yes,…after returning from school we would follow my mother to the garden’

Alternatively, the speaker can reply in the negative by simply using the negative marker *nouaq*, also used in clausal negation (see section 11.4):

11.2) \[ \text{Niaq leak i roqki?} \]

3SG go LOC yesterday

‘Did he go yesterday?’

\[ \text{Nouaq niaq leak ohodeing taeqan} \]

NEG 3SG go morning today

‘No, he went this morning’
11.1.2 Constituent Interrogatives

Constituent interrogatives, or those questions where the speaker is asking for information, are typically formed with the use of an independent interrogative pronoun.

A complete list of interrogative pronouns and the relevant sections where they are described is given in Table 11-1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Relevant Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>i hei ginger</em></td>
<td>'where'</td>
<td>Place name 5.1.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i tei, sa tei</em></td>
<td>'who'</td>
<td>Personal name 5.1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tae (neq)</em></td>
<td>'what'</td>
<td>Common noun 5.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hau qua(t)</em></td>
<td>'which, how, what'</td>
<td>Common noun 5.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>angy et (neq)</em></td>
<td>'when'</td>
<td>Demonstratives 5.2.1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>huan tae</em></td>
<td>'why'</td>
<td>Reason and purpose adverbs 10.3.2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These question words sometimes (but not always) co-occur in the clause with the interrogative marker *bein* (INT), which is either suffixed to the interrogative pronoun (11.3), or postposed to it (11.4). The plural marker *ki* may be inserted between *bein* and the interrogative word (11.5). For example:
11.3)  
\[ Quri\ ma\ qaok\ kore-a\ kin\ heiqbein? \]
\[ \text{DISC 2SG marry-OBJ.3 woman where} \]
‘Tell me, where is your wife from?’

11.4)  
\[ Se,\ areiq\ biar\ alaq\ loq\ houquat\ bein\ re? \]
so\ man\ that\ talk\ and\ how\ INT\ DISC
‘So, why was that man talking (how) like that?’

11.5)  
\[ ...tae\ ki\ bein\ kia\ sese-a\ ein\ ru\ biar\ re? \]
what\ PL\ INT\ 3PL\ say-OBJ.3\ with\ thing\ that\ DISC?
‘...what do they call those things?’

Constituent (11.6) and polar interrogatives (11.7) are frequently formed
with the second person singular non-contracted form \textit{aeiyoq} and the
interrogative marker \textit{mo} (QUE):

11.6)  
\[ Aeiyoq\ mo\ qaok\ moid\ huan \]
\[ 2SG\ QUE\ 2SG\ be.willing\ for-POSS.3SG.INAL \]
\[ lek-aq\ sa\ oqla? \]
go-NOM LOC garden
‘How about you, were you willing to go to the garden?’

11.7)  
\[ Kioq\ toqan\ ul\ ngyal\ ki.\ Aeiyoq\ mo? \]
\[ 1DU.EXCL have\ three\ child\ PL\ 2SG\ QUE \]
‘We have three children. How about you?’
11.2 Imperative Clauses

Imperative constructions typically function to give orders and commands.

Described here are the strategies used by speakers to form positive imperatives and negative imperatives or prohibitives.

11.2.1 Positive Imperatives

In Kwaraqae positive imperative clauses where the speaker is ordering someone to do something are structured without a subject pronoun:

11.8) \textit{Leak} \textit{naq!}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{go} \textit{COMP} \\
‘Leave now!’
\end{tabular}

11.9) \textit{Tua} \textit{ein!}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{sit} \textit{eat} \\
‘Sit down and eat!’
\end{tabular}

11.10) \textit{La meiq tua ninm-auk!}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{go} \textit{towards} \textit{sit} \textit{close.to-POSS.1SG.INAL} \\
‘Sit next to me!’
\end{tabular}

11.11) \textit{Bab i aon!}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{bend} \textit{LOC} \textit{ground} \\
‘Duck (bob down)!’
\end{tabular}

11.12) \textit{Lae meiq ah nau!}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{go} \textit{towards} \textit{help} \textit{POSS.1SG.AL} \\
‘Come and help me!’
\end{tabular}
11.2.2 Prohibitives

Prohibitives are mainly formed with a pronoun. Speakers may use the morphologically fused second person negative pronouns shown here in Table 11-2 and examples 11.13 and 11.14.

Table 11-2: Second person pronouns and their morphologically fused forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Person Pronouns</th>
<th>2nd Person Marker</th>
<th>Negative Marker</th>
<th>Resulting Fused Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ae</td>
<td>kas</td>
<td></td>
<td>eis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koq</td>
<td>kas</td>
<td></td>
<td>kos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koul</td>
<td>kas</td>
<td></td>
<td>kaos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.13) *Nouaq*  
*Nouaq*  
*eis*   
*takdalh-a*  
*hu-an*  
NEG  
NEG.2SG  
forget-OBJ.3  
to-POSS.3SG.INAL

*ein-l-an*  
eat-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL  
food  
'Don't forget to eat the food!'

11.14) *Nouaq*  
*Nouaq*  
*is*   
*tua*   
i  
aon!  
NEG  
NEG.2SG  
sit  
LOC  
ground

'Don't sit down!'

Alternatively, the independent second person pronouns from the first column of Table 11-2 are used with the marker *kas*.  

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11.15)  *Nouaq koul kas is!*
   NEG  2PL  NEG  noise
   ‘Don’t be noisy!’

11.16)  *Nouaq koq kas is!*
   NEG  2DU  NEG  noise
   ‘Don’t be noisy!’

However, it is also possible to express prohibition simply with the negative pronoun *nouaq*.

11.17)  *Hou okok nouaq sam toqan!*
   stone  be.hot  NEG  touch  have
   ‘Don’t touch the hot stones!’

11.3 Hortatives

Unlike positive imperative forms, which are formed without a pronoun, acts of exhortation known as hortatives (HORT) (König & Siemund, 2007) require the subject pronominal to be overtly expressed. These pronominal forms are derived from the independent first person subject pronouns. For example:

11.18)  *koroaq*  →  *ko*

   *Ko*  leak  *naq!*
   HORT.1DU.INCL  go  COMP

   ‘Let’s go!’

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11.19) \(kuluaq \rightarrow ku\)

\(Ku\)  \(\text{leak} \ naq!\)
HORT.1PL.INCL  go  COMP

‘Let’s go!’

11.20) \(keimil \rightarrow mu\)

\(Mu\)  \(\text{leak} \ naq!\)
HORT.1PL.EXCL  go  COMP

‘Let’s go!’

In the following example, the future pronominal first person singular form \(nei\) is used to express the hortative meaning:

11.21) \(Nei \ manat \ beis \ suli-a!\)
FUT.1SG  think  first  be.about-OBJ.3

‘Let me think about it!’

11.4 Clausal Negation

Clausal negation in Kwaraqae is achieved with two independent negative markers, \(nouaq\) and \(kas\), which are both preverbal, \(nouaq\) preceding \(kas\).

\(Nouaq\) and \(kas\) may have a subject nominal inserted between them (11.24, 11.25), although they mostly appear simply juxtaposed:

11.22) \(\ldots neq \ yuryur-u \ nouaq \ kas \ taeqi-a\)
SUB  wind-VH  NEG  NEG  pull.out-OBJ.3
sao ki
sago.palm.leaf PL
‘...so that the wind doesn't pull out the sago palm leaves’

11.23) Gwat loqko ki nouaq kas hiol
pig that PL NEG NEG be.hungry
‘Those pigs aren't hungry’

11.24) Loq haonhak-a kul tuaq-an-a
also village.foreign-VH POSS.1PL.AL life-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH

diaq ba nouaq ngwae kas oqliu
like like NEG people NEG do.garden

sean oqla ki oqla tol
in.POSS.3SG.INAL garden PL garden inland
‘Also, in our urban life, people don't work in the gardens like they do inland’

11.25) Bat nouaq keil kas dao qua an kual...
but NEG 1PL.EXCL NEG arrive yet LOC place
‘But we still didn’t reach the place...’

As previously described in 5.2.1.2, when the subject noun phrase is a non-future personal pronoun rather than a lexical nominal, morphological fusion between the pronoun and kas frequently occurs. The resulting negative pronoun always follows nouaq:

11.26) ...diaq nouaq eis moidi ma
if NEG NEG.2SG be.willing and
\textit{nouaq} \textit{eis} \textit{hang long}
NEG NEG.2SG eat also
‘...if you weren’t willing (to do that), you didn’t eat either’

11.27) \textit{Nouaq} \textit{neis} \textit{se-a hu-an tias ki}
NEG NEG.1SG say-OBJ.3 to-POSS.3SG.INAL teacher PL
‘I didn’t tell the teachers’

11.28) \textit{Si} \textit{rot-o nouaq kias leaq long}
because road-VH NEG NEG.3PL be.good also
‘Because the roads aren’t very good’

11.29) \textit{...ber taeqan nouaq kuis uih oh}
so today NEG NEG.1PL.INCL fill water
\textit{naq an absasab...}
COMP to bamboo.pipe
‘...so, today we don’t fill bamboo pipes with water...’

Clauses whose predicates are noun phrases (11.30) and locatives (11.31) are negated with \textit{nouaq}, but the marker \textit{louq} is used in place of \textit{kas}.

11.30) \textit{Niaq nouaq louq kin sariq lok}
3SG NEG NEG young.girl that
‘She is not a young girl’

11.31) \textit{Haon keimi nouaq louq i Nahinua}
home 1PL.EXCL.AL NEG NEG LOC Nahinua
‘Our home is not in Nahinua’
It would seem that *kas* is reserved for use in verbal predicates, while *louq* is used with negative non-verbal predicates. This is evident in the pair of sentences following, where in 11.32, the nominal predicate *tisa* ‘teacher’ is negated with *louq* but in 11.33, its verbal counterpart *tias* ‘to teach’ is negated with *kas*:

11.32) \( N\text{iaq} \; n\text{ouaq} \; l\text{ouq} \; t\text{isa} \; l\text{ok} \)
3SG NEG NEC teacher that
‘He is not a teacher’

11.33) \( N\text{iaq} \; n\text{ouaq} \; k\text{as} \; t\text{ias} \)
3SG NEG NEC teach
‘He is not teaching’

Example 11.34 is a further example of the *louq* in a non-verbal clause:

11.34) \( E\text{iya} \; n\text{ouaq} \; l\text{ouq} \; h\text{oh} \; h\text{ak-a} \; m\text{a} \; b\text{aja-a} \; h\text{u} \)
okay NEG NEC many ship-VH but barge-VH to
‘okay, no, not a lot of ships, but barges’

With negative clauses of existence, only the marker *nouaq* is used:

11.35) \( “l:\; n\text{ouaq} \; l\text{ong} \; n\text{ei} \; k\text{wa}” \)
oh NEG also that DISC
“Oh, there isn’t any (betel nut)”

11.5 Clausal Fronting

In Kwaraqae, noun phrases are frequently ‘fronted’. The fronted noun phrase is coreferenced with a pronoun in the main clause. The types of
nominals which can appear in this ‘pre-clausal slot’ (PRE) are not only simple lexical nominals (11.36), but also modified and derived nominals such as those in 11.37 (marked as definite), 11.38, 11.39 and 11.40 (marked as plural), 11.38 (alienably possessed), 11.39 (nominalised), 11.40 (relativised) and 11.41 (coordinated):

11.36) \[Rot-o\]_{PRE} nouaq kias leaq long
road-VH NEG NEG.3PL be.good also
‘The roads are not very good either’

11.37) \[Na tataehe\]_{PRE} ae soungeiqn ein na niniu
DEF floor 2PL build.OBJ3 with DEF palm
‘You build the floor with palm’

11.38) \[Fi nau kij\]_{PRE} kiar holiq ka bol
fee POSS.1SG.AL PL 3PL be.paid IMP be.exact

naq hein heiqngeil neqe
COMP with year this
‘My fees have been paid for the whole of this year’

11.39) \ldots [dui-lan ngyal kij]_{PRE} nouaq kias oga
study-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL child PL NEG NEG.3PL like

ein-l-an reis huqko
eat-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL rice that
‘...the students don’t like eating that rice’

11.40) \[Ngwae neq kiaq soungeiq luom kij]_{PRE} kiaq
people SUB IMP.3PL build house PL IMP.3PL

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soungelq  luom  naq
build  house  COMP
‘The people who build houses become house-builders’

11.41)  Goq  [nouwaq  hein  diq  nau]PRE  kioq
then  1SG  and  cousin  POSS.1SG.AL  1DU.EXCL

leak  dao  naq  i  luom  ngweii  nau
go  arrive  COMP  LOC  house  uncle  POSS.1SG.AL
‘Then my cousin and I went to my uncle’s house’

Other nominals appearing in this position are the non-future personal
pronouns, particularly in their non-contracted forms, which gives them an
additional emphatic function:

11.42)  [Nouwaq]PRE  nauk  tiqiq  ku  leak
1SG  1SG  be.small  1SG  go

sukul  i  Weitria
school  PLACE  White River
‘As for me, when I was small I went to school at White River’

11.43)  [Kuluwaq]PRE  kul  se-a  goq  ein
1PL.INCL  1PL.INCL  say-OBJ.3  just  with

luom  han  uk-l-an  hang-a  lal
house  for  pile.up-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL  food-VH  instead
‘As for us, we just call it a house for storing food instead’
Clausal fronting is not only employed in declaratives, but is found in
interrogatives:

11.44) \[Haon komu]_{PRE} ni heiqbein?
   village POSS.2PL.AL 3SG where
   ‘Where is your village?’

11.45) \[Sukul qaok tua an-a]_{PRE} ni tio
   school 2SG stay LOC-VH 3SG be.situated

   i heiqbein?
   PLACE  where
   ‘Where is the school you attended?’

Grammatical relations which are fronted are both main clause subjects
(11.37, 11.39, 11.40, 11.42) and objects (11.38, 11.47, 11.48). Object
arguments (OBJ) which are fronted, are indexed on the matrix clause verb
with the object suffix -a(7.1.2.2):

11.46) \[Ta ru goq neq kiar og-a]_{OBJ} kia hasi-a
   anything SUB 3PL want.OBJ.3 3PL plant-OBJ.3
   ‘Anything they want, they plant (it)’

11.47) \[keiseiq hu-an stadi-qang]_{OBJ} kiar se-a
   time for-POSS.3SG.INAL study-NOM 3PL say-OBJ.3

   ein prep time
   with prep time
   ‘...the time for studying, they called it prep time’

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It would seem that this pragmatically marked construction functions as a type of foregrounding device where an argument from the main clause is brought to the addressee’s attention by not only coreferencing or ‘copying’ it, but also by assigning it to a particularly salient position at the front of the clause.

11.6 Discourse Markers

The following markers were observed in the texts collected in this project. None of these appear in the written texts such as Burt and Kwa’ioloa (1992; 2001) or Kwa’ioloa and Burt (2001) as they are part of the spoken register in Kwaraqae. Table 11-3 lists these markers and suggests their likely discourse functions. Subsequent examples demonstrate their use.
Table 11-3: Discourse markers and their functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Marker</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
<th>Discourse Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>eïya, ei, oy</em></td>
<td>‘okay’</td>
<td>Clause initial</td>
<td>Directs hearer’s attention to beginning of an event or a step in a procedure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwa</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Clause final</td>
<td>Signals end of utterance and/or a break in the narrative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>re</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Clause final</td>
<td>Seems to be used at the end of questions as a type of tag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>quri ma, ira</em></td>
<td>‘well, can I ask’</td>
<td>Clause initial</td>
<td>Used in declaratives and interrogatives. Indicates that the speaker is going to ask a question or used as a pause in the discourse as a device for holding the floor. Continuative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td>‘eh’</td>
<td>Clause final</td>
<td>Question tag, signals turn end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>o, i</em></td>
<td>‘oh’</td>
<td>Clause initial</td>
<td>Emphatic device for narratives and reporting of speech. Continuative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ubein</em></td>
<td>‘you know’</td>
<td>Clause medial</td>
<td>Hedge to gain time and keep turn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.48) *Eïya oqla ki kir soungeiqn oqla aol ki...*
okay garden PL 3PL make garden taro PL
‘Okay they make gardens of taro…’

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11.49) ...si tae ki bein kia sese-a ein ru
but what PL INT 3PL say-OBJ.3 with thing

beir re? Kukusu kwal
that DISC coconut.crab DISC
‘...but what do they call those things? Coconut crabs!’

11.50) Quri ma, kaol ngeil ta heiqkikiur re?
well 2PL carry some fruit.betel.nut DISC?
‘Well, do you have any betel nut?’

11.51) O, ru nege ki ru Telekom ki ne?
Oh thing this PL thing Telecom PL DISC
"Oh, these things are Telecom’s things, aren't they"

11.52) ...nia baba tal-a ka taeq ka dad
3SG make.flat road-VH IMP be.level IMP be.smooth

ubein han kia ru diq na tarek-e
you.know for 3PL thing be.like DEF truck-VH

ki ka liu hah-an...
PL IMP go.along on.top-POSS.3SG.INAL
‘...it makes the road flat, level and smooth, you know, for
them, the things like the trucks to go along on top...’
## Appendix A

### Elicitation Topics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic/ Semantic field</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Sociolinguistic/Syntactic information associated with this semantic field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greetings</td>
<td>Good Morning/evening/afternoon How are you? I’m fine Thanks</td>
<td>Phatic functions Politeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body Parts</td>
<td>my/your/his/her head, arm, shoulder, leg, knee, back, belly, chest etc</td>
<td>Possession (alienable/inalienable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>black/white or dark/light red, yellow, green, blue pink, brown, purple, orange</td>
<td>Categorisation of the natural world The noun phrase Adjectives/stative verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship Terms</td>
<td>mother, father, brother, sister maternal/paternal brothers/sisters grandparents</td>
<td>Terms reveal social relationships in community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>counting some, several, many, both, all, every</td>
<td>Definite/indefinite article Plural, dual, trial Numerals, numeral modifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>today, tomorrow, yesterday</td>
<td>Temporal expressions, deixis Present, progressive,past, immediate past, future, immediate future Interrogative, imperative Mood, conditional, subjunctive, negation The verb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space/location</td>
<td>here, there, this, that above, below, front, back, middle, among, behind, near, beside inside, outside, into</td>
<td>Spatial deixis (absolute, intrinsic, relative spatial expression)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botanical categories</td>
<td>tree, bush, flower medicinal, nutritional plants</td>
<td>Categorisation of the natural world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological categories</td>
<td>pigs, birds, snakes, frogs</td>
<td>Categorisation of the natural world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday activities</td>
<td>Cooking, growing food, washing</td>
<td>Narrative, reported speech, habitual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix B

**Prompts for Text Topics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Prompts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>Where the gardens are, their size, weeding, making the garden, tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Who goes there, are they shared?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What food is grown?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do the children go? Do they help?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Description of family, children (ages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Growing up, description of mother, father, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Preparation</td>
<td>Who prepares the food, gets the firewood?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description of the cooking methods (hangi, bamboo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What food is eaten?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are there traditional methods of preserving or keeping food?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness/health</td>
<td>How to treat cuts, bruises, headaches, fever, bites, stings etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Does someone have special knowledge about these things?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A typical day</td>
<td>What do people generally do in the course of a typical day do they get up early, when do they go to bed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When do they eat, clean, wash, garden etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is there a time of day when people get together for a chat, to swap news etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Who is responsible for certain tasks? What do the children do?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Building</td>
<td>Who does what, does everyone help each other, is each family responsible for building its own house?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description of the building process (what do you do first, then after this etc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Materials and tools, are there separate houses for cooking, keeping pigs, chickens etc?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What does a house look like, have in it (e.g. sitting benches, racks for storing things?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Home</td>
<td>The last time you were at home, who was there, what was happening?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The next time you go home when will this be? Who will be there? What you are looking forward to doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What everyone would be doing at home now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayings, proverbs, poems, songs, dances, stories</td>
<td>When are these shared or performed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How do children learn them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Did you get taught any of these?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are there stories which explain natural phenomena like the weather?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The current linguistic situation</td>
<td>Who speaks what languages and when e.g. at school, in Honiara, in the village(s), at home etc?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When did you learn to speak them, was this at school?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments about the Kwaraqae spelling system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How you feel about speaking Kwaraqae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix C

### Semantic Domains

(Adapted from Payne, 1997, pp. 55-61)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Domain</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sensation</td>
<td>see, hear, taste, touch, smell,</td>
<td>Subjects are experiencers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>observe, perceive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the smell, sight, taste, pain,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotion</td>
<td>fear, like, love, hate, be angry,</td>
<td>May be based on nominal root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>sad, mournful, happy, pleased,</td>
<td>from body part, Includes friendship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grieve, the fear, happiness,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grief, sadness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>speak, tell, say, answer, ask,</td>
<td>May be onomatopoeic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shout, whisper, imply, affirm,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>murmur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>speech, language, writing, poetry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulation</td>
<td>force, oblige, compel, urge, cause,</td>
<td>Use of physical or rhetorical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>let, obligation, cause, reason</td>
<td>force, includes acts of volition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>responsibility, willingness, habit,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artifact</td>
<td>bowl, cup, spear</td>
<td>Man-made - of particular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>interest to archaeologists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body Part</td>
<td>arm, leg, head, tongue, mouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flora and Fauna</td>
<td>sago palm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>meats, vegetables, drink, breakfast</td>
<td>Eating and drinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>sickness, headache, wound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship Term</td>
<td>mother, father, son, daughter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>few, many, some, one, twenty, first</td>
<td>Includes numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>dog, pig, insect, bird, person</td>
<td>Includes all organisms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>sea, land, sky, clouds, water, wind,</td>
<td>Includes fluids and solids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hardness, book</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract Relation</td>
<td>same, different, change, agreement</td>
<td>Includes ideas of existence,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>relational concepts (sameness,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>difference, agreement), change,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>today, tomorrow, week, month,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>journey, trip, opening, closing,</td>
<td>Includes dimensions,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>straightness, back, front, edge,</td>
<td>measurement, form, motion,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>roughness, size, house, shed,</td>
<td>things in space, regions,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>village, country, island, clothes</td>
<td>surroundings, coverings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Examples</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather</td>
<td>to rain, be windy, cold, hot, to thunder, get cloudy, get dark, the rain, thunder, lightning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>be cold, hot, broken, rotten, melted, skinned, dead, alive, born</td>
<td>For stative verbs, predicate adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>red, green, dark, ugly, beautiful</td>
<td>Colours, physical attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involuntary Process</td>
<td>grow, melt, die, wilt, dry up, explode, rot, tighten, break growth, explosion</td>
<td>Single argument verbs, undergo change of state, without volition, not always movement through space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodily Function</td>
<td>cough, sneeze, sweat, vomit, urinate, sleep/awaken, cry the cough, sneeze, crying, sleeping</td>
<td>Involuntary but no change of state</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Motion            | *Prototypical*: go, come  
*Particular manner*: swim, run, walk, fly, jump, crawl |                                                                      |
|                   | *Locomotion (change of place)*: movement out of one scene to another     | May behave like stative verbs, (change in place metaphorically like change in state), loco. preds |
|                   | *Simple motion*: spinning, jumping in place, running within an area      | Also treated as nominal preds                                          |
| Position          | stand, kneel, sit crouch, lie, hang                                      |                                                                      |
| Action            | *Dynamic (involve change)*: dance, sing, speak, carry  
*Non-dynamic*: sleep/rest, look (at), read, deceive, care for | Voluntary but patient not overtly affected                             |
| Action Process    | kill, hit, stab, shoot, spear                                           | Voluntary action but affected patient                                 |
|                   | the killing, stabbing, spearing                                         |                                                                      |
| Factive           | build, create, make, gather, ignite                                     | Some entity comes into existence                                       |
|                   | creation, building, gathering                                           |                                                                      |
| Cognition         | know, think, understand, learn, forget                                 | May be based on same root, or name of internal body part              |
|                   | idea, thought, possibility, belief, error, wisdom, memory, learner,     |                                                                      |
|                   | information, knowledge                                                   |                                                                      |
Appendix D

DVD Contents

Kwaraqae word list

Texts

KW Frog Story Text

KW Childhood Text

KW House Text

Sound Files

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>File Name</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KW Frog Story Rec</td>
<td>Christita Giobuta</td>
<td>Story about a boy, his dog and his frog</td>
<td>3’48”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW Childhood Rec</td>
<td>Christita Giobuta</td>
<td>Christina and Selwyn talk about their childhood</td>
<td>2’08”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Selwyn Takana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW Family Rec</td>
<td>Christita Giobuta</td>
<td>Christina and Selwyn talk about their families</td>
<td>1’54”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Selwyn Takana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW Garden Rec</td>
<td>Selwyn Takana</td>
<td>Selwyn talks about village gardening in Kwaraqae</td>
<td>2’14”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW House Rec</td>
<td>Selwyn Takana</td>
<td>Selwyn describes house-building in the village</td>
<td>1’42”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW School ST Rec</td>
<td>Selwyn Takana</td>
<td>Selwyn recounts an event from his schooldays</td>
<td>1’03”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW School CG Rec</td>
<td>Christita Giobuta</td>
<td>Christina recalls an incident from her school</td>
<td>.46”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW Trip Rec</td>
<td>Selwyn Takana</td>
<td>Selwyn talks about a forthcoming trip home</td>
<td>1’07”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW Village Desc Rec</td>
<td>Selwyn Takana</td>
<td>Selwyn describes the village life in Kwaraqae</td>
<td>1’32”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KW Village Visit Rec</td>
<td>Selwyn Takana</td>
<td>Selwyn talks about a recent visit home</td>
<td>2’46”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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ACT: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.


