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A GRAMMAR SKETCH OF KWARAQAE

A thesis
submitted in fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of
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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.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

-	Separate morpheme
.	Separates words in a multi-word gloss or meanings in a semantically complex morpheme
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ADJ	Adjective
AL	Alienable suffix
AP	Adverbial phrase
APPL	Applicative
ASSOC	Associative suffix
CAUS	Causative suffix
COMP	Completive aspect
CORD	Coordinator
DEF	Definite article
DEM	Demonstrative pronoun
DISC	Discourse marker
DU	Dual
DUP	Reduplicative prefix
EXCL	Exclusive
FEM	Female gender article

FORM	Formulaic phrase
FUT	Future pronoun
HORT	Hortative
IMM	Temporal immediacy marker
IMP	Imperfective progressive marker
INAL	Inalienable suffix
INCL	Inclusive
INT	Interrogative marker
INTR	Intransitive suffix
LOC	Locative marker
MASC	Male gender article
MAT	Matrix clause
N	Noun
NEG	Negative particle
NOM	Nominalising suffix
NP	Noun phrase
NUM	Numeral
OBJ.3	Direct object suffix
PL	Plural
PLACE	Place article
POSS	Possessive suffix
POSS.DET	Possessive determiner
PP	Prepositional phrase

PRE	Pre-clausal slot
PREF	Prefix
PREP	Preposition
PRO.DEM	Demonstrative pronoun
PROP	Propriative 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

Kwaraqae¹ 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 out-dated, 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.

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 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 data² 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; Bower, 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).

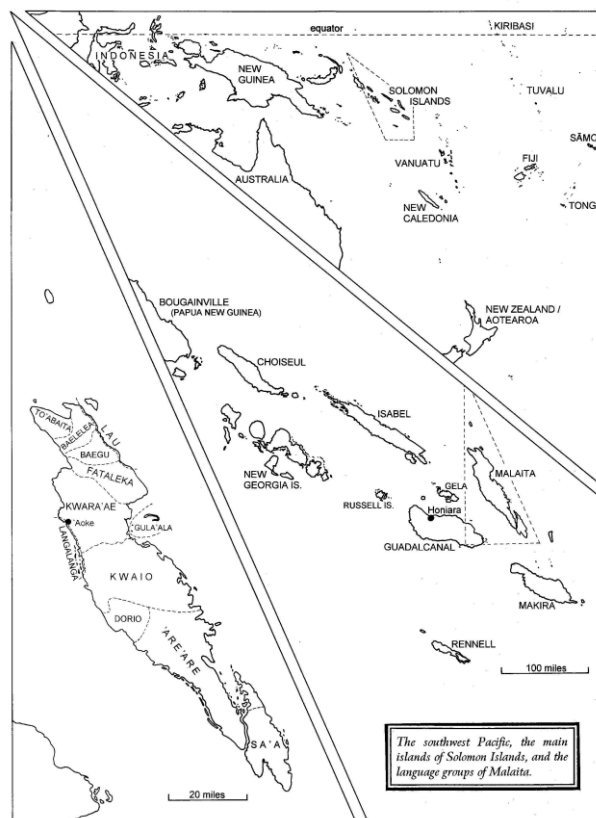


Figure 2-1: The Southwest Pacific, the main islands of the Solomon Islands, and the language groups of Malaita.

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/*'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.

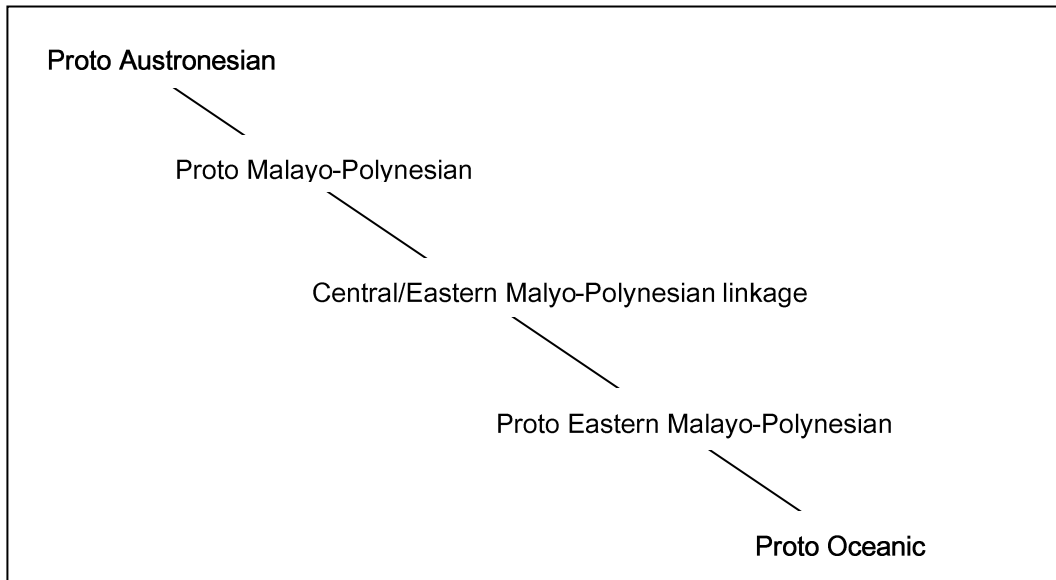


Figure 2-2. The genetic relationship of Proto-Oceanic to Proto-Austronesian (adapted from Lynch, Ross & Crowley (2008, p. 7)).

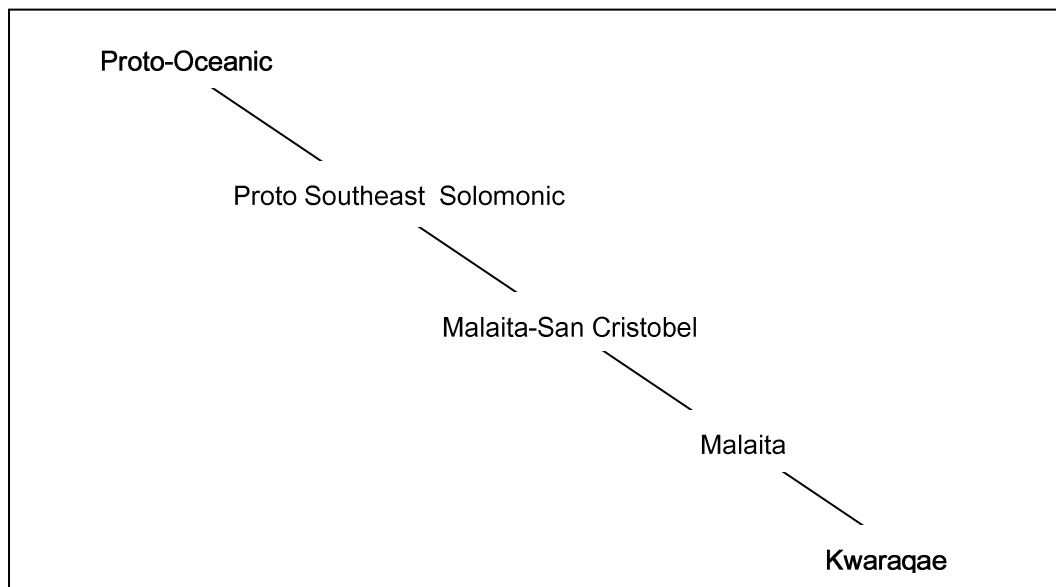


Figure 2-3: The genetic affiliation of Kwaraqae to Proto-Oceanic (adapted from Lynch, Ross & Crowley (2008, p.7) and SIL *Ethnologue* (Lewis, 2009)).

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 2-1: . Reconstructed Proto-Oceanic forms (from Blust, 1993, and Ross, Pawley & Osmond, 2003) and their equivalents in Kwaraqae.

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

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 /i/ 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 2004¹. 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 *enmity* for *emnity*. 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 Lenakel, 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’ style²) from the ‘low rhetoric’ style (which he refers to as the ‘normal’ style³). 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 ki*) and woven baskets (*ngwei giagia ki*) (Kwa’ioloa & Burt, 2001, p. 11). Traditional ways of living include gardening (*o’ola*) and keeping pigs (*gwat ki*), but also gathering wild plants such as yams (*kei ki*), fungi (*gior ki*) and fruit (*heiqru ki*), as well as hunting animals like birds (*noq ki*), bats (*sakwaol ki*), frogs (*gwer ki*), grubs (*sahou ki*) and fish (*iyaq ki*) 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'ioloa, 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:

<i>Bae</i>	<i>niaq</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>dao?</i>
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 /ŋ^w/ to /w/, and substituting /ŋ/ for /n/ before /g/ producing *fangga* instead of *fang* '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 *kiar* 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 subtlety, and that some of these simplifications are now becoming part of Kwaraqae rural communities as speakers frequently travel between Guadalcanal 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-Gegeo & 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. & Giobauta, 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 [k^w], [g^w] and [ŋ^w] 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 3-1: The consonant phonemes of Kwaraqae

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio- Velar	Glottal
Voicless Stops		t		k	k ^w	ʔ
Voiced Stops	b	d		g	g ^w	
Fricative		s				h
Nasals	m	n		ŋ	ŋ ^w	
Flap		r				
Laterals		l				
Glides	w		j			

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 /k^w/, and their voiced counterparts /d/ and /g/ and /g^w/. 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 /k^w/ and /g^w/, which are only syllable initial. These phonemes contrast with phonetically similar segments as follows:

3.1) /b/ and /m/

/baʔ/	‘TAG QU’	/maʔ/	‘father’
/bei.ʔar/	‘cabbage.’	/mei/	‘be calm’
/bein/	‘stupid’	/mein.yal/	‘try to do sth’
/bo/	‘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’
/k ^w aet/	‘give’	/k ^w aed.k ^w aed/	‘whistle’
/rot/	‘path’	/rod/	‘night’

3.3)	<i>/k/ and /g/</i>			
	<i>/koʔ/</i>	'grandparent/child'	<i>/goʔ/</i>	'just, only'
	<i>/ko.nia/</i>	'roast'	<i>/go.nia/</i>	'look after'
	<i>/tak.tak/</i>	'be messy'	<i>/tag.tag/</i>	'flap'
	<i>/sak/</i>	'come'	<i>/sag/</i>	'be correct'
3.4)	<i>/k/ and /k^w/</i>			
	<i>/keil/</i>	'FUT.1PL.EXCL'	<i>/k^weil/</i>	'be large'
	<i>/keis/</i>	'dig, claw'	<i>/k^weis/</i>	be wild'
	<i>/ka/</i>	'IMP'	<i>/k^wa/</i>	'DISC'
	<i>/kos/</i>	'go down'	<i>/k^wos/</i>	'be bright'
	<i>/kik/</i>	'pour sth. out/	<i>/k^wik/</i>	'cook'
3.5)	<i>/g/ and /g^w/</i>			
	<i>/ga/</i>	'be ripped'	<i>/g^wa/</i>	'be black'
	<i>/gi.a.gi.a/</i>	'be woven'	<i>/g^wi.g^wi/</i>	'giant ant'
3.6)	<i>/ʔ/ and /h/</i>			
	<i>/ʔeis/</i>	'to fall'	<i>/heis/</i>	'away from'
	<i>/koʔ/</i>	'grandparent/child'	<i>/koh/</i>	'water'
	<i>/siʔ/</i>	'fart'	<i>/sih/</i>	'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’
/li.am/	‘five’	/li.an/	‘to check’

3.8) /n/ and /ŋ/

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

3.9) /ŋ/ and /ŋʷ/

/ŋa.lia/	‘be prickly’	/ŋʷa.ro/	‘be soft’
/ŋa.li.a/	‘take sth.’	/ŋʷa.si.a/	‘wash sth.’

/ŋ ^w ae.ŋaʔ/	‘dance’	/o.ŋ ^w aʔ/	‘rub’
/ŋae/	‘hundred’	/ŋ ^w ae/	‘people’
/sou.ŋeiʔ/	‘build’	/ŋ ^w eiʔ/	‘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.a/	‘meet so.’	/u.hi.a/	‘fill sth.’
/kos/	‘go down’	/koh/	‘water’
/sus/	‘suckle’	/suh/	‘soap’

3.1.1.4 Liquids

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

3.11) /r/ and //

/or.or/	‘quiet’	/ol.ol/	‘right (side)’
/kar.ŋia/	‘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.wal/	'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'
	/hi.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', /ɲjal/ '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 Kwaraqae vowel inventory.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

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.jəʔ]	‘fish’
	/i.li.ja/	[i.li.jəʔ]	‘harvest’
	/seija/	[se.jə]	‘poisonous fruit’

	/no.ni.jan/	[nɔ.ni.jən]	‘his/her/its body’
	/u.ei.ja/	[u.ei.jə]	‘break sth.’
3.17)	/nou.waʔ/	[nou.wəʔ]	‘1SG’
	/dou.wa/	[dou.wə]	‘hold onto sth’
	/ku.wal/	[ku.wəl]	‘place’
	/ro.wan/	[rɔ.wən]	‘tree leaf’
3.18)	/ual/	[uəl]	‘have head lice’
	huat/	[huət]	‘be born’
	/wuat/	[wuət]	‘rain’
	/i.huan/	[i.huən]	‘his,her,its hair’
3.19)	/a.hia/	[a.hiə]	‘help so.’
	/i.nia/	[i.niə]	‘pick sth.’
3.20)	/moas.ʔu.a/	[mɔəs.ʔu.a]	‘forest’
	/ma.moal/	[ma.mɔəl]	‘pass way’
	/oan/	[ɔən]	‘six’
	/oal/	[ɔəl]	‘put’
	/ab.k ^w oal/	[ab.k ^w ɔəl]	‘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 [ə].

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/ [nɛ] 'who'

3.22) /o/ and /u/
 /ro/ [rɔ] '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’

CVC	/mas/	'play'
CVV	/dao/	'come'
VVC	/ein/	'eat'
CVVC	/nauk/	'1SG'

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 Kwaraae 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-njol-njol-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 /k^w/ and /g^w/, and the labio-nasal /ŋ^w/, 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’
	[sweɪʔ]	‘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:

$$CVV \quad \rightarrow \quad CGV$$

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, /ni.u/ 'coconut', /ti.o/ 'be situated', and /ni.a/, among many others, do not undergo glide formation.

Consonant clusters in initial or final syllable position are not permissible structures in KwaraꞤe. 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, /ae/, also has an allophone [æ]:

3.28)	/ei/	[ei]	
	/ŋwei/	[ŋ ^w ei]	‘uncle’
	/tei/	[tei]	‘who’
	/is.teiʔ/	[is.teiʔ]	‘bed’
	/ein/	[ein]	‘eat; with’
	/ʔeis/	[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/	[aɔ]	
	/dao/	[daɔ]	‘arrive’
	/ʔaok/	[ʔaɔk]	‘shout; 2SG’
	/maraok/	[ma.raɔk]	‘green’
	/k ^w ao/	[k ^w aɔ]	‘be white’
	/bu.lao/	[bu.laɔ]	‘be growing’
	/ma.daom/	[ma.daɔm]	‘month’
3.31)	/ou/	[ɔu]	
	/kwou/	[k ^w ɔu]	‘away’
	/tou/	[tɔu]	‘far away’
	/hou/	[hɔu]	‘stone’
	/sahou/	[sa.hɔu]	‘grub, larvae’
	/dou/	[dɔu]	‘hold’
	/sou.ŋeiʔ/	[sɔu.ŋeiʔ]	‘build’
3.32)	/ae/	[ae]	
	/kwa.ra.ʔae/	[k ^w a.ra.ʔae]	‘PLACE NAME’

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

3.33)

/ae/	[æ]	
/kaem/	[kæm]	‘lizard’
/a.læh/	[a.læh]	‘PLACE NAME’
/aeh/	[æh]	‘woman, wife’
/hei?.raed/	[hei?.ræd]	‘rod’
/sae.sae.ʔu.an/	[sæ.sæ.ʔu.an]	‘guess’
/twae.ʔei.a/	[twæ.ʔei.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.i.sɛ.ru]	‘necklace’
	/o.ei/	[ɔ.ei]	‘joke’
	/u.i.en/	[u.i.ɛŋ]	‘throw’
	/tae.i.ja/	[tae.i.ja]	‘sew’
	/ha.tu.eil.si.a/	[ha.tu.eil.si.a]	‘talk back at so.’
	/rao.rao.auk/	[raɔ.raɔ.auk]	‘work non-stop’

/gi.oa.gi.oa/ [gi.ɔə.gi.ɔə] ‘move side-to-side’

3.2.2.4 Reduplication

As suggested by Moravscik (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.ak]	‘go’	[ɛ.ak.ɛ.ak]	‘continue’
	[tu.a]	‘stay’	[tu.a.tu.a]	‘stay a while’
	[ləuh]	‘lift’	[ləuh.ləuh]	‘lift repeatedly’
	[hat]	‘talk’	[hat.hat]	‘reply’

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

3.36)	[jɔ.jɔ]	‘be sour’
	[ɔk.ɔk]	‘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’
 [ŋi.ŋi.du.a] ‘honey’
 [oʔ.do.do.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’

	[ˈjat.jat]	‘first’
	[ˈle.ak]	‘go’
	[ˈsɔʔ.lɛh]	‘evening’
	[ˈsei.jan]	‘know’
	[ˈtɔ.an]	‘have’
	[ˈeil.eil]	‘quickly’
	[ˈsou.ŋeiʔ]	‘make, build’
3.39)	[ˈni.ni.u]	‘palm’
	[ˈsi.si.ʔaŋ]	‘crushed bamboo’
	[ˈha.nɔ.a]	‘village’
	[ˈa.sɔ.wa]	‘day’
	[ˈsu.li.a]	‘about’
	[ˈɔ.ʔɔ.la]	‘garden’
3.40)	[ˈna.hi.nu.a]	‘place name’
	[ˈa.ra.rɔ.a]	‘peace’
	[ˈeil.eil.ŋi.a]	‘shake sth.’
	[ˈɔ.rae.ʔi.ɔʔ]	‘show off’
	[ˈɔs.ɔs.u.ɛk]	‘be lying’
	[ˈɛk.i.ja.na]	‘be ashamed’

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)	[ˈlu.ɔm]	[ˈlu.ɔ.mɛʔ]
	‘house’	‘house-type; type of house’
	[ˈtu.a]	[ˈtu.a.ʔan.a]
	‘life’	‘life-POSS.3SG.INAL-.VH; living’
	[ˈlan]	[ˈhaʔ.lan.a]
	‘be dry’	‘CAUS-dry-OBJ.3; make sth.dry’
3.42)	[ˈkʷeɪr]	[ˈʔuiʔ.kʷeɪr.kʷeɪr]
	‘scrape’	‘metal.tool-DUP.scrape; scraper’
	[ˈjat]	[ˈjat.jat.a]
	‘one’	‘DUP.one-VH; first’
	[ˈjur.jur]	[ˈjur.jur.u]
	‘wind’	‘DUP.wind-VH; wind’
	[ˈse.a]	[ˈse.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/>) 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 [\pm 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.EXCL.AL’
	[jur.jur]	[jur.ju.ru]	‘wind’
	[nauk]	[nau.ku]	‘1SG’
	[ku.wəl]	[ku.wa.la]	‘place’
	[haŋ]	[ha.ŋa]	‘food’
	[ta.taeh]	[ta.tae.hɛ]	‘floor’
	[tɔl]	[tɔ.lɔ]	‘inland’
	[jat.jat]	[jat.ja.ta]	‘first’

[si.si.ʔaŋ] [si.si.ʔa.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.hil]	[ɛ.a.hi.li]	‘airport’
	[ɛ.lɛk.trik]	[ɛ.lɛk.tri.ki]	‘electricity’
	[rɔt]	[rɔ.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 /ndr/. The three examples here involve the cardinal number ‘two’ *ro* or ordinal numeral ‘second’ *ru*. For example:

3.45)	[an ^ɔ ru.an wik]	‘in the second week’
	[hein ^ɔ rɔ ɔ.a ki]	‘in two hours’
	[gɔʔ an ^ɔ rɔ ak ^w al]	‘less than twenty’

While this does not occur very often, it may be the result of Kwaraqae speakers interacting with speakers of other Southeast Solomonic

languages, where homorganic prenasalised voiced stops such as /ʎd/ 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 Kwaraqae. 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/	/a/	'bite'
	/kei.mil/	/keim/	'1PL.EXL'
	/ko.ʔo/	/koʔ/	'grandparent/child'
	/ko.roaʔ/	/kor/	'1DU.INCL'
	/ku.ma.ra/	/kumar/	'kumara'
	/ni.aʔ/	/ni/	'3SG'
	/od.oa/	/od/	'erect walls'
	/seis.sir/	/seis/	'do'
	/ʔau.ko/	/ʔauk/	'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 $C_1V_1C_2V_2 - C_1V_1V_2C_2$ 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 $C_1V_1C_2V_2 - C_1V_1V_2C_2$ 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]	[kəɔh]	‘water’
	[a.su.hɛ]	[a.su.ɛh]	‘rat’
	[ki.ra]	[ki.ar]	‘FUT.3PL’
	[ni.ka]	[ni.ak]	‘IMP.3SG’
	[ti.sa]	[ti.as]	‘teacher’

The forms [ma.hu.al] ‘fire’ and [kəɔh] ‘water’ above, also undergo deletion to produce the variant forms [mɔh] and [kɔh] respectively, while the metathesised [a.su.ɛh] ‘rat’ is attested as undergoing vowel harmony to produce [a.su.ɛ.hɛ]. 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^wa.dɛ] ‘friend’ and [luma] ‘house’ are resyllabified, forming the diphthongs [ae] and [uɔ]

respectively. Also, like [a.su.ɛ.hɛ] ‘rat’ above, the metathesised form [ŋ^waed] is found in the data with a vowel harmonising suffix producing [ŋ^wae.dɛ]. When metathesised, the [a] in [luma] is raised to the back vowel [ɔ], while [a] is raised to a front vowel [ɛ] in [si.ɛn]. :

3.50)	[ŋ ^w a.de]	[ŋ ^w aed]	‘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.nɔ.a] ‘village’, the vowel [a] is deleted prior to metathesis. The form [ha.nɔ.a] becomes monosyllabic.

3.51)	[li.man]	[li.əm]	‘five’
	[ha.nɔ.a]	[hɑɔn]	‘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’
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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.sɔ.a] 'day' is attested with an epenthetic glide [w], but loses both final [a] or [wa] before metathesising to form the monosyllabic [aɔs]:

3.54) [a.sɔ.^(w)a] [aɔs] 'day'

Verbs also undergo metathesis, and this frequently affects the morphology. For example, in 3.55, the transitive verbs lose their object indexing suffix *-a* (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 *-a* is no longer apparent:

3.56) [ha.-si.a] [heis] 'plant sth.'
[ŋa.-li.a] [ŋeil] 'carry sth.'
[hu.-ri.a] [hu.ir] 'cut up sth.'

The following transitive verb [dɔŋ.a] ‘follow sth.’ metathesises the object suffix *-a*, which replaces the rounded vowel in the stem with the glide [w]:

3.57) [dɔŋ.a] [dwaŋ] ‘follow sth.’

Another example, intransitive [la.hɔu] ‘carry’, shows deletion of the final vowel [u], then metathesis resulting in a raising of the vowels [aɔ] to [ɔu].

This is the same template operating ($C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1V_2C_2$), but with irregularities in the vowels which fill the positions:

3.58) [la.hɔu] [lɔuh] ‘carry’

The verb [ɛ.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) [ɛ.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.rɛŋ]	'be near sth.'
	[di.ʔi.-a]	[di.aʔ]	'be like sth.'

The following intransitive form [a.ra.rɔ.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 [r] to produce [a.raɔr]. A further process has produced an apparently reduplicated form:

3.61)	[a.ra.rɔ.a]	[aɔr.aɔr]	'be peaceful'
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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.raʔ/ + /ka/ → /ki.ak/
 3PL IMP IMP.3PL

 /ni.aʔ/ + /ka/ → /ni.ak/ or /nik/
 3SG IMP IMP.3SG

 /keil/ + /ka/ → /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.

Vowels				
Phonetic Realisation	Phonemic Form	Orthographic Form	Example	
[i]	/i/	i	<i>ni</i>	'3SG'
[ɛ]	/e/	e	<i>ne</i>	'here'
[a]	/a/	a	<i>na</i>	'the'
[ɔ]	/o/	o	<i>ro</i>	'two'
[u]	/u/	u	<i>ru</i>	'thing'
[ə]	/a/	a	<i>huat</i>	'be born'
Diphthongs				
[ei]	/ei/	ei	<i>ngwei</i>	'uncle'
[ae]	/ae/	ae	<i>ngwae</i>	'people'
[æ]	/ae/	ae	<i>aeh</i>	'woman, wife'
[aɔ]	/ao/	ao	<i>dao</i>	'arrive'
[ɔu]	/ou/	ou	<i>dou</i>	'hold'
[au]	/au/	au	<i>nauk</i>	'1SG'

Consonants				
Phonetic Realisation	Phonemic Form	Orthographic Form	Example	
[b]	/b/	b	<i>bulbul</i>	‘gravesite’
[t]	/t/	t	<i>tiqtiq</i>	‘small’
[d]	/d/	d	<i>dokdok</i>	‘short’
[k]	/k/	k	<i>koh</i>	‘water’
[kʷ]	/kʷ/	kw	<i>kwao</i>	‘thunder’
[g]	/g/	g	<i>gaq</i>	‘laugh’
[gʷ]	/gʷ/	gw	<i>gwat</i>	‘pig’
[ʔ]	/ʔ/	q	<i>qot</i>	‘deep’
[m]	/m/	m	<i>madaom</i>	‘moon, month’
[n]	/n/	n	<i>neh</i>	‘knife’
[ŋ]	/ŋ/	ng	<i>ngeil</i>	‘year’
[ŋʷ]	/ŋʷ/	ngw	<i>ngweiq</i>	‘basket, group’
[s]	/s/	s	<i>sien</i>	‘sun’
[h]	/h/	h	<i>hanoa</i>	‘village’
[l]	/l/	l	<i>lisia</i>	‘see’
[r]	/r/	r	<i>rorod</i>	‘tomorrow’
[w]	/w/	w	<i>wua</i>	‘mountain’
[j]	/j/	y	<i>yuryur</i>	‘wind’

As described above (3.1.3), /a/ has two allophones, [a] and [ə]. 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 /æ/ and its two allophones [ae] and [æ] are orthographically represented as 'ae'.

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 [k^w], [g^w] and [ŋ^w] 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 Kwara'ae, 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).

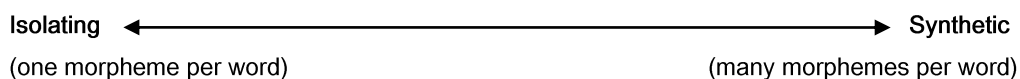


Figure 4-1: The index of synthesis (adapted from Whaley, 1997).

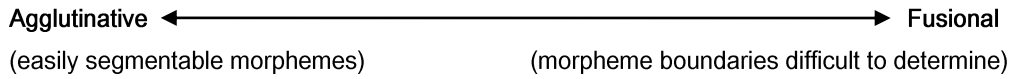


Figure 4-2: The index of fusion (adapted from Whaley, 1997).

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) *Eiya, oqla ki kir soungaiqn 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).

4.1.1.3 Head and Dependent Marking

Where there is morphological marking of constituents in Kwaraqae, this tends to occur on the phrasal head¹. For example, for inalienably possessed nouns, the marking is on the head noun:

- 4.4) *lim-an* *gwat*
 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*
 when 2SG make.roof-OBJ.3 house POSS.2SG.AL
- ka* *sui* *naq* *qaok-o* *bikngi-a* *naq*
 IMP TERM COMP 2SG-VH tie.down-OBJ.3 COMP
- luom* *oe...*
 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) *[haon]*_{HEAD} *[keim]*_{DEP}
 village POSS.1PL.AL.EXCL
 ‘our village’

4.7) *[maq nau]*_{DEP} *[haon]*_{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) *[Kia]s [ahi-a]v [maq kir ki hein tyaq ki]o*
 3PL help-OBJ.3 father POSS.3PL.INAL PL and mother PL
 ‘They help their fathers and mothers’

4.9) *[Kiak]s [tabu-a]v [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.

Parameter	Constituent Order
Main Clauses	V-O
Adpositions	Prepositions
Genitive(G) and Head Noun (N)	N-G
Head Noun (N) and Modifier (M)	N-M
Relative Clause (Rel) and Head Noun (N)	N-Rel
Affixes	Suffixes

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 constituent 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}.*
 village POSS.1PL.EXCL.AL PLACE Alaeh
 ‘Our village is in Alaeh’

4.12) *Ni [sa tol]_{PP}*
 3SG LOC inland
 ‘It (our village) is inland’

4.13) *Ni [heiqbein]_{INT?}*
 3SG 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) *Keil* [*ka leak*]_{VP} *i* *hanoa...*
 1PL.EXCL IMP go LOC home
 'We are going home...'

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

4.16) *Kui* [*ali-a* *gwat*]_{VP}
 dog bite-OBJ.3 pig
 'The dog bit the pig'

4.17) *Keil ka* [*ngeil na bas-a*]_{VP...}
 3PL IMP take DEF bus-VH
 'We will take the bus...'

4.18) *Ni* [*lisi-a* *neh nia*]_{VP}
 3SG see-OBJ.3 knife POSS.3SG.AL
 '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.

Grammatical Function	Prototypical Semantic Role	Relationship with Verb in clause	Morpho-syntactic treatment	Related Grammatical Relation in Kwaraqae
A	Agent	Argument of 2-argument verb in PTV ²	As for agent in transitive clause	Subject
P	Patient	Argument of 2-argument verb in PTV	As for patient in transitive clause	Object
S	-	Single argument	As for single argument of intransitive clause	Subject

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* *[manat]v*
 3SG think
 ‘He thinks’

4.20) *[Kiraq]s* *[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) *[Kiak]A* *[tabu-a]v* *[oqla]P*
 IMP.3PL make-OBJ.3 garden
 ‘They will clean up the garden’

- 4.22) *[Qaok-o]_A [lae tuhu-a]_V [dior oe ki]_P*
 2SG-VH go cut up-OBJ.3 post POSS.2SG.AL 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) *[Soqleh]_{AP} [kir]_A [ueil meiq]_V*
 afternoon 3PL return towards
 ‘In the afternoon they return’

- 4.24) *[Kia]_A [dao]_V [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) *[Ta ru goq neq kiar og-a]_P kia 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.

System 1	Vocatives	
	Do not occur with personal articles Cannot be modified by definite article, plural marker <i>ki</i> , or quantifiers and determiners	
	Proper Nouns	Person Names
	Cannot be modified by definite article, plural marker <i>ki</i> , or quantifiers and determiners	Male names occur with <i>sa</i> Female names occur with <i>i</i>
		Place Names
		Occur with place name and locative marker <i>i</i>
	Common Nouns	Mass Nouns (low countability)
		Cannot be modified by plural marker <i>ki</i> , or quantifiers
		Count Nouns (high countability)
		Can be modified by definite article <i>na</i> , plural marker <i>ki</i> , quantifiers and determiners

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

System 2	Alienable Possession	
	Indirect possession with independent free form possessive determiners	
	Inalienable Possession	
	Directly possessed by suffixes	Body parts Abstract Nouns Locative Nouns Part-whole Relations

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.

Open Classes (Open membership)	Intransitive	Invariant No affixation
		<hr/> Morphology <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transitive with <i>-a</i> Actor subjects Transitive with <i>haq-</i> Undergoer subjects Transitive with <i>-Cia</i> Actor subjects – applicative Undergoer subjects – causative Transitive with <i>-Cein</i> Actor subjects
	Transitive Indexed for direct object	Invariant (Transitive only)
		<hr/> Morphology <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suffixed with <i>-a</i> (No intransitive) Suffixed with <i>-Cia</i> (No intransitive) Intransitive when reduplicated

Table 4-6: The closed classes of verbs.

Closed Classes (restricted membership)	Conjunct and Modifier Predicates Suffixed with <i>-a</i>
	Propriative Verbs Suffixed with <i>-(u)aq</i>
	CTPs (complement-taking predicates) Take clause as complement

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 Kwaraqae.

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', *suil* '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 Kwaraqae:

- predicating prepositions: *sulia* 'be next to sth.', *dijia* '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', *suil* '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)
- *dijia* (*diaq*, *dij*) '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: *eija* '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 *i* 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.

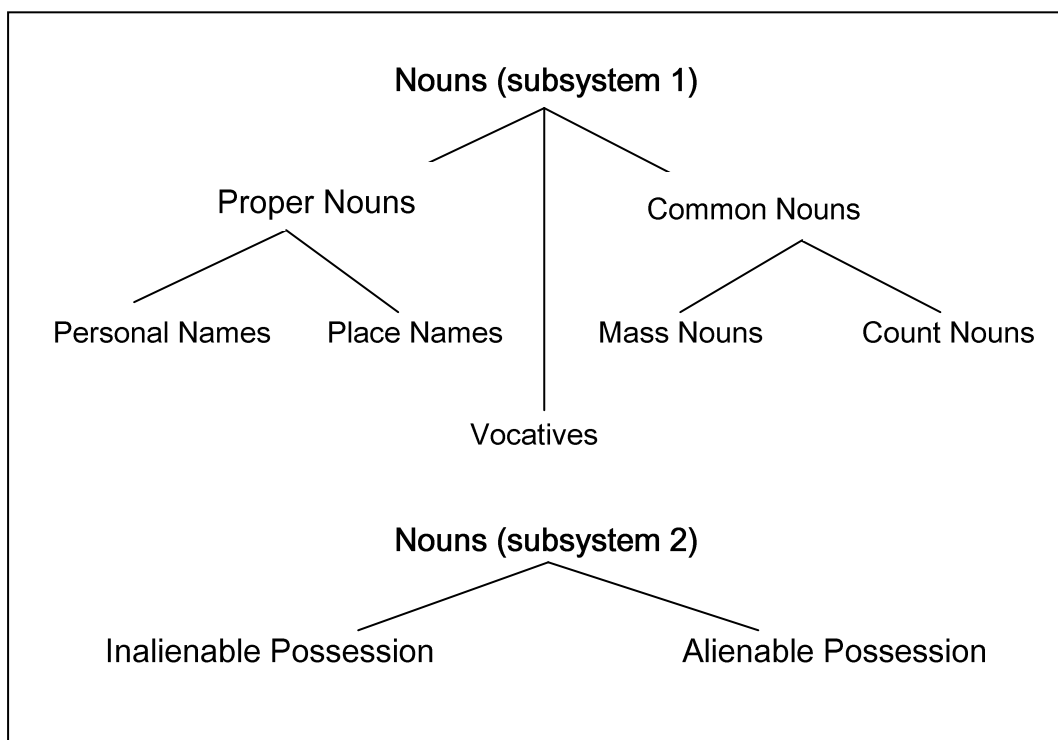


Figure 5-1: The two subsystems of nominal classification in Kwaraqae.

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.

Noun	Inalienably Possessed	Alienably Possessed
Common - Mass	<i>li-ak</i> think-POSS.3PL.INAL 'their thinking'	<i>ngingidua nau</i> honey POSS.1SG.AL 'my honey'
Common- Count	<i>aey-aum</i> foot-POSS.2SG.INAL 'your feet'	<i>ki</i> PL <i>gwat kiraq</i> pig POSS.3PL.AL 'their pigs'

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) *I* *Christina* *kuki-a* *aol*
FEM Christina cook-OBJ.3 taro
'Christina cooks the taro'

5.3) *Kui* *ali-a* *sa* *George*
dog bite-OBJ.3 MASC 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) *I 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) *I 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 tiqtiq 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 Alaeh*) 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* 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 *heiqbein* or *heiq* ‘where’, and is positioned in the clause where the place name would ordinarily appear:

5.11) *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?’

...ku leak sukul i Weitria
 1SG go school PLACE White River
 ‘...I went to school at White River’

5.12) *...qaok huat i Honiara nam qaok*
 2SG be.born PLACE Honiara or 2SG

huat i hanoa i Malqiat?
 be.born LOC village PLACE Malaita
 ‘...were you born in Honiara, or were you born in the village in Malaita?’

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 Aduwa hang tae ki neq koka*
well LOC Aduwa food what PL SUB IMP.2PL

ani sa sukul?
eat LOC school
'Well, at Aduwa, 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...'

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 Kwaraae. Lynch, Ross & Crowley (2002) note that this type of nominal system is particularly common among Oceanic languages.

The binary system in Kwaraae 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 5-2: Direct and indirect possession.

Inalienably Possessed Nouns	Alienably Possessed Nouns	
Direct Possession	Indirect Possession	
<i>lim-auk</i>	<i>tyaq</i>	<i>nau</i>
arm-POSS.ISG	mother	POSS.1SG
'my arm'	'my mother'	

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 5-3: Examples of alienably possessed nouns in Kwaraqae.

Alienably Possessed Noun	Gloss	Alienably Possessed Noun	Gloss
<i>gwer</i>	'frog'	<i>qei</i>	'tree'
<i>beinkin</i>	'cup'	<i>arang</i>	'spear'
<i>biqa</i>	'bamboo flask'	<i>asowa</i>	'day'
<i>boq</i>	'banana'	<i>haowad</i>	'cave'
<i>hataub</i>	'priest'	<i>hou</i>	'stone'
<i>isteiq</i>	'bed'	<i>karae</i>	'chicken'
<i>liok</i>	'hole'	<i>rod</i>	'night'
<i>sakwaol</i>	'bat'	<i>suil</i>	'bone'
<i>yol</i>	'canoe'	<i>oeb</i>	'arm band'

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.

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1 st Person	<i>-auk</i>	<i>-akor</i>	<i>-an kioq</i>	<i>-ak(ul)</i>	<i>-amil</i>
2 nd Person	<i>-aum</i>		<i>-aumroq</i>		<i>-amul</i>
3 rd Person	<i>-an</i>		<i>-an keraq</i>		<i>-ad</i>

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.

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

- 5.16) *ihu-an ni gwa*
 hair-POSS.3SG 3SG black
 'his/her/its hair is black'

5.17) *...qaok-o raeq an sa tol leak ein*
 2SG-VH come.up to LOC inland go with

aey-aum

foot-POSS.2SG.INAL

'...you go inland on foot'

5.18) *gu-an gwat*

head-POSS.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) *li-ak*
 think-POSS.1PL.INCL.INAL
 'our thinking'

5.20) *saetaq-l-an*
 angry-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL
 'his/her anger'

5.21) *nunh-an*
 shadow-POSS.3SG.INAL
 'his/her/its shadow'

5.22) *tua-l-ak*
 live-NOM-POSS.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.

Locative Noun	Gloss
<i>gu-</i>	'top'
<i>hah-</i>	'top'
<i>olh-</i>	'bottom'
<i>m-</i>	'front'
<i>huri-</i>	'back'
<i>ninm-</i>	'side'
<i>se-</i>	'inside'
<i>saolh-</i>	'middle (vertical plane)'
<i>tohg-</i>	'middle (horizontal plane)'
<i>isl-</i>	'end'
<i>nemnem-</i>	'edge'

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 soungaiqn oqla 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 5-7: Locative nouns expressing temporal space.

Locative Noun	Gloss
<i>hu-</i>	‘for (duration)’
<i>buri-</i>	‘after’
<i>noniy-</i>	‘after’

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 Brisban 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 5-8: Examples of part-whole relationships.

Part-Whole Relation		Gloss
<i>ro-an</i> leaf-POSS.3SG.INAL	<i>niu</i> coconut	'coconut leaf'
<i>mag-an</i> seed- POSS.3SG.INAL	<i>qei</i> tree	'seeds of a tree'
<i>tak-an</i> flower- POSS.3SG.INAL	<i>tateil</i> hibiscus	'hibiscus flower'
<i>kweimkweim-an</i> handle- POSS.3SG.INAL	<i>neh</i> knife	'knife handle'
<i>abab-an</i> wing- POSS.3SG.INAL	<i>noq</i> bird	'bird's wing'

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 Kwaraqae are set out in Table 5-9.

Table 5-9: Non-future personal pronouns.

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1 st Person	<i>nauk ~ ku</i>	<i>koroaq ~</i>	<i>kerog ~</i>	<i>kuluaq ~</i>	<i>keimil ~</i>
	<i>nouwaq ~ nao</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>kioq</i>	<i>kul~</i>	<i>keil</i>
				<i>ku</i>	<i>amil</i>
2 nd Person	<i>qaok ~ ko</i>	<i>koroq ~ koq</i>		<i>koumul ~ koul</i>	
	<i>aeiyog ~ ae</i>				
3 rd Person	<i>niaq ~ ni</i>	<i>kerag</i>		<i>kiraq ~ kiar ~ ki</i>	

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 Kwaraqae, as *ro* 'two' appears in both first and second dual person forms, and as *-r-* in the third person dual pronoun *kerag*. The plural forms *kuluaq* '1PL.INCL' and *koumul* '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), *aeiyog* (2SG) and *kuluaq* (1PL.INCL) are used in pragmatically marked structures. For example, *nouwaq* and *kuluaq* are used in fronted clauses (11.5) while *aeiyog* 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 position¹. For example:

5.32) *Kor* *seiyān* *koroaq?*
 1DU.INCL know 1DU.INCL
 ‘Do we understand each other?’

5.33) *kiar* *se leaq* *goq* *an* *kiraq*
 3PL be.happy just of 3PL
 ‘...they are just happy with each other’

5.34) *Kiar* *oga* *kiraq*
 3PL like 3PL
 ‘They love each other’

¹ A further strategy for expressing reciprocity and reflexivity is with the verbal prefix *kwei-* (7.1.3.4).

‘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) *Qaok-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) *[Haon keim]_{PRE} ni i Tabaqa*
 village POSS.1PL.EXCL.AL 3SG PLACE Tabaqa
 ‘Our village (it) is in Taba’a’

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

5.47) *Nauk-u se-a...*
 1SG-VH say-OBJ.3
 ‘I said...’

5.48) *...neq keil-i ka sui*
 SUB 1PL.EXCL IMP TERM
 ‘...which we finished’

5.2.1.2 Negative Pronouns

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

In rapid speech, the negative marker *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*.

Non-future Pronouns	Negative Marker	Resulting Negative Pronoun
<i>nauk</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>neis</i>
<i>ae</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>eis</i>
<i>niaq</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>neas</i>
<i>kiraq</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>kias</i>

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.

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1 st Person	<i>neis</i>	<i>kwaes</i>	<i>kios</i>	<i>kuis</i>	<i>keis</i>
2 nd Person	<i>eis</i>		<i>kos</i>		<i>kaos</i>
3 rd Person	<i>nias</i>		<i>keras</i>		<i>kias</i>

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 oqloqang...*
 garden PL NEG NEG.3PL make one garden
 ‘Regarding gardens, they (the people in the villages) don’t make one garden area...’

5.52) *I 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), *kerəq* (1DU.EXCL), *kerəq* (3DU), *keil* (1PL.EXCL)). Examples 5.54-5.56 demonstrate their use.

Table 5-12: Future pronouns.

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1 st Person	<i>nei</i>	<i>kioq</i>	<i>kerəq</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>keil</i>
2 nd Person	<i>ae</i>		<i>koka</i>		<i>koul</i>
3 rd Person	<i>nia</i>		<i>kerəq</i>	<i>kira ~</i>	<i>kia</i>

5.54) *Nei alaʒ 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.

Non-future Pronoun	Imperfective Marker	Resulting Imperfective Pronoun
<i>nauk</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>neik</i>
<i>keimil</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>keik</i>
<i>niaq</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>niak</i>
<i>kiraq</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kiak</i>

Table 5-14: Imperfective pronouns.

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1 st Person	<i>neik</i>	<i>korkei</i>		<i>kuk</i>	<i>keika~ keik</i>
2 nd Person	-	<i>kwou</i>		<i>koka</i>	
3 rd Person	<i>nika~ nik~ niak</i>		-	<i>kiak</i>	

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* *kiak* *se-a* *ein* *na* *taksi* *ki*
 PRO.DEM IMP.3PL say-OBJ.3 with DEF taxi PL
 ‘...these ones they call taxis’

5.58) *...keika* *tuatua* *naq* *noniy-an* *ka*
 IMP.1PL.EXCL stay COMP after-POSS.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.

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

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) *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) *...tarek ki kiar teiq mateil teqhou long,*
truck PL 3PL one be.different all also

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) *Kia sabngiq ka qeis teqhou goq an sa*
3PL duct IMP fall all just to LOC

luom

house

'They just duct it all (water) into the house'

The negative indefinites are mostly expressed with the negative marker

nouaq:

5.62) *Nouaq nias ein ta ru*
NEG NEG.3SG eat something

'He ate nothing'²

² Although this was the gloss suggested, it is difficult to determine whether *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)	<i>Nouaq ta ngwae</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>rongwa</i>	<i>nouwaq</i>
	nobody	NEG	hear	1SG
	‘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 5-16: Possessive pronouns.

Emphatic Form		Gloss
<i>ru</i>	<i>nei</i>	‘mine’
thing	POSS.1SG.INAL	
<i>ru</i>	<i>oe</i>	‘yours’
thing	POSS.2SG.INAL	
<i>ru</i>	<i>kiar</i>	‘theirs’
thing	POSS.3PL.INAL	

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 5-17: Demonstrative pronouns.

Singular	Plural
<i>ei</i>	<i>tiei</i>
‘this one’	‘these ones’

- 5.64) *Ei neq kiar se-a ein pickup 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’

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.

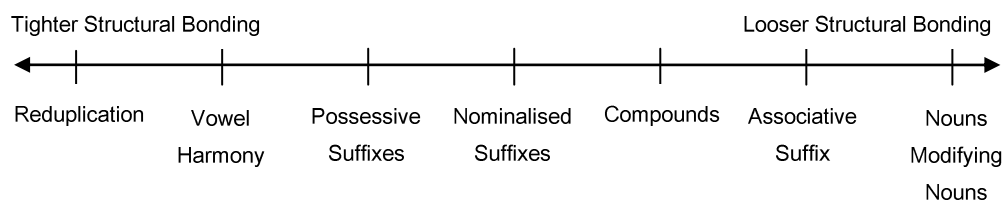


Figure 5-2: The degree of structural bonding in complex nominals

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 diminution 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'.

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) *yur-yur-u*
 DUP-wind-VH
 ‘wind’
- 5.69) *ngeis-ngeis-qang*
 DUP-hard-NOM
 ‘strength, power’
- 5.70) *si-si-qang-a*
 DUP-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.

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

Reduplicated forms such as *kwangkwang* 'thunder', *kaekae* '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* *uiq-kweir.kweir* *ki*
1PL.EXCL say-OBJ.3 with metal-scrapers 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 tiqtiq 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’, *transpot-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*.

Verb	Word Class	Derived Noun	Nominalising Function
<i>alaq</i> 'to talk'	Vi	<i>alaqang</i> 'the talking'	Semantic: activity
<i>ngeisngeis</i> 'be hard'	Va	<i>ngeisngeisqang</i> 'the strength'	Semantic: state
<i>ngyolngyol</i> 'to argue'	Vi	<i>ngyolngyoleiqang</i> 'the argument'	Semantic: activity
<i>alngeiq</i> 'to promise'	Vi	<i>alngeiqang</i> 'the promise'	Semantic: state
<i>ruqgwat</i> 'to hunt pigs'	Vi	<i>ruqgwatqang</i> 'pig hunting'	Semantic: activity
<i>kweima</i> 'to love'	Vi	<i>kweimaqang</i> 'the love'	Semantic: state
<i>saetaqa</i> 'to be angry'	Vi	<i>saetaqaqang</i> 'the anger'	Semantic: state
<i>seiyan</i> 'to know, understand'	Vi	<i>seiqrugang</i> 'the knowledge'	Semantic: state

5.80) ...neq kiar se-a ein ngeis-ngeis-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)'

5.81) *Diaqdiaq bein haon kia ala-qang biar*
 DUP-be.like INT village POSS.3PL.INAL talk-NOM that

ki huial?
 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 5-20: Nouns undergoing nominalisation with the morpheme *-qang*.

Original Noun	Derived Noun
<i>ngwae</i> 'people, man'	<i>ngwaeqang</i> 'group of people'
<i>oqola</i> 'garden'	<i>oqolaqang</i> 'garden areas'

5.82) *Ei doe ki niaq ngeil 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 soungain teiq*
 garden PL NEG NEG.3PL make one

oqla-qang kir soungai-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’, *ngyolngyoleiqang* ‘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 eih-eiq-ang-a...*
 2SG inside-POSS.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 *ngyolngyoleiqang*.

Table 5-21: Sequence of morphological operations for *ngyolngyoleiqang*.

Word	Word Class	Morphological Operation	Morphological Function
<i>ngyol</i> 'to twist'	Vt	N/A	N/A
<i>ngyol.ngyol</i> 'to argue'	Vi	Valence Reduction	Semantic: Intensity Grammatical: [Vt→Vi]
<i>ngyol.ngyol.eiq</i> 'argument'	N Common Count	Nominalisation	Semantic: Result Grammatical: [V→N]
<i>ngyol.ngyol.eiq-ang</i> 'the arguing'	N Common Mass	Nominalisation	Semantic: Activity Grammatical: Sub-class change [N _{count} → N _{Mass}]

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

- 5.86) *Tio neqer ka deing ngwae ngali-a ka nou*
 stay there IMP day people board-OBJ.3 IMP be.busy
- 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 *-l-*

The suffix *-l-* is used to nominalise verbs. It is itself modified by an inalienable possessive suffix from Table 5-25, resulting in suffixes with the forms *-l-an* 'way-POSS.3SG.INAL', *-l-ak* 'way-POSS.3PL.INAL', *-l-amil* 'way-POSS.1PL.EXCL.INAL' etc. It is most frequently attested in the data with the third person singular form *-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-*.

Verb Stem	Word Class	Derived Noun	Nominalising Function
<i>soungaiq</i> 'to build, make'	Vt	<i>soungaiq-l-an</i> 'the building of'	Semantic: activity
<i>lisi</i> 'to see'	Vt	<i>lisi-l-an</i> 'the look of'	Semantic: state
<i>odo</i> 'to build walls'	Vt	<i>odoa-l-an</i> 'the wall building of'	Semantic: activity
<i>doe</i> 'be big'	Va	<i>doe-l-an</i> 'the size of'	Semantic: state
<i>ngeil</i> 'to carry'	Vt	<i>ngei-l-an</i> 'the carrying of'	Semantic: activity
<i>il</i> 'to dig'	Vt	<i>i-l-an</i> 'the digging of'	Semantic: activity
<i>leak</i> 'to go'	Vi	<i>leak-l-amil</i> 'our way of going'	Semantic: activity
<i>hang</i> 'to eat'	Vt	<i>hang-l-amil</i> 'our way of eating'	Semantic: activity
<i>oq</i> 'to garden'	Vt	<i>oq-l-amil</i> 'our way of gardening'	Semantic: activity
<i>tua</i> 'to live'	Vi	<i>tua-l-amil</i> 'our way of living'	Semantic: activity

5.87) *...kiak bisi goq amil an-a na*
 IMP.1PL.EXCL be.busy just 1PL.EXCL with-VH DEF

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

5.88) *Odoa-l-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 oqola doe-l-an oqola*
 Okay only garden be.big-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL garden

ki nouaqkias doe liu oqola 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-l-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 oa-t-an-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*.

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

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 (*rebreaq* ‘the width’).

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

Verb Stem	Word Class	Derived Noun
<i>leak</i> ‘go’	Vi	<i>lek-aq</i> ‘the trip’
<i>loh</i> ‘fly’	Vi	<i>loho-aq</i> ‘the flight, flying’
<i>maliu</i> ‘sleep’	Vi	<i>maliu-aq</i> ‘the sleep’
<i>reab</i> ‘be wide’	Vi	<i>rebreaq</i> ‘the width (back, shoulders)’
<i>wuang</i> ‘clear rubbish’	Vi	<i>wung-aq</i> ‘the rubbish clearing’
<i>kwouq</i> ‘drink’	Vi	<i>kwoung-aq</i> ‘the drinking’

- 5.92) *Taeqan* *lek-aq* *sa* *eisi* *ber-e na* *ru*
today go-NOM LOC sea so-VH DEF thing
- 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) *...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 *kuwalan/lae* ‘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]_H 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.

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

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 tol-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)	<i>...halhal</i>	<i>kia</i>		<i>se-a</i>	<i>neq</i>	
	custom	POSS.1PL.EXCL.AL		say-OBJ.3	SUB	
	<i>ru</i>	<i>diaq</i>	<i>kabar</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>kuwal-an-lae</i>	<i>ki,...</i>
	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 *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 *hak-* below, and *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 *hak* 'foreign', they are subject to vowel harmony as are other nouns (5.103). When compounded, they can be modified with the definite article *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 (*hiq* ‘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 5-26: Bound nominal compounds.

Bound Form	Compound Examples	Gloss
<i>heiq-</i> 'type of round entity'	<i>heiq-ru</i>	'fruit'
	<i>heiq-kikiur</i>	'betel nut'
	'round-betel.nut'	
	<i>heiq-neng</i>	'lamp, light bulb'
	'round-torch'	
	<i>heiq-ngeil</i>	'nut, year'
	'round-nut'	
	<i>heiq-noq</i>	'bird'
	'round-bird'	
	<i>heiq-gonan</i>	'his, her, its heart'
'round-heart.POSS.3SG.INAL'		
<i>heiq asowa</i>	'day (the entire day)'	
'round day'		
<i>hiq-</i> 'type of group'	<i>hiq-ru</i>	'group of things'
	group-thing'	
	<i>hiq-uh</i>	'sugar cane bundle'
	'group-sugar.cane'	
	<i>hiq-lol</i>	'ant's nest'
	'group-ant'	
<i>hiq-kakeid</i>	'giant black ant's nest'	
'group-giant.black.ant'		
<i>mag-</i> 'type of seed'	<i>mag-ru</i>	'seed'
	'seed-thing'	
	<i>mag-kweil</i>	'corn seed'
'seed-corn'		
<i>boat-</i> 'type of parcel for cooking food in'	<i>boat-karae</i>	'chicken parcel'
	<i>boat-iaq</i>	'fish parcel'

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 ngeil*
 then IMP.3SG ask again well 2PL carry

ta heiq-kikiur re?”
 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*
 DEF round.entity-torch PL LOC formerly 1PL.INCL

se-a ein heiq-neng ki, niaq kwos
 say-OBJ.3 with round.entity-torch PL 3SG be.bright

se-an luom
 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-occurring nominal.

5.101) *...loulouh* *diaqba* *ki* *sese-a*
 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) *...neq* *tio* *se-an* *ouh*
 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 modifier 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*.

Bound Form	Compound Examples	Gloss
<i>hak-</i> 'foreign'	<i>gwer-hak</i>	'cane toad (introduced species)'
	<i>haon-hak</i>	'town'
	'village-foreign'	
	<i>teiq-tal-hak</i>	'road'
	'one-road-foreign'	
	<i>kinyu hak</i>	'outboard (boat)'
	'canoe foreign'	
	<i>tuaq-an hak</i>	'urban life'
	'life.POSS.3SG.INAL foreign'	

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 soungaiqn*
 one-road-foreign PL DEF thing 3PL build

long han i-tan 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) *Tuaq-an* *hak* *ki* *nei* *uner*
 life-POSS.3SG.INAL foreign PL that be.about
 ‘Urban life is like that’

5.106) *Taeqan* *hak* *ki* *long,* *hak* *doe* *ki* *long*
 today ship PL also ship big PL also

neq *ka* *ngeil* *ngwae* *long*
 SUB IMP carry people also
 ‘Today it’s also ships, big ships which carry people too’

5.107) *Hakloh-o* *ka* *leak* *liu* *i* *Brisban...*
 aeroplane-VH IMP go through PLACE Brisbane
 ‘The plane will go to Brisbane...’

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

5.2.4 Associative Suffix –*eq*

The suffix –*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*.

Suffixed Form	Non-affixed Form?	Gloss	Examples	Gloss
<i>loum-eq</i>	yes 'house'	'type of house'	<i>luomeq sao</i> <i>luomeq tiab</i>	'sago palm house' 'timber house'
<i>kweilt-eq</i>	no	'container of sth'	<i>kweilteq ru</i> <i>kweilteq hang</i>	'container' 'plateful of food'
<i>hiyuk-eq</i>	yes 'together' (post-verbal modifier)	'gathering of something'	<i>hiyukeq qei</i> <i>hiyukeq kin</i>	'pile of wood' 'group of girls'
<i>hang-eq</i>	yes 'food'	'type of food'	<i>hangeq ru</i>	'type of food'
<i>hakl-eq</i>	no	'type of egg'	<i>hakleq-ru</i> <i>hakleq-noq</i> <i>hakleq-karae</i>	'egg' 'bird's egg' 'chicken's egg'
<i>gweq-</i>	yes <i>gu-</i> 'head, top' (locative noun)	'type of bare head, skull'	<i>gweq-ru</i> <i>gweq-ngwae</i> <i>gweq-gwat</i> <i>gweq-kuar</i>	'skull' 'human skull' 'pig skull' 'bare, rocky place'
<i>meq-</i>	yes <i>m-</i> 'front, entrance' (locative noun)	'type of hole'	<i>meq-koh</i> <i>meq kiyul</i> <i>meq kwakwa</i> <i>meq liok</i> <i>meq-ti</i>	'water well' 'burrow' 'animal hole, hole, nest in tree' 'cup of tea'

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
 they build sago palm leaf houses’

In 5.109, the form *kweilteq 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

kweilt-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 kwouq 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 *ka* 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 associative 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) *...diqi-a* *kwaol* *adioq ki...*
 be.like-OBJ.3 rope vine PL
 '...they are like ropes of vine...'

5.114) / *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 separately in the lexicon.

6 The Noun Phrase

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

6.1) ...[*kia*]_{NP} *toqan* [*hang-a*]_{NP} *ka bol hein* [*heiqngeil*]_{NP}
3PL have food-VH IMP approximately year
'...they will have food for about a year'

6.2) ...*ma* [*na ru-i* *huin*]_{NP} [*ru* [*neq kiar se-a*
and DEF thing-VH the.latter thing SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3

ein ngeisngeis-qang]_{RELC}]_{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) *Keil* *ka leak tua hein* [[*maq nau*]_{NP}
1PL.EXCL IMP go stay with father POSS.1SG.AL

hein [*tyaq 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) ...*goq ei* *sulia ei* *ngwein-e niaq* [*siok*
then this.one next this.one-VH boy 3SG nine

*heiqngeil*_{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.

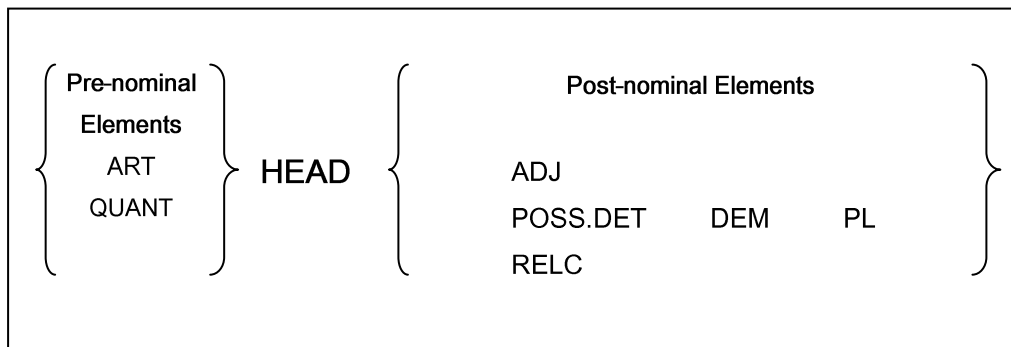


Figure 6-1: The order of elements in the noun phrase.

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) *Eiya, [na tataeh-e] ae soungaiqn ein [na*
 Okay, DEF floor-VH 2SG build with DEF

niniu]

palm.bark

‘Okay, you build the floor with palm bark’

6.6) *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* *soungaiq-n* [*na* *oqola*]
 IMP.3PL make-OBJ.3 DEF garden
 ‘...they can make the garden’

6.8) *Kiak* *tabu-a* [~~∅~~ *oqola*]...
 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 6-1: Non-numeral quantifiers.

Non-Numeral Quantifier	Gloss
<i>teqhou</i>	‘all, every’
<i>or</i>	‘many’
<i>ro</i>	‘both’
<i>bar (ru goq)</i>	‘few, several’
<i>ta</i>	‘some, any’
<i>ti</i>	‘some, any’
<i>nouaq ta</i>	‘none, not any’
<i>kal</i>	‘some’
<i>toqtoq</i>	‘each’

Examples of their use are:

6.11) *Keik-a tua beis bol hein [kal bar*
1PL.EXCL-VH stay first approximately some several

ao-a uner]...
hour-VH be.about

‘We just stayed for several hours...’

6.12) *...nouaq [ta kwei-nyolnyol-ei-qang]*
NEG any RECIP-argue-NOM-NOM

‘...not any arguing’

6.13) *Qaok toq-long-an [ti ngyal]?*
2SG have-also-have some children

‘Do you also have some children?’

6.14) *Ni tio sa luom-a [nouaq ta*
3SG be.situated LOC house-VH NEG some

ngwa-ngia-qang] sa luom-e
bless-TRANA-NOM LOC house-VH

‘If the house is close (to the toilets) there will be no blessings for it’

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

6.15) *...ni gwagriaq si [qei ki or]*
3SG be.cool because tree PL 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 *teqhou* ‘all’ to be non-contiguous with the nominal that it is modifying:

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

6.17) *kiar teiq mateil teqhou 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.

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

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) *Nauk toqan [hei ngyal ki]; [ro ei kin*
 1SG have four child PL two this.one girl

 ki] hein [ro ei ngyal ngwein ki]
 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) *...nouaq ta boat kas dao naq kwa*
 no boat NEG arrive COMP DISC
 ‘...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) *Uri ma [hiyet ngyal ki] neq qaok toqan*
 DISC how.many child PL SUB 2SG have

 sa tuaq oe?
 LOC family POSS.2SG.AL
 ‘How many children do you have in your family?’

- 6.23) *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 6-3: Ordinal numbers.

Ordinal Number	Gloss
<i>yatyat</i>	‘first’
<i>ruqan</i>	‘second’
<i>ulan</i>	‘third’

- 6.24) *[Gwat yatyat-a] ni bobaeq*
 pig first-VH 3SG fat
 ‘The first pig is fat’

- 6.25) *Eiya, [wik yatyat-a] aeh nei...*
 okay week first-VH wife POSS.1SG.AL
 ‘Okay, the first week my wife...’

- 6.26) *Keil ka ueil long meiq an*
 1PL.EXCL IMP return also towards of

[ruqan 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 *doe* '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.3SG.INAL

[gweqhou doe neqer]_{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 neqe 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.

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
1 st Person	<i>nei</i>	<i>koro ~</i>	<i>*keroq</i>	<i>kia</i>	<i>*keimil ~</i>
	<i>nau</i>	<i>*kor</i>	<i>*kioq</i>		<i>keim</i>
2 nd Person	<i>oe</i>		<i>*koroq</i>	<i>komu ~</i>	<i>kom</i>
3 rd Person	<i>nia</i>		<i>keraq</i>	<i>*kiraq ~</i>	<i>kiar</i>

*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]_{NP} ni i Tabaqa*
 village POSS.1PL.EXCL.AL 3SG PLACE Taba'a
 'Our village is in Tabaqa'

6.32) *Ber ma baelbaleiq an [halhal kiar]_{NP...}*
 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 nei]_{NP} 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’

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) *Wik yatyat [an madaom toqko noheba]PP...*
 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 Kwaraqae by an invariant subordinator *neq*. For example:

- 6.43) *Ngweiq toaq alok ki [neq kia leak*
 group male boy PL SUB 3PL go

se-an huil bol-o]REL kiak 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) *Ki toqan na ru [neq areikwao 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’

Within the noun phrase, relative clauses are followed by the plural marker *ki* when it is present:

- 6.45) *Ber ma diq [ngyal [neq leak lan]_{REL} ki]_{NP}*
 but if child SUB go school PL
- nouaq kias leak sa oqla ki...*
 NEG NEG.3PL go LOC garden PL
- ‘But if the children, who are school-aged, don’t go to the gardens...’
- 6.46) *[Ru [neq han il-l-an tal]_{REL} ki]_{NP}*
 thing SUB for dig-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL road PL
- [neq kiar se-a ein buldoz ki]_{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 Kwaraqae, 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 *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.

	Proximal	Intermediate	Distal
Singular	<i>neqe</i> 'this'	<i>loqko</i> 'that'	<i>neqer</i> 'that'
Plural	<i>neqe ki</i> 'these'	<i>loqko ki</i> 'those'	<i>neqer ki</i> 'those'

- 6.47) *Diqi-a* *[oqngaq tol neqe]...*
 be.like-OBJ.3 garden.work inland DEM
 'Like this inland gardening...'
- 6.48) *[Ngyal loqko] nia kyat*
 child DEM 3SG tall
 'That child is tall'
- 6.49) *[Gwat neqe ki] kiraq hiol*
 pig DEM PL 3PL be.hungry
 'These pigs are hungry'
- 6.50) *[Takan bul loqko ki] kiraq kwa*
 flower frangipani DEM PL 3PL be.white
 'Those frangipani flowers are white'
- 6.51) *Eiya [ngyal ngwein tiqtiq neqer] niaq liam*
 okay child boy small DEM 3SG five

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) *...kia 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 areiqkwao 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 lekaq sa eis-s ber-e na ru hu
 today go-NOM LOC sea-VH so-VH DEF thing to

kiar se-a naq ein enjin ki huin
3PL say-OBJ.3 COMP with engine PL the.latter

kia aluiq bure-an na yol.
3PL put behind-POSS.3SG.INAL DEF canoe

So, today, the things for going by sea, they call these things engines and they put them behind the canoe.

Taeqan na eingsien huir naq neq
today DEF engine the.former COMP SUB

nia kweiqi-a higeis ka raeq naq kinyu
3SG strike-OBJ.3 wake IMP come.up COMP canoe

huir ka lae kakeis nahoq naq sa eis...
the.former IMP go propel wave COMP LOC sea
Today that engine makes a wake behind that canoe and propels it through the waves of the sea...'

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 *biar* modifies referents with which both speaker and

addressee are familiar. It is possible therefore that the function of *biaris* is 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 *ei* (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) *...kiak* *kwik* *maqsi-a* *[[maq kiraq]*
 IMP.3PL cook wait-OBJ.3 father POSS.3PL.AL
- hein* *[tyaq* *kir]* *ki]]*
 and mother POSS.3PL.AL PL
- ‘...they will cook and wait for their fathers and mothers’

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

‘where’:

- 6.62) *Maq* *oe* *hein* *tyaq* *oe*
 father POSS.2SG.AL and mother POSS.2SG.AL
- [ru* *heiq* *ki* *bein]?*
 person where PL 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 6-6: Noun phrase coordinators and their functions.

Coordinator	Gloss	Function
<i>ma</i>	'and' 'but'	conjunctive adversative
<i>hein</i>	'and, with'	conjunctive - comitative coordinator
<i>nam</i>	'or'	disjunctive
<i>nam...hein</i>	'either...or'	emphatic correlative coordinator

Coordination can be asyndetic where the coordinands are simply juxtaposed:

6.63) *...ni ngeil [hei ao-a ki] [liam ao-a ki] uner*
 3SG take four hour-VH PL five hour-VH PL be.about
 '...it takes about four to five hours'

6.64) *ki ein na [reis-i], [beiqar-a], [nodol-o]*
 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) *Niaq akwal ma teiq hei'ngail*
 3SG ten and one year
 'She is eleven years old'

6.68) *...niaq ngail akleiq ngwae ma liam ngwae-qang...*
 3SG take ten people and five people-NOM
 '...it takes groups of fifteen people..'

As well as its conjunctive behaviour, *ma* frequently takes an adversative role in coordinating noun phrases:

6.69) *...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, *ma* forms part of the marker *quri ma* 'well' and the textual coordinator *ber ma* 'but' (10.5.3).

6.2.2 The Noun Phrase Coordinator *hein*

Although *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) *Goq keil ka leak tua [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 ki] nam [butet ki] nam [ta ru goqan]...*
 taro PL or potato PL or anything
 ‘Taro, or potatoes or anything...’

Emphatic coordination can be achieved in Kwaraqae 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

heiqngeil 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...
 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

A grammatical classification of verbs in Kwaraqae is made here in reference to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) notion of transitivity and Evans' (2003) study of valency-changing devices in Oceanic languages.

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) *Ni souni-a gwat*
 3SG kill-OBJ.3 pig
 'He killed the pig'

7.2) *l Adauwa ni tio naq sa tol-o*
 PLACE Adauwa 3SG be.situated COMP LOC inland-VH

 naq
 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.

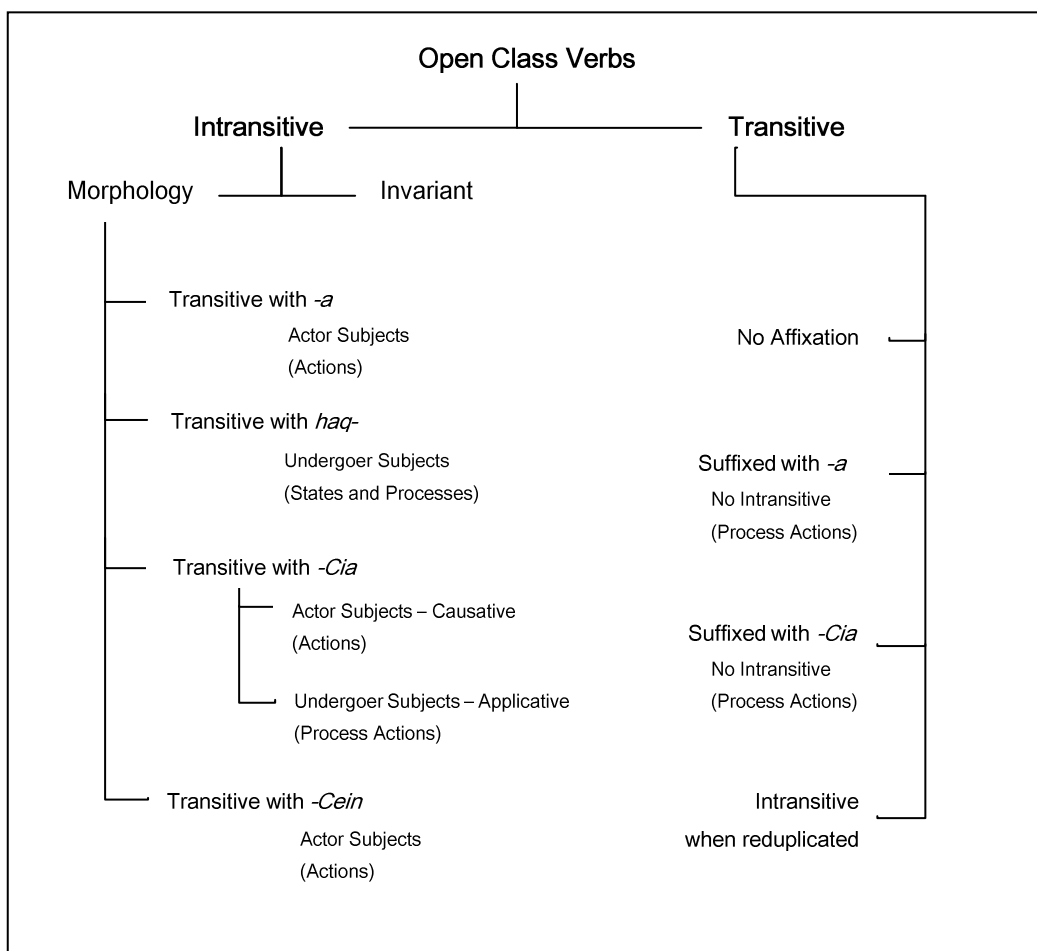


Figure 7-1: Kwaraqae verb classes.

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

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.

Intransitive Verb	Gloss
<i>leak</i>	'go'
<i>dao</i>	'arrive'
<i>lalil</i>	'run'
<i>eing</i>	'cry'
<i>mas</i>	'play'
<i>abuil</i>	'roll'
<i>aong</i>	'crawl'
<i>twad</i>	'cough'

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

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.

Intransitive Verb	Gloss
<i>gwa</i>	‘be black’
<i>leaq</i>	‘be good’
<i>mowir</i>	‘be alive’
<i>hiol</i>	‘be hungry’
<i>beiborur</i>	‘be kneeling’
<i>eibei</i>	‘be smooth’
<i>reab</i>	‘be wide’
<i>aqheih</i>	‘be bitter’
<i>dad</i>	‘be smooth’
<i>kweis</i>	‘be wild’

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.

Intransitive Verb	Gloss	Macrorole of Intransitive Subject Argument	Semantic Role of Verb
<i>ei-bei</i>	'be smooth'	undergoer	state
<i>eil-eil</i>	'be quick'	undergoer	state
<i>mat-mat</i>	'be different'	undergoer	state
<i>tiq-tiq</i>	'be small'	undergoer	state
<i>tak-tak</i>	'be messy'	undergoer	state
<i>yo-yo</i>	'be sour'	undergoer	state
<i>dok-dok</i>	'be short'	undergoer	state
<i>qui-qui</i>	'fish (by rod)'	actor	action
<i>kwaed-kwaed</i>	'whistle'	actor	action

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, oqla 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 function² 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 7-4: Intransitive verbs and the causative prefix *haq-*.

Intransitive Verb	Transitive Form	Semantic Role of Intransitive Verb
<i>ad</i> 'be awake'	<i>haq-ad-a</i> 'wake s.o.'	state
<i>doe</i> 'be big'	<i>haq-doe</i> 'enlarge sth.'	state
<i>sui</i> 'be finished'	<i>haq-sui-a</i> 'finish sth'	state
<i>langlang</i> 'be dry'	<i>haq-lang-a</i> 'dry s.o. or sth.'	state
<i>maman</i> 'be truthful'	<i>haq-manan</i> 'believe sth.'	state
<i>gwear</i> 'be cold'	<i>haq-gwari-a</i> 'cool sth. down'	state
<i>sag</i> 'be straight'	<i>haq-sag-a</i> 'straighten sth.'	state

<i>mae</i>	<i>haq-mae-a</i>	state
'be dead'	'extinguish sth.'	
<i>mouwir</i>	<i>haq-mouri-a</i>	state
'be alive'	'make well, cure s.o.'	
<i>maong</i>	<i>haq-maongwu-a</i>	process
'stop'	'stop sth.'	
<i>manat</i>	<i>haq-manat</i>	process
'think'	'teach s.o.'	
<i>qeis</i>	<i>haq-asi-a</i>	process
'fall'	'drop sth.'	

Examples 7.10-7.12 demonstrate how the intransitive verbs and their transitive equivalents are used:

7.10) *Keil ka maong keil ka hang beis*
 1PL.EXCL IMP stop 1PL.EXCL IMP eat first
 'We stopped and we ate first'

Kiak haq-maongwu-a beis tarek-e
 IMP.3PL CAUS-stop-OBJ.3 first truck-VH
 'They stopped the truck first'

7.11) *Kia sabngiq ka qeis teqhou goq an sa luom*
 3PL duct IMP fall all just to LOC house
 'They (water pipes for toilets and bathrooms) all just come
 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
- abab-an*
 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 *faqa-* as the Kwaraqae reflex of the reconstructed forms **pa-* and **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 /f/ 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.

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 transitivity option, particularly those from the Southeast Solomonic family. Evans also suggests that *-Ci-* is a reflex of Proto Oceanic **-i*, 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 *-Cia* (TRANC) are listed in Table 7-5. These verbs are intransitive process and state verbs (Chafe, 1970).

Table 7-5: The causative suffix *-Cia*.

Intransitive Verb	Transitive Form
<i>er</i> 'be bent'	<i>e-ria</i> 'bend sth.'
<i>giol</i> 'sway'	<i>giol-sia</i> 'roll, push sth.'
<i>mok</i> 'smell'	<i>mok-hia</i> 'smell sth.'

The following examples demonstrate these verbs. In 7.17, the newly introduced argument of the transitive verb *eria*⁴ is the A argument, which undergoes a bending process by an agent:

7.17) *Heiq-beiab [ni]s er*
 round-pibe 3SG be.bent
 'The pipe is bent'

⁴ The verb *eria* 'to bend sth.' is being shown with the morpheme boundary *e-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 [qei]_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*.

Intransitive Verb	Transitive Form
<i>aok</i> 'shout'	<i>aokhia</i> 'shout at s.o.'
<i>syu</i> 'bathe'	<i>suyhia</i> 'bathe s.o.'
<i>uiel</i> 'return'	<i>uielsia</i> 'repay s.o.'
<i>kwouq</i> 'drink'	<i>kwouqhia</i> 'drink sth.'
<i>ngus</i> 'spit'	<i>nguslia</i> 'spit on sth.'
<i>ngu</i> 'sing'	<i>ngulia</i> 'sing sth.'
<i>nang</i> 'strike, hit'	<i>nangsia</i> 'hit s.o.'
<i>lia</i> 'look'	<i>lisia</i> 'see sth.'
<i>eileil</i> 'hurry'	<i>eileil-ngia</i> 'shake sth.'
<i>ruq</i> 'enter'	<i>ruq-hia</i> 'enter sth.'

The examples below demonstrate the use of the intransitive and derived transitive forms with *-Cia* operating with an applicative function (TRANA).

7.19) *...taeqan [kia]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 ueil sa suku-u*
 1SG return LOC school-VH
 ‘I returned to school’

Quri ma [ni]A ueil-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 ... [kiak]A 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 oqola 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) *Taeqan nia ruq se-an goq*
 today 3SG enter inside-POSS.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 experiencer, 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) *Takan bul neqe ki [kiraq]s mok asiel*
 frangipani.flower this PL 3PL smell be.sweet
 ‘These frangipani flowers smell sweet’

<i>[Nauk]_A</i>	<i>mok-hia</i>	<i>[takan bul]_O</i>
1SG	smell-TRANA	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 applicative⁵. Some examples are listed in Table 7-7.

⁵ It is possible that this suffix is a reflex of Proto Oceanic **akin[ij]* which Evans (2003) lists as having an applicative function (among others), with semantic roles denoting concomitance with verbs of motion such as Kwaraqae *nouqein* 'keep busy with', and products with bodily-function verbs like Kwaraqae *mowatein* 'spit out something'.

Table 7-7: The applicative suffix *-Cein*.

Intransitive Verb	Transitive Form
<i>louh</i> 'pull, lift'	<i>louh-tein</i> 'lift sth. up, out'
<i>mowa</i> 'vomit'	<i>mowa-tein</i> 'spit out sth.'
<i>nang</i> 'strike'	<i>nang-tein</i> 'throw down s.o. (as in wrestling)'
<i>toq</i> 'count'	<i>toq-mein</i> 'count money, read sth'
<i>heiq</i> 'where'	<i>heiq-tein</i> 'go around'
-	<i>heiqheiq-tein</i> 'circle around'
-	<i>haoq-tein</i> 'be lifted up'
-	<i>kat-hein</i> 'put sth. in ground (as in posts for house- building)'
-	<i>nou-qein</i> 'keep busy with sth.'

Example 7.26 illustrates the applicative function of *-Cein* when it is affixed to the intransitive stem *louh* ‘to lift’:

7.26) *[Keil]s ka louh ka laeleak ka rod meiq...*
 1PL.EXCL IMP lift IMP continue IMP night toward
 ‘We continued loading into the night...’

[Keil]A louh-tein [gweqhou ki]o
 1PL.EXCL lift-APPL rocks PL
 ‘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) *...goq yuryur-u lal hu ka haoq-tein an*
 then wind-VH instead for IMP lift.up.by-APPL to

kuwal neq nia loh u-an
 place SUB 3SG fly toward-POSS.3SG.INAL

‘...then instead, it (areoplane) is lifted up by the wind to the place toward which it is flying...’

7.28) *Tuhu-a dior oe ki ko*
 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 7-8: Intransitive verbs transitivity with *-a*.

Intransitive Verb	Transitive Form
<i>iud</i> ‘move’	<i>idu-a</i> ‘move sth’
<i>iuk</i> ‘move’	<i>iku-a</i> ‘move sth.’
<i>kos</i> ‘go down’	<i>koso-a</i> ‘let sth down’
<i>dou</i> ‘hold’	<i>douw-a</i> ‘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’

Ni idu-a ngyal-a heis moh
 3SG move-OBJ.3 child away.from fire
 'She moved the child away from the fire'

7.30) *Ni iuk hein tuaq nia an ta hanoa*
 3SG move with family POSS.3SG.AL 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* *ru* *huir* *ki* *an* *halhal-a*
 because thing the.former PL for custom-VH

ni *su-a* *nouaq nias* *tio* *sa* *luom*
 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* *sau-lia* *halhal* *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 *soungaiqn* (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*.

Transitive Verb	Gloss	Affected Patient?	Suggested Function of <i>-Cia</i>
<i>hal-sia</i>	'to gut an animal'	Highly	Applicative
<i>ka-lia</i>	'give birth to sth.'	Highly	Causative
<i>nga-lia</i>	'carry, take, board sth.'	Not highly	Causative
<i>ruq-hi-a</i>	'wear sth.'	Not highly	Applicative
<i>doq-hi-a</i>	'burn sth.'	Highly	Applicative
<i>han-si-a</i>	'spear sth.'	Highly	Applicative
<i>ko-ni-a</i>	'roast sth.'	Highly	Applicative
<i>hi-ri-a</i>	'chop sth.'	Highly	Applicative
<i>o-li-a</i>	'cut up sth.'	Highly	Applicative
<i>ho-lia</i>	'buy sth'	Not highly	Applicative
<i>go-ni-a</i>	'look after sth. or s.o.'	Not highly	Applicative

The following shows examples of these verbs:

7.34) *...qaok-o bik-ngia naq luom*
 2SG-VH tie.down-TRANA COMP house

oe i
 POSS.2SG.INAL LOC

'...you tie them (the sago palm leaves) down onto your house...'

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-lia ru neq kiar se-a*
 IMP.3PL buy-TRANA thing 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 Kwaraqae 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 takdalth-a hang biar ki...*
 1SG forget-OBJ.3 food that PL
 ‘...I forget that food’

7.38) *...ni iliy-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*.

Transitive Verb	Gloss
<i>tabu-a</i>	'clean up sth'
<i>eiht-a</i>	'hoe sth'
<i>sad-a</i>	'burn sth'
<i>gwei-a</i>	'pick up sth'
<i>gio-a</i>	'tilt sth'
<i>ato-a</i>	'put rafters on a house'
<i>bokt-a</i>	'shut, block sth'
<i>bus-a</i>	'kill sth with a knife'
<i>but-a</i>	'wrap up sth'
<i>dong-a</i>	'follow s.o.'
<i>duqru-a</i>	'cook sth. in bamboo flask'
<i>kumo-a</i>	'comb, punch sth.'
<i>us-a</i>	'weave sth.'
<i>siru-a</i>	'clean up sth'
<i>tai-a</i>	'sew, weave sth'
<i>qiliy-a</i>	'dig sth.'
<i>ueiy-a</i>	'break, snap sth'
<i>lado-a</i>	'join sth.'
<i>lae-a</i>	'stab sth. with a knife'
<i>heid-a</i>	'paint sth.'

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) *ki sad-a talah-a han oq-ngaq*
 3PL make.fire-OBJ.3 fire-VH for garden-NOM
 ‘they make fires for the gardening’
- 7.41) *Kiak gwei-a naq touh-u*
 IMP.3PL pick.up-OBJ.3 COMP rubbish-VH
 ‘They pick up the rubbish...’
- 7.42) *...taeqan abab-an huir goq hu*
 today wing-POSS.3SG.INAL the.former just for

nia heiq-heiq-tein uri nia teiq gio-a quri...
 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) *Qaok-o ko oal haol ki sui qaok-o*
 2SG-VH 2SG put.up beam PL COMP 2SG-VH

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

ato-a....
 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.

Simplex Form	Reduplicated Form
<i>taga</i> ‘spread sth out’	<i>tagtag</i> ‘flap wings(bird)’
<i>hia</i> ‘suspect sth.’	<i>hihia</i> ‘be careful’
<i>lulua</i> ‘search’	<i>lululul</i> ‘keep searching’
<i>sea</i> ‘say sth.’	<i>sesea</i> ‘used to say’

7.44) ...*ku mateiq* *goq nouaq neis* *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’

Kiar nang, ki sesea dao
 3PL get.stuck.in 3PL used.to.say arrive

‘They (boys) got stuck in, as they used to say, they arrived and...’

7.1.2.4 Irregular Verb *soungaiqn*

The verb *soungaiqn* ‘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) *Oqla ki kir soungaiqn oqla aol ki*
 Garden PL 3PL make-OBJ.3 garden taro PL
 ‘They make taro gardens’

7.46) *Ngwae neq kiak soungaiq luom ki...*
 people SUB IMP.3PL build.OBJ3 house PL
 ‘People who build houses...’

7.47) *Kiar soungain long suil na heiqnoqo*
 3PL build.OBJ.3 also because DEF round.bird

goq huin
 just the.latter
 ‘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 *soungaiqn* 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 Conjunct 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.

Non-Verbal Form	Non-Verbal Gloss	Verbal Form	Verbal Gloss
<i>suil</i> ~ <i>suiliq</i> ~ <i>sulia</i>	'about' (preposition); 'along' (modifier)	<i>suli-a</i>	'be next to sth, be about sth.'
<i>diq, diaq,</i> <i>diqia</i>	'if' (adverbial subordinator)	<i>diqi-a</i>	'be like sth'
<i>kareng</i>	'soon' (adverb)	<i>kargni-a</i>	'be close to sth.'
<i>lihua</i>	'above, more' (adverb)	<i>lihu-a</i>	'be better (more) than sth.'

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'

...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) *Diq qaok leak ein ru neq kiar se-a*
 if 2SG go with thing SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3

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

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 *karngia* 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 karngi-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’

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: Proprietary verbs derived from a noun.

Stem	Derived Verb
<i>yuryur</i> 'wind'	<i>yuryur-uaq</i> 'be windy'
<i>kobur</i> 'storm'	<i>kobur-uaq</i> 'become stormy'
<i>rod</i> 'dark, night'	<i>rodrod-uaq</i> 'become dark'
<i>siong</i> 'drizzle, light rain'	<i>sionsiong-aq</i> 'be drizzling'
<i>bulbul</i> 'star'	<i>bulbul-uaq</i> 'be star-like'
<i>sol</i> 'salt'	<i>sol-uaq</i> 'be too salty'

Table 7-14: Proprietary verbs undergoing semantic extension.

Stem	Derived Verb
<i>ngarngar</i> 'be prickly, thorny'	<i>ngarngar-aq</i> 'be too prickly, thorny'
<i>gwear</i> 'be cold'	<i>gwagri-aq</i> 'become cooler'
<i>kiyat</i> 'be long'	<i>ketket-aq</i> 'be longish'
<i>mio</i> 'be red'	<i>miomio-aq</i> 'be reddish'
<i>aoraor</i> 'be peaceful'	<i>araro-aq</i> 'become peaceful'
<i>maliu</i> 'be asleep'	<i>mamali-uaq</i> 'be sleepy'

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 tagtagraeq 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.

Simplex Form	Verbal Reduplicated Form
<i>leak</i> 'go'	<i>leakleak</i> 'go on and on'
<i>tua</i> 'live, stay'	<i>tuatua</i> 'used to stay'
<i>tio</i> 'be situated, stay'	<i>tiotio</i> 'remain, stay on'
<i>su</i> 'dive'	<i>susu</i> 'fish by continued diving'
<i>loh</i> 'fly'	<i>lohloh</i> 'jump up and down'
<i>lauh</i> 'pull'	<i>louhlauh</i> 'lift repeatedly'
<i>maliu</i> 'sleep'	<i>ma-maliu</i> 'be sleeping'
<i>maliu</i> 'sleep'	<i>maliu-liu</i> 'oversleep, sleep in'
<i>dao</i> 'come, arrive'	<i>daodao</i> 'used to come'

As with reduplicated nominals, verbal reduplicated forms typically involve a single copied morpheme, although *lohlohloh* 'to fly on and on', *lululul*

'keep searching', *raeqraeqraeq* 'to come up and up', and *qeisqeisqeis* '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 sul-i-a keil 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-qeis-qeis karngi-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-occurring 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 7-16: Reciprocal and reflexive verbs.

Reciprocal Form	Gloss
<i>kwei-liu</i>	'go around and around non-stop'
<i>kwei-ngyolngyol</i>	'argue' (with each other)
<i>kwei-hatei</i>	'argue' (with each other)
<i>kwei-duqiduqi</i>	'retaliate, pay s.o. back (for wrong-doing)'
<i>kwei-makior</i>	'two-faced, say something bad behind another's back'
<i>kwei-ma</i>	'to be friends' (with each other)
<i>kwei-mantae</i>	'to be sad, sympathise'
<i>kwei-nangtei</i>	'wrestle with s.o.'

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) *...nia loh ka teiq eilheiq kwei-liu*
 FUT.3SG fly IMP one turn REFL-pass.by
- beis toqba sa saol-o...*
 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 *kweimantae* ‘be sad, sorry’:

- 7.61) *Keil kwei-mantae suli-a niaq leak*
 1PL.EXCL REFL-sad because-OBJ.3 3SG go
 ‘We are sad because he left’

The verb *kweima* ‘be friends’ would seem to require an independent pronoun as an object argument along with the affixed verb form:

- 7.62) *...kiar goni-a diqi-a-ba niaq na*
 3PL look.after-OBJ.3 like-OBJ.3-like 3SG DEF
- ngwae kwei-ma 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)’

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.

Non-compounded Forms	Compounded Form	Constituent Word Class	Compound Type
<i>tal ngwaroq</i> 'road' 'be soft'	<i>tal[ngwaroq]_H</i> 'be easy way (of doing sth.)'	N + V	endocentric incorporation
<i>doarein abih</i> 'hang.up sth' 'clothes'	<i>[doareiq]_Hyiq</i> 'hang clothes'	V + N	endocentric incorporation
<i>ruq gwat</i> 'hunt' 'pig'	<i>[ruq]_Hgwat</i> 'pig-hunt'	V + N	endocentric incorporation
<i>hat maman</i> 'talk' 'truth'	<i>[hat]_Hmaman</i> 'truth-talking'	V + N	endocentric incorporation
<i>hat ueil</i> 'talk' 'return'	<i>[hat]_Hueil-sia</i> 'talk back to s.o.'	V + V	endocentric (type of talk)
<i>tagtag raeq</i> 'flap' 'go up'	<i>tagtag[raeq]_H</i> 'take off (plane)'	V + V	endocentric (type of going up)
<i>haon usia</i> 'village' 'meet s.o.'	<i>haonusia</i> 'block, close up sth'	N + V	exocentric

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 *ruqgwat* ‘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*
 then be.about just make thing PL IMP

tal-ngwaroq long huin
 way-be.easy also the.latter
 ‘...so it just makes that easy also’

7.64) *Ni leak doarei-yih*
 3SG 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)	<i>...ni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tagtag-raeq</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>raeq</i>	<i>toqba</i>
	3SG	IMP	flap-go.up	IMP	come.up	up.there
	<i>sa</i>	<i>saol-o...</i>				
	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.

Bound Form	Compound Examples	Gloss
<i>heiq-</i> 'round'	<i>bik-heiq</i> '- -round'	'cover cooking fire with stones and leaves'
	<i>eil-heiq</i> '- -round'	'turn'
<i>gweq</i> 'bare head, skull'	<i>gweq-hou-aq</i> 'bare.head/skull-stone-PROP'	'be too stoney'

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 *gweqhousaq* '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 proprietive 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) *Eileil!*
 be.quick
 ‘Hurry up!’

8.2) *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 *ueil* ‘return’ with the modifier *long* ‘again’ (8.4.8), a post-verbal directional modifier *meiq* ‘hither, towards’ (8.4.14.1), a PP, and the completive marker *naq* (8.3.1):

8.3) *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 *sui*.

[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.

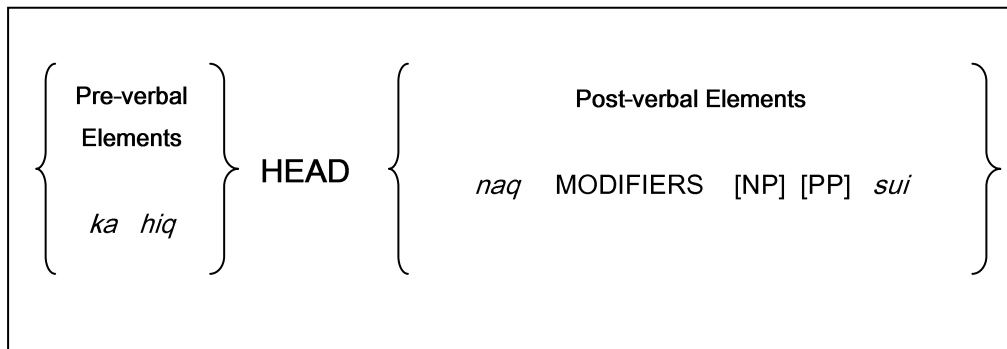


Figure 8-1: A generalised representation of constituent order in the verb phrase.

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) *Keil* *[ka ngeil na bas-a i neqe]*_{VP}
 1PL.EXCL IMP take DEF bus-VH LOC here

keil *[ka leak u-an* *i*
 1PL.EXCL IMP go toward-POSS.3SG.INCL PLACE

*Auckland]*_{VP}

Auckland

'We will be taking the bus from here and we will go to Auckland'

8.5) *Keil* *[ka ngeil na tarek]*_{VP} *keil*
 1PL.EXCL IMP take DEF truck 1PL.EXCL

leak naq sa tarek doe
 go COMP LOC truck 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) *An asowa ki ohodeing ki kia ad*
 in day PL morning PL 3PL be.awake
- ohodeing [kiak duqur ka sui]VP goq*
 morning IMP.3PL cook IMP finish then
- [kiak leak naq sa oqla]VP*
 IMP.3PL go COMP LOC garden
- ‘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) *...diaqba ngwae neq leak se-an*
 be.like people SUB go inside-POSS.3SG.INAL
- ki [ka hiq kos naq]VP haq-sia naq*
 3PL IMP IMM go.down COMP leave-TRANA COMP
- ‘...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) *Goq [keik tua naq i hanoa deing]VP...*
 then IMP.1PL.EXCL stay COMP LOC village day
- ‘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]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 kij_{VP...}*
 inside-POSS.3SG.INAL boot for POSS.3SG.AL PL
 ‘Then that boy was looking inside his boots...’
- 8.11) *Goq nik se-a hu-an kui*
 then IMP.3SG say-OBJ.3 to-POSS.3SG.INAL 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* (COMP) 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’, *ngail* ‘take, board’, *duqur* ‘cook’ and *sui* ‘finish’, *ka* is 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.

Ka is also involved in subordinate clauses with complement taking predicates like *sea* ‘say sth’ and *seiyān* ‘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]VP 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-qang-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 completive 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*]_{PP}]_{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}
 1PL.INCL go IMP arrive COMP PLACE Auki

*asowa*_{ADV} *naq*_{VP}
 day COMP

‘We arrived at Auki exactly at midday’

8.20) *...kiak [gwei-a naq touhu naq]*_{VP} *[han*
 IMP.3PL pick.up-OBJ.3 COMP rubbish COMP for

toqeis uk-l-an naq an teiq kula
 throw.down pile.up-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL COMP in one place

*huin]*_{ADV} *[han doqhi-a-l-an naq huin]*_{ADV}
 the.latter for burn-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL COMP 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}
 1SG go COMP LOC Honiara Secondary COMP

*ku [leak [an i Maliat]*_{PP} *naq*
 1SG go LOC PLACE Malaita COMP

*[an fom fo hein feif]PP naq*_{VP2} *nauk [ueil*
to form four and five COMP 1SG return

naq meiq [ji Tenaru]PP [hu-an
COMP towards PLACE Tenaru for-POSS.3SG.INAL

fom siks]PP]VP3
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]RELC ngwae*
but garden PL COMP SUB place people

hanoa ki [kia ngeil hang an]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]RELC ka raeq naq kinyu
strike-OBJ.3 wake IMP come.up COMP canoe

huir [ka lae kakeis nahoaq naq sa eis]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 [neq ka tole-a*
today thing that PL COMP SUB IMP flow-OBJ.3
- meiq kaho]RELC [ka laeleak]VP [ka dao*
toward water IMP continue IMP arrive
- m-an luom ki]VP*
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’ (*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* *tuatua* *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 sui_{VP} nauk an heiqngeil 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 sui_{VP}”
 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 *sui* 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 *sui* preceding a PP in the data.

Example 8.28 demonstrates the differences between *sui* in its role as an intransitive verb ‘finish’, and *sui* as a VP marker. When *sui* is a verb, it more often than not appears in the data along with the imperfective marker *ka*. When *sui* is an aspectual marker, it does not appear with *ka*.

8.28)	<i>Qaok-o</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>[oal haol ki</i>	<i>sui]</i> _{VP}
	2SG-VH	2SG	put beam PL	TERM
	<i>qaok-o</i>	<i>ototto-a</i>	<i>luom oe]</i> _{VP}	<i>[ka sui]</i> _{VP}
	2SG-VH	frame-OBJ.3	house POSS.2SG.AL	IMP finish
	<i>ko</i>	<i>[ato-a</i>	<i>sui]</i> _{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 *naq* above, the function of *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 (*oal haol ki*) and the rafters (*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, *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 *naq*, *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 *sui* may best be described as a lexicalised completive marker, while *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 function².

Table 8-1: The set of post-verbal VP modifiers.

Adverb	Gloss	Function
<i>mal</i>	'like, such as'	equative
<i>goq</i>	'just'	limiter
<i>beis</i>	'first'	precedentive
<i>qua</i>	'yet'	anterior
<i>dangaol</i>	'completely'	exhaustive
<i>bol hein</i>	'approximately'	approximal
<i>liu</i>	'very, really'	intensifier
<i>long</i>	'also'	additive
<i>loq</i>	'again, more'	repetitive
<i>nam</i>	'must'	obligatory
<i>hiyuk</i>	'together'	collective
<i>suil</i>	'along'	translocative
<i>meiq</i>	'toward'	ventive
<i>kwou</i>	'away'	andative
<i>alaq</i>	'up'	ascending
<i>tueil</i>	'down'	descending
<i>seil</i>	'perhaps, I think'	epistemic

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 *mal*

The post-verbal marker *mal* 'like' appears after the verb, although there may be another element (8.29) between it and the verbal head. The function of *mal* is equative or comparative, expressing the idea of one entity being 'like', or an example of, another:

8.29) *...ni mateil dangaol mal 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 mal quri, ka*
 3SG turn go.around like thus IMP

haq-sag-a mal ti ru an-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}]_{VP} [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}]_{VP}...*
 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’.

8.4.3 The Modifier *beis*

In all examples from the texts, the precendentive 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 constituency.

- 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) *Sao ka tio [ka dao*
 sago.palm.leaves IMP stay IMP arrive

*bol hein liam heiqngeil ki*_{VP}
 approximately five year PL

'Sago palm leaves (on the houses) last up to approximately five years'

8.41) *Nauk [tua-tua-tua bol hein ul madaom*
 1SG DUP-DUP-stay approximately three month

*ki nauq*_{VP...}
 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) *Eiya, goq oqola doe-l-an oqola*
 okay then garden big-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL garden

ki nouaq kias doe liu oqla ki
 PL NEG NEG.3PL be.big very garden PL

'Okay, so the garden sizes, there are not very big'

There is a hymonomous form in the lexicon which is an intransitive verb meaning 'pass by or through'.

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 neqer keika [angka loq]_{VP} [suil*
 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 teqhou 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]*_{VP}
 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 ruqan wik an diseba naq]*_{VP}
 to second week of December COMP
 ‘Okay, then we will return again around the second week of
 December’

8.50) *...goq uner goq kwaet ru ki [ka*
 then be.about LIM make thing PL IMP

*talngwaro long huin]*_{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

*teiq wik-i long]*_{VP]}_{RELC}
 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 ngyal]*_{VP?}
 2SG have-also-have some child
 ‘Do you also have children?’

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 example of this type of lexicalisation as it shares part of the phonological shape of the cognitive verb *seijan* 'know':

8.55) *Nia [ngeil seil ro aoa-qang-a wan ein haf*
 3SG take I think two hour-NOM-VH one with half
*uner goq]*_{VP}
 be.about only
 'It takes, I think, only about two-and-a-half hours'

8.56) *...ma [lisi-a na kal meq kwakwa sa*
 and see-OBJ.3 DEF some QUAN hole LOC

*tohng-an qei 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} kiak 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 lal 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) *...kiak ri ma nouaq ta ngwae kas [hathat*
 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 *ueil* ‘return’ (8.56) and *lad* ‘burst out’ (8.57). However, it is 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 soungeiqn naq ru diaq long heiq-haoq*
 3PL build COMP thing be.like also round-bamboo

ki, areiqkwao ki neq soungeiq 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*.

8.64) ...*kiak* [*lia kwou tueil*]_{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)	<i>Ei</i>	<i>luom hu</i>	<i>kiar</i>	<i>tuaq-an-a</i>	<i>niaq</i>
	okay	house for	3PL	live-POSS.3SG.INAL-VH	3SG
	<i>[taeq</i>	<i>tio</i>	<i>hah-an</i>	<i>alaq</i>	
	come.up	be.situated	on.top-POSS.3SG.INAL	up	
	<i>kal</i>	<i>hial</i>			
	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

kerag 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.quiet
 ‘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.

Preposition Type		Set Members	Relevant Section
Conjunct and Modifier		<i>sulia</i> 'be next to sth.'	7.1.3.1
Predicates		<i>diqia</i> 'be like sth.'	
		<i>kargnia</i> 'be close to sth.'	
		<i>lihua</i> 'be better, more than sth.'	
		<i>kalia</i> 'go around sth.'	
Locative Prepositions	Locative Markers	<i>i</i>	9.1.1
		<i>sa</i>	
	Locative Nouns	<i>guan</i> 'head, top of sth.'	5.1.4.2.4
		<i>hahan</i> 'top of sth.'	
		<i>olhan</i> 'bottom of sth.'	
		<i>man</i> 'front of sth.'	
		<i>burian</i> 'back of sth.'	
		<i>ninman</i> 'side of sth.'	
		<i>sean</i> 'inside sth'	
		<i>saolhan</i> 'middle (vertical) of sth.'	
		<i>tohngan</i> 'middle (horizontal) of sth.'	
		<i>islan</i> 'end of sth.'	
		<i>nemneman</i> 'edge of sth.'	
General Prepositions		<i>hein</i> 'with'	9.1.2
		<i>ein</i> 'with'	
		<i>an</i> 'to, at, from, by'	
		<i>heis</i> 'away from'	
		<i>suil</i> 'about, along'	

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) *...ber ma* *ey-an* *is* *diqi-a*
 but foot-POSS.3SG.INAL NEG.3SG be.like
- heiqnoq* *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 uner kiar u* *olh-an* *kal qei...*
 and so 3PL stand under-POSS.3SG.INAL some tree
 ‘And so they stood under a tree...’

- 9.6) *Eiya, lek-aq* *u-an* *sa* *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]PP*
 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 ngeil 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} kiak 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) *...keil oga keil ka haq-koso-a*
 1PL.EXCL want 1PL.EXCL IMP CAUS-go.down-OBJ.3
- ru neqe 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 olah*) and a time (*i buir*) which are also not specified.

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 diq nau neq*
 1SG COMP with cousin POSS.1SG.AL SUB

kioq raeq [sa tol-o]_{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?’

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 teiqta-a]_{PP}...
 LOC middle-POSS.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 ueil 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 9-2: True Prepositions

Preposition	Gloss
<i>hein</i>	'with'
<i>ein</i>	'with, by'
<i>an</i>	'to, in, at from, of, by'
<i>heis</i>	'away from'
<i>suil</i>	'along'

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

tya nau]PP
 mother POSS.3SG.AL

'We 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 (*soungaiqn* ‘build’, *odoa* ‘erect walls’, *otottoa* ‘frame house’, *busaowa* ‘thatch’) and accompaniment (9.27, 9.28):

9.26) *Soungaiqn* *hah-an* *luom* *oe*
build on.top-POSS.3SG.INAL house POSS.2SG.AL

[ein saʊ]PP

with sago.palm.leaves

‘The top of the house is built with sago palm leaves’

9.27) *Ae* *leak* *[ein tarek-e* *iet]PP* *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]PP* *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
 in grade one IMP arrive COMP to grade

siks]_{PP}...

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 seiyan fifti 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, soungaiq-l-an* *luma* *yatyat*
 okay build-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL house first
- ae* *lulu-a* *lia* *u-an*
 2SG search.for-OBJ.3 look toward-POSS.3SG.INAL

kuwal [neq ae soungaiqn luma an]REL C
 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) *Ber ma oqola ki naq [neq kuwal ngwae*
 but garden PL COMP SUB place people

hanoa ki kia ngeil hang an]REL C
 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*.

9.1.2.4 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) *l hanoa oqla ki kir soungaiqn*
 LOC village garden PL 3PL make

gu-an wua ki ka tou
 on.top-POSS.3SG.INAL mountain PL IMP be.far.away

long [heis hanoa]PP...

also away.from village

'The village gardens, they make them on top of the mountains, also far way from the village...'

9.36) *Goq [heis i Brisban]PP ka leak*
 then away.from LOC Brisbane IMP go

u-an i hanoa...
 toward-POSS.3SG.INAL LOC home

'Then, from Brisbane, we will travel home (to the Solomon Islands)...'

9.37) *...uner ni mateil dangaol mal [heis tuaq]PP*
 well 3SG be.different completely like away.from life

[i tol haon hanoa]PP

LOC inland home 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.

Preposition	Verb	Verbal Expression
<i>ein</i>	<i>sea</i>	<i>sea ein</i>
‘with’	‘say sth.’	‘call sth. or so. sth.’
	<i>eil</i>	<i>eilaq ein</i>
	‘dislike’	‘refuse sth.’
	<i>mouq</i>	<i>mouq ein</i>
	‘be scared’	‘be frightened of sth.’

<i>an</i>	<i>ad</i>	<i>ad an</i>
'to, in, at from, of, by'	'be.awake'	'watch sth.'
	<i>tio</i>	<i>tio an</i>
	'be.situated'	'lie in bed'
	<i>mae</i>	<i>mae an</i>
	'be.dead, die'	'die from sth.'
	<i>dao</i>	<i>dao an</i>
	'arrive'	'reach'
<i>huan</i>	<i>kwaet</i>	<i>kwaet huan</i>
'for'	'give, make sth.'	'give sth. to s.o.'
	<i>kwaedkwaed</i>	<i>kwaekwaed huan</i>
	'whistle'	'whistle at so.'
	<i>sehoal</i>	<i>sehoal huan</i>
	'answer'	'answer so.'
	<i>sea</i>	<i>sea huan</i>
	'say sth.'	'tell so. sth.'
<i>uan</i>	<i>manat</i>	<i>manat uan</i>
'toward'	'think'	'think about sth.'
	<i>lia</i>	<i>lia uan</i>
	'look at sth.'	'look for sth.'
	<i>eing</i>	<i>eing uan</i>
	'cry'	'cry for so.'
<i>sulia</i>	<i>manat</i>	<i>manat sulia</i>
'about sth.'	'think'	'think sth. over'
	<i>lia</i>	<i>lia sulia</i>
	'look at sth.'	'look after sth. or so.'
	<i>alaq</i>	<i>alaq sulia</i>
	'talk'	'talk about sth.'

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 oqola 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 *hu-* 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 huan* ‘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 ngyal 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 Kwara'ae, 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).

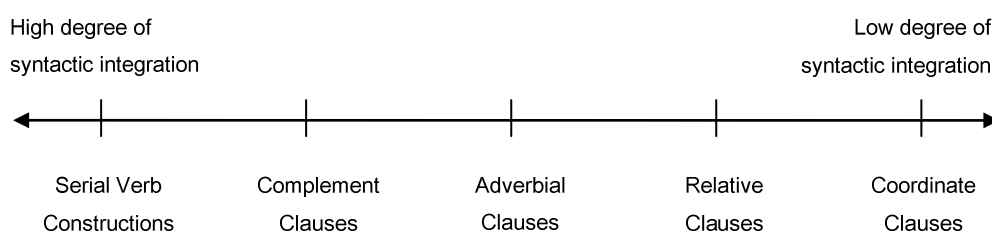


Figure 10-1: Continuum showing degree of syntactic integration of complex clauses (after Payne, 1997, p. 307).

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) ...[*kiá*]_{SBJ} *leak ruq-hia* *naq [masuq huqko]*_{OBJ...}
 3PL go enter-TRANA COMP 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 eileil* *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 suli-a* *oqola 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 *maqsia* ‘wait’ to describe this single contiguous activity:

10.7) *Soqleh 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:

- 10.8) *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 *toqan* ‘have’:

- 10.9) *Nauk mia toqan ngingidua naqan*
 1SG taste have honey that
 ‘I taste the honey’

- 10.10) *Nauk sam toqan hou qokqok ki*
 1SG touch have stone hot PL
 ‘I touch the hot cooking stones’

- 10.11) *Nauk mok toqan takan bulbul*
 1SG smell have flower frangipani
 ‘I smell the frangipani flower’

- 10.12) *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 *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 *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.AL 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) *...goq nauk leak ngeil tarek-e naq...*
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

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) *Ni ka taeq ka su tagtagreaq ka*
 3SG IMP go.up IMP dive take.off IMP

raeq toqba sa saol-o
 go.up there LOC cloud-VH

'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* *ngyal-a* *tua* *ka* *liali-a...*
 group child-VH stay IMP look.at.OBJ.3
 ‘The boys stayed to watch it (a truck)’

10.25) *Keil* *leak* *ka* *dao* *naq* *i* *Auek*
 1PL.EXCL go IMP arrive PERF LOC Auki

 asowa *naq*
 day 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* *mof* *naq* *mof* *ka* *laeleak* *ka*
 1PL.EXCL move COMP move IMP continue IMP

 dao *sa* *haon* *loqko...*
 arrive LOC village 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 *sea* ‘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 suku!]_{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]_{MAT} [niaq alaqa]_{COM}*
 3SG agree FUT.3SG talk
 ‘He agreed to talk’
- 10.34) *Etan neq [keil hiq rong naq]_{MAT} [Telekom*
 first SUB 1PL.EXCL IMM hear COMP Telecom

ka leak meiq naq-an kwa]_{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]_{MAT} [ae*
 when 2SG see-OBJ.3 place FUT.2SG

soungaiqn luma an]_{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 (*hia* ‘suspect sth, guess sth’), propositional attitudes (*alheih* ‘agree’), and immediate perception (*rong* ‘hear’, *lisi* ‘see sth’).

Another group of CTPs are modal-type verbs. In 10.36-10.38, the CTP *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]_{MAT} [kia hasi-a]_{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 ki]_{COM...}
 CAUS-go.down-OBJ.3 thing this PL
 ‘...but we wanted to unload these things..’

10.38) [*Ni og-a]_{MAT} [ngweiq ngyal-a ka tua araro-aq]_{COM}
 3SG wish-OBJ.3 group child-VH IMP stay be.quiet-NOM
 ‘He wished the children would be quiet’*

The verb *seiyān* ‘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) [*Nauk seiyān]_{MAT} [nei rit ka]_{COM}
 1SG can FUT.1SG read IMP
 ‘I know how to (can) read’*

10.40) *Od-l-an luma [qaok seiyān]_{MAT}*
 erect.walls-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL house 2SG can

[æ odo-a ein saousa]_{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) [*Qaok seiyān]_{MAT} [æ ahi-a nouaq?]_{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 seiyan 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 *seiyān* and *kat*.

10.46) *[Ni eilaq kas]_{MAT} [leak meiq]_{COM}*
 3SG dislike NEG go toward
 ‘He refuses (does not want) to come’

10.47) *[Ni eilaq kas]_{MAT} [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:

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.

Adverbial Subordinator	Other Role	Adverbial Clause Type	Semantic Role
<i>keiseiq</i> 'when'	-	Single word substitute	Temporal
<i>quri</i> 'thus'	Discourse marker (<i>quri ma</i>) (11.6)	Single word substitute	Manner
<i>diq</i> 'like'	Conjunct predicate (<i>diq</i>) (7.1.3.1)	Single word substitute	Manner
<i>han, han neq</i> 'so that'	Subordinator (<i>neq</i>) (10.4)	No single word substitute	Purpose
<i>si, si neq</i> 'because'	Coordinator (<i>si</i>) (10.5) Subordinator (<i>neq</i>) (10.4)	No single word substitute	Reason
<i>diqia, diaq, diq</i> 'if'	Conjunct predicate (7.1.3.1)	No single word substitute	Conditional

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 *keiseiq*

‘when’:

10.51) *Sui [keiseiq niaq ueil meiq]_{ADV} nouwaq*
then when 3SG return towards 1SG

neq nei leak 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 teqhou]_{ADV} [keil*
when 1PL.EXCL be.small day PL every 1PL.EXCL

ka leak suku]_{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 *keiseiq* are often also relative clause markers.

Example 10.53 shows that this applies in Kwaraqae, as the clause marked

with *keiseiq* is modifying the nominal *kaedaeq* ‘time’, so it is a relative

clause:

10.53) *Ei [kaedaeq]_{NOM} [nouwaq i Selwyn]_{REL} [keiseiq*
 okay time 1SG PLACE Selwyn when

keil fom wan]_{REL...}

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 ki dao naq sa oqla]_{ADV} ni leaq naq*
 when 3PL arrive COMP LOC garden 3SG be.good 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.

Temporal Expression	Gloss
<i>taeqan</i>	'today'
<i>roqki</i>	'yesterday'
<i>guan ki</i>	'day before yesterday'
<i>guan leh</i>	'three days ago'
<i>rorod</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>haoh nei</i>	'two days hence'
<i>kweil teiq</i>	'three days hence'
<i>i naoq</i>	'formerly'
<i>i ninqer</i>	'now'
<i>i neqer</i>	'then'
<i>kareng</i>	'soon'

10.55) *Taeqan*_{ADV} *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*_{ADV} *qoak leak sa klas-a*
tomorrow 2SG go LOC class-VH

'Tomorrow you go to class'

10.57) ... *i naoq*_{ADV} *kul se-a ein heiqneng ki...*
formerly 1PL.INCL say-OBJ.3 with torch PL

'... formerly, we called them torches...'

The interrogative expression *angyet* ‘when’, combined in the example here with the subordinator *neq*, is used to ask for temporal adverbial information:

- 10.58) *Angyet neq niaq dao meiq?*
 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) *[Nia loh]_{MAT} [quri ka tag-a abab-an]_{ADV}*
 3SG fly by IMP flap-OBJ.3 wing-POSS.3SG.INAL
 ‘It flies by flapping its wings’

- 10.60) *...[niaq ngeil goq ru]_{MAT} [diq liam ngwae ki goq]_{ADV}*
 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 ira ni leaq buir nouaq eis*
 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 10-3: Single word substitutes for locative adverbial clauses.

Adverbial Locative Expression	Gloss
<i>i neqe</i>	‘here (proximal)’
<i>i neqer</i>	‘there (proximal)’
<i>i loqba</i>	‘over there (intermediate)’
<i>i toqba</i>	‘down there (distal)’
<i>i huqba</i>	‘up there (distal)’

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 neqer_{ADV} 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) *Taeqan 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

*[han oqla ka laeleak ka sui]*_{ADV}
 so garden IMP continue IMP TERM
 ‘They will go and clean up the place so they can make the garden’

- 10.68) *[Ni abuil hah-an rot-o]*_{MAT} *[han neq*
 3SG roll on.top-POSS.3SG.INAL road-VH so SUB

*nia baba huin]*_{ADV}
 3SG be.level the.latter
 ‘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 Kwaraae. The subordinator used to express reason is *si* ‘because’. As above for *han*, *si* is optionally used with the marker *neq*.

- 10.69) *[Ni gwagriaq]*_{MAT} *[si qei ki or]*_{ADV}
 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

*[ni ngeil hei ao-a ki]*_{MAT...}
 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 soungaiqn*
 LOC village garden PL 3PL make.OBJ.3
- gu-an wua ki ka tou*
 on.top-POSS.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 oqola 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}*
 if family PL be.big garden PL be.big also
 'If the families are big, the gardens are also big'

10.74) *[Diq qaok leak ein ru [neq kiar se-a*
 if 2SG go with thing SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3

ein na spid boat ki]_{REL}]_{ADV...}

with DEF speed boat PL

'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*
 if NEG NEG.2SG be.willing-OBJ.3 but NEG NEG.2SG

hang long soqleh]

eat also evening

'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 mateiq]_{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* *tol-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) *Kamiaq* [*ru sa tol 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 Kwaraqae 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) *Ngwae [neq kiak soungaiqn luom ki]REL kiak*
 people SUB IMP.3PL build house PL IMP.3PL

soungaiqn 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 ki [neq kia ein beret-e hein*
 morning PL SUB 3PL eat biscuit-VH with

na tijREL
 DEF tea

‘It was in the mornings that we ate biscuits and tea’

10.84) *Eiya, wikend ki [neq keika leak sa oqla]REL*
 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 pickup*
 PRO.DEM SUB 3PL say-OBJ.3 with pickup

ki]REL [neq niaq ngeil ngwae or ki]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 soungaiqn*
 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 soungaiqn
 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 keil-i 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 aqan-a ni oan heiqngeil ki naq*
 this.one eldest-VH 3SG six year PL COMP
- ei sulia ro heiqngeil ki ei*
 this.one next two year PL this.one
- susbuir-i [neq hiu madaom ki]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” (Haspelmath, 2007). Haspelmath (2007) represents this as **A** (-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) *...loq [ei lae-l-an eileil ki]A*

and this.one go-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL be.quick PL

[ei lae-l-an ka saheiq ki]B

this.one go-NOM-POSS.3SG.INAL IMP be.slow PL

'...and some will go fast, but others will go slowly'

10.90) *Keil teiq li-a ma [kal enjin-i lae*
1PL.EXCL relax look-OBJ.3 and some boat come

ka liu naq kwa]A [ma keil kaormi-a
IMP go COMP DISC and 1PL.EXCL wave.over.OBJ.3

naq meiq]co-B

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 *ma* follows the discourse particle *kwa* which is used clause-finally (see 11.6).

In Kwaraqae, 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 form 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 10-4: Clausal and textual coordinators and their functions.

Coordinator	Gloss	Function	Semantic Relation
<i>ma</i>	'and'	Conjunctive	Bonding
	'but'	Adversative	Contrast
<i>ber</i>	'so, well'	Conjunctive	Cause-effect
<i>ber ma</i>	'although, but'	Adversative	Contrast
<i>si</i>	'but'	Adversative	Contrast
<i>nam</i>	'or'	Disjunctive	Alternation
<i>loq</i>	'and then'	Conjunctive	Sequence
<i>hein</i>	'and'	Conjunctive	Bonding
<i>(goq) uner</i>	'and so, well'	Conjunctive	Reason-result
<i>goq, sui</i>	'then'	Conjunctive	Sequence
<i>baelbaleiq an</i>	'in regards to'	Conjunctive	Bonding
<i>lal</i>	'instead'	Disjunctive	Supplementary Alternation
<i>buir</i>	'after'	Conjunctive	Sequence

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) ...*niak* *lisi-a* *kal* *qei* *dokdok* *neqer*
 IMP.3SG see-OBJ.3 some tree be.short that
- ka* *raeq* *ka* *raeq* *ma* *ka* *lisi-a*
 IMP come.up IMP come.up and IMP see-OBJ.3
- na* *kal* *meq* *kwakwa...*
 DEF some QUAN hole
- ‘...he saw a very short tree and he climbed it and saw a hole...’

- 10.92) *Kiak* *se-a* *nei* *leak* *sukul-u*
 3PL.EXCL say-OBJ.3 FUT.1PL go school-VH
- 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*
 okay 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) *...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) *...kiak lia kwou tueil ma i heiq ngwae*
 IMP.3PL look away down and somehow friend

kerag lok tua goq-an
 POSS.3DU there sit just-on
 ‘...they looked down and somehow their friend was sitting right there’

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* *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 form *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* *eiy-an* *is*
ground also but leg-POSS.3SG.INAL NEG.2SG

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 susbui-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 ngyal-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* *soungaiqn* *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.'

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-qang 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) *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?'

Iyu ... sukul sui ueil meiq keil ka
Yes school TERM return towards 1PL.EXCL IMP

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) *Niaq leak i roqki?*
3SG go LOC yesterday
'Did he go yesterday?'

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 11-1: Interrogative pronouns.

Pronoun	Gloss	Relevant Section
<i>i heiqbein</i>	'where'	Place name 5.1.2.2
		Location noun 9.1.1.1
<i>i tei, sa tei</i>	'who'	Personal name 5.1.2.1
<i>tae (neq)</i>	'what'	Common noun 5.1.3
<i>houqua(t)</i>	'which, how, what'	Common noun 5.1.3
		Demonstratives 5.2.1.7
<i>angyet (neq)</i>	'when'	Temporal adverbs 10.3.1.1
<i>huan tae</i>	'why'	Reason and 10.3.2.1
		purpose adverbs 10.3.2.2

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?*
 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 *aeiyog* and the interrogative marker *mo* (QUE):

- 11.6) *Aeiyog 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. Aeiyog 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) *Leak naq!*
 go COMP
 ‘Leave now!’

11.9) *Tua ein!*
 sit eat
 ‘Sit down and eat!’

11.10) *La meiq tua ninm-auk!*
 go towards sit close.to-POSS.1SG.INAL
 ‘Sit next to me!’

11.11) *Bab i aon!*
 bend LOC ground
 ‘Duck (bob down)!’

11.12) *Lae meiq ah nau!*
 go towards help POSS.1SG.AL
 ‘Come and help me!’

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!’

11.19) *kuluaq* → *ku*

Ku *leak naq!*
HORT.1PL.INCL go COMP
'Let's go!'

11.20) *keimil* → *mu*

Mu *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) *...neq* *yuryur-u* *nouaq* *kas* *taeqi-a*
SUB wind-VH NEG NEG pull.out-OBJ.3

nouaq eis hang long

NEG NEG.2SG eat also

'...if you weren't willing (to do that), you didn't eat either'

11.27) *Nouaq neis 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) *Si rot-o nouaq kias leaq long*

because road-VH NEG NEG.3PL be.good also

'Because the roads aren't very good'

11.29) *...ber taeqan nouaq kuis uih oh*

so today NEG NEG.1PL.INCL fill water

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 *nouaq*, but the marker *louq* is used in place of *kas*:

11.30) *Niaq nouaq louq kin sariq lok*

3SG NEG NEG young.girl that

'She is not a young girl'

11.31) *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) *Niaq nouaq louq tisa lok*
 3SG NEG NEG teacher that
 ‘He is not a teacher’

11.33) *Niaq nouaq kas tias*
 3SG NEG NEG teach
 ‘He is not teaching’

Example 11.34 is a further example of the *louq* in a non-verbal clause:

11.34) *Eiya nouaq louq hoh hak-a ma baj-a hu*
 okay NEG NEG 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) “*!: nouaq long nei kwa*”
 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 soungaiqn ein na niniu*
DEF floor 2PL build.OBJ3 with DEF palm
‘You build the floor with palm’
- 11.38) *[Fi nau ki]_{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) *...[dui-l-an ngyal ki]_{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 kiak soungaiq luom ki]_{PRE} kiak*
people SUB IMP.3PL build house PL IMP.3PL

soungaiq 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 ngwei 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 tiqtiq 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) *[Kuluaq]_{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’

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.

Discourse Marker	Gloss	Distribution	Discourse Function
<i>eiya, ei, oy</i>	'okay'	Clause initial	Directs hearer's attention to beginning of an event or a step in a procedure. Continuative.
<i>kwa</i>	-	Clause final	Signals end of utterance and/or a break in the narrative.
<i>re</i>	-	Clause final	Seems to be used at the end of questions as a type of tag.
<i>quri ma, ira</i>	'well, can I ask'	Clause initial	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.
<i>ne</i>	'eh'	Clause final	Question tag, signals turn end.
<i>o, i</i>	'oh'	Clause initial	Emphatic device for narratives and reporting of speech. Continuative.
<i>ubein</i>	'you know'	Clause medial	Hedge to gain time and keep turn. Continuative.

11.48) *Eiya oqla ki kir soungaiqn oqla aol ki...*
 okay garden PL 3PL make garden taro PL
 'Okay they make gardens of taro...'

- 11.49) *...si tae ki bein kia sese-a ein ru*
 but what PL INT 3PL say-OBJ.3 with thing
- beir re? Kukusu kwa!*
 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 neqe 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

Topic/ Semantic field	Example	Sociolinguistic/Syntactic information associated with this semantic field
Greetings	Good Morning/evening/afternoon How are you? I'm fine Thanks	Phatic functions Politeness
Body Parts	my/your/his/her head, arm, shoulder, leg, knee, back, belly, chest etc	Possession (alienable/inalienable)
Colours	black/white or dark/light red, yellow, green, blue pink, brown, purple, orange	Categorisation of the natural world The noun phrase Adjectives/stative verbs
Kinship Terms	mother, father, brother, sister maternal/paternal brothers/sisters grandparents	Terms reveal social relationships in community
Number	counting some, several, many, both, all, every	Definite/indefinite article Plural, dual, trial Numerals, numeral modifiers
Time	today, tomorrow, yesterday	Temporal expressions, deixis Present, progressive, past, immediate past, future, immediate future Interrogative, imperative Mood, conditional, subjunctive, negation The verb phrase
Space/location	here, there, this, that above, below, front, back, middle, among, behind, near, beside inside, outside, into	Spatial deixis (absolute, intrinsic, relative spatial expression)
Botanical categories	tree, bush, flower medicinal, nutritional plants	Categorisation of the natural world
Biological categories	pigs, birds, snakes, frogs	Categorisation of the natural world
Everyday activities	Cooking, growing food, washing	Narrative, reported speech, habitual

Appendix B

Prompts for Text Topics

Topic	Prompts
Gardening	Where the gardens are, their size, weeding, making the garden, tools Who goes there, are they shared? What food is grown?
Family	Do the children go? Do they help? Description of family, children (ages) Growing up, description of mother, father, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins
Food Preparation	Who prepares the food, gets the firewood? Description of the cooking methods (hangi, bamboo) What food is eaten? Are there traditional methods of preserving or keeping food?
Illness/health	How to treat cuts, bruises, headaches, fever, bites, stings etc Does someone have special knowledge about these things?
A typical day	What do people generally do in the course of a typical day do they get up early, when do they go to bed? When do they eat, clean, wash, garden etc Is there a time of day when people get together for a chat, to swap news etc
House Building	Who is responsible for certain tasks? What do the children do? Who does what, does everyone help each other, is each family responsible for building its own house? Description of the building process (what do you do first, then after this etc) Materials and tools, are there separate houses for cooking, keeping pigs, chickens etc? What does a house look like, have in it (e.g. sitting benches, racks for storing things?)
At Home	The last time you were at home, who was there, what was happening? The next time you go home when will this be? Who will be there? What you are looking forward to doing? What everyone would be doing at home now
Sayings, proverbs, poems, songs, dances, stories	When are these shared or performed? How do children learn them? Did you get taught any of these? Are there stories which explain natural phenomena like the weather?
The current linguistic situation	Who speaks what languages and when e.g. at school, in Honiara, in the village(s), at home etc? When did you learn to speak them, was this at school? Comments about the Kwaraqae spelling system How you feel about speaking Kwaraqae

Appendix C

Semantic Domains

(Adapted from Payne, 1997, pp. 55-61)

Semantic Domain	Examples	Additional Information
Sensation	see, hear, taste, touch, smell, observe, perceive the smell, sight, taste, pain, heat	Subjects are experiencers
Emotion Religion	fear, like, love, hate, be angry, sad, mournful, happy, pleased, grieve, the fear, happiness, grief, sadness	May be based on nominal root from body part, Includes friendship
Communication	speak, tell, say, answer, ask, shout, whisper, imply, affirm, murmur speech, language, writing, poetry	May be onomatopoeic
Manipulation	force, oblige, compel, urge, cause, let, obligation, cause, reason responsibility, willingness, habit,	Use of physical or rhetorical force, includes acts of volition
Artifact	bowl, cup, spear	Man-made - of particular interest to archaeologists
Body Part	arm, leg, head, tongue, mouth	
Flora and Fauna	sago palm	
Food	meats, vegetables, drink, breakfast	Eating and drinking
Health	sickness, headache, wound	
Kinship Term	mother, father, son, daughter	
Quantity	few, many, some, one, twenty, first	Includes numbers
Animate	dog, pig, insect, bird, person	Includes all organisms
Inanimate	sea, land, sky, clouds, water, wind, hardness, book	Includes fluids and solids
Abstract Relation	same, different, change, agreement	Includes ideas of existence, relational concepts (sameness, difference, agreement), change, order
Time	today, tomorrow, week, month, year	
Space	journey, trip, opening, closing, straightness, back, front, edge, roughness, size, house, shed, village, country, island, clothes	Includes dimensions, measurement, form, motion, things in space, regions, surroundings, coverings

Weather	to rain, be windy, cold, hot, to thunder, get cloudy, get dark, the rain, thunder, lightning	
State	be cold, hot, broken, rotten, melted, skinned, dead, alive, born	For stative verbs, predicate adjectives
Quality	red, green, dark, ugly, beautiful	Colours, physical attributes May be predicate adjectives
Involuntary Process	grow, melt, die, wilt, dry up, explode, rot, tighten, break growth, explosion	Single argument verbs, undergo change of state, without volition, not always movement through space
Bodily Function	cough, sneeze, sweat, vomit, urinate, sleep/awaken, cry the cough, sneeze, crying, sleeping	Involuntary but no change of state
Motion	<i>Prototypical:</i> go, come <i>Particular manner:</i> swim, run, walk, fly, jump, crawl <i>Locomotion (change of place):</i> movement out of one scene to another	May behave like stative verbs, (change in place metaphorically like change in state), loco. preds
Position	<i>Simple motion:</i> spinning, jumping in place, running within an area stand, kneel, sit crouch, lie, hang	Also treated as nominal preds
Action	<i>Dynamic (involve change):</i> dance, sing, speak, carry <i>Non-dynamic:</i> sleep/rest, look (at), read, deceive, care for	Voluntary but patient not overtly affected
Action Process	kill, hit, stab, shoot, spear the killing, stabbing, spearing	Voluntary action but affected patient
Factive	build, create, make, gather, ignite creation, building, gathering	Some entity comes into existence
Cognition	know, think, understand, learn, forget idea, thought, possibility, belief, error, wisdom, memory, learner, information, knowledge	May be based on same root, or name of internal body part

Appendix D

DVD Contents

Kwaraqae word list

Texts

KWFrog Story Text

KWChildhood Text

KWHouse Text

Sound Files

File Name	Speaker (s)	Contents	Time
KWFrog Story Rec	Christina Giobauta	Story about a boy, his dog and his frog	3'.48"
KWChildhood Rec	Christina Giobauta Selwyn Takana	Christina and Selwyn talk about their childhood	2'.08"
KWFamily Rec	Christina Giobauta Selwyn Takana	Christina and Selwyn talk about their families	1'.54"
KWGarden Rec	Selwyn Takana	Selwyn talks about village gardening in Kwaraqae	2'.14"
KWHouse Rec	Selwyn Takana	Selwyn describes house-building in the village	1'.42"
KWSchool ST Rec	Selwyn Takana	Selwyn recounts an event from his schooldays	1'.03"
KWSchool CG Rec	Christina Giobauta	Christina recalls an incident from her school	.46"
KWTrip Rec	Selwyn Takana	Selwyn talks about a forthcoming trip home	1'.07"
KWVillage Desc Rec	Selwyn Takana	Selwyn describes the village life in Kwaraqae	1'.32"
KWVillage Visit Rec	Selwyn Takana	Selwyn talks about a recent visit home	2'.46"

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