The Teop sketch grammar

Ulrike Mosel with Yvonne Thiesen, University of Kiel

Content

7   The noun phrase

8 The verb complex

9 Argument structure

1.2 Abbreviations in the glosses of texts and grammatical examples

1EXC	first person plural exclusive
1INC	first person plural inclusive
1SG	first person singular
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3PL	third person plural
3SG	third person singular
3SG/PL	third person, singular or plural
4SG	forth person singular; see [TSG 6.7]
4SG/PL	fourth person, singular or plural; see [TSG 6.7]
AC	prefix that expresses anticausative; see [TSG 6.3]
ADV	prefix that derives adverbs; see [TSG 6.5]
APP	applicative [TSG 8.6]
ART	article [TSG 7.2]
CAUS	causative prefix; see [TSG 6.3]
COMPL	complementiser [TSG 10.1]
CONJ	conjunction other than complementiser [TSG 10.1.2], [TSG 10.7]
DAT	"dative" preposition, i.e. the preposition *ki* that marks NPs referring to the recipient, addressee, or beneficiary [TSG 6.9.2]
DEM	demonstrative, see [TSG 7.9]
DEREL	derelational suffix; suffix that derives absolute nominals or verbals from relational inalienably-possessed nouns [TSG 6.2.2]
DIM	diminutive particle [TSG 7.6]
DIR	directional particle [TSG .6.11]
EMPH	emphatic particle see [TSG 6.13]
EXC	exclusive [6.7]
GOAL	the preposition *vo* indicating that the following word or phrase refers to the goal of a movement; see [TSG 6.9]
IM	immediateness marker [8.2.1], [8.2.3], [8.2.4]
IMPF	imperfective aspect marker [TSG 6.7], [TSG 8.2]
INC	inclusive [TSG 6.7]
LK	linker [TSG 5.2], [TSG 6.10]
MULT	prefix expressing multiple action; see [TSG 6.3]
NA	= DEREL; suffix that derives verbals or absolute, non-relational nominals from relational, inalienably-possessed nominals

NEG	negation [TSG 8.8], [TD *neg.*]
OBJ	object marker [TSG 6.7.3]
PART	particle [TSG 6.12], TD *part.*
PL	plural marker in noun phrases
PN	proper name
POSS	possesive marker; see [TSG 6.7.2]
PREP	the multi-purpose preposition *te*; see [TSG 6.9], [TSG 7.15]
PRON	personal pronoun [6.7]
REC	the particle *tom* signifying reciprocal kinship; see [TSG 7.8]
RED	reduplicated segment
REL	particle introducing relative clauses, and occasionally complement clauses and independent clauses
SG	singular
SIMUL	the adverb *bata* expressing simultaneity
TAM	prenuclear tense/aspect/mood marker; see [TSG 8.2]
TP	word borrowed from Tok Pisin

1.3 Index of keywords and grammatical terms

This index contains keywords and grammatical terms that are used in the annotations of the Teop language corpus, the Teop sketch grammar and the Teop Lexical Database. Terms written in capital letters are keywords that can be searched for in the notes in the corpus, where they refer to interesting phonological, grammatical, semantic or sociolinguistic phenomena, e.g. AGREEMENT; CLAUSE CHAINING; CODESWITCHING; LOANWORD; furthermore, a number of keywords refer to particular ways of expression such as conversational routines or expressions used in a certain emoional state of being, e.g. EMOTION, POLITENESS, SWEARING.

References to the Teop Lexical Database are abbreviated by TD plus the abbreviation of the part of speech term, e.g. *adj.* for adjective, or for a particular head word.

adjectival	word that prototypically expresses a property and functions as the head of an adjectival phrase, but may also be used as the head of a verb complex, or a noun phrase, and as a modifier; [6.1], [6.4]
ADJECTIVAL ATTRIBUTE	adjectival modifier of a noun phrase, [7.11]
adjectival phrase	group of words (syntagma, construction) that is introduced by an article and functions either as a modifier of a noun phrase or as a predicate in a non-verbal clause; the form of the article is determined by the noun class of the noun it modifies or makes a predication of; [5.2.3], [7.13]
ADJECTIVE	word that functions as the head of an > adjectival phrase; [6.1], [7.13], see TD *adj.*
ADJUNCT	optional constituent of the clause that refers to the particular circumstances of the state of affairs expressed by the verb complex and its arguments; [9.8]
ADVERB	class of words that exclusively function as modifiers in verb complexes or on clause level; [6.1], [6.5], [8.4]
ADVERBIAL	word that functions as a modifier in the verb complex or as a modifier on clause level; these words are not necessarily adverbs; verbals and adjectivals can also function as adverbials; [6.1], [6.5], [8.4], [8.5]; see TD *adv.*
ADVERBIAL CLAUSE	purposive, temporal and conditional clauses, [10.5], [10.6]
agent	semantic role of an argument, attribute, or adjunct denoting the doer of an action [6.9.1], [7.17]
AGREEMENT	imperfective aspect markers, object markers and possessives inflect for number and person; [6.7]; adjectival phrases agree with the head noun in noun class and number; [7.13]
ALIENABLE POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION	nominal construction expression that s.th. belongs to s.o., [7.15], [7.17]
ANTICAUSATIVE	intransitive verb derived from a transitive verb by the prefix *ta-*; expressing that s.th. happens or is done to s.o. or s.th. with no agent or causer being identified; [6.3.3]
APPLICATIVE	the applicative particle *ni* changes the valence of a verb complex; [8.6]
APPOSITION	noun phrase referring to the same participant as the preceding noun phrase

ARGUMENT	subject, primary object, and secondary object; [9]
ARTICLE	particle that introduces noun phrases, adjectival phrases, numeral phrases, determiner phrases; [7.2], [9.4]
attribute	word, phrase or clause that modifies a noun (in the linguistic literature also called adnominal modifier or adjunct); [6.9.1] adjectival attribute [7.11], nominal attribute [7.10], and verbal attribute [7.12], see TD *attr.*
AUTOCAUSATIVE	a causative verb that expresses that s.o. is causing him/herself to undergo a certain process or be in a certain state
CAUSATIVE	morphological causative [6.3.2]
CAUSE	semantic role that can be expressed by an argument or an adjunct [6.8.8], [6.9.5], [8.6]
CLAUSE CHAINING	sequence of two or more clauses that are dependent though not embedded; [10.8]
CODE SWITCHING	keyword indicating that a speaker switches from Teop to English or Tok Pisin
CODE MIXING	keyword indicating that a speaker mixes Teop with English or Tok Pisin, usually by using English or Tok Pisin lexical words with Teop functional words
COGNATE OBJECT	object that is formed by a noun of the same lexical root as the verb
COGNATE SUBJECT	subject that is formed by a noun of the same lexical root as the verb
comitative	semantic role expressed by an object or an adjunct [6.9.3]
COMPARATIVE construction	keyword for constructions expressing that one person or thing excels another one; there are several types of comparative constructions [8.5]
COMPARISON	keyword for expressions used to say that somethng is the same or similar to s.th. else; or different in that it has a certain quality to a greater or a lesser degree [8.5]
COMPLEMENT CLAUSE	dependent embedded clause that functions as an argument, a predicate or as the complement of a linker or a preposition; [10.1]
CONDITIONAL CLAUSE	[10.6]
CONJUNCTION	[6.11], [10], see TD *conj.*
CONSTITUENT ORDER	sequence of words or phrases in a particular order in clauses [5.1], in noun phrases [7.18]), in verb complexes [8.1]
CONVERSATIONAL ROUTINE	keyword for expressions that a speaker uses to comment on what he/she says, like Engl. 'what I wanted to say', 'I am telling you', 'it is like this', 'very true', etc. > SPEAKING
COORDINATED CLAUSE	[6.11], [10.7]
COORDINATION	[6.11]
dative preposition	the preposition *ki* that marks NPs referring to the recipient, addressee, or beneficiary, [6.9.2]
deictics, DEIXIS	pointing words, [7.9], [8.7], see TD *dem.*

DEMONSTRATIVE	demonstrative pronoun,[7.9]. see TD *dem.*
derelational suffix	a suffix that derives absolute nominals or verbals from inalienably possessed relational nouns; [6.2]
determiner	head of > determiner phrase; [5.2], [7.5], see TD *det.*
determiner phrase	phrase consisting of an article and a determiner, preceding a noun phrase [5.2], [7.5]
DIMINUTIVE particle	prenuclear particle in NPs that expresses empathy or self abasement; [7.6]
DIRECTIONAL particle	the two directional particles *maa* 'hither' and *nao* 'thither' follow the verb complex nucleus and indicate the direction of the action; [8.7]
DITRANSITIVE verb/ construction; DITRANSITIVITY	ditransitive verbs/verb complexes can be combined with a primary object and a secondary object; [6.3], [6.9]
DITRANSITIVISATION	valency increasing strategy by preposition incorporation or verb serialisation
E	edited version of a recording
ELLIPSIS	[9.5]
embedded clauses	clauses that form a constituent within a superordinate phrase or clause; [10]
EMOTION	keyword for expressions that signify s.o.'s emotion
EMPHATIC PARTICLE	particle used for emphasis; always following the expression it emphasises; [6.12]
ENGLISH	keyword for contexts where the speaker switches from TEOP to ENGLISH
EVALUATION	keyword for expressions used to express how one thinks or feels about something; similar to Engl. 'too much, indeed', 'it's true', etc.
exclusive	pronoun or pronominal referring to the speaker and other people, but not the addressee ('I and he/she/they'), [6.7]
FOCUS	keyword for focus constructions, [9.6]
fourth person	category of an argument whose presence implies the presence of a third person argument that ranks higher on the syntactic role hierarchy subject > primary object > secondary object [6.7.5], [9.4]
GENDER	> NOUN CLASS [6.2]
goal	semantic role of an adjunct indicated by the preposition *vo*, [6.9.6]
HABITUAL ACTION	keyword for constructions that express a habitual action
HEADLESS RELATIVE CLAUSE	> NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSE, [10.3]
immediateness marker	tense/aspect particle following the nucleus of a verb complex expressing that the state of affairs is of immediate relevance for a subsequent event or state; [8.2]
IMPERATIVE	[8.2]

IMPERFECTIVE aspect marker	particle that indicates the imperfective aspect and inflects for person and number; it holds the last or second to last position in the verb complex; [6.7.4], [8.2.8], [9.3]
inalienable	kind of possessive construction, typically used with bodypart terms and kinship terms; > alienable; [7.15], [7.17]
inclusive	pronoun or pronominal referring to the speaker and the addressee ('I and you'); [6.7]
incorporated nominal	[8.3]
INCORPOATED OBJECT	> incorporated nominal
INCORPORATED PREPOSITION	preposition incorporated into the verb complex, a means of valence change and the promotion of an adjunct or a secondary object; [6.9]
INDEFINITE PRONOUN	word referring anybody or anything one can think of in a particular context, e.g. *whoever, whatever, anybody, anything*; [6.8.9]
INDEFINITENESS	keyword for words that indicate that a noun phrase refers to a specific person or thing that has not been identified
INDIRECT SPEECH	keyword for reported speech
INSTRUMENT	semantic role that is either expressed by a secondary object or by an adjunct, [6.3.1.3], [8.6]
INTERJECTION	[6.13]
interrogative	word that is used to ask for information (e.g. *who, what*, etc.); [6.8], see TD *interr.*
INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE	structural type of clause; as an independent clause it is typically used for asking questions, but it may also be used as a dependent clause in the function of an adverbial or complement clause; [10.4]
INTONATION	
INTRANSITIVISATION	derivational process by which a transitive verb or verb complex becomes intransitive, for example, by the > ANTICAUSATIVE [6.3], section 3, or by incorporated nominals [8.3]
kinship terms	[6.2.2], [7.8]
LANGUAGE attitude/judgement	keyword for metalinguistic comments made by native speakers
LEFT-DISLOCATION	the topic of the discourse is expressed by a NP at the very beginning of the sentence without being an integral part of the following clause or sentence; but its referent is referred to by an anaphoric pronoun in the following clause or sentence
LEXICON	keyword that draws attention to interesting lexical features of words
LINKER	the particle *vaa* that links modifying place names, locative phrases and prepositional phrases introduced by *te* to the nucleus of an NP or VC; [5.2.8], [6.9.1], [6.10], [7.16]
LOAN TRANSLATION	
LOAN WORD	
LOCAL NOMINAL	small closed class of nominals that refer to spatial relationships, e.g. *koma* 'inside', [6.4]

LOCAL NOUN	word that functions as the nucleus of a locative phrase [5.2]; TD under *loc.n.*
LOCATIVE construction	construction formed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *te-*, a locative phrase or an adverb, [6.9.1]
LOCATIVE PHRASE	[5.2.8], [6.2.4]
MODALITY	modality is expressed by verbs and particles; see TD under *antee, goe, manin, mene, rake, tau, toro* and [8.2]
MORPHOLOGY	keyword for interesting morphological phenomena; [6.3], [6.4], [6.7]
multiple action	prefix expressing multiple action; [6.3.5]; search for MULT in the annotated recordings and their edited versions
N/V DISTINCTION	keyword for examples that show problems with regard to the traditional distinction between nouns and verbs/ nominals and verbals; [6.1]
NEGATION	negation can be expressed by verbals and particles, [8.8], see TD *ahiki, goe, hiki, saka ... haa, sabun, samin,*
nominal	word class, prototypically denoting persons and things and functioning as the nucleus of a noun phrase; [6.2]
NOMINAL ATTRIBUTE	[7.10]; > attribute
NOMINAL INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE	dependent interrogative clause that has the syntactic function of a noun phrase [10.4]
NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSE	clause introduced by *to* like a relative clause that has the syntactic function of a noun phrase; [10.3]
NOMINALISATION	construction derived from a verbal clause that has certain structural and functional features of a noun phrase; [7.17]
NON-SPECIFIC ARTICLE	article that indicates that a noun phrase may refer to anybody or anything one can think of; [7.2]
non-verbal clause	[5.1]
noun	nucleus of a noun phrase (not a lexical category), [6.1]; > nominal
NOUN CLASS	the three noun classes of Teop determine the selection of the article; in noun phrases and adjectival phrases; [6.2.1]
NOUN INCORPORATION	keyword for incorporated nominals; [8.3]
NOUN PHRASE	phrase introduced by an article; nouns phrases function as arguments (subject, object), complements of prepositions and possessors; [5.2], [7]
NUMBER	grammatical category that distinguishes between singular and plural. Singular and plural forms are distinguished by articles (TSG 8.2), pronouns and pronominals [6.7]. A small number of verbals, nominals and adjectivals mark the plural by > reduplication ([6.2.1], [6.4]). Within the noun phrase, plurality can also be expressed by the plural marker, by numerals and collective nouns), [7.3], [7.4]
NUMERAL	[6.6]
numeral phrase	phrase with a numeral as its head, [5.2.5], [7.4]

pronominal	clitic or suffix that inflects like a pronoun [6.7] > imperfective aspect marker [8.2] section 8, object marker [9.3], possessive marker [6.7]
pronoun	word class corresponding to personal pronouns (*I, you, he/she/it* ...) in English; [6.7], [9.7]
PSEUDOPASSIVE	keyword for a transitive or ditransitive clause with a 3PL subject pronoun referring to an agent that cannot be identified
PURPOSIVE CLAUSE	[10.5]
quantification	numeral phrase [7.4], determiner [7.5], quantifier [7.7]
QUANTIFIER	prenuclear word in a noun phrase, expressing some quantity like 'little, few, much, many' in English, [7.7]
QUESTION	keyword for expressions and constructions that we do not fully understand
R	transcription and translation of a recording with notes on the content, grammar and lexicon, edited as a PDF text file
RAISING	keyword for a construction by which an argument of a complement clause is expressed as the object of the superordinate predicate/the matrix verb, [10.1.4]
recipient	semantic role [6.3.1.3], [8.6] expressed by a primary object or an adjunct referring to s.o. who receives s.th.
reciprocal	1. the reciprocal kinship particle *tom* ; [7.8]
	2. reciprocal verbs marked by the prefix *va-* that express an action of two or more people in which all people involved play an active and a passive role at the same time, e.g. 'hit each other'; [6.3]
REDUPLICATION	verbals, adjectivals and nominals can be reduplicated to express a number of meanings such as plurality, duration, and intensity; [6.2], [6.3.4], [6.4]
REFLEXIVITY/REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTION	keyword for constructions that express that an agent performs a transitive action that he/she directs to him/herself
RELATIVE CLAUSE	clause introduced by *to* that modifies a noun; [10.2] > NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSE, [10.3]
REQUEST	keyword for a type of speech act
RESULTATIVE	tense/aspect marking expressing that a state results from a previous action; [8.2]
SECONDARY OBJECT	the second object of ditransitive verb complexes; [5.1], [9]
SECONDARY PREDICATION	adjectival incorporated into the verb complex or adjectival phrase following the verb complex that makes an additional predication
serial verb	> VERB SERIALISATION
SPACE	keyword for expressions that relate to spatial orientation.
SPEAKING	keyword for a conventionalised phrase similar to Engl. 'I am going to say', 'this is what I always say', etc.
SPEECH ACT VERB	key word drawing attention to speech act verbs, verbs expressing communicative acts

SUBJECT	grammatical function of subject [9.1]
SURPRISE	keyword for an expression signifying surprise
SWEARING	keyword for an expression used in swearing
TAIL HEAD construction/ linkage	> CLAUSE CHAINING; a construction in which a sentence starts with nearly the same wording as the preceding sentence; [10.8]
TD	Teop Lexical Database.
tense, aspect and mood	[8.2]
THINKING	keyword 1. for a conversational phrase used when talking about one's opinion, corresponding to Engl. 'I think', I mean', 'in my opinion', etc.; 2. for metaphorical expressions for thinking
THREAT	keyword for expression that are used to threaten s.o.
TIME	keyword for expressions other that TAM markers that relate to the location of events in time
TO-CLAUSE	clause introduced by *to* which does not seem to be classifiable as a > relative clause or a > nominal relative clause
TOK PISIN	keyword referring to the use of Tok Pisin expressions in Teop utterances
TOPIC	[6.9.1], [9.2], [9.5]
TOPICALISATION	keyword for the use of a noun phrase other than the subject as the topic ofa clause [9.2], [9.5]
TRANSITIVITY TRANSITIVISATION	keywords drawing attention to interesting transitive constructions and/ or morphological operations that make intransitive verbals transitive; valence [6.3.1]
VAA-PHRASE	phrase that modifies a VC or an NP; [5.2.8], [7.16]
valence	property of verbs and verb complexes that determines number, form and semantic role of arguments > transitivity, ditransitivity, reflexivity, reciprocal; verbal [6.3.1]; also preposition incorporation [6.9]; incorporation of nominals [8.3]; serial verbs [8.5]; applicative [8.6]
VC	> verb complex
VERB	nucleus of a verb complex [6.1], [6.3]
VERB COMPLEX	phrase that is introduced by a tense/aspect or mood marker and functions as a predicate; [8]
VERB SERIALISATION	two or more juxtaposed verbals within a single verb complex; [8.5]
verbal	class of words that typically express actions and function as the nucleus of a verb complex [6.3], but can also function as an > attribute [7.11], the head of a NP [7.17] > a serial verb [8.5]
VERBAL ATTRIBUTE	verbal modifying a noun; [7.12].
WORD CLASSES	keyword referring to words that are difficult to unequivocally classify [6].
word order	> constituent order

1.4 References

Lynch, John – Malcolm Ross – Terry Crowley. *The Oceanic languages.* Curzon Language Family Series. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.

Mosel, Ulrike – Ruth Saovana Spriggs. 1999a. Gender in Teop. In: Unterbeck, Barbara and Matti Rissanen (eds.). *Gender in grammar and cognition.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Mosel, Ulrike – Ruth Saovana Spriggs. 1999b. Negation in Teop. In: Hovdhaugen, Even and Ulrike Mosel (eds.). *Negation in Oceanic languages*. Typological studies. München: Lincom Europa.

Oliver, Douglas. *Black Islanders. A personal perspective of Bougainville 1937-1991*. Hyland House, Melbourne. 1991.

Regan, A.J and Griffin H.M.(eds): *Bougainville before the conflict*. Pandanus books, Research school of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra. 2005.

Reinig, Jessika (2004), "Serial verb constructions in Teop (North Bougainville). In: Bril, Isabelle and Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.) *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages.* Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundness. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 89-106.

Ross, Malcolm. 1988. *Proto-Oceanic and the Austronesian languages of Western Melanesia.* Pacific Linguistics Series C – No. 98. Canberra: The Australian National University.

Wehner, M. and Denoon, D. (eds.): *Without A Gun. Australians´ experiences monitoring peace in Bougainville, 1997-2001*. Pandanus books, Research school of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra. 2001.

2 The Teop language documentation

2.1 The Teop language and its speakers

Names of the language: Teop, Tiop

2.1.1 Genetic affiliation of the Teop language

Teop is an Oceanic language that is spoken in the north-east of the island of Bougainville, in the Tinputz District of the autonomous North Solomons Province of Papua New Guinea. It belongs to the Nehan-North Bougainville network of the North-West Solomonic Group of the Meso-Melansesian Cluster (Ross 1988:217).

2.1.2 Dialects

The project was carried out in the coastal area between the Catholic Mission Tearuki and the Mission of the United Church in Kekesu where the so-called coastal dialect is spoken.

It was not possible to carry out any dialect survey. Ethnologue lists: Wainanana, Losiara (Raosiara), Taunita, Malilup, Petspets.

The project did not do any research on dialects.

2.1.3 Sociolinguistic background

Number of speakers: 5000 (1991 SIL)

Literacy: 75-100%

      source: www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=tio).

All children attend primary school.

Bilingualism: all Teop speakers speak Tok Pisin and many of them speak English

Economy: subsistence economy (gardening, fishing), cocoa plantations

Churches: Adventists, Catholic, Methodist, United Church

The project did not do any sociolinguistic research.

2.2 The History of Bougainville

29,000 years BP	first population of Buka and Bougainville, probably through the Bismarck Archipelago
3,000 years BP	new waves of settlement on Buka and Bougainville (Lapita pottery)
1768	Bougainville Island sighted by French expedition under Louis de Bougainville
1885-1914	New Guinea mainland, the Bismarck Archipelago and Solomon Islands including Buka and Bougainville under German administration
Sept. 1914	German rule in New Guinea ends, Australian military forces take over
Dec. 1914	Australian forces occupy Kieta
May 1921	League of Nations grants mandate over former German New Guinea to Australia
1934-1942	sporadic gold-mining near Panguna
Mar. 1942	Japanese occupation of Bougainville
Aug. 1943	US forces land at Torokina
Oct.-Dec. 1944	Australian troops take over military operations on Bougainville
Dec. 1944	Australian military campaign begins
Aug. 15, 1945	Japan surrenders
1949	UN grants formal approval for joint administration of Papua and New Guinea (PNG)
	Territory of Papua and New Guinea (TPNG) legislative council established
1958	1st Local Government Council established in Bougainville for Teop Tinputz area
1960	Government geological report confirms copper mineralisation at Panguna/Kupei area, Central Bougainville
1963	Conzinc Rio Tinto Australia Exploration Ltd (CRA) granted authority to prospect over area including Panguna deposit
1964-1967	first discordance between Panguna landowners and CRA concerning drilling, licences and compensation
Sept. 16, 1975	PNG gains independence
1976	Bougainville gains limited autonomy as a province of PNG
1988-1990	beginning of the Bougainville Crisis
1990	Bougainville declares its independence
1990-1998	blockade of Island
Jan. 1998	Peace treaty signed in New Zealand
2001	Bougainville becomes autonomous province
May 2005	1st elections, Joseph Kabui elected president

Missions and Church

1901	Catholic Society of Mary (Marists), mostly from Germany and France, establish mission near Kieta
1902	Toboroi Roman Catholic Mission established
1920	Methodist missionaries in Siwai
1924	Seventh-Day Adventist mission in Bougainville
1930	American Fr Thomas Wade, SM, becomes bishop of Bougainville Diocese
1948	Marists establish school at Chabai, Northwest Bougainville
1953	engineering workshop to teach boys to repair various machines
1954	Catholic teacher training for boys at Tarlena, North Bougainville
1957	Catholic teacher training for girls at St Mary´s Asitavi High School
1961	Marists near Kieta extend schooling for boys to secondary level at St Joseph´s school
1963	First Bougainvilleans ordained as priests
1974	First indigenous bishop of Catholic diocese of Bougainville (Fr Gregory Singkai)

references:

Oliver, Douglas. *Black Islanders. A personal perspective of Bougainville 1937-1991*. Hyland House, Melbourne. 1991

Regan, A.J and Griffin H.M.(eds): *Bougainville before the conflict*. Pandanus books, Research school of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra. 2005.

http://www.natural-resources.org/minerals/development/indigp/Bougainville.htm

for more details on the Crisis and the Peace process see:

Wehner, M. and Denoon, D. (eds.): *Without A Gun. Australians´ experiences monitoring peace in Bougainville, 1997-2001*. Pandanus books, Research school of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra. 2001.

http://www.bcl.com.pg/events.htm

http://www.bcl.com.pg/events2.htm

2.3 Previous work on the Teop language

Religious literature

The British and Foreign Bible Society. 1966. *Ama leta teo buk penapena o von.* (Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and the letters of John in Teop. Rabaul: Methodist Mission Press.)

Hymn Book

School primers

Spriggs, Ruth Saovana. 1987. *Teop Primer 1.* Arawa, N.S.P., Papua New Guinea: Department of North Solomons Province, Division of Education.

Spriggs, Ruth Saovana – Marjorie Dubert. 1988. *Teop Primer 3.* Arawa, N.S.P., Papua New Guinea: Department of North Solomons Province, Division of Education.

Spriggs, Ruth Saovana – Marjorie Dubert. 1988. *Teop Primer 4.* Arawa, N.S.P., Papua New Guinea: Department of North Solomons Province, Division of Education.

Spriggs, Ruth Saovana. 1988. *Teop Primer 5.* Arawa, N.S.P., Papua New Guinea: Department of North Solomons Province, Division of Education.

Linguistic articles and theses

Mosel, Ulrike. in print. The fourth person in Teop. (Festschrift)

Mosel, Ulrike. submitted. Analogical levelling across constructions – incorporated prepositions in Teop, in: Lehmann, Christian and Stavros Skopeteas (eds.) *The evolution of grammatical relations.*

Mosel, Ulrike. submitted. Ditransitivity and applicative constructions in Teop – a corpus based study.

Mosel, Ulrike – Ruth Saovana Spriggs. 1999a. Gender in Teop. In: Unterbeck, Barbara and Matti Rissanen (eds.). *Gender in grammar and cognition.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Mosel, Ulrike – Ruth Saovana Spriggs. 1999b. Negation in Teop. In: Hovdhaugen, Even and Ulrike Mosel (eds.). *Negation in Oceanic languages*. Typological studies. München: Lincom Europa.

Reinig, Jessika. 2000. *der Verbalcomplex im Teop.* M.A. thesis. S.A.V.S. Kiel: University of Kiel, Seminar für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft.

Reinig, Jessika (2004), "Serial verb constructions in Teop (North Bougainville). In: Bril, Isabelle and Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.) *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages.* Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundness. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 89-106.

Schwartz, Marcia L. 2001. *Verb-Adjektiv-Distinktion im Teop.* M.A. thesis. S.A.V.S. Kiel: University of Kiel, Seminar für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft.

Sayk, Johanna. in progress. Nominalklassifikation im Teop. M.A. thesis. S.A.V.S. Kiel: University of Kiel, Seminar für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft.

Thiesen, Yvonne. in progress. Reduplikation im Teop. M.A. thesis. S.A.V.S. Kiel: University of Kiel, Seminar für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft.

2.4 The Teop archive

The Teop archive consists of five parts:

1. Teop language corpus

2. Lexicographic work

3. Descriptions of Teop grammar and phonetics

5. Recordings of vocal music without transcriptions and translations

6. Videos

2.4.1 The Teop language corpus - types of media

The centre of the Teop language documentation and by far largest component is the corpus of annotated recordings which contains the following types of documents:

1. Annotated audio and video files in **ELAN** with

1. an orthographical transcription in a practical orthography and translation

2. an orthographical transcription, morphological segmentation, glosses and translation

3. a narrow phonetic transcription, orthographical transcription, morphological segmentation, glosses and translation (one file, Asu_01R, used in the explorative phonetic study)

2. PDF files that contain the transcriptions and translations of the ELAN files, but in addition have footnotes on content and linguistic phenomena (so-called **R-versions**).

3. PDF files of edited versions of the transcriptions of the recordings with a translation into English and footnotes on the content and the language. These versions (so called **E versions**) were edited by native speakers of Teop, and some of these versions are also glossed (so-called **G-versions**).

4. PDF files of the community edition (so-called **CE-versions**) which contain the same Teop texts as the E-versions, but not translations and notes on the language.

5. Wav-files of the recorded readings of the E/ CE-versions.

6. PDF files of written texts (so-called W-versions) that in contrast to the E-versions are not based on transcriptions.

7. PDF files of lexicographic work by Siimaa Rigamu ("Siimaa's sentences", abbr. Sii.Sen.) and by Jeremiah Vaabero ("Vaabero's sentences", abbr. Vaa.Sen.), see the introduction to the Teop Lexical Database.

All files are labelled by the following conventions:

The first letters are an abbreviation of the name of the speaker or speakers, e.g. Mah_Loa_Vaa for Mahaka, Loata and Vaabero.

The number following this abbreviation indicates the number of the session with these speakers, e.g. Aro. 14 is the fourteenth session with Leah Arovi Magum.

The number is followed by R, E, G, CE, W, RSR, RSE, RSW. These abbreviations stand for:

CE	community edition (edited versions of transcribed recordings, Teop text only)
E	edited version of transcribed recordings with translations and comments in footnotes
G	glossed version of E, but without footnotes
R	R version containing a transcription of the recording with translation and comments in footnotes
RSE	E versions solely done by Ruth Saovana Sprigsgs
RSR	R versions solely done by Ruth Saovana Spriggs
RSW	text written by Ruth Saovana Spriggs
W	text written in Teop, not based on a transcription

While the CE, E, G, R and W versions were done by a team, often including Ruth Saovana Spriggs, the RDE, RSR and RSW versions were exclusively done by Ruth Saovana Spriggs.

Only the CE, E and G versions are freely available. The other files are available on request.

2.4.2 Topics of the recordings

Literature

1. legends
2. modern stories for children

Culture: interviews and monologues on culture:

1. ceremonies, cultural practices and concepts
2. material culture (houses, canoes, fishing, food preparation, games)
3. the role of women

History: interviews and narratives on history:

1. history of the missions and the church
2. 2nd World War
3. Bougainville Crisis
4. personal histories

2.4.3 Lexicographic work

1. The Teop lexical data base in SHOEBOX by Marica Schwartz, Ruth Spriggs and Ulrike Mosel
2. Alphabetical picture dictionary with drawings by Neville Vitahi and photos by Ulrike Mosel, and Yvonne Thiesen
3. Picture gallery with pictures organised by themes related to the enviroment, the material culture and the social life
4. Wordlists of various themes (kinship, bodyparts, perception, natural enviroment (landmarks, sea), trees and other plants, animals, dwelling, baskets, etc. by Marica Schwartz, Ruth Spriggs and Ulrike Mosel

5. Example sentences by Siimaa Rigamu ("Siimaa's sentences") edited and translated by Ulrike Mosel with Naphtaly Maion and Marcia Schwartz; example sentences by Naphtaly Maion translated by Naphtaly Maion with Marcia Schwartz and Ulrike Mosel

6. Monolingual definitions and examples by Jeremiah Vaabero, edited by Marcia Schwartz

The resources listed under 1-3 are freely available. The others are closed files that are available on request.

2.4.4 Teop grammar and phonetics

Mosel, Ulrike with Yvonne Thiesen. 2007. The Teop sketch grammar.

Radtke, Alexander. 2005. Explorative Studie zur phonetischen Realisierung des Teop auf perzeptorischer Basis.

2.4.5 Videos

Video gallery with video clips illustrating typical activities of the Teop people

2.4.6 Vocal music

We had the opportunity to record a few chants, but did not record vocal music systematically.

2.5 Scope and organisation of the Teop Sketch Grammar

The main purpose of this Teop Sketch Grammar is to give an overview of structural features of the language and facilitate the understanding of the annotated recordings and written texts, and the usage of the dictionary. The grammar of Teop has not yet been investigated in depth, but we are confident that the documentation of the Teop language provides sufficient data for a thorough analysis and description of most morpho-syntactic areas. For studies on particular topics see [TSG_02_03].

The Teop sketch grammar describes the coastal dialect of Teop as it is spoken in the villages between Tearuki and Kekesu, and on Teop Island.

As we wanted to keep this grammar small, interesting examples of various grammatical and lexical phenomena are highlighted and commented on in the footnotes of the PDF files of the text corpus. There we also address problems of analysis and interpretation, and provide literal translations wherever we thought it difficult to relate the free translation to the Teop original. Four of the freely available texts, all of them edited versions of legends, are glossed: Asu_01, Iar_2, Val_1, Val_2.

Readers who are interested in a particular linguistic phenomenon can consult the sketch grammar for preliminary information and then search the corpus for examples. The index of this grammar (see [TSG_01-03] contains the keywords that are used in the footnotes of the corpus. Thus a reader who is interested in complement clauses may first read the relevant chapter of this sketch grammar, check the index if COMPLEMENT CLAUSE figures as a keyword in the grammatical footnotes, which it does, and then search the corpus for this keyword.

3 Typological features of Teop grammar

Similar to other Oceanic languages, Teop is a non-inflecting configurational language. Its grammar shows many characteristics that are typical for Oceanic languages, but also some unique features, especially in respect to the verb complex and the argument structure.

3.1 Lexical and morphological features

- Teop has three noun classes (n.e., n.a., n.o.) which manifest themselves in distinctive articles and are partly semantically motivated, though independent of sex and animacy.

- With nouns, number can be expressed by various means: the articles, quantifiers, numerals, and reduplication.

- The verb shows derivational affixes for causative, anti-causative, multiple and reciprocal action.

- Tense/ aspect/ mood is expressed by particles and reduplication.

- The paradigm of pronouns and pronominals shows the number categories of singular (SG) and plural (PL). There is no dual.

- The first person plural distinguishes between exclusive and inclusive.

- In addition to a third person pronoun, Teop has a fourth person pronoun.

3.2 Syntactic features of the clause

- The valence of the verb complex (VC) can be different from the valence of the verb. Valence increasing or rearranging means of expression within the VC are: serial verbs, the applicative particle and incorporated prepositions. The valence can be decreased by the incorporation of an object.

- Teop has an exceptionally high number of ditransitive constructions.

- Transitive verbs can be made ditransitive by adding the causative prefix.

- Transitive VCs can be made ditransitive by the incorporation of prepositions.

- The grammatical relations of subject, primary object and secondary object are indicated by the interaction of constituent order, indexing in the verb complex and particular articles for certain kinds of objects.

- Prepositions introduce adjuncts, while core arguments are expressed by bare noun phrases.

- The order of constituents in clauses, noun phrases and verb complexes is:

(1)   TOPIC   VC   OTHER ARGUMENTS

      SUBJECT   VC   PRIMARY OBJECT

      PRIMARY OBJECT   VC   SUBJECT   SECONDARY OBJECT

      SECONDARY OBJECT VC   SUBJECT   PRIMARY OBJECT

But when non-topical, i.e. post-verbal arguments are expressed by pronouns, the sequential order of arguments follows the person hierarchy 1st/2nd person > 3rd person. This hierarchy is also relevant for the agreement in person and number between core arguments and the verb complex.

3.3 Syntactic features of the noun phrase

Noun phrases show the following constituent order:

(2)   ART   N   DEM

          [ART   NUM] ART   N   DEM   [ART   ADJ]

                          ART   N   DEM   POSSESSOR PHRASE

The **article** indicates the noun class of the head noun and distinguishes number and specificity.

Numerals and **adjectivals** are combined with articles that agree with the article of the head noun with respect to noun class, number and specificity.

There are two kinds of possessive construction: the **inalienable** and the **alienable** construction. Inalienable possessors are either directly suffixed or joined to the possessed noun by a possessive linker. Alienable possessors take the form of a prepositional phrase. This prepositional phrase is introduced by the "all-purpose preposition" *te.* There are **no possessive classifiers** as in other Oceanic languages.

Personal pronouns and the interrogatives *teiee* 'who' and *tabae* 'what' are determined by articles.

A noun phrase can have two or even three demonstratives.

3.4 Syntactic features of the verb complex

The verb complex (VC) can incorporate

- a split negation (NEG1.NEG2),
- a prenuclear tense/ aspect/ mood marker (TAM),
- an incorporated noun,
- one or two serial verbs,
- prenuclear and postnuclear adverbs (ADV),
- an applicative particle (APP),
- a preposition (PREP),
- a cross-referencing object marker (OBJ),
- a directional marker (DIR)
- a marker expressing immediateness (IM) and
- an imperfect aspect marker (IMPF).

(3)   NEG   TAM ADV$_1$ V N SERIAL VERBS ADV$_2$ NEG APP / PREP ADV$_3$ OBJ DIR IM ADV$_4$ IMPF

4 Phonology and orthography
(by Ulrike Mosel and Alexander Radtke)

The analysis is based on the recordings LanguageLab_1 – LanguageLab_05, and Asu_01. For details see Radtke 2005 in this Documentation of the Teop Language.

4.1 Consonants

Table 4.1: Consonant phones

	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyn-gal	glottal
Plosive	p pʰ p' b ḅ			t tˀ ṭ tʰ ṭʰ d				k kʰ ḳʰ k' g			ʔ
Nasal	m m̰			n n̥ ṇ							
Trill				r r̥							
Tap or Flap				ɾ							
Fricative	ɸ β β̥ β̰		θ	s z z̥	ʒ			x x̟	ʁ		h ɸ͜h ɸ͜h ç͜h ç͜h x͜h x̟͜h x̱͜h
Approximant	β̥			ɹ			j ȷ̊	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l							

Double articulation: n͡m

Table 4.2: Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	velar	glottal
Plosive	p b		t d	k g	
Nasal	m		n		
Trill			r		
Fricative	(ɸ) β	(θ)	s (z)		h
Lateral fricative					
Approximant					
Lateral approximant			(l)		

The phonemes in round brackets are only found in loanwords.
The non-phonemic [ʔ] which can occur with intervocalic morpheme boundaries, e.g. [βa: ʔani] is sometimes written as <'>, e.g. *vaa'ani* = {vaa–ani} = {CAUS-eat}, 'feed'.

4.2 Vowels.

Table 4.3: Vowel phones

	front	central	back
close	i i̯ i̠ i̤ i̝ y ʏ ɪ ɪ̠ ɪ̯ ɪ̥ iː i̠ː ɪː	ɨ ʉ ʉ̈	u ü u̜ ṳ ṵ ʊ ʊ̞ uː u̜ː ʊː
close-mid	e ë e̞ e̠ e̝ e̤ e̞ e̞ e̠ ö ø eː ëː e̞ː e̠ː e̞ː e̠ː	ə ə̟ ə̠ ə̤ ə̞ ɵ əː	o ö o̞ o̤ o̝ o̞ o̠ o̜ o̞ o̠ oː o̠ː o̞ː o̠ː
open-mid	ɛ ɛ̈ ɛ̤ ɛ̠ ɛ̞ ɛ̊ ɛ̈ ɛ̠ ɛ̞ ɛ̈ ɛ̤ ɛ̞ ɛː ɛ̞ː æ æ̞ æ̤ æ̠ æː æ̞ː æ̤ː æ̠ː æː	ɐ ɐ̤ ɐ̞ ɐ̠ ɐ̞ ɐ̈	ɔ ɔ̈ ɔ̞ ɔ̠ ɔ̂ ɔ̊ ɔ̠ ɔ̞ ɔː
open	a ä a̠ a̲ a̤ a̞ å ä̠ a̠ ã a̰ aː äː a̠ː a̤ː a̠ː aː		ɑ ɑ̞ ɑ̤ ɑ̠ ɑː

Double articulations: ʒ͡iː   i͜j

These vowels represent seven vowel phonemes.

Fig. 4.1: Vowel phonemes

The realisation of these phonemes covers the space depicted in Fig. 2. Thus the oval at the top of the left corner shows the space of the realisation of the phoneme /i/ that reaches down to [e] and in one instance, in the loanword *nusilan* 'New Zealand' is realised with lip rounding [y].

Fig. 4.2: Realisation of vowel phonemes
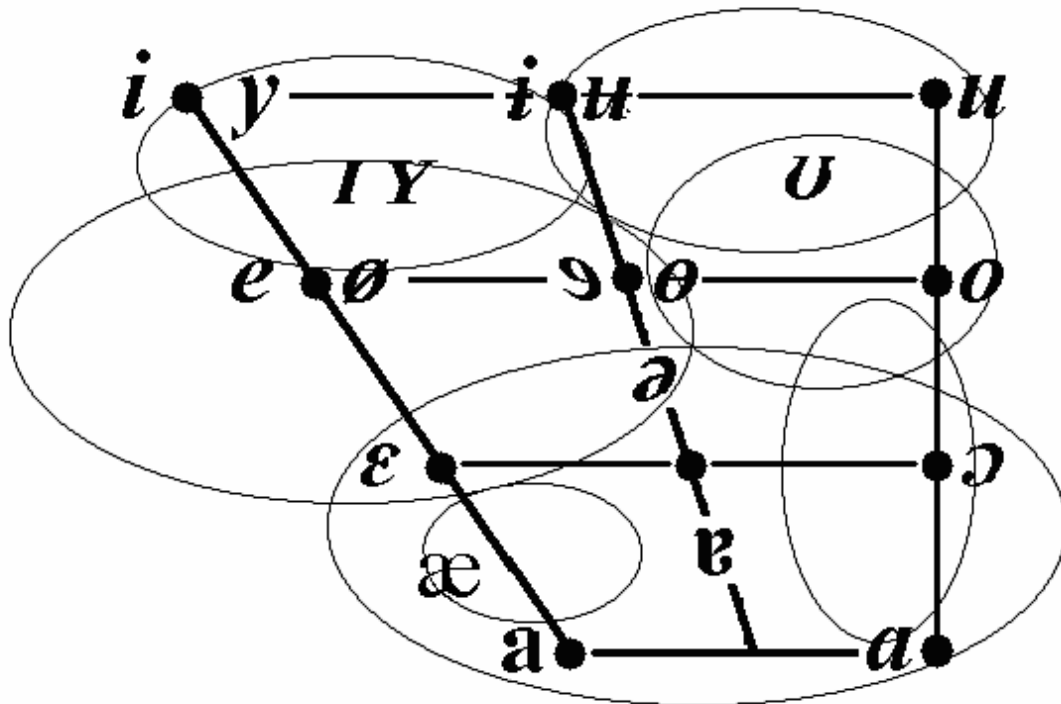
The localisation of these realisations is not based on digital measurements, but on Radtke's auditive perception. He observed that the more distant a symbol is located from the phoneme symbol in the same circle, the less frequent they are.

Note that the realisation of /æ/ shows very little variation and that /a/ is never realised as [æ], whereas both /a/ and [o] can be realised as [ɔ], and both /a/ and /e/ as [ɛ].

4.3 Syllable structure and prosodic phenomena

The syllable structure is

$$(C)\ V \left\{ \begin{matrix} (m) \\ (n) \\ (s) \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Examples:[e.'na:] 'I', [pam]'tie', [en] 'here', [ki'kis] 'strong'.
Stress and intonation have not been investigated yet. For data see LanguageLab_1 – LanguageLab_05, and Asu_01.

4.4 Orthography

The orthography, which has been developed by missionaries, is phonolgical, but loanwords are written in their original English or Tok Pisin orthography.

Table 4.4: Orthography of consonants

	bilabial	alveolar	velar	glottal
Plosive	/p b/ **p b**	/t d/ **t d**	/k g/ **k g**	
Nasal	/m/ **m**	/n/ **n**		
Trill		/r/ **r**		
Fricative	/β/ **v**	/s/ **s**		/h/ **h**

With the exception of / æ/ and / ɔ/, the vowels are rendered by the equivalent IPA symbols. The vowels / æ/ and / ɔ/, which historically derive from diphothongs, are spelled as *ae* and *ao* respectively.

(1)   **nao** [nɔ:] 'go'

     hae [æ:] 'go on board'

In reading *ae* and *ao* are sometimes pronounced as [ae] and [ao].

The orthography used in the hymn book and by most Teop speakers does not indicate vowel length. But the orthography used in schools indicates vowel length by the sequence of two identical vowel letters, e.g.

(2)   **naa**   [na:]   'I, me, my'

     hee   [he:]   'give'

Word division is lexical for full words, i.e. each lexeme is rendered as an orthographical word whereas the writing of clitics largely depends on stress patterns. Two or three clitics may form a phonological and consequently an orthographical word, e.g.

(3)   **a-'maa   'beiko**
       ART-PL   child
       'the child,'

(4) **'te-a**   **'maa**   **'beiko**
     PREP ART   PL   child
     'to the children'

However, word division, is only partly standardised so that the corpus of annotated recordings shows variation, but in the community edition of the legends, we aimed at a consistent spelling.

5 The sentence: an overview

This chapter gives an overview of the structure of the sentence, the clause and various kinds of phrases within the clause. We distinguish between clauses that contain one predicate and its arguments and complex sentences that contain more than one clause. Whether two adjacent clauses constitute a complex sentence or are to be considered as a sequence of two independent clauses is not always clearly to determine.

Well-formed utterances are not necessarily formed by clauses and complex sentences but may consist of single phrases.

5.1 Types of clauses

Clauses are subclassified on the basis of the form of their predicate into verbal clauses and non-verbal clauses.

A verbal clause has a verb complex (VC) as its predicate. In addition, it can have arguments (a subject and one or two objects) and adjuncts. The arguments are expressed by noun phrases (NPs), adjuncts by noun phrases, prepositional phrases (PPs), and locative phrases (LPs). The number and the semantic role of the arguments depends on the valence of the VC which can be intransitive, transitive and ditransitive and thus have primary objects (OBJ 1) and secondary objects (OBJ 2):

(1)   SUBJ_____   VC_____

     O   hum vai me   na   mataa   nana.
     ART place DEM too   TAM good   IMPF
     'This place, too, is good. [Vos. 1.13R]

(2)   SUBJ _____   VC_____   OBJ 1___

     A   moon   vai kahi vahio   ni   nana   bona otei.
     ART woman DEM TAM marry   APP   IMPF   ART man
     'This woman will marry the man.' [Daa. 1.22R]

(3)   SUBJ_   VC____   OBJ 1___   OBJ 2____

     Ean   toro hee   ama-naa   ta   vohe.
     2SG   must give   OBJ-1SG   ART paddle
     'You must give me a paddle.' [Vae. 1.159R], [Vae. 1.119E]

The first position of the core of the verbal clause is held by the topic which can be the subject, the primary object or the secondary object, while the second position is always filled by the verb complex (VC). The unmarked and most frequent order is SUBJ VC OBJ1 OBJ2.

(4)   OBJ 2   VC_____   SUBJ   OBJ 1_____

     Tabae   toro hee ri   naa   a   ta   Papua New Guinea.
     what   must give OBJ 1SG   ART people Papua New Guinea
     'What must I give to the people of Papua New Guinea?' [Pur. 1.190R]

The order of nominal arguments after the VC follows the syntactic functions hierarchy

     subject < primary object < secondary object.

Table 5.1 Order of arguments in verbal clauses

first position: topic	VC	second position	third position
subject	VC	primary object	secondary object
primary object	VC	subject	secondary object
secondary object	VC	subject	primary object

If the postverbal object is a pronoun and the postverbal subject a NP, the pronoun precedes the subject:

(5)   OBJ2___   VC_____   OBJ1   SUBJ_____

A   inu   na   hee   a-naa   e   gavaman.
ART   house TAM   give   OBJ-1SG   ART   government
'The house was given to me by the government.' [Pur. 2.28R].

The syntactic functions of the arguments as subject, primary object or secondary object are indicated by the articles and inflecting cross-referencing morphemes within the VC, namely the object marker (OBJ) and the imperfective aspect marker (IMPF). The paradigms of the imperfective aspect marker and the object marker are given in [TSG_06_07] in section 3 and 4, respectively.

Non-verbal clauses have a noun phrase, an adjectival phrase, a numeral phrase, a locative phrase or a prepositional phrase as their predicate.

(6)   NP__   NP_____

Enaa   a   too   Teapu
1SG   ART   person   Teop
'I am a Teop.' [Sii.1.1R]

(7)   NP_____   NumP_____

Eori   a   buaku.
PRON:1INC   ART   two
'They were two.' [Kor. 1.191R]

(8)   NP_____   PP_____

A   iana   ki   bene teiee?
ART   fish   DAT   ART   who
'For whom is the fish?'

5.2 Types of phrases

Phrases consist of a lexical head and satellites. They can be subclassified on the basis of what kinds of the functional satellites they occur with:

1. noun phrases, e.g. *e bubuu* 'Granny', *a inu* 'a, the house'*, o ravarava* 'a, the sarong'

2. locative phrases, e.g. *inu* 'at home, home'; *komana inu* 'inside the house'

3. adjectival phrases, e.g. *a mataa / o mataa* 'good (lit. a/ the good one)'

4. determiner phrases, e.g. *a buaku / o buaku* 'two', *a meh- / o meh-* 'other'

5. verb complexes, e.g. *na mataa nana* 'is good', *na hagi nana* 'is dancing'

6. prepositional phrases, e.g. *tea teesin* 'on the plantation', *ki e bubuu* 'for Granny'

7. the *vaa*-phrase

8. the possessor phrase

5.2.1. Noun phrases

Noun phrases are introduced by an article and typically refer to human beings, animals or things.

(1) **e   guu, a   moon,   a   kokokoo,   a   inu,   o   sinivi**
     ART pig ART woman ART heron   ART house, ART canoe
     'the woman, the pig, the heron, the house, the canoe'

The article of the noun phrase indicates number, specificity and the noun class of the lexical head. It also contributes to the identification of syntactic roles. Noun phrases function as arguments, adjuncts, predicates and complements of prepositions.

5.2.2 Locative phrases

Locative phrases (LPs) are similar to noun phrases. Their head is a nominal denoting a place, but in contrast to noun phrases, they lack an article and are inherently singular and specific, i.e. similar to place names, as they refer to a particular place.

(2) **me-ori paa hiava   vahabana   rasuu**
     and-3PL TAM go.up   again   jungle
     'and they went up again into the jungle' [Eno. 1.119R]

(3) **E   subuava   he tea   goroho   koma-n-   a   inu.**
     ART old.woman butCOMPL sleep   inside-POSS:3SG- ART house
     'but the old woman was sleeping in the house' (lit. 'inside the house') [Aro. 4.19R]

The head of LPs can be formed by local noun (3), place names, or common nouns that denote places, e.g. *kasuana* 'beach', *rasuu* 'jungle, bush', *tahii* 'sea', *vaan* 'village'.

Locative phrases function as adjuncts as in the two clauses above, as predicates in non-verbal clauses, or as complements in *vaa* - phrases.

5.2.3 Adjectival phrases

Adjectival phrases (APs) are introduced by an article. Their head is a lexical word which typically denotes a property like 'good', 'bad', 'big' or 'small' or a colour. They function as attributes and as predicates in non-verbal clauses. In both functions they follow the noun phrase.

(4) **A   kavovo a   kakaavoo**.
    ART   cockatoo ART   white
    'The white cockatoo.' / 'The cockatoo is white.'

(5) **O   sinivi o   mataa**.
    ART   canoe ART   good
    'The good canoe.' /'The canoe is big.'

Since the AP can be separated from the head of the NP by other phrases, we consider it as a phrase on its own and not as a part of the NP. The selection of the article is determined by the noun class of the noun which the adjectival phrase modifies or is a predicate of.

5.2.4 Determiner phrases

A NP can be preceded by a determiner phrases (DP). DPs are marked by an article that agrees in noun class and number with the article of the NP. The head of the determiner phrase is formed by the anaphoric words *meh-* 'other' or *vuaba* 'such', e.g.

(6) **a   meh-a   inu   o   meh-o   sinivi**
    ART   other-ART   house   ART   other-ART   canoe
    'another house'   'another canoe'

(7) **ta   vuaba ta   moon**
    NSP.ART   such   NSP.ART woman
    'such a woman' [Aro. 8.107E]

Note that *meh-* and the following article of the NP form a phonological word.

5.2.5 The numeral phrase

In attributive function numeral phrases precede the noun phrase and similar to adjectival phrases have an article that agrees with the article of the noun phrase. Both the quantified noun phrase and the numeral phrase are singular:

(8) **a   buaku a   inu**
    ART   two   ART   house
    'two houses'

(9) **o   buaku o   sinivi**
    ART   two   ART   canoe
    'two canoes'

The numeral phrase may also be used in predicative function and then follows the noun phrase:

(10) **Eori a   buaku.**
    3PL   ART   two
    'They are two.' [Kor. 3.191R]

The quantifier *bero* 'many' can be used like numerals:

(11) <u>a   bero</u>   sana   a   aba
ART   many   very   ART   person
'very many people' [Daa. 2.117R]

5.2.6 Verb complexes

Verb complexes (VCs) are marked by prenuclear particles expressing tense, aspect and mood (TAM). They function as predicates and typically denote actions.

(12) **E   Kakato <u>na   ani   nana</u>.**
ART   Kakato   TAM   eat   IMPF:4SG
'Kakato is eating.'

Apart from TAM particles, a VC can contain a negation, an incorporated nominal [TSG_08_03], serial verbs [TSG_08_05], adverbs [TSG_08_04], an adverbial *vaa*-phrase (this chapter, section 7), an incorporated preposition [TSG_06_09], the applicative particle [TSG_08_06], a directional particle [TSG_08_07], and an imperfective aspect marker (IMPF) [TSG_08_01].

5.2.7 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases (PPs) are introduced by a preposition and function as attributes, predicates and adjuncts.

(13) **a   kiu <u>te-   a   moon</u>**
ART   work   PREP-   ART   woman
'the work of the woman'

(14) **A   maa toogoori <u>ki   bene teiee?</u>**
ART   PL   *toogoori*   for   ART   who
'For whom are the *toogoori*-fish?'

(15) **Aheahe <u>ki-   e Sovavi</u>.**
sing   for-   ART   Sovavi
'Sing for Sovavi!'

5.2.8 The *vaa*- phrase

The *vaa*-phrase consists of the linker *vaa*- and a locative phrase (15), a place name (16) or a prepositional phrase introduced by *te* (17-20). They mostly function as attributes (15-18), but are also found as adverbials (20) and as predicates (21).

(16) **a   si   iana <u>vaa   tahii</u>**
ART   DIM   fish   LK   sea
'a little fish from the sea' [Mor. 2.10R]

(17) **a   tavaan <u>vaa   Teapu</u>**
ART   people   LK   Teop
'the Teop people, the people from Teop Island'

(18) **a   iana <u>vaa   te-   a   kave</u>**
ART   fish   LK   PREP-ART   net
'the fish in the net' [Sii. 6.239R], [Sii. 6.136E]

(19) **o   matapaku <u>vaa   te-   a   koro n - o   potee</u>**
ART   method   LK   PREP-ART   carve   POSS-ART   canoe
'the method of carving a canoe', lit. 'the method of carving of a canoe' [Mor. 4.1R]

(20) **Evehee   na   tavus   <u>vaa   te-   a   oraa</u>   nana.**
  but   TAM come.out LK PREP-ART demon IMPF
  'But it comes out like a demon.' [San. 3.92R]

(21) **A   averu   na   <u>vaa te-   a   peeler</u>   nana.**
  ART peeler TAM LK   PREP-ART peeler IMPF:3SG
  The 'averu' is like a peeler. [Sii.Sen. 1.16]

5.2.9 The possessor phrase

The possessor phrase denotes the possessor in inalienable possessive construction. Apart from one exception, it consists of the possessive marker [TSG_06_07] and a pronominal or nominal complement. The exception is the 1SG pronoun which is directly suffixed to the possessed noun. Dependent on the lexical class of the head noun, the possessor phrase is obligatory or optional, see [TSG_06_02], section 2-4.

(22) **e   tama-   <u>naa,</u>   e   tama-   <u>m-   an</u>**
  ART father- 1SG   ART father- POSS- 2SG
  'my father',   'your father'

(23) **a   tama-   <u>n-   a   moon</u>**
  ART father- POSS- ART woman
  'the woman's father'

(24) **a   koro   <u>n-   o   potee</u>**
  ART carve POSS- ART *potee*.canoe
  'the carving of the *potee* canoe'

5.3 Complex sentences

We distinguish between

1. independent clauses;

2. coordinate clauses that are connected by a conjunction, but are syntactically independent from each other;

3. embedded clauses that function as a constituent within a superordinate clause;

4. dependent non-embedded clauses that are syntactically dependent on another clause but do not form a constituent within that clause.

In non-embedded clauses, dependency can manifest itself in the use of particular conjunctions, reduced forms of subject pronouns and the lack of TAM marking [TSG_08_02]. The time reference of such clauses depends on the preceding or the following clause.

A complex sentence contains at least two clauses, clause 1 and clause 2, which can be related to one another in a number of ways:

1. Clause 1 is dependent on and embedded in clause 2 as a complement or a relative clause (1, 2)

(1)　**Enaa na　rake nom <u>tea　　an</u>.**
　　　1SG　TAM　want　IMPF　COMP　　eat
　　　'I want to eat.'

(2)　**a　moon　　<u>to　　rake nom-an</u>**
　　　ART　woman　REL　want　IMPF-2SG
　　　'the woman that you want'

2. Clause 1 is dependent, but not embedded (3):

(3)　**<u>Tei　nom vaan</u>,　nam　<u>he</u>　　gono vaha a　　paepa　vai.**
　　　stay　IMPF village　1EXC　CONJ　　get　again ART　paper　　DEM
　　　'While staying in the village, we got theses papers ' [Sii. 2.481R]

Both clauses lack TAM marking as the location in time is understood from the context. Furthermore, the first clause lacks the subject. As in the corresponding English construction, the subject is provided by the second clause. But in contrast to its English counterpart, this construction is not an adverbial construction; the conjunction *he* coordinates clauses that express two simultaneous events.

3. The two clauses are dependent on each other. A typical example are conditional constructions where both clauses are marked by a conjunction, i.e. *be* 'if' and *re* 'then', and cannot stand by themselves. e.g.

(4)　**<u>Be--</u> ori hiki　　rori,　e　　tama-m-　an　<u>re-</u>　paa　mate,**
　　　if-　3PL　not.exist IMPF　　ART　father-POSS 2SG　CONJ- TAM　die
　　　'If it were not for them, your father would have died.' [Sia. 1.207E]

6 Word classes

The words of the Teop lexicon can be classified into open and closed classes. Whereas the classification of the open classes is difficult, see [TSG_06_01], the classification of the closed classes can be carried out on the basis of their distribution within the clause. In order to avoid repetition, not all word classes are described in this chapter. Those that are confined to the noun phrase are dealt with in the noun phrase chapter and those which are typically found in the verb complex are described in the verb complex chapter.

Open classes:

nominals	[TSG_06_02]
verbals	[TSG_06_03]
adjectivals	[TSG_06_04]
adverbs	[TSG_06_05]
Numerals	[TSG_06_06]

Closed classes described in this chapter are:

pronouns and cross-referencing pronominals	[TSG_06_07]
interrogatives	[TSG_06_08]
prepositions	[TSG_06_09]
the linker *vaa/vai*	[TSG_06_10]
conjunctions	[TSG_06_11]
particles	[TSG_06_12]

Word classes and unclassified words that only occur in NPs are explained in [TSG_07]:

aricles	[TSG_07_02]
the plural marker *maa* and *maamihu* 'every'	[TSG_07_03]
determiners other than articles	[TSG_07_05]
the diminutive *si*	[TSG_07_06]
the quantifier *vahara*	[TSG_07_07]
the reciprocal kinship particle *tom*	[TSG_07_08]
demonstratives	[TSG_07_09]

Similarly, the following word classes are dealt with in the verb complex chapter [TSG_08]:

tense, aspect and mood paricles (TAM)	[TSG_08_02]
the applicative particle	[TSG_08_06]
directional particles	[TSG_08_07]
negation	[TSG_08_08]

6.1 Nouns, verbs , adjectives and adverbs

At this stage of our research, it is not possible to present a detailed analysis of lexical word classes. While the types of phrases are well defined by structural and distributional criteria, the words which function as their lexical heads and more or less semantically correspond to the traditional categories of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs in European languages, do not show obvious distinctive formal features, e.g.

(1)   **a**   **vasu**   **a**   **bebeahu**
           ART   stone   ART long
           'a long stone' [Pur. 5.86E]

(2)   **na**   **bebeahu**   **bata-na**
           TAM   long   SIMUL-IMPF:3SG
           'it was becoming long' [Mor. 3.101R]

(3)   **paa**   **bebeahu**
           TAM   long
           'it became long' [Mor. 3.186R]

(4)   **a**   **bebeahu**   **te-a**   **inu**
           ART   long   PREP-ART house
           'the length of the house' [Kae. 2.132R].

The problem is that before we have not fully analysed the morphosyntax of Teop, we cannot assign wordforms to lexemes and group the lexemes of the language into word classes. Thus we do not know whether or not it is justified to ascribe *bebeahu* to the three word classes of adjective (1), verb (2,3), and noun (4) or to a single class (Adj-V-N) or two classes (Adj-V or Adj-N). On the other hand, we need a decision on what kind of units to use as lemmas in the dictionary and how to deal with the different syntactic uses of words like *bebeahu* and its corresponding various English translations.

In the dictionary, we use the most simple word of a word family as the lemma, e.g. BEBEAHU and list the syntactically different uses of BEBEAHU and all derived lexemes under this lemma as subentries.

(5)   **bebeahu**

     adj.,   long
     v.,   become long
     n.,   length

The categories adjective (*adj.*), verb (*v.*), and noun (*n.*) then mean 'used as the head of an adjectival phrase', 'used as the head of a verb complex', and 'used as the head of a noun phrase', respectively.

This lexicographical solution, however, is not useful for grammatical analysis and description. We need a second classification of lexemes that allows us to account for the particular lexical properties of the words and group those with similar properties together. Such lexical properties are, for example, those that determine

      – agreement, e.g. the inherent gender/noun class
      – the presence and form of other constituents, i.e. valence and inherent inalienability
      – the derivational potential.

Assuming that these lexical properties are closely related to the meaning of the words, we set up the three classes of nominals, adjectivals and verbals and define them by the meaning and the unmarked function of their prototypes:

Table 1: Nominals, adjectivals and verbals

	nominal	adjectival	verbal
meaning	thing, person, animal, body part, plant, landmark	property	activity, process
examples	*inu* 'house', *moon* 'woman', *guu* 'pig', *kurinaa* 'my hand', *vaan* 'village'	*beera* 'big', *mataa* 'good'	*ani* 'eat', *kuu* 'fall'
prototypical function	head of NP	head of AP	head of VC
other functions	head of VC head of LP attribute incorporated in VC	head of VC head of NP attribute incorporated in VC	head of NP attribute

Taking these definitions as the point of departure, we first describe the formal properties of various kinds of verbals, nominals and adjectivals in their typical syntactic functions, i.e. in the function of heads of verb complexes, noun phrases and adjectival phrases, respectively. Then we give examples for their other functions and again describe their formal properties in these functions as far as we are able to identify them at this stage of research. We assume that a thorough morphological and syntactic investigation of the text corpus will lead to a clearer picture of word classes in Teop.

Following traditional grammar, we distinguish between the word class adverb and the syntactic function adverbial. The term **adverb** refers to a class of words that express manner, time, place and the speaker's attitude and syntactically function as modifiers of clauses, phrases and single words, but never as the head of a noun phrase, verb complex or adjectival phrase. In contrast, the term **adverbial** refers to any kind of word that functions as a modifier in a verb complex or as a modifier of the entire clause level. All adverbs function as adverbials, but the adverbial function is not exclusively fulfilled by adverbs. In verb complexes verbals and adjectivals can also function as adverbials.

To conclude, we distinguish between two kinds of word classes:

lexical category	nominal	verbal	adjectival	adverb
syntactic category (*abbr.* in TD)	noun (*n.*)	verb (*v.*)	adjective (*adj.*)	adverbial (*adv.*)

6.2 Nominals

Nominals typically[1] function as the nucleus of noun phrases, but they also occur as attributes, as the heads of locative phrases, as incorporated objects in verb complexes, and even as the nucleus of verb complexes.

6.2.1 Noun class and number

Nominals have three genders or noun classes which manifest themselves in the form of the so-called basic singular article, which is *e, a* or *o,* and are accordingly called the e-class, the a-class and the o-class, e.g.

Table 1: Examples of the three noun classes

	e-class		a-class		o-class	
1	**e Kakato**	male name				
	e Sovavi	female name				
2	**e tetee**	(my) dad	**a otei**	the man		
	e tama-naa	my father	**a moon**	the woman		
	e sina-naa	my mother	**a beikoo**	the child		
	e beera	the chief				
3	**e guu**	pig	**a iana**	the fish	**o demdem**	the snail
					o kurita	the octopus
6			**a overe**	the coconut	**o overe**	the coconut-palm
					o paka	the leaf
5			**a kepaa**	the clay pot	**o hoi**	the basket
6			**a kasuana**	the beach	**o kasuana**	the sand
					o suraa	the fire
7	**e ta**	the piece of				

As the examples given above illustrate, the classification is not related to sex. While the common nominals *otei* 'man' and *moon* 'woman' select the article *a,* kinship terms select the article *e* irrespective of their sex. But still the classification of nominals has a semantic basis and is highly predictable, an exception is *e ta* 'piece of'.

Table 2: The relation between the noun classes and semantic types

	e-class	a-class	o-class
1	proper names of persons		
2	people who have a particular social status	human beings other than those of the e-class	
3	pets	all vertebrates; invertebrates with legs	invertebrates without legs
6		fruits	plants
		food	parts of plants other than fruit
5		utensils other than those of the o-class	things made from plant materials
6		landmarks	amorphous masses, fire, light

---

[1] When native speakers give examples for these words, they usually use them as the head of a noun phrase. Our text corpus also suggests that this usage of nominals is the most frequent, but we have not done any statistics.

While the e-class and the o-class can be defined in terms of semantic features, the a-class is a default class. It contains nominals denoting all kinds of human beings other than relatives and people of a particular socially important status, as well as nominals denoting all sorts of tools and utensils apart from those made of plant material.

The examples also show that two words of the same phonological form, but a different, though related meaning may belong to different noun classes. Nouns denoting plants and trees, for example, belong to the o-class, whereas the names of their fruit belong to the a-class, e.g. *a overe* 'coconut', *o overe* 'coconut palm'. Another example is *a kasuana* 'beach' and *o kasuana* 'sand'.

Apart from nominals, also independent pronouns and interrogative pronouns are marked by an article:

(1) **enaa, ean,** etc.   'I, you (sg.)',etc.
    e teiee   'who'
    a tabae   'what'

The independent pronouns contrast with the dependent pronouns *naa* 'I', *an* 'you', etc., so that the initial *e* can be interpreted as the article *e* [TSG_06_07]. The interrogative pronoun *teiee* 'who', which is most frequently answered by a person's name or a personal pronoun, selects the article *e*, whereas the article of *tabae* 'what?' is the default article *a*.

The articles do not only indicate the noun class, but also distinguish singular and plural. The plural basic article is *o* for e- and a-class nominals and *a* for o-class nominals:

Table 3: Singular and plural noun phrases

	singular	plural
e-class	**e magee tenaa** ART friend my 'my friend'	**o magee tenaa** ART friend my 'my friends'
a-class	**a moon** ART woman 'the woman'	**o moon** ART woman 'the women'
o-class	**a hoi** ART basket 'the basket'	**a hoi** ART basket 'the baskets'

Proper names of persons, kinship terms, and the interrogative pronoun *teiee* 'who' can take a special plural article *ere*.

(2) **ere   Kakato bo   Sovavi**
    ART.PL   PN   and   PN
    'Kakato and Sovavi'

(3) **ere   subu-   na-   e**
    ART   grandparent-POSS- 3SG
    'his/her grandparents'

(4) **ere   Kakato**
    ART   PN
    'Kakato and his companions'

(5) **ere   teiee?**
    ART   who
    'who (are the people)?'

The restriction of this kind of plural marking allows to establish a subclass which comprises proper names of persons, kinship terms and the interrogative pronoun *teiee* 'who', but not animal names or independent pronouns.

A few nominals, most of which denote human beings, can be reduplicated for the expression of plurality. This subclass contains nominals of the e- and the a-class:

Table 4: Plural marking by reduplication

singular		plural	
e subuava	'old woman'	**o subusubuava**	'old women'
e sumeke	'old man'	**o sumsumeke**	'old men'
a visoasi	'boy'	**o visvisoasi**	'boys'

Plurality can also be expressed by the prenuclear plural marker *maa* (cf. [TSG_07_03]) and numerals (cf. [TSG_06_06], [TAG_07_04]). There is no distinction between mass and count nominals.

(6) **Ahaik, a <u>maa</u> ruene toro isuvu ma- ori mohina**,
    no, ART PL water must fetch DIR- 3PL garden
    'No, the water must be fetched from the garden....' [Kae. 1. 245R].

To sum up, the selection of articles allows us to disinguish three classes: the e-, the a- and the o-class. The problem of this classification is that two classes do not only contain lexical words, i.e. nominals, but also pronouns. In other words, this is the first case where a classification of lexemes by formal criteria leads to classes which are different from those in traditional European grammar.

6.2.2 Kinship terms

The kinship terms can be grouped into various subclasses. The first distinction is that between ordinary terms vs. informal terms which are also used as forms of address. With a few exceptions, the ordinary terms are relational and are inalienably possessed, i.e. pronominal possessors are expressed by suffixes (for more details on inalienable possessive constructions, see [TSG_07_15].

(7) **e tama- naa**
    ART father- 1SG
    'my father'

One exception is *keara* 'sister of a woman, brother of a man', whose possessor is expressed by a prepositional phrase, e.g.

(8) **e keara te- naa**
    ART sister/brother PREP- 1SG
    'my sister/brother'

The informal kinship terms are always alienably possessed:

(9) **e tetee (te- naa)**
    ART Dad PREP- 1SG
    '(my) Dad'

Kinship terms like *sina-* 'mother' and *tama-* 'father' can be transformed into transitive verbs meaning 'be the ... of' who or what is referred to by the object. In this function, they take the derelational suffix *-na*.

(10) **Eove to sina- na ni nana bona maamihu kaku matapaku**.
     3SG REL mother- DEREL APP IMPF:3SG ART all kind practice
     'It is her who mothers all kinds of traditional practices.' [Vos. 1.268R]

This suffix is also used in the reciprocal-kinship-construction (cf. [TSG_07_08]:

(11) **a   bua   tom   tama-na**
      ART   two   REC   father-DEREL
      'father and son'

(12) **a   bua   tom   sina-   na**
      ART   two   REC   mother-   DEREL
      'mother and daughter'

6.2.3 Body-part terms and similar nominals

Body-part terms and a limited number of other nominals which express the part of a whole or something that is related to a person like a body part enter inalienable possessive constructions (cf. [TSG_07_15] and belong to the a-class when the possessor is expressed, e.g.

(13) **a   kuri- naa**
      ART   hand- 1SG
      'my hand'

But when the possessor is not expressed, some of these nominals require the derelational suffix *na*. At the same time the noun class changes from a-class to o-class, e.g.

(14) **a   moo- n-   e   guu**
      ART   leg- POSS:3SG ART   pig
      'the leg of the pig'

(15) **koroto   o   moo- na**
      draw   ART   leg- DEREL
      'draw a leg'

In compounds the suffix is missing, e.g.

(16) **o   moo   matau**
      ART   leg   right
      'the right leg'

Other nominals like *hena* 'name' are used without such a suffix, but also change the noun class.

(17)   **a hena-naa**   'my name'

        o hena   'the name'

A tentative explanation of this noun class shift is given in Mosel and Spriggs (1999:366).

In principle, all nominals that denote some part of a whole or something that belongs to something else can enter inalienable possessive constructions:

(18)   **hutate**   'story'   **von**   'price'

        kavara   'whole, all'   **buibui**   'beauty'

        tanetaneo   'beginning'   **pana**   'boundary'

(19) **o   hutate   n-   a   bua   si   tom   keara**
      ART   story   POSS:SG- ART   two:ART   DIM   REC   sister
      'the story of the two dear sisters'

(20)   **o aho no suraa**   'the ashes of the fire'

        o aniva no suraa   'the charcoal of the fire'

        o buibui no purupuru   'the beauty of the flower'

Note that *hutate* 'story' can also enter the alienable possessive construction, e.g.

(21) **o   hutate te   bubuu**
     ART   story   PREP.ART   granny
     'the story of granny', i.e. 'the story told by granny'

6.2.4 Local nominals

Local nominals denote a space in relation to an object. Some of them are derived by metaphor from body-part terms.

Table 5: Local nominals and body-part terms

local nominal		corresponding body-part term
koma-	'inside'	'stomach'
mata-	'in front of'	'eye'
muri-	'behind'	'back, backside'
paa-	'under'	-
rapa-	'beside'	'side'
rihi-	'next to'	-
too-	'on top of'	'back'

Similar to body-part terms, they enter inalienable possessive constructions. They are most frequently found in locative phrases in the function of predicates and adverbial adjuncts.

(22) **Hio rori   too- n-   a   maa overe   vai?**
     sit   IMPF:3PL back- POSS:SG- ART PL   coconut now
     'Are (they) sitting on top of the coconuts now?' [Kae. 1.340R]

(23) **A   taba ani koma- n-   a   inu.**
     ART   thing eat inside- POSS- ART   house
     'The food is inside the house.' [TD *komana*]

6.2.5 Collective nominals

Collective nominals refer to a group, a bundle, cluster, or any other form of collection of items of the same kind. The collective nominal is the head of a noun phrase and determines its gender. It is directly followed by the nominal denoting the collected items:

(24) **a   ba   sina-   ri-   ori**
     ART:A-CLASS   group:A-CLASS mother:E-CLASS- POSS:PL- 3PL
     'their mothers' [San. 3.54E]

(25) **ta   vuu   hiihii**
     NSP.ART:A-CLASS cluster:A-CLASS   ginger:O-CLASS
     'a cluster of ginger shoots' [Vae. 1.98E]

If a non-human collective NN-construction is followed by an attributive or predicative adjectival phrase, the collective nominal is repeated, e.g.

(26) **ta   <u>vuu</u>   hiihii   vai   ta   <u>vuu</u>   visoasi**
ART   cluster   ginger   DEM   ART   cluster   young
'a cluster of young ginger shoots' [Vae. 1.129E]

6.2.6 The partitive nominal *ta* 'piece of'

The word *ta* 'piece of' is always followed by a nominal denoting a substance, e.g.

(27) **e   <u>ta</u>   kapa**
ART   piece   sheet.metal
'the piece of sheet metal' [Hel. 1.26R]

It is classified as a nominal as it has an inherent gender; it takes the article *e* irrespective of which kind of nominal it is combined with, e.g. the use of *a muu* 'taro' and *o tovu* 'sugarcane':

(28) **bene   <u>ta</u>   muu**
ART:E-CLASS   piece:E-CLASS   taro:A-CLASS
'a piece of taro' [Nah. 2.200R]

(29) **bone   <u>ta</u>   tovu**
ART.E-CLASS   piece:E-CLASS   sugarcane:O-CLASS
'the piece of sugarcane' [Nan. 3.12E]

If the *e ta* N - construction is followed by an attributive or predicative adjectival phrase, *ta* is repeated and forms its head, e.g.

(30) **e   <u>ta</u>   kaukau   e   <u>ta</u>   hata**
ART   piece   sweet.potato   ART   piece   bad
'the bad piece of sweet potato' (notes 1999)

In this respect *ta* is similar to collective nominals. Occasionally *ta* is used with the article *a*:

(31) **a   <u>ta</u>   peha   <u>ta</u>   aheahe   a   ta   kehaa**
ART   piece   one   piece   sing   ART   piece   shell
'a song' [Sha. 1.58R]   'a piece of shell' [Pur. 5.80E]

The partitive nomina *ta* can take the plural marker *maa*:

(32) **bona   maa   ta   naono**
ART   PL   piece   wood
'pieces of wood' [San. 3.40E]

6.2.7 Summary: subclassification of nominals

In Teop, the nominals can be classified on the basis of several criteria:

1. the selection of articles groups nominals into three noun classes or genders;

2. the type of possessive construction nominals distinguishes between alienably and inalienably possessed nominals, and those which can enter both types of construction;

3. attributive constructions which require the repetition of the head of the noun phrase are characteristic for collective nominals and the partitive nominal *ta* 'piece of';

4. the marker of kinship groups *tom* sorts out the subclass of reciprocal kinship terms.

The classes formed by these criteria are, of course, not disjunct; each nominal belongs to at least two of these classes. Teop does not distinguish between count and mass nouns (see example (6), [Kae. 1.245R] where *ruene* 'water' is used with the plural marker *maa).*

6.3 Verbals

Verbals typically denote actions and function as the nucleus of a verb complex. They can be subclassified on the basis of their valence into intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbals. Verbals can be reduplicated in order to express durative and habitual actions, whereas tense and mood are marked by particles in the verb complex. Verbals also function as serial verbs [TSG_08_05], as attributes [TSG_07_12] and as the nucleus of noun phrases [TSG_07_17]. Noun phrases with a verbal as their head, i.e. nominalisations, take the article *a* or the article *o*, e.g. *a vagana* 'the fishing', *o moroko* 'speaking, speech' and are classified as *n.a.* and *n.o* in the Teop lexicon. The principles of noun class assignment of verbals are not clear to us.

6.3.1 Valence of simple verbals

The term 'valence' as used here does not only refer to the number of participants, but also to their morphosyntactic and semantic properties. Accordingly, valence change can be a change in the number, the morphosyntactic and/or the semantic properties of the verbal. As will be shown below, valence as a lexical property of verbals has to be distinguished from the valence of the VC, because they may be different. A transitive VC can, for instance, consist of an intransitive verbal as its nucleus and a transitivizing applicative particle or incorporated preposition. On the other hand, a transitive verbal can be combined with an incorporated object noun and form an intransitive VC.

In Teop, simple verbals can be intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and ambitransitive. Ambitransitive verbals can be used intransitively and transitively, e.g. *ani* 'eat, eat s.th.', or even intransitively, transitively and ditransitively like *nahu* 'do the cooking; cook s.th.; cook s.th. with s.th.', e.g.:

(1) **Nahu   e   guu bona   tahii**.
     cook   ART pig ART   saltwater
     'Cook the pig with saltwater.' (cf. [Mat. 1.68R])

Verbals that have a fixed number of arguments take valence-changing morphology to increase or decrease the number of arguments, for example the causative or the anticausative prefix.

Table 1: Causatives and anticausatives

simple form		derived form	
mararae (v.i.)	'be happy'	**vaamararae** (v.t.)	'make s.o. happy'
nao (v.i.)	'go'	**vaanao** (v.t.)	'send s.th.'
paku (v.dt.)	'make s.th. from s.th.'	**tapaku** (v.i.)	'be made, happen'
gune (v.t.)	'wake s.o. up'	**tagune** (v.i.)	'wake up'

In Teop, the applicative is not a bound morpheme but a clitic particle that changes the valence of the VC, see [TSG_08_06].

6.3.1.1 Intransitive verbals

According to our definition, intransitive verbals typically denote actions, e.g.:

(2) **Me- ori   paa pita maa.**
     and- 3PL   TAM walk DIR
     'And they walked here.' [Eno 1.115R]

Other verbals denote processes like *kuu* 'fall', *siko* 'fall (of rain)'.

(3) **A   huan   na   siko nana**.
     ART rain   TAM fall IMPF:3SG
     'The rain is falling.'

If words denoting a state are to be classified as verbals or adjectivals is not always clear. Those that like *kamisi* 'sick' only occur as the head of a verb complex in our data, but not as the head of an adjectival phrase are regarded as verbals.

(4) **Enaa** <u>**na   kamisi   nom**</u>.
    1SG   TAM   sick   IMPF:1SG
    'I am sick.' [Asu 1.70E]

Other words that function as the head of an adjectival phrase as well as the head of a verb complex and denote a property are regarded as adjectivals, e.g. *beera* 'big':

They denote states of being when used as adjectives, i.e. as heads of adjectival phrases, but take on an ingressive meaning when they function as the head of verb complexes introduced by *paa*, see [TSG_08_02]:

(5) **a   kiu   n-   o   sinivi   suuna   <u>a   beera sana</u>**.
    ART   work   POSS-ART   canoe   original   ART   big   very
    'the building of a *sinivi suuna* (original Bougainville canoe) is very big (work)' [Mor. 4.25R]

(6) **me-   a   beiko   <u>paa   beera maa   me   beera   maa</u>**
    and-   ART   child   TAM   big   DIR   and   big   DIR
    'and the child grew bigger and bigger' [Iar 2.33E]

6.3.1.2 Transitive verbals

Transitive verbals can denote all kinds of state of affairs: actions (7), perception (8), cognition and states of being.

(7) **O   kare   koto   bata-   ri   bari.**
    ART   brown.ant   bite   along-   IMPF:3PL   4SG/PL
    'The brown ants were biting him.' [Sha. 1.82R]]

(8) **Me-   ori   paa   tara   nao   bono   iana.**.
    and-   they   TAM   see   DIR   ART   fish
    'And the saw the fish.' [Sii. 6.123E]

Examples for stative transitive verbals are *antee* v.t., 'suit s.o.', *gagaruana* v.t., 'be unsuitable for s.o.', *hikihiki* v.t., 'not have s.th.', *potee* v.t., 'be like s.o./s.th.'. For interesting examples search the corpus for TRANSITIVITY and for these verbs. Note that many verbs that denote actions affecting someone or something are ambitransitive, e.g. *nahu* v.i., 'cook, do the cooking'; v.t., cook s.th.'; v.dt., cook s.th. with s.th.'.

6.3.1.3 Ditransitive verbals

In contrast to other Oceanic languages, Teop has a considerable number of ditransitive verbals and a productive means of deriving ditransitive VCs from transitive VCs. In basic verbal clauses, both objects follow the VC. Ditransitive verbals in our data show various kinds of semantic role structures. The primary and the secondary object can refer to a patient and an instrument, a causee and a patient, a recipient and a theme, a place and a theme, or an addressee and a message.

Although in most cases the secondary object is optional, we regard it as an argument because its coding properties are the same as those of the secondary objects of *hee* 'give s.o. s.th. (see TSG_09_04]) and because its semantic role is determined by the valence of the verb complex.

Table 2: Semantic roles of the objects of ditransitive verbs

Verbal		Semantic role of primary object	Semantic role of secondary object
navuhu	'hit, strike s.o./s.th. with s.th.'	patient (person, animal)	instrument
asun	'kill s.o. with s.th. (e.g. a weapon)'.	patient (person)	instrument
hee	'give s.o. s.th.'	recipient (person)	theme
dao	'name s.o. s.th.'	recipient (person, thing)	theme (name)
vaasusu	'teach s.o. s.th.'	recipient (person)	theme
bana	'spread s.th. on s.th.'	place	theme
koma	pour s.th. on s.th.	place	theme

Interesting examples of ditransitive verbals are searchable in the corpus through the keyword DITRANSITIVITY. The semantic role structure of ditransitive verbals can be changed by the applicative, see [TSG_08_06].

6.3.2 Causatives

Causative verbals are derived intransitive and transitive verbals by the prefix *vaa-/ va-* (CAUS):

Table 3: Causative verbals

simple verbal		causative verbal	
mararae	v.i., 'happy'	*vaa-mararae*	v.t., 'make s.o. happy'
mate	v.i., 'die'	*vaa-mate*	v.t., 'make s.o. die, kill s.o.'
hagi	v.i., 'dance'	*vaa-hagi*	v.t., 'hold a little child and make him/her dance on one's lap'
mimi	v.i., 'urinate'	*vaa-mimi*	v.t., 'help (a child, handicapped person) to urinate'
huvi	v.t., 'peel'	*vaa-huvi*	v.dt., 'help s.o. peel s.th.'
ani	v.i./v.t., eat (s.th.)	*vaa-ani*	v.dt., 'give s.o. s.th. to eat, feed s.o.'
gaga	v.i./v.t. drink (s.th.)	*vaa-gaga*	v.dt. 'give s.o. s.th. to drink, let s.o. drink'

As the examples *vaamimi* and *vaahuvi* show, the causee can be an agent who is not forced, but only supported by the causer to do an action.

6.3.3 Anticausatives

The prefix *ta-* derives intransitive verbals from typical transitive verbals, i.e. verbals which denote activities controlled by an agent and affecting a patient. In verbals of the form *ta-*X, the prefix *ta-* indicates that the event denoted by X happens without being caused by any agent, or that it implies an

agent who for whatever reason is not mentioned. The latter derivations are similar to passive forms. The derived verbals are called anticausative and accordingly, the prefix is glossed as AC.

Table 4: Anticausatives

transitive verbal		intransitive (detransitivised) verbal	
kae	'lift'	**ta-kae**	'rise (for instance the moon)'
kaku	'break'	**ta-kaku**	'break (by itself), be broken (by an unknown agent)'
mamata	'open s.th.'	**ta-mamata**	'open by itself'
paku	'do, make s.th.'	**ta-paku**	'happen'

(9) **A   tabae to   ta-   paku**. **nana   i?**
     ART   what   REL   AC-   do   IMPF:3SG DEM
     'What is it that is happening?' [Ata. 1.20E]

Table 5: Passive-like derivations

transitive or ditransitive verbal		intransitive (detransitivised) verbal	
gigi	'flesh out (a fish)'	**ta-gigi**	'be fleshed out'
hee	'give s.o. s.th.'	**ta-hee**	'be given, bestowed (for instance land)'
neba	'plant s.th.'	**ta-neba**	'be planted'
pau	'change s.th.'	**ta-pau**	'be changed'

(10) ...**a   maa moon   saka <u>pau-pau</u>   haa- ri**
       ART   PL   woman NEG   RED-change NEG- IMPF:3PL
      bona maa hena ri-   ori..
       ART   PL name POSS:PL- 3PL
      '(At the girl's initiation) the women do not change their names.' [Kae. 3.393R]

(11) **O   hena paa <u>ta-   pau</u>   vaevuru**.
       ART   name TAM PASS- change   already
      'The name has already been changed.' [Kae. 3.274R]

6.3.4 Reduplication

Reduplicated verbals can express durative, repeated and habitual actions, e.g. *paku* 'do s.th. once', *pakupaku* 'do s.th. habitually'. Reduplication has not been investigated yet. Here is an example which illustrates the habitual meaning:

(12) **Ere   iaa sa   <u>ko- koara</u> haa vori   enei.**
       ART.PL   mum NEG RED- speak   NEG like.3PL DEM
       'My mum and her sisters do not speak like this.' [Aro. 14.48R]

Further examples are found under the keyword REDUPLICATION in the corpus.

6.3.5 The multiple action prefix *va-*

The multiple action prefix *va-* is usually combined with reduplicated verbal stems and expresses that an action is done several times. This can mean that two or more people do the action to each other, that someone or something moves to and fro, that an action is done habitually and that an action can be easily performed. With transitive verbal stems this can lead to intransitivisation. Compare the following examples:

Table 6: Derivation with *va-*

simple verbal		verbal derived by *va-*	
asun	v.t., hit, kill s.o.	**vaasuasun**	v.i., fight
hee	v.dt., 'give s.o. s.th.'	**vaheehee**	v.t., 'give each other (presents)'
higan	v.t., 'disapprove, reject'	**vahigahigan**	v.i., 'have a disagreement'
hivi	v.i., 'ask'	**vahivihivi**	v.i., 'ask one another'
moroko	v.i., 'talk, say, speak'	**vamoromoroko**	v.i.. 'talk to one another'
mirin	v.i. 'roll'	**vamirimirin**	v.i. 'roll over and over'

6.4 Adjectivals

Adjectivals typically occur as the head of adjectival phrases (see [TSG_05_02]). Reduplication of adjectivals expresses plurality or intensity.

(1) **o**   **onoono**   **o**   **be-beera**   **sana**
     ART.SG   grass skirt   ART.PL   RED-big   very
     'the very big grass skirt' [Kae. 2.175R]

(2) **a**   **muu** **vai** **a**   **mata-mataa**
     ART   taro   DEM   ART   RED- good
     'very good taro' (compare [Sii. 1.148R])

A small group of adjectivals is derived from nominals by reduplication and the suffix *–ana*. The form RED-X-*ana* means 'full of X'.

(3) **butoo**   'mud'   **butobutooana**   'muddy'
     nou   'rubbish'   **nounouana**   'full of rubbish'
     pii   'sore'   **piipiiana**   full of sores' [Viv_01_R34]
     vasu   'stone'   **vasuvasuana**   'stony'

In addition, adjectivals can occur as the head of verb complexes:

(4) **na**   **mataa**   **nana**
     TAM   good   IMPF:3SG
     'it is good/ alright' [Daa. 2.21E], [Eno 1.15E]

(5) **o**   **are**   **bona** **sa** **gogoraavi** **vakisi** **haa-** **na** **,**   **o**   **pereperee.**
     ART   betelnut.palm   DEM   NEG   red   still   NEG-   IMPF:3SG ART   green
      ' this betelnut palm was not red yet, it was green...' [Val. 2.18R]

and as the attribute of noun phrases:

(6) **e**   **keara**   **beera**
     ART   brother   big
     'the elder brother' (lit. 'big brother') [Aro 3.42E], [Auv 1.8R]

The attributive function, however, does not seem to be equally available for all adjectives in all contexts, but only for certain adjectives in combination with particular nominal heads. Whereas noun phrases that are directly modified by adjectivals seem to be lexicalised, modification by adjectival phrases is productive.

When functioning as the head of a noun phrase, adjectivals are categorised for noun class. As in the case of nominalised verbals, the noun class assignment of nominalised adjectivals has not been investigated yet. They occur as *n.a.* and *n.o.*:

(7) **a bebeahu**   'the length'
     a ponisi   'the heaviness, weight'
     o kikis   'the strength, power' [Val. 2.28R], [Val. 2.82R]

This variation in noun class membership perhaps indicates that the use of adjectivals as noun phrase heads has to be regarded as conversion, i.e. a change in word class.

Adjectivals are not used in adverbial function, but are changed into adverbs by the prefix *va-* in this function, see [TSG_06_05]:

(8) **sa**   **paa** **kiu**   **va-**   **bebeahu** **haa**
     NEG   TAM   work   ADV-   long   NEG
     '(he) did not work long' [Sii. 1.283R]

But in the function of a secondary predication adjectivals are not changed into adverbials:

(9)   **E   guu   na   dee   <u>peree</u>   ri-   ori.**
        ART   pig   TAM   carry   raw   IMPF- 3PL
        'They take the pig raw. [Kae. 1.78R]

6.5 Adverbs

The word class defined here as adverbs is quite heterogenous. Adverbs have in common that they only occur as modifiers, never as the head of a phrase. Morphologically we can distinguish between simple and derived adverbs, syntactically between sentential modifiers and adverbs that modify verbals. In addition, some of these adverbs also occur as attributes or as modifiers of adjectives and other adverbs.

Table 1: Adverbs

Sentential adverbs		Adverbs in verb complexes	
nabunuu	'in former times'	**bata**	'simultaneously, at the same time, along'
nomana	'today'	**haabana**	'again'
subunubu	'tomorrow'	**tamuana**	'always'
		vamataa	'well'

The adverbs derived by the prefix *va-* only occur as modifiers in verb complexes, e.g.

(1) **"A! Na   mahaka kurusu, na   mahaka <u>va- mataa</u>.**"
     Yes! TAM dried.up very,   TAM dried.up ADV- good
     "Yes! (They) dried up, (they) are well dried. [Sii. 6.68R]

Most adverbs of this kind are derived from adjectivals, but occasionally one also finds some derived from verbals, nominals or numerals.

(2) **sue   <u>va-   manaata</u>**
     say   ADV- agree
     'agree, give consent'   [Iar. 2.208], [Daa. 1.30R]

(3) **nao   <u>va-   taneo</u>**
     go   ADV- start
     'go for the first time' [Sii. 1.92R]

(4) **me- ori   paa va- vaa- sikuuru <u>va-   buaku</u>**
     and- 3PL TAM RED- CAUS school   ADV- two
     'and they both taught.' [Pur 1.261R]

(5) **na   hooto <u>va- taba an</u>   nana**
     TAM mature ADV thing eat   IMPF
     '... it matured enough to be eaten' [Sii 1.473R]

Since vowel length is variable, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a segment <va> [βa] is to be interpreted as the adverb prefix *va-,* the causative prefix *vaa-/va-* or the linker *vaa.*

6.6 Numerals

Numerals can be classified into cardinal, ordinal, distributive and adverbial numerals. Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal ones by the prefix *vaa-,* distributive numerals by reduplication and adverbial numerals by the prefix *va-;* for example

(1)   **buaku**   'two'
         vaabuaku   'second'
         bubuaku   'in pairs'
         vabuaku   'as two'

Both cardinal and ordinal numerals can be used in various syntactic functions, i.e. as the nucleus of a numeral phrase, the nucleus of a verbal phrase, the nucleus of a noun phrase, and as a modifier in the verb complex. The functions of distributive numerals are not clear yet. Adverbial numerals only occur as modifiers in verb complexes. Interesting constructions can be found in the corpus by searching for NUMERAL.

6.6.1 Cardinal numerals

Table 1: Cardinal numerals

1	peha	8	kukan totoka
2	buaku	9	dorana totoka
3	kukan	10	peha saavun
4	dorana	11	peha saavun peha
5	taonim	12	peha saavun buaku
6	peha totoka	20	buaku saavun
7	buaku totoka	30	kukan saavun

The examples below show the cardinal numeral *dorana* 'four' in the function of the head of a numeral phrase [TSG_07_04] and of a verb complex:

(2)   **o   dorana   o   vinu**
         ART four   ART year
         'four years'. [Sii. 1.149R]

(3)   **enam   paa   dorana   vaevuru**
         1EXC   TAM   four   already
         'we were already four' [Sii. 2.341R]

Note that *peha* is also used in the sense of 'same' and 'a few'; note the different position of *peha* 'same' and *peha* 'few' (see [TSG_07_05], section 2).

6.6.2 Ordinal numerals

With the exception of *momohu* 'first', ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal numerals by the causative prefix *vaa-*, e.g. *vaabuaku* 'second', *vaakukan* 'third', *vaadorana* 'fourth', *vaataonim* 'fifth', etc.

(4)   **o vaadorana o vinu**   'the fourth year'   [Sii. 1.96R]

         o vaataonim o vinu   'the fifth year'   [Sii. 1.95R]

When used as quantifiers in noun phrases, they are similar to cardinal numerals: they precede the nucleus and are marked by an article that agrees with the nucleus in gender and is sensitive to the article selection rule, while the nucleus is marked by the simple article.

(5) **Ei   hivi vai   a-   naa   bono <u>vaabuaku</u>   o   hivi**
     DEM   ask   DEM   OBJ- 1SG   ART   second   ART   question
     'Here, she then asked me a second question' [Pur. 2.127R]

Ordinal numerals can also be used as adverbials in verb complexes.

(6) **me-   ori   paa   rake be   subu-   ri-   ori**
     and- 3PL   TAM   want CONJ grandmother- POSS- 3PL

     aheahe   <u>vaabuaku</u>   bone Vakikira   Roosuu.
     sing   second   ART   *Vakikira   Roosuu.*

     'and they wanted that their grandmother sang the *Vakikira Roosuu* for a second time'
     [pr.4.21]

Or as the nucleus of a verb complex:

(7) **E   Paul Lapun   na   <u>vaabuaku</u>   k-   ama- naa.**
     ART   Paul Lapum   TAM   second   DAT- OBJ- 1SG
     'Paul Lapun became second after me.' [Pur. 1.775R]

Or as the nucleus of a noun phrase:

(8) **e   <u>vaabuaku-</u> na-   e**
     ART   second-   POSS- 3SG
     'his partner' (lit. 'his second')

6.6.3 Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are derived from cardinal numerals by reduplication. They express the meaning of 'two at a time, three at a time etc' and occur as a modifier in the verb complex, e.g.

(9) **eori re   paa   nao   <u>bu-buaku</u>   bata**
     3pl   CONJ TAM   go   RED-two   SIMUL
     'they would go in pairs' [Kae. 2.223R]

6.6.4 Numeral adverbs

As other adverbs, numeral adverbs are derived by the prefix *va-*. They exclusively occur as modifiers in verb complexes and express that a certain number of people are involved in the event denoted by the verb complex.

(10) **me-   ori   paa   va-   vaa- sikuuru <u>va-   buaku</u>**
      and- 3PL   TAM   RED- CAUS- school   ADV- two
      'and they both taught' [Pur. 1.261R]

(11) **tabae   mene   an   <u>va- buaku</u>   ni   k-   ara-   ara**
      because otherwise eat   ADV- two   APP   DAT- OBJ:1INC-   PRON:1INC
      'because otherwise he will eat both of us' [San. 1.36E]

(12) **o-   re   goe   ara-   ara   tea   ani   <u>va-   buaku</u>**
      3SG CONJ refuse OBJ:1INC-   PRON:1INC   COMPL   eat   ADV- two
      'so that he won't eat us two' (lit. 'so that he refuses/ abstains from us to eat as two)' [San. 1.45R]

In the intransitive clause (10) *vabuaku* relates to the subject, in the transitive clause (11) to the object. We do not know if a numeral adverb could also relate to the subject of transitive clauses.

6.7 Pronouns and pronominals

In the following the term pronoun is used in the sense of 'personal pronoun', whereas the term pronominals refers to various kinds of cross-referencing morphemes that inflect for person and number. Historically the pronominals seem to have developed from pronouns. There are three kinds of pronominals: the possessive marker, the object marker and the imperfective aspect marker. For the syntax of basic pronouns and pronouns with object markers see [TSG_09_07], for possessive constructions see [TSG_07_15] and for the imperfective aspect marker [TSG_08_02].

6.7.1 Basic pronouns

The basic pronouns distinguish two numbers (singular and plural) and inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural. There is no gender distinction.

Table 1: Basic pronouns

	PRON	ART-PRON	PREP-PRON	PRON-*re*
1SG	**naa**	**enaa**	**te-naa**	**(enaa) ne**
2SG	**an, ani**	**ean**	**te-an**	**ean re**
3SG	**e, ee, eve**	**eove, eve**	**t-eve**	**ore**
1PL.EXC	**nam**	**enam**	**te-nam**	**enam re**
1PL.INC	**ara**	**eara**	**te-ara**	**are**
2PL	**am**	**eam**	**te-am**	**eam re**
3PL	**ori**	**eori**	**te-ori**	**ore**

They function as subjects, objects and complements of the preposition *te*. In clause initial position, i.e. when functioning as a topic, they usually take the personal article *e*. When followed by the conjunction *re* 'so that, consequently', the pronouns are fused with the conjunction (1SG) or shortened to prefixes (3SG, 1INC, 3PL).

6.7.2 Pronouns in inalienable possessive constructions

In inalienable possessive constructions, see [TSG_07_15], the pronouns occur as suffixes that apart from the 1SG pronoun are linked to the possessed noun by a suffix or clitic called possessive marker (POSS).

Table 2: Possessive pronouns

	PRON	POSS-PRON	example	
1SG	**naa**	**-naa**	**a hena-naa**	'my name'
2SG	**an, ani**	**-m-an**	**a hena-m-an**	'your name'
3SG	**e, ee, eve**	**-na-e**	**a hena-na-e**	'his/her name'
1PL.EXC	**nam**	**ma-nam**	**a hena-ma-nam**	'our name'
1PL.INC	**ara**	**ra-ara**	**a hena-ra-ara**	'our name'
2PL	**am**	**me-am**	**a hena-me-am**	'your name'
3PL	**ori**	**ri-ori**	**a hena-ri-ori**	'their name'

6.7.3 Pronouns with object markers

In the function of the primary object, basic pronouns other than the 3SG and 4SG[1] are indexed by an object marker. There are two kinds of object markers. The first one occurs as a constituent of the verb complex (VC) holding a position before DIR, IM, the adverb *roho* and IMPF. In the following example the object marker precedes the imperfective aspect marker:

(1) **Nam re- paa tara <u>ri</u> nom <u>ori</u>...**
  1EXC CONJ TAM- watch OBJ:3PL IMPF:1EXC PRON:3PL
  'We would be watching them ...' [Sii. 2.464R]

When it is not followed by other VC constituents, but directly precedes the object pronoun, the object marker and the pronoun form a phonological word and are written together:

(2) **Naa hivi vai <u>ri-</u> <u>ori</u> ...**
  1SG ask then OBJ:3PL- PRON:3PL
  'I then asked them, ...' [Pur. 1.628R]

The second type of object marker, which is only found with 1SG and 1EXC, is prefixed to the basic pronoun, e.g. *a-naa* 'me' and *a-nam* 'us' and occurs outside the VC:

(3) **to vaa- mararae kurusu nom <u>a-</u> <u>naa</u>**
  REL CAUS-happy very IMPF OBJ- 1SG
  '...(the children) that make me very happy.' [Pur. 1.441R]

(4) **e sina- m - an paa koa ma u <u>a-</u> <u>nam</u> bona pidaa**
  ART mother- POSS- 2SG TAM serve DIR IM OBJ 1EXC ART potato.water
  'your mother only served us sweet potato water' [Aro. 3.35R]

These object pronouns can also be cross-referenced by VC internal object markers which results in double object marking. The VC internal object marker of the 1SG and 1EXC is *ama* or *a*:

(5) **be-ori von <u>ama</u> maa nom[2] <u>a-</u> <u>nam</u>**
  if- 3PL pay OBJ DIR IMPF OBJ- 1EXC
  'if they pay us' [Pur. 1.843R]

(6) **sa mataa haa k- <u>a-</u> nom <u>a-</u> <u>naa</u>**
  NEG good NEG DAT- OBJ- IMPF OBJ- 1SG
  'was not good for me'. [Pur. 1.691R]

(7) **Eam paa paku me k- <u>ama-</u> u <u>a-</u> <u>naa</u> enei**.
  2PL TAM do with DAT- OBJ- IM OBJ- 1SG DEM
  'You did this to me.' [Sii. 6.460R]

Occasionally a 1EXC pronoun in object function is only marked by an object marker inside the VC:

(8) **eori he paa mee tagihu <u>a-</u> ma- u <u>nam</u>**
  3PL CONJ TAM take inland OBJ DIR IM 1EXC
  'they took us inland' [Bua. 1.9R]

The 2PL object marker can also occur outside the VC as a prefix of the pronoun and then be cross-referenced by the short object marker *a* inside the VC so that the object function of the pronoun is indicated by the two object markers *a* and *ame*.

(9) **Enaa kahi vaasusu <u>a-</u> v- <u>ame-</u> <u>am</u> ...**
  1SG TAM teach OBJ- IM- OBJ- 2PL
  'I am going to teach you ...' [San. 2.92R]

The table below lists the object markers and the object markers in combination with pronouns:

---

[1] For the fourth person see section 6.7.5 below.

[2] The IMPF shows agreement with the object here, since the object is a 1EXC and ranks higher in the person hierarchy than the 3PL subject.

Table 3: Object markers with pronouns

	OBJ	short OBJ	OBJ-PRON
1SG	**ama**	**a-**	**ama-naa, a-naa**
2SG	**u / vu-**	**-**	**vu-an**
3SG	**-**	**-**	**-e, eve**
4SG			**bona**
1PL.EXC	**ama**	**a**	**ama-nam, a-nam**
1PL.INC	**ara**	**-**	**ara-ara**
2PL	**ame**		**ame-am**
3PL	**ri**		**ri-ori**
4PL	**ri**		**ri bari**

The combination of pronouns with object markers, directional particles, and imperfective aspect markers results in complex phonological words. The table below shows a few examples:

Table 4: complex forms with object markers

orthography	morphology				reference
araara 'us'	**ara-** OBJ:1INC-	**ara** PRON:1INC			[Vos. 1.95R]
araraara 'us'	**ara-** OBJ:1INC-	**ra-** IMPF:1INC-	**ara** PRON:1INC		[Bua. 1.132R] [Kae. 2.302R]
amaraara 'us'	**a-** OBJ	**ma-** DIR	**ra** IMPF:1INC	**ara** PRON:1INC	[Vos. 1.96R]
amaara raara 'us'	**a-** OBJ	**maa-ra** DIR OBJ:1INC	**ra** IMPF:1INC	**ara** PRON:1INC	[Vos. 1.94R]
kamanam '(for) us'	**k-** DAT-	**ama-** OBJ:1EXC-	**nam** PRON:1EXC		[Vos. 1.112R], [Vos. 1.114R]
kamamaanam '(for) us'	**k-** DAT-	**ama-** OBJ:1EXC	**maa-** DIR	**nam** PRON:1EXC	[Vos. 1.43R] [Vos. 1.102R]

6.7.4 The imperfective aspect marker

The imperfective aspect marker signifies the right boundary of the VC. It is a portemanteau morph expressing person and imperfective aspect, but shows some syncretism. There are long and short forms. The short forms are, for example, used when they follow a directional marker (DIR) or when they precede a post-verbal subject pronoun.

When the subject pronoun following the imperfective aspect marker starts with a vowel, the imperfective aspect marker and the subject marker form a phonological word and are written together.

Table 5: The imperfective aspect marker

	IMPF long form	IMPF short form	DIR -IMPF	IMPF-PRON:SUBJ
1SG	**nom**	**nom**	**maa nom**	**nom naa**
2SG	**nom**	**nom**	**maa nom**	**noman**
3SG	**nana**	**na**	**maana**	**nae**
1PL.EXC	**nom**	**nom**	**maa nom**	**nom nam**
1PL.INC	**rara**	**ra**	**maara**	**raara**
2PL	**nom**	**nom**	**maa nom**	**nomeam**
3PL	**rori**	**ri**	**maari**	**riori**

6.7.5 Fourth person object pronouns

In accordance with the article selection rule, Teop does not only have the third person pronouns mentioned above, but in addition a special pronoun that we call the 4th person object pronoun, see [TSG_09_04], [TSG_09_07].

This pronoun is used in the function of non-topical primary and secondary objects when the subject of the clause is a third person, e.g.

(10) **Enaa paa sue vuru Aaron e iaa he vahuhu <u>bona</u> ?**
1SG TAM say ealier Aaron ART mum CONJ give.birth 4SG
Did I mention Aaron when mum gave birth to him? [Sii. 3.263R]

There are two forms, the singular form *bona* and the plural form *bari*. The plural form *bari* is used to anaphorically refer to plural noun phrases (11). It also refers to singular noun phrases in the case that the subject of the clause is plural.

(11) **... bona bua beiko ... Evehe tetee na vaakisi ri <u>bari</u>**.
...ART two child... but Dad TAM not.allow OBJ 4SG/PL
'... the two children ... But Dad did not allow **them** (to go).' [Sii. 3.294-296R]

(12) **... a hostel vai me- ori paa paku <u>bari</u>**.
ART hostel DEM and- 3PL TAM make 4SG/PL
...this hostel, and they built **it**. [Sii. 3.256R]

This kind of agreement seems to be typologically unusual.

6.8 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are words that are used to ask for information. Their position within the clause depends on their syntactic function.

Table 1: Interrogatives

	interrogative		position in clause
1	**teiee**	'who?'	variable according to syntactic function
2	**tabae**	'what?'	variable according to syntactic function
3	**havee**	'where?'	clause-initial
	havee ... vo	'where ... (to)?'	
	havee to paku vo ...	'how is ...?'	
	havee to ... vaavaha	'how (is it that), how come that?'	
4	**sau**	'where?'	clause-internal
5	**vaasau**	'which, what kind of, from where?'	attributive
6	**tobonihi**	'when?'	clause-initial
7	**tovihi**	'how many?'	same position as numerals, e.g. head of prenominal numeral phrase
8	sovee me	'why?'	sentence-initial

In addition to their function as question words, interrogatives are also used to express the notion of 'whoever, whatever, whichever' etc. Examples for these usages are given in section 6.8.9.

6.8.1 *Teiee* 'who'

Teiee 'who' occurs in all positions where a nominal referring to a human being can stand. Similar to proper names of persons, it takes the article *e* for the singular and the article *ere* for the plural.

Subject in a verbal clause:

(1) **E   <u>teiee</u>   sabin   vahio   moon?**
     ART who   not.yet be.married.to woman
     'Who is not married yet?' [Sii. 6.186R]

Predicate in a non-verbal clause:

(2) **O   hena momohu te-   an   roho he   <u>teiee</u>?**
     ART name first   PREP- 2SG   before CONJ who
     'What was your first name before?'
     (lit. 'Your previous first name was who?') [Kae. 3.201R]

(3) **<u>E   teiee</u> o   hena momohu teve roho?**
     ART who   ART name first   his   before
     'What was his name before?'
     (lit. '<u>Who</u> was his first name before?') [Kae. 3.220R]

Inalienable and alienable possessive attribute:

(4)   **E   sine   teiee?**
      ART   mother.ART   who
      '<u>Whose</u> mother?' [Kae. 2.381R]

(5)   **"Eh, o   vaanomo   te   teiee to   avuhu   bata maana?"**
      eh   ART   oil   PREP   who   REL   smell   along here
      "Eh, <u>whose</u> oil is smelling here?" [Nah. 2.56R]

Similar to nouns *teiee* can be focused and then is followed by a relative clause:

(6)   **E   teiee he**
      ART   who   however
      to   kahi no   sue   ki   na   bona sina-   n-   a   otei bona?
      REL   TAM go   talk DAT   IMPF ART   mother- POSS-ART   boy   DEM
      'However, who is going to talk to the boy's mother?' [MLV 1.42R]

6.8.2 *Tabae* "what"

The interrogative pronoun *tabae* 'what' is found in the position of the head of an NP or an AP (adjectival phrase). It also occurs in the position of an attribute. When it is focused, it is followed by a relative clause introduced by *to*.

Head of an NP functioning as the predicate in non-verbal clause:

(7)   **A   tabae rau?**
      ART   what DEM
      'What is that?'

(8)   **A   amarao a   tabae bene a   kiu te-   ori?'**
      ART   guardian ART   what DEM ART   work PREP-3PL
      'The guardian(s), what is their job?' [Kae. 3.114R]

Head of an NP functioning as a primary object in a verbal clause:

(9)   **Enaa re   paa paku a   tabae?**
      1SG   CONJ TAM do   ART   what
      'What shall I do?' [Vos. 1.168R]

Head of an AP (adjectival phrase):

(10)   **Enam   pasi boha vo- en   a   bua   otei a   bua   tabae?**
      1EXC   TAM think like- DEM   ART   two.ART man   ART   two.ART what
      'What would we think these two men are?'
      (lit. 'We would think like this, the two men are two what?') [Bua. 1.106R]

Attribute within a NP:

(11)   **Eam a   lotu   tabae?**
      2PL   ART   church   what
      'You belong to <u>which</u> church?'
      (lit. 'You are which church'?) [Pur. 2.127R]

(12)   **O   kaku overe   tabae? A   magura?**
      ART   kind coconut   what   ART   young
      '<u>What kind of</u> coconuts? The young ones?' [Kae. 1.228R]

Focused *tabae* in the function of a primary object function:

(13)   **"Eh! Tabae   to   paku   nom   eam?"**
      hey   what   REL   do   IMPF   2PL
      "Hey, what are you doing?" [Sii 6.10R]

Focused *tabae* in the function of a secondary instrumental object:

(14) **A   tabae to   paku ri-   ori bona maa hiroo?**
      ART what REL   make IMPF- 3PL ART PL   hiroo
      'What do they make the *hiroo* from?' [Bua. 1.51R]

6.8.3 *Havee* 'where'

(15) **Havee   ean? Enaa i.**
      where   2SG 1SG   here
      'Where are you? ... I am here.' [Sii. 6.423R], [Sii. 6.425R]

(16) **Havee to   vaa- sun ri-   ori bona - tobina   vaan?**
      where REL   CAUS-stand IMPF- 3PL   4SG   middle   village
      'Where do they make it stand – in the middle of the village?' [Kae. 3.51R]

havee ... vo 'where ...to':

(17) **Havee   to   nao bata   vo   nom- an?**
      where   REL   go SIMUL   GOAL IMPF- 2SG
      'Where are you going?' [Pur. 2.35R]

havee to paku vo 'how is ...':

(18) **Havee   to   paku vo   nana o   mate   vai?**
      how   REL   be   like IMPF ART illness   DEM
      '<u>How</u> is this illness?'

      Na   paku bata   koa   vo   na-   en.
      TAM   be   SIMUL   just like IMPF- DEM
      'It is just like this.' [Pur. 2.97R]

6.8.4 *Sau* 'where'

In contrast to *havee* 'where', *sau* always occurs after the VC. Otherwise there does not seem to be a difference.

(19) **Eori he   na   tii   rori sau?**
      3PL   but   TAM stay IMPF where
      'But where are they staying now?' [Kae. 3.24R]

(20) **Me- am   paa taneo skul sau?**
      and   2PL   TAM begin school   where
      'Where did you begin school?' [Bua. 1.171R]

vaavaha me sau 'how':

(21)   **Enaa re-   paa   rare   vaavaha me sau?**
          1SG   CONJ-TAM   sort.out   how
          'How do I sort things out?' [Bua. 1.109R]

vo ... sau 'where to, in which way, how, what'

(22) **Nao vo   nao   sau?**
      go   GOAL go   where
      'Where did they go?' [Kae. 1.288R]

(23) **A   moon he   antee   vo   nana sau?**
      ART girl   but   reach   GOAL IMPF where
      'How big is the girl?' (lit. 'Where does the girl reach to?' (Kae 1.87)

(24) **Eara he   toro paku <u>vo   sau</u>?**
    1INC but   must do   like what
    'What shall we do?' (lit. 'In which way/how should we act?' [Pur. 1.236R]

6.8.5 *Vaasau* 'from where'

The interrogative *vaasau* consists of the linker *vaa*, see [TSG_06_10], and *sau* 'where', e.g.:

(25) **Te-o hum   <u>vaa- sau</u>?**
    PREP ART place LK- where
    'From which place?' [Pur. 2.123R]

(26) **Eam a   si   tavaan <u>vaa sau</u>?**
    2PL ART DIM people LK   where
    'You are people from where?'

    Enam   a   abana <u>vaa</u> Bougainville.
    1EXC   ART people LK   Bougainville
    'We are people from Bougainville.'

6.8.6 *Tobonihi* 'when'

(27) **<u>Tobonihi</u>   to   kahi nao vaha bana ra-   ara**?
    when   REL   TAM go   back again IMPF- 1INC
    'When are we going to go again?' [Sii. 6.326R]

6.8.7 *Tovihi* 'how many'

(28) **A   <u>tovihi</u>   a   vaan to   kao oha   vai ee?**
    ART how.many ART   village REL go   pass   then 3SG
    'How many villages did she pass?' [Nah. 2.70R]

(29) **<u>Tovihi</u>   o   vinu to   tei nom eam te-   a   inu vai a rutaa?**
    how.many ART year REL stay IMPF 2PL PREP- ART   house DEM ART little
    'How many years do you stay in this little house?' [Bua. 1.80R]

6.8.8 *Sovee me* 'why'

(30) **Ae <u>sovee me-</u> ori   vaasuasun haabana rori?**
    and why CONJ- 3PL   fight   again   IMPF:3PL
    'And why do they fight?' [Kae. 3.122R]

(31) **<u>Sovee me</u> an   ore- orere nom?**
    why   and[1] 2SG   RED- scream IMPF
    'Why are you screaming?' [Pur. 2.155R]

6.8.9 Interrogatives used as indefinite proforms

The interrogatives can be used in the sense of 'whoever, anybody', 'whatever, anything', and the like:

(32) **Evehe <u>teiee</u> to   vigis nana,   o-   re- paa memea**.
    but   who REL   late IMPF   3SG- CONJ- TAM thirsty
    'But whoever was late, remained thirsty.' [Aro. 1.7R]

---

[1] This *me* seems to be the same that is used with adjuncts in declarative sentences, see [TSG_09_08].

(33) e   **teiee**   **to** **kahi nao nana** **te-** **a**   **vaaupee**,
      ART who   REL   TAM go   IMPF   PREP- ART initiation
      'whoever will go through the initiation ritual,'

      a   **beiko** **vaa sau**   **pasi mee vo-** **ri**
      ART   child   LK- where   TAM take GOAL-3PL
      'whatever child they will take there,'

      me **paa**   **no** **vaa-** **tii** **bari** **inu** **bona vue**
      and- TAM   go   CAUS- stay 4SG/PL houseDEM particular
      'they will put him into this house' [San. 3.11R] – [San. 3.14R]

(34) **O**   **mago,**   **o**   **kara** **kuriri**   **ge a**   **tabae**.
      ART bat's.teeth ART fathom shell.money or ART   what
      'Bat's teeth, a fathom of *kuriri*, or whatever.' [Kae. 3.506R]

6.9 Prepositions

Teop has seven prepositions which can be classified into three different types.

Table 1: Prepositions

Preposition	Type	English translation
te	1	'of, in, at, on'
ki	2	'for, to'
me, mi 1	2	'with'
kahi	2	'from, off'
suku	2	'because of'
vo	3	1.'to, towards, in the direction of', 2. 'in the way of, like'
mene, men-/me/mi 2	4	'for'

This classification is based on the following criteria:

- the kind of complement the preposition governs: (1) an NP with the basic article, (2) an NP with the object article, (3) a locative construction, i.e. a local adverb, a bare locative noun phrase or a prepositional phrase introduced by *te*, or (4) an NP with a basic article or a bare verbal;

- whether or not the preposition can be incorporated into the verb complex.

Table 2: Classification of prepositions

Type	Preposition	Incorporated	Complement
1	**te**	no	NP with basic article
2	**ki/k-, me/mi 1, kahi, suku**	yes	NP with basic/object article;
3	**vo**	yes	locative construction
4	**men-/mene / me/mi 2**	no / yes	NP with basic article or bare verbal

When the prepositions are incorporated into the verb complex, the valence of the verb complex changes so that the complement of the preposition becomes the primary object. This process will be briefly described below in the section on the preposition *ki*.

Similar to other Oceanic languages (Bowden 1992), Teop has local nominals which are constructed like inalienable nouns. Some of them are derived from body-part terms, e.g. *koma-* 'stomach; inside, in', *toon* 'back'. They are not classified as prepositions, because they behave like other nominals that are used without an article when they function as the nucleus of a locative phrase [TSG_05_02]:

(1)   **... vaa- hovo   ri   bari   koma- n-   a   inu**.
       ... CAUS- enter   OBJ   4SG/PL   inside- POSS- ART   house
       '(and they) let them go inside the house.' [Mat. 1.126R]

6.9.1 *Te* 'of, in, at, to, from'

The preposition *te* governs noun phrases with the basic article and subject pronouns. It has a wide range of meanings and introduces prepositional phrases which function as attributes, predicates, adjuncts and complements:

1. Alienable possessive attributes:

(2) **a   baara   te   Kakato, a   baara   te-   naa**
     ART ball   PREP Kakato ART ball   PREP 1SG
     'Kakato's ball, my ball'

2. Attributes of *peha* 'one' and *a meha papana* 'the others'

(3) **Ahiki   ta   peha te-   nam**.
     not.exist any   one   PREP- EXC
     'There was not anybody of us.' (TD *ahaiki*)

(4) **a   meha   papana te-   nam**
     ART other   side   PREP- EXC
     'the others of us' [Vos. 1.163R]

3. Attributes referring to the agent in constructions with verbal attributes, see [TSG_07_12]:

(5) **O   hum va-   sisibuu te-   a   abana**.
     ART place MULT- bathe   PREP- ART people
     'The place where the people bathe.' [Kae. 3.21R]

4. Predicates:

(6) **O   hum poo- popo te-   ori   he   te-   o   vioga**.
     ART place RED- live PREP- 3PL CONJ PREP- ART wild.betelnut.palm
     'But the place where they lived was on the wild betelnut palm.' [Val. 2.3E]

5. Complements of the linker *vaa/vai* (cf. below):

(7) **a-   maa moon   vai te-   a   mamana**
     ART- PL   woman LK   PREP- ART outside
     'these women outside' [Kae. 3.128R]

6. Adverbials:

(8) **o   re   paa pahin   hovo nao te-   a   inu   vai**
     3SG/PL CONJ TAM immediately   enter DIR PREP- ART house   this
     'and they would immediately go into this house' [Bua. 2.62R]

7. Sentence initial topics:

(9) **Te- a   maa aheahe vaa te-   a   maa**
     PREP- ART PL   song   LK   PREP- ART PL
     Sunday te- a   lotu   vai
     Sunday PREP- ART church DEM
     'As for the songs on Sunday at church,

     a   moon   rau to   paku na   bono aheahe.
     ART woman   DEM REL do   IMPF:3SG ART song
     'it is the woman who does the songs.' [Vos. 1.155R]

The semantic interpretation of the preposition *te* depends on the context. With verb complexes expressing a state of being or an event that occurs at a certain place, the prepositional phrase refers to the location, whereas with goal-oriented verb complexes of motion or transfer, it refers to the goal and with source-oriented verb complexes to the source.

Table 3: Location-, goal- and source-oriented verbs

Location		Goal		Source	
tei, tii	'be'	**nao**	'go (to)'	**tavus**	'come out (from)'
hio	'sit'	**nomaa**	'come' (to)	**arin**	'pull s.th. (out of]'
obete	'lie'	**suguna**	'arrive' (at)	**gono**	'get s.th. (from)'
goroho	'lie, sleep'	**vaatii**	'place' (at, in, on)	**kapihi**	'remove s.th. (from)'
sun	'stand'	**vaasun**	'make stand (at, in)'		

Location:

(10) **... pasi   no   beera- u   te-   a   inu   bona   vue**
      ...TAM   go   big-   IM   PREP-ART   house   this   particular
      '(he) will become big in this particular house' [San. 3.46R]

Goal:

(11) **me-   a   paree   paa   hopo   te-   o   kasuana**
      and-   ART   *paree*   TAM   slip.into PREP- ART   ground
      'and the *paree* slipped into the ground'   [Mor. 3.177R]

Source:

(12) **Bubuu, no gono maa a-   maa iana te-   o   sinivi**
      granna   go get   DIR   ART- PL   fish PREP- ART   canoe
      'Granny, get the fish from the canoe.' [Aro. 4.118R]

With time expressions, *te* indicates that this is the time a certain event or state of being occurs[i]:

(13) **Suguna te-   o   Saarere te-   a   tauravi**.
      arrive   PREP- ART   Saturday PREP- ART   afternoon
      '(We) arrived on Saturday in the afternoon.' [Pur. 2.120R]

Finally, we find *te* in constructions which can be regarded as metaphors of locational usages, e.g.:

(14) **te-   a   vakokona te-   naa**
      PREP- ART   thinking   PREP- 1SG
      'in my opinion' [Vos. 1.6R]

An example where *tea* introduces an adjunct referring to an instrument is (30) below.

6.9.2 The Dative preposition *ki*

The complement of the preposition *ki* denotes a beneficiary, a recipient or an addressee. Therefore, it is called Dative preposition and glossed as DAT.

(15) **A-   maa toogori ki   bene teiee?**
      ART- PL   *toogori* DAT   ART   who
      'The *toogori* (fish) are for whom?' [pr. 3:57]

(16) **eori re   vavaasun ta   inu   ki   bene masta**
      3PL   CONJ   build   ART   house DAT   ART   master
      'so that they would build a house for the master' [Sii. 2.76R]

When the prepositional phrase functions as a predicate (15) or an adjunct (16), the noun phrase governed by *ki* takes the object article. In (16), the patient NP *ta inu* 'a house' is the primary object and the beneficiary *ki bene masta* 'for the master' is an adjunct.

---

[i] Duration is expressed by simple noun phrases, search the corpus for *o vinu, bono vinu* 'a year'

Pronominal complements are marked by the object marker:

(17) **k- a - naa**   **k- ama- naa**   **ki- vu an**
      DAT- OBJ- 1SG   DAT- OBJ 1SG   DAT- OBJ- 2SG
      (to) me'   '(to)me'   'you (to)'

      k- a- nam   **k- ama- nam**   **k- ara- ara**
      DAT- OBJ- 1EXC   DAT- OBJ- 1EXC   DAT- OBJ- 1INC
      '(to) us'   '(to) us'   '(to) us'

      k- ame- am   **ki- ri ori**
      DAT- OBJ- 2PL   DAT- OBJ 3PL
      '(to) you'   '(to) them'

When *ki* is incorporated into the verb complex, its complement (a beneficiary, recipient or addressee) becomes the primary object of the verb complex and chooses its article according to the article selection rule, see [TSG_09_04].

Through the incorporation of the preposition the valence of the verb complex can be increased so that an intransitive verb complex becomes transitive and a transitive verb complex becomes ditransitive. Compare the four examples below in which the predicate is expressed by *sue* 'say, tell':

(18) **Sue a pasu- na- e!**
      tell ART reason- POSS- 3SG
      'Tell its reason!' [Sii.Sen 1.*arata*]

(19) **me- ori paa sue bona va- tavusu.**
      and- 3PL TAM tell ART CAUS-go.out
      '... and they announced that they let (her) go out.' (lit. 'the lettting go out') [Kor. 1.66R]

(20) **me- naa paa sue ki- ri a maamihu aba, "Kiu ...**
      and 1SG TAM tell DAT- OBJ ART all person "work
      'and I told everybody, "Work ..."' [Pur. 1.805R]

(21) **e sina- na- e paa sue ki- ri bona tavaan, "...".**
      ART mother- POSS-3SG TAM say DAT- OBJ ART people
      'his mother said to the people, ...' [Nan. 3.155R]

In (18), (19) the verbal *sue* 'tell, say' is transitive and governs a primary object that refers to the content of what is said. In (18) the primary object is marked by the basic article *a*, because the subject is a speech act participant (a second person), whereas in (19), which has a third person subject, the object is marked by the object article *bona*.

The examples (20) and (21) show the same verbal nucleus, i.e. *sue* 'tell, say', but this time the preposition *ki* is incorporated into the verb complex. The verb complex *paa sue kiri* is ditransitive, governing the addressee as its primary object and the reported speech as its secondary object. In (20) the primary object is marked by the basic article *a* because the subject is a speech act participant. But in (21) where a third person is the subject, it is marked by the object article *bona*.

In addition to the constructions described above, *ki* occurs with the applicative *ni* and the comitative preposition *mi* with first and second person objects. In these two constructions *ki* has adopted a purely grammatical function. Put differently, the applicative and the comitative govern first and second person pronouns in the Dative case.

(22) **Enaa na hevee kurus ni ki- u nom an.**
      1SG TAM angry very APP DAT- OBJ IMPF 2SG
      'I am very angry with you.' [Pur 2.454]

(23) **Hagi mi k- a- naa.**
      dance with DAT- OBJ- 1SG
      'Dance with me.'

6.9.3 The comitative preposition *me/mi* 'with'

The preposition *me/mi* 'with' is usually incorporated into the verb complex and changes its valence in the same fashion as the incorporation of *ki* does.

An example of *me/mi* 'with' introducing a prepositional phrase in the function of an adjunct is:

(24)   **eori   he   paa   mee   tagihu   ama- u   a-   nam**,..
         3PL   CONJ TAM   take   go.into.the.bush   OBJ- IM   OBJ- 1EXC
         me   bona   vateen   guu ...
         with   ART   backpack pork ...
         'they took us further inland <u>with a backpack of pork</u>' [Bua. 1.9R]

(25) **Gii,   paapoo   mi   nom   a   sibono   maanii**.
      PN   stay.at.home   with IMPF   ART   rack   possum
      'Gii, stay at home with the possum rack.' [Aro. 2.14R]

The verb *tii* 'stay' is used with *mi* to express possession:

(26) **na   tii   mi   nana   bono   magara**
      TAM   stay   with   IMPF   ART   beard
      '(it) has a beard' [Ata. 1.97R]

6.9.4 The preposition *kahi* 'from, leaving behind'

The status of *kahi* as a preposition is not clear. It seems to have originated from a serial verb and still occupies the same position as a serial verb within the verb complex. In our corpus we only have an elicited example where *kahi* is used as a preposition:

(27)   **Huriki   a   rokoroko   vaarau   a   mate   kahi   bona   hanana**.
         remove   ART   frog   DEM   ART   dead   from   ART   road
         'Remove the dead frog from the road.' [TD *huriki*]

With the exception of the fixed phrase *kahii* 'leave it! nevermind!', *kahi* is not used as a predicate. For further examples, see TD under *ani kahi* 'leave food uneaten (lit. eat leave)', *kao kahi* 'leave' (lit. 'go leave'), *mate kahi* 'die (and) leave behind'.

6.9.5 The preposition *suku* 'because of'

Similar to *kahi* 'from', *suku* 'because' seems to have originated from a serial verb. This verb, which is still attested in the mountain dialects, means 'follow'. But in contrast to *kahi* it is well attested in the function of a preposition, e.g.:

(28) **O   paku na   paku ri-   ori   suku   bona vatavatava-   i.**
      ART   feast TAM   make IMPF:3PL- 3PL   because   ART   *tavatava*-ceremony-   DEM.
      'They make a feast for this *tavatava* ceremony.'
      (lit. 'The feast, they make ...') [Mah. 2.265R]

In the following example *suku* is incorporated. The object of *sue suku* 'speak because of' is the relative pronoun *to*.

(29) **Na   tara   naa, ei   to   sue   suku   nom   naa**.
      TAM   see   1SG   DEM   REL   speak because   IMPF   1SG
      'I saw (it), that's why I speak (about it).' [Mah. 3.276R]

6.9.6 The preposition *vo* 'to, towards to; like'

The preposition *vo* is polysemous. Its basic meaning is 'to, towards' (GOAL), but in certain contexts it can also take on the meaning 'the way in which s.th. is done', and with verbs of speaking and thinking

it relates to phrases or clauses expressing what s.o. says or thinks. In these contexts we gloss *vo* as 'like'.

In all contexts *vo* governs an adverb, a bare locative NP or a prepositional phrase introduced by *te*.

(30) **Murinae   enam paa   aha   eve   te-   o   iaha <u>vo   te-   a   besin.</u>**
after.that   1EXC TAM   grate   3SG   PREP-ART   grater GOAL PREP- ART   bowl
'Then we grate it with the grater into a bowl.' [Hel. 1.12-13R]

When *vo* '(towards) to' is incorporated, it does not change the valence of the verb complex and neither affects the form nor the syntactic function of the phrase referring to the goal. In the example below *vo* is incorporated in a verb complex that ends with the directional particle *nao* 'away'.

(31)   **ma   kavuhu   <u>vo</u>   nao   matana**
and   spit   GOAL DIR   bow
'and spat to the bow' [Aro. 8.83R]

The use of *vo* in the meaning of 'in the way of, like' seems to be similar to the polysemy of English *way* that is used both in the concrete sense of 'route, direction' and in the more abstract sense of 'manner, method'.

rake vo 'want s.th. in a particular way':

(32) **Nam na   rake <u>vo</u>   nom enei**.
EXC   TAM   want   like   IMPF   DEM
'We want it this way/like this.' [Vos. 1.89R]

(33) **<u>Havee</u>   to   rake <u>vo</u>   nom-   an?**
where   REL   want   like   IMPF:2SG-   2SG
'Which way do you want (it)/How do you want it?' [Pur. 2.359R]

kao vo 'go in a particular direction, a particular way':

(34)   **Kao <u>vo</u>   koa   na-   e**
go   like   just   IMPF-   3SG
'That's just how it is./It goes just the way (mentioned before).' [Kae. 3.333R]

paku vo 'do, be done a particular way, be like':

(35) **To   paku bata   <u>vo</u>   koa   nam ei**.
REL   do   SIMUL   like   just   EXC   DEM
'This is just how we worked.' (lit. 'What we worked like (is) this.') [Pur. 1.226R]

With speech act verbs and verbs of cognition, *vo* relates to the content of what one says, senses or thinks:

(36)   **ei   to   paa   sue   <u>vo</u>   nom naa**
DEM   REL   TAM   say   like   IMPF   1SG
'this is what I have been saying' [Pur. 1.791R]

The combination of *vo* and *en* 'this' is used to refer to what s.o. says or thinks and often introduces direct speech [TSG_10_01].

(37)   **Enam   na   upehe   <u>vo</u>   nom <u>en,</u>   ean   toro   nao   teebona**.
EXC   TAM   think   like   IMPF   DEM   2SG   must   go   there
'We are thinking you must go there.' (lit 'we are thinking like this: you ...') [Pur. 1.268R]

6.9.7 The preposition *mene* and *me/mi* 'for'

The preposition *mene* introduces prepositional phrases and can be incorporated. When introducing prepositional phrases, it fuses with the article of the noun phrase (see TD under *mena* and *meno*):

(38) **Ean ne   paa   nana   bata maa ta   karirava   mena   menaga.**
      2SG   CONJ TAM   warm.up SIMULDIR   ART *karirava* for.ART *menaga*
      'Then you warm some *karirava*-leaves over the fire for the *menaga* (tapioca pudding).'
      [Aro. 2.70R]

The head of the noun phrases governed by the preposition *mene* can be a bare verbal:

(39) **o   varu   mene vaasuasun te   roosuu**
      ART   shield for   fight   PREP.ART giant
      'the giant's shield for fighting' [Mor. 2.57R]

When *mene* 'for' is incorporated, it takes the form *me/mi.* In the example below the verbal nucleus *rakerake* 'search for' is transitive. However, its transitivity is blocked by the incorporation of the object *moonii* 'money'; *rakerake moonii* 'search for money' is intransitive, but through the addition on *me* 'for' the verb complex becomes transitive.

(40) **ei   to   rake- rake   moonii bana me   nom**
      DEM   REL   RED- search money   again for   IMPF

      a   haus   lotu   te-   nam.
      ART   house   church   PREP- EXC
      'It is like this when we were looking for money for our church building.' [Vos. 1.59R]

6.10 The linker *vaa/vai*

The linker *vaa* and its variant *vai* 'of, belonging to, originating from, associated with' are combined with an adverb, a bare locative phrase or a prepositional phrase introduced by *te*:

vaa/vai + adverb:

(1) **a   mooni   vaa   nomana**
ART   money   of   today
'the modern money'

(2) **te-   a   nubunubu   vaa   subunubu**
PREP- ART   morning   of   tomorrow
'tomorrow morning'

vaa + bare locative phrase:

(3) **o   matapaku   vaa   vaan**
ART   custom   of   village
'the customs of the village' [Daa. 1.254R]

vaa + *te* NP:

(4) **o   matapaku   vaa   te-   a   paku   n-   o   sinivi**
ART   method   LK   PREP- ART   make   POSS- ART   canoe
'the method of making a canoe' [Tah. 2.0R]

For the syntactic function of the *vaa*-phrase, see [TSG_05_02].

6.11 Conjunctions

We distinguish between three types of conjunction:

- o   coordinating conjunctions that connect a word or construction to a preceding word or construction of equivalent syntactic status

- o   conjunctions that link dependent embedded and non-embedded constructions, see [TSG_05_03].

Table 1: Coordinating conjunctions

ae	'and'	links two NPs or the last NP to the second last NP in a coordinate construction containing three NPs
bara	'and'	links NPs and clauses
bo	'and'	links pronouns or nouns of the *e*-class
ge	'or'	links NPs and clauses
me	'and'	coordinates clauses and links temporal adverbial phrases to a following verbal clause

(1)   **a   peha si   otei <u>ae</u>   a   bua roosuu**
       ART   one DIM   boy   and   ART   two   giant
       '(Once upon a time, there lived) a boy and two giants.' [Viv. 1.1E]

(2)   **Muu koa <u>bara</u> voi   <u>ae</u>   a   pauna**
       taro only and   yams and   ART   banana
       'Only taro and yams and bananas.' [Iar. 2.114 R]

(3)   **<u>Me-ori</u> hua   bata   rori   <u>bara</u> naba vahakaa**.
       and-3PL paddle   SIMUL   IMPF:3PL and   group beat.the.water
       'And he was paddling along together with the group of the beaters.'[1] [Mor. 3.70 R]

(4)   **Enam <u>bo</u>   taan   ei**
       1INC   and   person   DEM
       'I and this person.' [Sii. 6.116R]

(5)   **t-   ere   tama-   na-   e   <u>bo</u>   sina-   na - e**
       PREP- ART.PL father- POSS- 3SG and   mother- POSS- 3SG
       'from her father and her mother' [Val. 3.9E]

(6)   **ta   maa   raviana <u>ge</u> ta   maa ariono**
       ART   PL   *raviana* or   ART   PL   *ariono*
       'some *raviana* vines or some *ariono* vines Sii. [6.22R]

When the first conjunct is a pronoun and the second one a noun phrase, the pronoun is plural even if it only refers to a single person as in (3) and (4). Coordinated kinship terms are marked by the plural aricle *ere*, see [TSG_06_02], section 6.2.1.

---

[1] Lit. 'They were paddling along and the group of beaters'.

Table 2: Conjunctions linking dependent embedded and dependent non-embedded clauses

be	1. 'if'	1. introduces a dependent non-embedded clause
	2. 'when, while'	2. introduces a dependent non-embedded clause
	3. 'that'	3. introduces a complement clauses whose subject is different from the subject of the superordinate clause, see [TSG_10_01]
he	'while, but, although'	links dependent non-embedded clauses; follows the first argument of the clause (NP or pronoun), see [TSG_10_07]
re	'so that, in order to'	1. links dependent non-embedded clauses expressing the consequence or the purpose of a previous event, see [TSG_10_05]
		2.links complement clauses whose subject is co-referential with the object of the superordinate clauses, see [TSG_10_01]
		The conjunction *re* always follows the first argument (NP or pronoun) of the clause, pronouns preceding *re* show a reduced form (see [TSG_06_08]); *re* –clauses frequently lack TAM marking ; the only TAM marker found with *re* is *paa* [TSG_08_02].
ne	'so that, in order to'	variant of *re* used with a 1SG pronoun subject [TSG_06_07]
tea	'to, that'	a complementiser that introduces complement clauses without overt subjects and TAM marking; these complement clauses are very similar to English infinitival complements, see [TSG_10_01]

Dependent embedded clauses are subordinate clauses; they hold the position of an adjunct or a complement in a superordinate clause, i.e. a martrix clause. In contrast, dependent non-embedded clauses do not function as an adjunct or complement in some other, superordinate clause; but nevertheless they are dependent as they tightly linked to a preceding or following clause by the means of particular conjunctions in both clauses, argument sharing and/or the lack of TAM marking.

6.12 Particles

While articles, TAM markers, negations, prepositions, the linker *vaa*, directionals and conjunctions can be defined in terms of phrase or clause structure and their grammatical function, particles are words that modify the immediately preceeding word. Many of them express some kind of intensification. Their particular meanings have not been investigated yet. We are also not sure where to draw the borderline between adverbs and particles so that the reader will certainly come across some inconsistencies.

Table 1: Particles

karana	indeed
koa	only, just
koma	indeed
kou	indeed
kurusu	very
me, mee	too, also
patoo	isn't it?
rakaha	very
rehe	indeed (expressing surprise or shock)
sana	very
ve	?
vue	particular

6.13 Interjections

The interjections have not been investigated yet. There are interjections like *anda* 'sorry' that are used to correct oneself, utterance initial interjections that express surprise like 'gosh!, hell', e.g. *kantei!* or hortative interjections like *nigara* 'let's go!' For further examples search the corpus for the keyword INTERJECTION and the lexical database TD for ps/ *interj.*

7 Noun phrase

Noun phrases (NPs) are marked by an article and function as arguments, adjuncts, predicates and complements of prepositions.

7.1 Nucleus and satellites

The nucleus of a noun phrase is formed by a common nominal, a proper name, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative, an interrogative pronoun or a verbal. Common nominals, proper names, topicalised personal pronouns and interrrogative pronouns are preceded by an article. In fast speech the article can be missing at the beginning of an utterance. Examples:

(1) **A-   maa   moon   be-   beera**   ...
      ART   PL   women   RED- chief
      'the chiefly women' ...' [Nan 2.31R]

(2) **E   Donald   Alley bara e   Aaron   Kotosomaa paku- paku**.
      ART PN   PN   and ART   PN   PN   RED- make

      bona   skul
      ART   school
      'Donald Alley and Aaron Kotosomaa conducted school.' [Pur. 1.4R]

(3) **E-   ori   a   buaku.**
      ART- 3PL   ART   two
      'They are two.' [Kor 1.101R]

(4) **E   teiee a   otei?**
      ART   who   ART   man
      'Who is this man?' [Kae. 3.191R]

(5) **A   tabae to   rake nom an.**
      ART   what REL   want IMPF 2SG
      'What do you want?'

The nucleus of a noun phrase can take a number of the prenuclear and postnuclear satellites:

Table 1: Satellites

prenuclear satellites	postnuclear satellites
articles [TSG_07_02]	demonstratives [TSG_07_09]
plural marker [TSG_07_03]	nominal attributes [TSG_07_10]
numeral phrases [TSG_07_04]	adjectival attributes [TSG_07_11]
determiner phrases [TSG_07_05], [TSG_05_02]	verbal attributes [TSG_07_12]
the diminutive [TSG_07_06]	adjectival phrases [TSG_07_13]
the modifier *vahara* [TSG_07_07]	prepositional attribues [TSG_07_14],
the reciprocal particle *tom* [TSG_07_08]	possessive construction [TSG_07_15]
	vaa-phrases [TSG_07_16], [TSG_05_07]
	relative clauses [TSG_07_17], [TSG_10_02]

7.1.1 Prenuclear satellites

(6) Plural marker: [ART [PL N]]

    a-   <u>**maa**</u>   **moon**
    ART- PL   woman
    'the women'

(7) Numeral phrase:[[ART NUM] [ART N]]

    a   <u>**bua**</u>   **otei**
    ART   two.ART man
    'the two men' [Pur. 1.22R]

(8) Determiner phrase:[ART DET] [ART N]

    a   <u>**meha**</u>   **otei**
    ART   other.ART   man
    'another man, the other man'

(9) The modifier *vahara*: [ART [little.PL N]]

    o   <u>**vahara**</u>   **beiko**
    ART   little.PL   child
    'the children'

(10) Diminutive: [ART [DIM N]]

    a   <u>**si**</u>   **beiko**
    ART   DIM   child
    'the little/ dear/ poor child'

(11) Reciprocal particle:[[ART NUM] [ART REC N]]

    a   **bua**   <u>**tom**</u>   **sina-**   **na**
    ART   two.ART REC mother- DEREL
    'the mother and her child'

7.1.2 Postnuclear satellites

(12) Demonstrative: [ART[N DEM]]

    o   **vuri**   <u>**bona**</u>
    ART   time   DEM
    'that time' [Pur. 1.19R]

(13) Nominal attribute: [ART [N N]]

    O   **monaa**   <u>**tabae?**</u> **O**   **monaa**   <u>**guu?**</u>
    ART   fat   what   ART   fat   pig
    'What kind of fat? Pig's fat?' [Bua. 1.87R]

(14) Verbal attribute: [ART [N V]]

    a   **taba** <u>**ani**</u>
    ART   thing eat
    'food'

(15) Adjectival phrase: [[NP] [AP]]

    a   **hausik** **vai** <u>**a**</u>   <u>**beera**</u>
    ART   hospital DEM ART big
    'this big hospital' [Sii. 1.292R]

(16) Prepositional phrase: [[NP] [PP]]

    a   **kaku**   **vagana** <u>**te-**</u> <u>**a**</u>   <u>**maa**</u> <u>**moon**</u>
    ART   kind   fish   PREP-ART PL   woman
    'the women's kind of fishing [Iar. 2.251R]

(17) Possessive attribute [ART [N [POSS NP]]]

a   kahoo   n-   e   guu
ART   head   POSS-   ART   pig
'the head of the pig'

(18) Attributive *vaa*-phrase: [ART [N [*vaa*-PHRASE]]]

a   iana   vaa   te-   a   kave
ART   fish   LK   PREP-   ART   net
'the fish in the net' [Sii. 6.239]

(19) Relative clause: [ART [N RELATIVE CLAUSE]]

A   otei   to   paa   nao   vuru   nao   te-   a   nubunubu,
ART   boy   REL   TAM   go   already   DIR   PREP-   ART   morning
'the boy who had gone off in the morning, ...' [Vae. 1.339R]

7.2 Articles

The articles can be classified into three classes:

1. the specific article, which has two subclasses: the basic and the object article

2. the non-specific article

3. the partitive article

With the exception of the partitive article, the forms of articles distinguish three noun classes and two numbers.

Table 1: Articles

articles	**noun classes**					
	e-class		a-class		o-class	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
basic article	*e*	*ere, o*	*a*	*o*	*o*	*a*
object article	*bone, bene*	*bere, benere bono*	*bona*	*bono*	*bono*	*bona*
non-specific article	*te*	*?*	*ta*	*to*	*to*	*ta*
partitive article			*sa*		*sa*	

7.2.1 The basic and the object article

The basic and the object article contribute to the distinction of different kinds of syntactic functions of noun phrases in the following way:

1. Irrespective of their position, subjects always take the basic article.

2. Topics always hold the first position in the clause and take the basic article irrespective of their syntactic function.

3. Non-topical primary objects take the basic article when the subject of the clause is a first or a second person, otherwise they take the object article.

4. Non-topical secondary objects take the basic article when the subject and the primary object refer to the speech act participants, otherwise they take the object article.

Table 2: Article selection rule

subject	primary object	secondary object
1st/2nd person	1st/2nd person	basic art N
1st/2nd person	3rd person/ basic ART N	object ART N
3rd person/ basic article N	1st/2nd person pronoun	object ART N
3rd person/ basic ART N	3rd person/ object ART N	object ART N

(1) SUBJECT: VC   OBJECT

Enaa   na   ani   nom   a   iana
1SG   TAM   eat   IMPF:1SG   ART fish
'I am eating the fish.'

(2) SUBJECT   VC   OBJECT

E   roosuu   na   ani   bata-   na   bona   karavona
ART giant   TAM   eat   SIMUL-   IMPF   OBJ.ART   lobster.'
'The giant was eating the lobster.' [Sii. 6.362R]

(3) SUBJECT   VC   OBJECT1   OBJECT2

E   toro   dao   a   kuhoo   vai   bene   Joshua.
2PL   must   name   ART baby   DEM   ART   Joshua
'You must name the baby Joshua.'

(4) OBJECT   VC   SUBJECT

A   kururu   te-   naa   na   kaku   a   aba.
ART bamboo   PREP- 1SG   TAM   break   ART someone
'Someone broke my bamboo.'

(5) OBJECT1   VC   SUBJECT OBJECT2

A   inu   bona   na   dao   ri-   ori   bona   hai.
ART house DEM   TAM   call   IMPF- 3PL   ART   nest
'This house they call nest.' [Kae. 1.10R]

(6) OBJECT2 VC   OBJECT1 SUBJECT

A   inu   na   hee   anaa   e   gavaman.
ART house TAM   give   1SG.OBJ ART   government
  'The house was given to me by the government.' [Pur. 2.20R]

The object article is cognate with the anaphoric demonstrative *bona.* Note, however, that the demonstrative always follows the noun and is not marked for noun class. An explanation of the article selection rule in given in [TSG_09_04].

7.2.2 The non-specific articles

The non-specific articles are *te, ta, to* 'any'. They express that the entity denoted by the noun cannot be identified. They are typically used with noun phrases denoting the unknown undergoer of future actions or a person or thing that does not exist.

(7) **ahiki   ta   aba**
     not.exist NSP.ART person
     'here is not anybody.' [Pur. 2.219R]

(8) **to**   **hum**   **nata**
    NSP.ART piece   know
    'any knowledge'. [Pur. 1.43R]

7.2.3 The partitive article

The noun phrase *sa* N means 'any piece of N you can think of', i.e. *sa* is a non-specific partitive article.

(9) **sa**   **muu**   **te-**   **an**
    PART.ART   taro   PREP-2SG
    'your piece of taro' [Aro. 14.10R]

The partitive article does not inflect for noun class and number..

7.3 The plural marker *maa* and *maa mihu* 'all sorts of, every'

The plural marker *maa* precedes the nucleus and requires the article *a*, irrespective of the inherent noun class of the nominal.

Table 1: The plural marker

singular		plural	
e magee tenaa	my friend	*a maa magee tena*	my friends
a moon	the woman	*a maa moon*	the women
o hoi	the basket	*a maa hoi*	the baskets

This can either be interpreted as the neutralisation of noun class distinctions in the plural or as an indication that in these constructions *maa* is the head. The latter is supported by the fact that constructions with the plural marker *maa* are formally categorised as singular in possessive constructions.

(1) **a   kavara n-   a   maa kiu**
     ART   all   POSS:SG- ART   PL   job
     'all the jobs' [Pur. 1.238R]

The possessive marker (POSS) agrees with the possessor in number and person; it is *n-* for singular and *ri-* for plural possessors, see [TSG_07_15].

The plural marker *maa* can be modified by *mihu* which only occurs together with *maa*. The resulting construction *maa mihu* means 'all sorts of, every'. In the standard orthography *maa* and *mihu* are written together.

(2) **a   maamihu   taba**
     ART   all.sort.of   thing
     'all sort of things, everything'

(3) **a   maamihu   bon**
     ART   every   day(n.o.)
     'every day'

For the use of the plural marker in determiner and adjectival phrases see [TSG_07_05] and [07_13].

7.4 The numeral phrase

In the function of NP satellites, cardinal and ordinal numerals take an article and form a numeral phrase (NUMP) that precedes the NP. Both the NUMP and the NP have singular articles and agree in gender.

(1) **a   buaku   a   inu**
    ART two   ART house
    'two houses' [Pur. 2 .209R]

(2) **o   buaku   o   sikiri**
    ART two   ART bamboo.spear
    'two bamboo spears' [Aro. 15.75R]

The cardinal numerals *peha, peho* 'one' and *bua, buo* 'two' have attracted the article of following NP so that they look like inflecting words that agree with the head noun:

(3) **a   <u>peha</u>   moon,   o   <u>peho</u>   hoi**
    ART one.ART woman   ART one.ART basket
    'one woman, one basket'

If the noun phrase containing a numeral phrase functions as an object that selects the object article, this object article only marks the numeral phrase whereas the head noun is preceded by the basic article, i.e. [ART N] is treated as an apposition of [ART NUM]:

(4) **me Rigamu paa vaa- nomaa vaha [<u>bona buaku</u>] [a   otei]**.
    and PN   TAM CAUS-come   again ART two   ART men
    'and Rigamu sent back two men.' [Sia. 1.85E]

(5) **na   nomaa me roho   [<u>bono buaku</u>] [o   hum]**.
    TAM come   with before   ART two   ART thing
    'they came with two things' [Vos. 1.174R]

(6) **vahutate   vai ki- ri <u>bona bua   subunaie</u>**,
    tell   then DAT-OBJ ART two.ART grandchildren
    'then (she) told her two grandchildren,' [Aro. 4.62R]

(7) **eori paa rom maa <u>bono buo   rom veresun</u>**
    3PL   TAM cut DIR   ART two.ART stem wild.banana
    'they cut two wild banana stems' [Aro. 4.133R]

With the non-specific article, we found two kinds of construction: The non-specific article marks both the numeral and the noun phrase as in the example below

(8) **Ahiki ta   peha ta   tootoo**
    not.exist NSP.ART one   NSP.ART live
    'There was none who survived.' [Val. 1.116R]

or it occurs only in the position of the first article whereas the head noun is preceded by the basic article. In the example below this basic article is fused with the preceding numeral.

(9) **ean paa gono maa <u>to   buo   paka   kavovo</u>**,
    2SG TAM get DIR   NSP.ART   two.ART feather   cockatoo
    'then you get two cockatoo feathers' [Nah. 2.40R]

Although noun phrases which are quantified by numerals are determined by a singular article, they are treated as plural phrases in the possessive construction where the possessive marker agrees with the possessor NP in number, see [TSG_07_15]:

(10) **o   revasin <u>ri-</u>   a   bua tom keara**
    ART blood   POSS:3PL-   ART two REC sister
    'the blood of the two sisters'

Partitive constructions of the type *e ta* N 'piece of N' are quantified by constructions in which the partitive nominal *ta* functions as the head and the numeral as an attribute: [ART *ta* NUM] [NUM *ta* N]. Note that *ta* belongs to the *e*-class and that, accordingly, the phrase ART *ta* NUM takes the article *e*.

(11) <u>**e**</u>   <u>**ta**</u>   <u>**buaku**</u>   <u>**koa**</u>   **e**   **ta**   **atavo**   ...
      ART   piece two   only   ART   piece sago-palm.leaf
      'only two sago-palm leaves' (lit. 'two pieces only, sago-palm leaf piece') [Kae. 2.29R]

The word *bero* 'many' is either used like a numeral in a numeral phrase or like an adjectival in an adjectival phrase. But in contrast to numerals, it can occur with the plural maker *maa*:

(12) **a**   <u>**bero**</u>   **sana maa kaku mate**
      ART   many   very PL   kind death
      'very many kinds of death' [Daa. 2.6R]

7.5 Determiners

7.5.1 The determiner *Meha, meho* 'other'

Similar to the numeral *peha, peho* 'one', the prenuclear satellite *meha, meho* 'other' agrees with the nucleus in noun-class:

(1) **a   meha taba**   **o   meho vinu**
    ART   other. thing   ART   other year
    'another thing'   'another year'

Nouns preceded by the plural marker *maa* can be modified by *meha* which itself is also preceded by *maa* so that *maa meha* agrees in number and noun-class with the plural marker of the noun:

(2) **a   <u>maa</u>   meha <u>maa</u>   taba**
    ART   PL   other PL   thing
    'some other things' [Daa. 2.162R], [Vos. 1.310R]

(3) **a-   <u>maa</u>   meha <u>maa</u>   kaku vavahio**
    ART- PL   other PL   kind   marriage
    'the other kinds of marriage customs' [Daa 1.216R]

In other words, the plural marker behaves like the nucleus as it determines the noun-class of the whole NP, but in the determiner phrase it resembles an inflectional affix marking agreement in number.

7.5.2 The determiner *peha* 'some'

The combination of the plural marker *maa* and the numeral *peha* 'one' yields the meaning 'some'

(4) **a   maa   <u>peha</u> vuaba   koa**
    ART   PL   some clan   only
    'only some of the clans' [Kae. 1.274R]

(5) **a   <u>peha</u> maa   hum koara**
    ART   some PL   bit   language
    'some of the things they say ' [Pur. 2.446R]

Note the variable position of *peha*.

7.5.3 The determiner *vuaba* 'such'

(6) **enaa re   vaa-hae   ta   <u>vuaba</u>   ta   moon**
    1SG   CONJ CAUS-board ART   such   ART   woman
    'so that I take such a woman on board' [Aro. 8.107E]

7.6 The diminutive *si*

The diminutive particle *si* is polysemous. Depending on the context, it means 'little, small' or 'few' or it expresses the speaker's endearment or self-abasement. It follows the plural marker *maa*:

(1)   **a   maa   si   mono   iana**
         ART PL   DIM   parcel   fish
         'little fish parcels' [Daa. 1.69R]

Similar to the plural maker *maa*, see [TSG_07_05] section 1 and [TSG_07_013] the diminutive marker *si* resembles an inflectional agreement affix. In (2) and (3) it occurs in both the numeral and the noun phrase:

(2)   **bona si   taonim a   si   iana teve**
         ART   DIM   five   ART   DIM   fish   PREP.3SG
         'her five little fish' [Ata. 1.28R]

(3)   **a   si   peha   koa   a   si   vohe**
         ART   DIM   one   only   ART   DIM   paddle
         '(there is) only one paddle' [Vae. 1.159R], [Vae. 1.120E]

7.7 The quantifier *vahara*

The quatifier *vahara* means 'a number of little (ones)'. It is most frequently used with *beiko* 'child'. The article of the NP modified by *vahara* can be *a* or *o*. We find this variation even with the same speaker in the same interview.

(1) **o   vahara beiko**   **a   vahara beiko**
     ART little.PL child   ART little.PL child
     'the little children' [Pur. 1.296R],   'the little children' [Pur. 1.561R]

An example for another context is the following:

(2) **bona maa vahara taba tahii**
     ART PL   little.PL   thing sea
     'the little things from the sea' [Iar. 2.253R]

Note that here the plural marker *maa* and *vahara* are combined. When phrases like *a vahara beiko* function as the possessor in inalienble possessive constructions, they are treated like singular noun phrases, which suggests that *vahara* is a kind of collective nominal:

(3) **a   kavara n-   a   vahara beiko**
     ART all   POSS:3SG- ART little.PL child
     'all the little children' [Pur. 1.313R]

7.8 The reciprocal kinship particle *tom*

The particle *tom* is used with kinship terms and a few other terms denoting human relations. It expresses that the NP refers to both sides of the relationship in question, e.g. *tom keara* 'brothers/ sisters (siblings of the same sex)', *tom sinana* 'mother and her child(ren)', *tom tamana* 'father (his wife) and his child(dren)', *tom vavina* 'brother(s) and sister(s) (siblings of the opposite sex)'.

(1) **'Eara kahi vaa- voosu   ri   rara a   bua <u>tom</u> sinana ...**
    1INC TAM CAUS-go.home OBJ   IMPF ART   two   REC mother.and.child
    'We will let the mother and her child go home ...' [Mat. 1.128R]

In the combination with *bua* 'two', the *tom* N- constructions mean 'two people in the relationship denoted by N'. Accordingly, the combination with the plural marker *maa* refers to several people in this kind of relationship, e.g.

(2) **Te- o   peho vuri a-   maa si   <u>tom</u> tamana na   tei- tei.**
    PREP-ART   one   time ART- PL   DIM   REC father   TAM RED- exist
    Once upon a time, there was a family. [Nan. 3.0R]

(3) **Nabunuu   na   tii-   tii   roho**
    past   TAM   RED- exist before
    a   peha si   maa <u>tom</u> subuna
    ART   one   DIM   PL   REC grandparent.and.grandchild
  - **e   subu-   ri-   ori   a   moon ae   a   bua beiko   otei.**
    ART   grandparent-POSS- 3PL   ART   woman and   ART two   child   man
    'Once upon a time there lived a grandparent with grandchildren --a grandmother and her two grandsons (lit. 'their grandparent, a woman, and two boys).' [Aro. 4.0R].

7.9 Demonstratives

The inventory, the meaning and the use of demonstratives has not been investigated yet. Demonstratives follow the head. Up to three demonstratives can follow the head:

(1) **te   a   bua aba   <u>bari   vori   ei</u>**
     PREP ART two person DEM.PL DEM.PL DEM
     'with those two people' [Kae. 1.6R]

The demonstrative *vai* is frequently followed by a relative clause. When it occurs in this function the NP can have the non-specific article:

(2) **ei kou paa hiki vaevuru   <u>ta</u>   aba   <u>vai</u>**
     because TAM not.exist now   NSP.ART   person   DEM

     toro   uruuru ae   kikira   ni   bona
     REL.must love   and   take.care. APP   4SG
     'because there wasn't any person that would love and take care of her.' [Val. 3.34]

Similarly, *vai* DEM occurs with non-specific noun phrases modified by an adjectival phrase:

(3) **ta   vuu hiihii vai ta   vuu visoasi**
     NSP.ART shoot ginger   DEM NSP.ART shoot young
     'a shoot of young ginger' [Vae. 1.98R]

The demonstratives *bona* (sg.) and *bari* (pl.) are anaphoric demonstratives:

(4) **Be   Moogee kahi peha te-   <u>o   naono</u>,**
     when Monkey TAM climb PREP- ART   tree
     'Whenever Monkey climbed a tree,

     <u>**o   naono   bona**</u> **kahi tagaru   nana** -
     ART tree   DEM TAM shake   IMPF
     the tree would be shaking, ... [Val. 2.73-75R]

The demonstratives *vai* 'this', *voi* 'that over there' and *bona* 'that' have the pural forms *vaarii, vori* and *bari* respectively.

(5) **a   kavara- n-   a   tavaan   <u>bari</u>**
     ART all-   POSS- ART people   DEM.PL
     'all these people' [Sia. 1. 145E]

(7) **a-   maa moon   <u>vaarii</u>   o   be-   beera**.
     ART- PL   woman DEM.PL ART   RED- chiefly
     'these chiefly women' [Kae. 1.400R]

(8) **a   taonim   a   iana   <u>vaarii</u>**
     ART five   ART fish   DEM.PL
     'these five fish' [Ata. 1.47E]

Further examples can be found in the corpus by searching for DEMONSTRATIVE and in the lexical data base by searching the field *ps* for *dem.*

7.10 Nominal attributes

The nucleus can be modified by an immediately following nominal. These compounds can express a variety of meanings, for example:

1. human beings or animals and their sex:

(1) **a   beiko   moon**
      ART   child woman
      'a girl'

2. objects and their material:

(2) **a   inu   kaapa**
      ART   house   corrugated.iron
      'a house of corrugated iron'

3. objects and their purpose:

(3) **a   inu   lotu**
      ART   house   church
      'the church (building)'

4. containers and what they are filled with:

(4) **o   hoi   kaukau**
      ART   basket   sweet.potato
      'a basket sweet potatoes'

5. bundles, clusters, collections etc. and what they consist of:

(5) **a   hian   are**
      ART   bunch   betel-nut
      'a bunch of betel-nuts'

7.11 Adjectival attributes

The use of adjectival attributes, i.e. adjectivals that directly follow the head noun in the function of an attribute, is restricted to three types of constructions:

1. Lexicalised phrases such as

(1)　**a**　**taba**　**hata**
　　　ART　thing　bad
　　　'a bad thing, a sin'

(2)　**e**　**keara**　**beera**　　　　**e**　**keara**　**rutaa**
　　　ART　sibling　big　　　　　　ART　sibling　small
　　　'the elder brother/ sister'　　'the little brother/ sister'

(3)　**o**　**vuri**　**tovuhu**
　　　ART　time　cold
　　　'the cold season' [Aro. 7.7E]

2. Constructions in which the adjectival modifies a collective or container nominal, which itself functions as a modifier, see [TSG_06_02], section 5, e.g.

(4)　**Kasi ta**　**vuu**　**hiihii**　**vai ta**　**vuu**　<u>**visoas**</u>
　　　dig　ART　cluster　ginger　DEM　ART　cluster　young
　　　'Dig this young shoot of ginger.' [Vae. 1.100E]

Here *visoas* 'young' modifies the preceding nominal *vuu* 'cluster', whereas the whole phrase *ta vuu visoas* modifies *ta vuu hiihii vai* 'this cluster of ginger'.

3. Possessive compounds, which typically consist of a bodypart term followed by an adjectival, meaning that s.o. has a bodypart of the kind as described by the adjectival:

(5)　**bene subuava**　**vai**　**a**　**vunuu**　**karakarahi**
　　　ART　old.woman　DEM　ART　hair　long.and.unkept
　　　'this old woman with this long and unkept hair' [Vae. 1.183E]

7.12 Verbal attributes

In attributive function, verbals denoting actions are usually reduplicated and directly follow the head. The semantic relation between the modifying verbal and the head noun can be of various kinds:

(1)   [agent –   [action –   patient (incorp. obj.)]]
       a   **too**   **garu- garuhu** **ravarava**
       ART   person   RED- wash   sarong
       'the person who washes the clothes and helps the woman to prepare food' [Pur. 1.104R]

(2)   [[instrument –   action]   agent/possessor (attribute)]
       A   **kanono** <u>**vaga- vagana**</u> **te-**   **naa**
       ART   line   RED- fish   PREP- 1SG
       'my fishing line.'

(3)   [place -   [action -   patient (incorp. obj.)]]
       A   **kanono** **va-**   **vaa- hana** **ravarava**   **rau**.
       ART   line   RED- CAUS-hang clothes   DEM
       'This is a clothes line.' (lit. a line (where s.o. habitually hangs clothes) [TD *kanono*]

(4)   [[place –   [action –   patient (incorp.obj.)]] agent/ possessor]
       o   **poa** **va-**   **vaa** **-** **tei**   **nahu** **te**   **ve**
       ART   bench RED- CAUSE- stay   pot   PREP- 3SG
       'the bench where she put her pots', lit. 'her pot putting place' [Iar 2.7 E]

(5)   time   action   patient/ possessor (attribute)
       O   **vuri**   **vaa- tavusu** **n-**   **a**   **beiko**   **he**   **suguna ...**
       ART   time   CAUS-go.out   POSS- ART child   CONJ arrive
       'When the time of bringing out the child had arrived, ...' ,
       (lit. 'the bringing-out time of the child') [Iar 2.49E]

In (2) and (4) the agent/possessor is expressed by an alienable construction, while the patient/possessor in (5) is expressed by an inalienable construction.

7.13 Adjectival phrases (AP)

In contrast to verbals, adjectivals do not freely function as attributives, but only in lexicalised expressions. Otherwise modification by adjectivals requires the form of an adjectival phrase. The typical adjectival phrase has an adjectival as its head and is marked by an article. Adjectival phrases can be separated from the noun phrase by demonstratives and prepositional phrases:

(1) **te-   a   hausik vai a̲   beera**
     PREP- ART hospital DEM ART big
     'to this big hospital' [Sii. 1.292]

The head of the AP can also be formed by a verbal as is shown in the following example where the verbal is modified by an adverb:

(2) **o   suraa   o   mataa bara   o̲   asi   va- mataa   rakaha**
     ART fire   ART good   and   ART burn ADV- good   very
     'a good and very well burning fire' [Hel. 4.7R]

The selection of the article is determined by the noun class of the modified noun. Whereas the nominals have three noun classes, the adjectival phrases only distinguish between two classes: the a-class which modifies nouns of the e-class and the a-class, and the o-class which modifies nouns of the o-class.

(3) **e̲   maagee   te-   naa   a̲   kou**
     ART friend   PREP- 1SG   ART extravagant
     'my extravagant friend'

(4) **a̲   otei a̲   mataa   rakaha**
     ART man   ART good   very
     'a very good man' [Pur. 1.709R]

(5) **o̲   meho   hena o̲   voon**
     ART other   name ART new
     'another new name' [Kae. 3.276R]

The adjectival phrase also agrees with the noun phrase with regard to specificity and number:

(6) **ta̲   otei ta̲   suunano**
     NSP.ART man   NSP.ART chiefly
     'a chiefly man' [Daa. 1.3E]

(7) **to̲   ravarava to̲   voon**
     NSP.ART sarong   NSP.ART   new
     'a new sarong'

(8) **tea   gono bona maa̲ kiu vai a   maa̲ be-   beera**
     COMPL get ART PL   work DEM ART PL   RED- big
     '(None of them missed out) in getting these top jobs' [Pur. 1.444R]

Similar to *maa*, numerals are repeated in the adjectival phrase.

(9) **a   bua̲ kiu   a   bua̲ mataa**
     ART two   work   ART two   good
     'the two good jobs' [Pur. 1.578R]

This repetition of a quantifying element is also observed with the diminutive particle, see [TSG_07_06] and with quantifying and collective nominals, see [TSG_06_02], section 5 and 6.

(10) **a   si̲ inu   a   si̲ rutaa**
     ART DIM house   ART DIM little
     'the little house'

(11) **e** **<u>ta</u>** **kaukau** **e** **<u>ta</u>** **tamahaka**
ART piece sweet-potatoe ART piece cooked
'the cooked piece of sweet-potato'

(12) **o** **hum** **kasuana** **o** **hum** **voon**
ART piece land ART piece new
'a new piece of land' [Pur. 1.948R]

As *bona maa kiu vai amaa bebeera* lit. 'these jobs the big (ones)' in (8) shows, the object article only occurs in the first position of the construction. Similar to appositional NPs, the AP is introduced by the basic article. Compare:

(13) **na** **rake- rake** **bata- na** **<u>bona</u> aasun** **<u>e</u>** **keara** **teve**
TAM RED- look.for SIMUL- IMPF:3SG ART tuna, ART brother PREP.3SG
'(he) is looking for the tuna, his brother' [Sha 1.126R]

Adjectival phrases seem to hold the last position of a noun phrase as the following example suggests in which the adjectival phrase follows the demonstrative and the prepositional possessive phrase.

(14) ART PL N DEM [PREP NP]_{PP} [ART PL ADJ]_{AP}

ta **maa** **trakta** **vai** **te- a** **Public Works** **<u>ta</u>** **<u>maa</u>** **<u>hata</u>**
ART PL tractor DEM PREP- ART Public Works ART PL bad
'some of these bad tractors from the Public works' [Pur. 1.990]

7.14 Prepositional attributes

Most prepositional phrases in attributive function are introduced by *te*, see [TSG_07_15], example 1 and 2. Others are rare, e.g.

(1)   **ta**   **karirava**   **mena**   **menaga**
      NSP.ART   *karirava*   for.ART   *menaga*
      'some *karirava*-leaves for the *menaga* (a dish)' [Aro. 2.71R], [Aro. 2.90E]

7.15 Possessive constructions

As other Oceanic languages, Teop distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possessive constructions, but it does not have possessive classifiers in alienable constructions (Lynch et al. 2002: 41-42). In alienable constructions the possessor is expressed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *te*. This prepositional phrase does not differ from other prepositional attributes, e.g.

(1) **a   baara   te -   a   beiko**
ART   ball   PREP- ART   child
'the child's ball'

(2) **a   baara   te-   naa**
ART   ball   PREP- 1SG
'my ball'

In inalienable possessive constructions, nominal possessors and possessor pronouns of the 3rd person are connected with the possessed noun by the possessive marker (POSS) *n-* (SG) and *ri* (PL).

(3) **a   hena-   n-   o   toro**
ART   name-   POSS:SG- ART   ship
'the name of the ship'

(4) **a   hena   n-   e   tetee**
ART   name   POSS- ART   Dad
'Dad's name'

(5) **a   hena ri-   o   moon**
ART   name POSS:PL- ART   woman
'the names(s) of the women'

(6) **a   hena na-   e**
ART   name POSS:SG- 3SG
'his/her name'

(7) **a   hena ri-   ori**
ART   name POSS:PL- 3PL
'their name'

For possessor pronouns of the 1st and the 2nd person see [TSG_06_07], section 2..

The possessive linker and the possessor can be separated from the possessed noun:

(8) **a   taba boo- boha n-   a   overe**
ART   thing RED- break POSS- ART   coconut
'something to break the coconut with'
(lit. 'the breaking thing of the coconut') [Aro. 4.38R]

(9) **te-   a   tane- taneo rakaha na-   e**
PREP- ART   RED- begin very   POSS- 3SG
'at its very beginning' [Sap. 1.100R].

The meaning of alienable and inalienable possessive constructions

With a few exceptions, alienable possessive constructions express ownership, action-agent relationships and similar relationships in which someone has more or less control over something.

(10)   **a inu tenaa**   my house

        a kaara tenaa   my car

        a kiu tenaa   my work

a tootoo tenaa my life

The exceptions are the constructions of informal kinship terms, e.g. *e bubuu* 'granny', *e iaa* 'mum', and *e keara* 'sister of a woman, brother of a man'.

(11) **e bubuu tenaa** my grandpa, my grandma

e tetee tenaa my dad

e iaa tenaa my mum

e keara tenaa my sister/brother

Inalienable possessive constructions express relationships in which the possessor has no control over the controlled, for example, close relationships like kinship, part-whole relationships and the relationship between an action and a patient, see also example (9) and [TSG_07_17].

(12) **e sina-naa** my mother

a kuri-naa my hand

a kavara na vahara beiko all the children

a tanetaneo nae its beginning

a koro no potee the carving of the canoe [Mor. 4.1R]

Inalienable constructions are also used with local nouns, e.g.

(13) **paa-** **n-** **o** **tako**
under- POSS- ART *tako*-tree
'under the *tako*-tree'

Inalienability is not a lexical category of nominals. Rather, types of construction are classified as alienable and inalienable. Therefore, one and the same nominal can enter an alienable and an inalienable construction:

(14) **a** **vuhun** **te-** **ve**
ART bow PREP- 3SG
'his bow ('the bow that he uses' [Mor. 2.17R]

(15) **a** **vuhun-** **man**
ART bow- 2SG
'your bow ('the bow that will kill you' [Aro. 7.87R]

7.16 The attributive *vaa*-phrase

The linker *vaa* connects locative and associative attributes to the nucleus of the noun phrase, see [TSG_05_02], section 7, [TSG_06_10].:

(1) **a   abana   <u>vaa</u>   <u>Teapu</u>**
     ART   people   LK   Teop.Island
     'the people of Teop Island'

(2) **a   tootoo   te-   naa   vaa   te-   a   vaasusu**
     ART   life   PREP- 1SG   LK   PREP   ART   teach
     'my life as a teacher' (lit. 'my life associated with teaching')[Pur. 1.1R]

7.17 Nominalisation

We speak of nominalisation when a verbal forms the nucleus of a noun phrase. Note that such nominalisations are not morphologically marked. The verbals can form the nucleus of noun phrases and enter the alienable and the inalienable possessive construction (see [TSG_07_15]):

(1) **o   moroko   <u>te-   an</u>**
     ART   speech   PREP- 2SG
     'your speech' (TD)

(2) **o   moroko   <u>n-   o   kasuana</u>**
     ART   talk   POSS- ART land
     'the talk about the land' (TD)

The verbals can also keep verbal properties such as being combined with an adverb (3), a directional particle (4), or an object instead of an inlaienable possesor (4, 6):

(3) **ahiki   ta   popo   <u>va-   tamaka</u>**
     not.exist NSP.ART live   ADV- sad
     'there wasn't any sad life' [Nan. 3.6E]

(4) **a   kiu   te- ori   koa   a   dee   <u>maa</u> bona   taba-an**
     ART work PREP- 3PL   only   ART   carry DIR   ART   thing-eat
     'their only work is bringing the food,' :[San. 3.34R]

In (4) the nominalisation *a dee maa bona taba an* , lit. 'the carrying hither the food', contains a primary object marked by the object article. Since primary objects are only marked by the object article (*bona* here) if the subject is a 3rd person, we assume that the nominalisation *a dee maa* 'the bringing' has an implied 3rd person subject that is grammatically relevant. If our assumption is correct, the same nominalisation should have an object with a basic article if the implied subject is 1st or 2nd person

(5) ?**A   kiu   te- naa   koa   a   dee   maa   <u>a   taba-an</u>**
     ART work PREP- 3PL   only   ART   carry DIR   ART   thing-eat
     My only work is bringing the food.

Unfortunately the corpus does not contain nominalisations of this kind. The next example shows a nominalisation with an incorporated preposition and an object marker that cross-references the object:

(6) **me- a   vavaasuku te- a   maa   moon   me- ri   <u>bona abana   vaari ei</u>**
     and- ART   fall.in.love PREP ART   PL   woman with- OBJ   ART   men   DEM DEM
     'and the falling in love of the women with these men' [Mom. 1.156E]

But nominalisations can also be used without any argument, just emphasising the state of affairs as such as in (3) or the following example (7), both being existential clauses:

(7) **Te- o   kake,   ahiki ta   meha   taba to   paku na- e,**
     PREP-ART hut   NEG   ART   other   thing REL   do   IMPF- 3SG
     <u>a   goroho   koa</u>
     ART   sleep   only
     'In the hut, there was nothing to do but sleep.'
     lit. 'In the hust, there wasn't any other thing that he did, there was only sleeping. [Sia. 1.51E]

7.18 The sequential order of noun phrase constituents

Quantifying expressions precede the nucleus, while demonstratives and lexical attributes follow.

(1)   ARTICLE + PLURAL MARKER + DIMINUTIVE + *vahara* + N + NOMINAL ATTRIBUTE

bona   maa   si   vahara   beiko   otei
ART   PL   DIM   little.PL   child   male
'the dear little boys' [Kae 3.250R]

(2)   ARTICLE + PLURAL MARKER + DIMINUTIVE + *vahara* + N + NOMINAL ATTTRIBUTE

bona maa si   ta   tovu   teve
ART   PL   DIM   piece sugar.cane   PREP.3SG
'his pieces of sugar cane' [Nan. 3.75E]

(3)   ARTICLE + NUMERAL + DIMINUTIVE + RECIPROCAL + N

a   bua   si   tom   magee   bari
ART   two.ART DIM   REC   friend   DEM
'these two little friends' [Gol. 1.2R]

Numerals and adjectivals usually do not directly modify the head noun, but function as the head of numeral and adjectival phrases that modify the NP:

(4)   [ARTICLE + *meha* + NUMERAL]$_{NUMP}$ + [ART   *meha* N]$_{NP}$

[a   meha   dorana]   **[a   meha tarakta]**
ART   other   four   ART   other tractor
'another four tractors' [Pur.1.939]

(5)   [ART PL N DEM]$_{NP}$ [PREP NP]$_{PP}$ [ART PL ADJ]$_{AP}$

[ta   maa trak vai] [te-   a   Public Works] [ta   maa   hata]
ART   PL   truck DEM   PREP- ART   Public Works   ART   PL   bad
 'some of these bad trucks from the Public works' [Pur. 1.990]

These appositional modifying phrases show agreement with respect noun class, specificity and number with the noun phrase they modify. The modifying AP follows the possessive PP in (4).

8 The verb complex

8.1 The elements of the verb complex and their sequential order

The predicate of Teop verbal clauses is formed by the VC, which besides can contain the following elements:

- prenuclear tense/aspect/mood particles (TAM), see [TSG_08_02]

- a discontinuous negation (NEG _ NEG), see [TSG_08_08]

- an incorporated nominal (N), see [TSG_08_03]

- serial verbs (V_2 V_3), see [TSG_08_05]

- several adverbs in prenuclear and post nuclear position (ADV_1 ADV_2, ADV_3 ADV_4)

- a valence-changing clitic (APP) or an incorporated preposition, see [TSG_08_06], [TSG_06_09]

- an object marker (OBJ), see [TSG_06_07]

- a directional particle (DIR), see [TSG_06_11]

The sequential order of the VC elements is:

> NEG TAM ADV_1 **V_1** N V_2 V_3 ADV_2 NEG ADV_3 APP/PREP OBJ DIR IM ADV_4 IMPF

The boundaries of the verb phrase are defined by the negation *saka/ sa* or the initial TAM particle and the phrase final imperfective aspect marker (IMPF). The IMPF marker is a portemanteau morph which indicates imperfective aspect and person, see [TSG_06_07], section 4. For example:

(1) **saka tapaku pinopino   bata   haa-na**
      NEG   be.done be.unorganised SIMUL   NEG-IMPF:3SG
      'it is not done in an unorganised way' [Daa. 2.122R]

The number, the form and the semantic role of arguments is determined by the valence of the VC, which can be different from the valence of the verb and the root of the verb. An intransitive verb, for instance, can combine with an applicative particle (2b) or an incorporated preposition (3) and form a transitive VC:

(2a) **enaa [na   moroko   nom]**
       1SG   TAM talk   IMPF:1SG
       'I am talking.'

(2b) **enaa [na   moroko <u>ni</u>   nom]   a   otei vai**
       1SG   TAM talk   APP   IMPF:1SG   ART   man   DEM
       'I am talking about this man.' [Daa. 2.92R]

(3) **O   bai   bona he**
      ART mango   DEM CONJ
      [na   sun nanaoana   rakaha kahi nana]   bona   vaan.
      TAM stand be.far.away   very   from IMPF:3SG ART   village
      'This mango tree stood far away from the village.' [Mat. 1.5R]

On the other hand, a transitive verb, e.g. *rakerake* 'look for s.th.' can combine with an incorporated object and thus yield an intransitive VC.

(4a)   **[Na   rakerake   rori]   <u>bona kehaa   vai</u>**
 TAM   search.for   IMPF:3PL   ART   shell   DEM
 'They are looking for this shell.'

(4b)   **[Na   rakerake   <u>kehaa</u>   rori.]**
 TAM   search.for   shell   IMPF:3PL
 'They are looking for shells.'

8.2 Tense, aspect and mood

In our corpus we have identified a number of prenuclear tense/ aspect/ mood markers (TAM) some of which can be combined with the postnuclear immediateness marker (IM), and the imperfective aspect marker (IMPF, cf. [TSG_06_07] section 5).

The immediateness marker – hence its name – expresses that a past or future event or state of being is immediately related to or relevant for the time of the utterance or the time talked about..

Table 1: TAM makers

TAM	description
kahi	event/ state of affairs that occurs in the future or after a point of reference in the past
na	present or past event/ state of affairs
paa	event/ state of affairs that involves a change of the preceeding situation; either in the past or in the future
pasi	event/ state of affairs in the future
mene	event/ state of affairs that is to be avoided
tau	event that occurs immediately after the point of reference in the past or the moment of the utterance
toro	obligation

There are also many contexts where the verb complex does not contain any TAM marker.

The function of the tense, aspect and mood markers has not been analysed in detail yet. In particular, we have not investigated

- which TAM markers can cooccur with particular temporal adverbs, e.g. *bata* 'at the same time, simultaneously, along', *roho* 'before', *vaevuru* 'already';

- how the semantics of verbals interacts with the meaning of TAM markers and whether or not there are semantic types of verbals that cannot occur with certain TAM markers;

- if the negation can be combined with all TAM markers;

- under which conditions or in which contexts verbal clauses do not have any TAM marking;

- the function of reduplication.

Therefore, the descriptions below cannot be regarded as comclusive.

8.2.1 *kahi*

Without any further tense or aspect markers, *kahi* locates the event in the future as seen from the moment of the utterance

(1) **Enaa kahi nao tea   tara te- a   taba vai**
    1SG TAM go   COMPL look PREP- ART thing DEM
    'I'll go to have a look at this thing ...' [Pur. 5.16E]

or a point of time in the past:

(2) **Tavusu vai o   boni to   <u>kahi</u> nao pete   ni   ori.**
     come   now ART day REL TAM go continue APP 3PL
     'Now the time came to move on.' (lit. 'that they would continue to go'). [Sii. 1.130R]

It is also used in counterfactual conditional clauses, see [TSG_10_06].

kahi + IMPF

When *kahi* is used with the imperfective aspect marker (IMPF), the event talked about follows immediately after the utterance, happening within a time span that seems to be conceptualised as present:

(3) **Naa <u>kahi</u> asun u-   <u>nom</u>- an   ei!**
     1SG TAM kill OBJ- IMPF-2SG   now
     'I'll kill you now!' [Aro. 2.111R], cf. [Viv. 1.117R]

We frequently find *kahi* + IMPF in the introductory sentences of narratives:

(4) **Enaa <u>kahi</u> hutate   ni   <u>nom</u> a   oraa vai   nabunuu.**
     1SG TAM tell.story APP IMPF ART spirit of   olden.days
     'I am going to tell a story about a spirit from the olden days.' [San. 1.0-1R]

In combination with the imperfective aspect marker, *kahi* can also express habitual or iterative actions in the past.

(5) **Be   Moogee <u>kahi</u> peha te-   o   naono**,
     when Monkey TAM climb PREP- ART   tree
     'Whenever Monkey climbed a tree,

     o   naono bona <u>kahi</u> tagaru nana -
     ART tree   DEM TAM shake   IMPF
     the tree would be shaking,

     o-   re   kuu oha maa.
     3SG- CONJ fall pass DIR
     so that it would fall down.' [Val. 2.73-75R]

The habitual use of *kahi* is frequently found in the interviews on traditional practices.

kahi + u

The meaning of *kahi* in combination with the immediateness marker (IM) *u* is less clear than the combination *paa* + *u* (see below). The combination *kahi* ... *u* seems to indicate that the event is of immediate relevance for what is going to happen later or is planned for the future.

(6) **E   masta   vai <u>kahi</u> vaahae   <u>vu</u> ara- ara**
     ART white.man DEM TAM give.a.lift IM   OBJ:1INC-PRON:1INC
     <u>kahi</u> sue ki-   <u>u</u>   naa
     TAM tell DAT- IM   1SG
     o- re   vaahae   araara
     3SG CONJ give.a.lift us
     a-   re   gunaha   maa,
     1INC CONJ get.down   DIR
     'The white man will give us a lift, I'll tell him to give us a lift so that we'll get down.' [Pur. 2.259 R]

8.2.2 *na*

Na occurs by itself or in combination with the imperfective aspect. In contrast to all other TAM markers, it only occurs in VCs denoting events that actually happen or happened and therefore could be called a realis marker.

In the first example *na* refers to the past, whereas the reduplication expresses habituality and the adverb *roho* that this was a long time ago.

(7) **Te- o   peho vuri a   peha si   otei <u>na</u> tei - tei   roho**
    PREP- ART one time ART   one DIM man TAM RED- be   before
    'Once upon a time, there was a man, ...' [Val. 2.0E]

When *na* is combined with the imperfective aspect, the VC can express a past event of some duration that is the background for some other event, or it locates the event in the actual present:

(8) **Te- o   peho vuri, eori <u>na</u> tei   <u>rori</u> te- o   peho naono**
    PREP- ART one time 3PL TAM stay IMPF PREP- ART   one tree
    'Once they were staying on a tree.' [Val. 2.10-11R]

(9) **Ean bene <u>na</u> tei   <u>nom</u> paa- n-   o   kasuana?**
     2SG DEM TAM stay IMPF below-POSS- ART   ground
    'Are you staying below the surface of the ground?' [Val. 2.67 R]

8.2.3 *paa*

Paa expresses a change of situation in the past or the future:

(10) **Eori he   tei   rori Solomon**
     3PL CONJ stay   IMPF Solomon
     me   iaa   <u>paa</u>   gigo   a-   naa Solomon
     and   mum TAM   pregnant OBJ- 1SG Solomons
     'While they were staying in the Solomons, mum got pregnant with me in the Solomon Islands'
     [Sii. 2.114-116 R]

(11) **Be-an   rake tea   nao, ean paa nao papahiana.**
     if- 2SG   want COMPL go   2SG TAM go   alone
     'If you want to go, you go by yourself.' [Aro. 5.142R]

paa + u

The immediateness marker *u* specifies that a change of situation is immediately relevant for the current situation. In the following example the parents have just arrived with their daughter at her future parents-in-law's house. They say:

(12) **Bara,   enam ei,**
     alright EXC DEM
     'Alright, we are here,
     Enam   <u>paa</u> mee ma- <u>u</u>   e   Taguone   tea   atono.
     EXC   TAM take DIR- IM   ART Taguone   COMPL leave.with.s.o.
     We have brought Taguone to leave (her) with (you).

eam	**paa**	**kikira**	**va-**	**mataa**	**ni-**	**a**	**sahata**	**te-**	**nam.**"
2PL	TAM	look.after	ADV-	good	APP-	ART	dear	PREP-	1EXC

you take good care of our dear." [Iar. 2.240-241R]

Note that *paa* in the last clause of the example refers to a future event.

paa + IMPF

The combination of *paa* with the imperfective aspect is rare. The following example suggests that it expresses a state of being that has resulted from a previous change of state:

(13) **Paa** **asun** **vaevuru** **maa**[1] **nom.**
        TAM   kill   now   DIR   IMPF
        '(She) is killed now.' [Aro. 6.92 R]

8.2.4 *pasi*

Pasi is similar to *kahi* in that it refers to future or counterfactual events, but it is less frequent than *kahi*. The difference between *pasi* and *kahi* is not quite clear. Its frequent use with the second person suggests that it is more polite or less determined that *kahi*.

(14) *pasi* + IMPF and *pasi* + IM

      Eara **pasi** **nao** **rara** **tahii** **ei.**
      1INC TAM   go   IMPF   sea   now
      'We will go to the sea now.' [Sii. 6.163]

pasi + *u*

Similar to *kahi* + *u*, *pasi* + *u* expresses that a future event is immediately relevant for a later subsequent event, which in the following example is the killing of the person. Note that this event is followed by a change of situation indicated by *paa* in *paa gunaha*.

(15) | **Ean** | **pasi** | **gono** | **ka** | **ma-** | **u** | **a** | **naa** | **o** | **taapeau, taapeau** | **te-** | **naa** |
      |---------|----------|----------|--------|---------|-------|-------|---------|-------|---------------------|---------|--------|
      | 2SG | TAM | get | DAT.OBJ- | DIR- | IM | OBJ- | 1SG | ART | spear   spear | PREP- | 1SG |

      'You should get me a spear, my spear

eara	**paa**	**gunaha,**	**enaa**	**re**	**asun**	**vamate**	**nom**	**a**	**aba**
1INC	TAM	go.down	1SG	CONJ	hit	dead	IMPF	ART	person

      we go down, and then I will kill the person.' [Eno. 1.141-143R]

pasi + IMPF

The combination of the *pasi* with the imperfective aspect expresses very much the same temporal relation as *kahi* + IMPF:

(16) **Eam** **pasi** **tei** **nom** **be-** **naa** **nao** **tea** **vaahiipi.**
        2PL TAM   stay   IMPF   when 1SG   go   COMPL   hunt.pigs
        'You will be staying here, while I go pig hunting.' [Mat. 1.47R]

It also occurs in the introductory sentences of stories (cf. [Auv. 1.0R]; [Tah. 1.0R].

---

[1] DIR 'for us, as we can see now'.

8.2.5 *mene*

Mene is used to express apprehensions and warnings, and translates as 'might, lest, otherwise, or else':

(17) **Aha! Ean <u>mene</u>   ani   anaa,   ean   a   roosuu.**
Aha! 2SG TAM   eat   me   2SG   ART   giant
(The poor man saw the giant and he got frightened and said,)
'Aha! I am afraid you will eat me, you are a giant!' [San. 2.14-15E]

In the next example *mene* expresses a warning:

(18) **Ean   toro   gunaha koa,**
2SG   must   go.down just
enaa <u>mene</u> busu ni   ki-   vu-   an   te-   o   bakubaku
1SG   TAM   throw APP DAT- OBJ- 2SG PREP- ART   shark
o-   re   paa   an   vu-   an!
3SG/PL- CONJ TAM   eat   OBJ   2SG
'You must go down now, or else I throw you to the the sharks
so that they eat you!' [Vae. 1. 324-325R]

8.2.6 *tau*

Similar to *kahi*, *tau* locates an event in the future. In most contexts it is translated by 'be about to'. The story from which the example above (18) is taken continues:

(19) **Me   roosuu paa sue   ki   nao   bona,**
and.ART giant   TAM say   DAT   DIR   3SG
"Ahiki, enaa <u>tau</u>   sa   an   haa vu-   an,
 no   1SG   TAM NEG   eat   NEG OBJ- 2SG
enaa <u>tau</u>   vaasusu vu-   an   tea   paku a   peha taba mene haihai vu   an!"
1SG   TAM teach   OBJ- 2SG COMP make ART   one   thing for   help   OBJ- 2SG
'And the giant said to him, "No, I am not about to eat you,
I am going to teach you something for helping you."'[San 2.16-17E]

Similar to *kahi* and *pasi, tau* is found in the introductory sentences of narratives, e.g.

(20) **Enaa   <u>tau</u>   vahutate   ni-   o   vahutate ...**
1SG   TAM   tell   APP- ART   story
'I am about to tell a story ...' [Mor. 2.0R]; [Mor. 3.1R]; [Val. 1.1R]

8.2.7 *toro*

In most contexts *toro* expresses obligation:

(21) **Ean <u>toro</u> vagana   maa.**
2SG   must   go.fishing   DIR
'You must go fishing for us.' [Iar 2.134 R]

(22) **Me- ori   paa   paku   bono   peho   vakokona**
     and   3PL   TAM   make   ART   one   plan
     toro   murina   ori.
     must   follow   3PL
     'And they made a plan that they had to follow.' [Val 2.22-23 R]

But *toro* can also be used to express that someone wanted something to happen, e.g.

(23) **Ei   na   rake   nana   ta   aba   toro   nao   mi-   e   tahii.**
     now   TAM   want   IMPF   ART   person   could   go   with-   3SG:SUBJ   sea
     'Now he wanted a person he could go with to the sea.' [Aro. 5.8-9 R]

or imagined something to happen that did not happen, e.g.

(24) **Enaa   hiki   roho   to   hum   toro   hae   maa.**
     1SG   not.have   before   ART   place   could   board   DIR
     'I did not have a place where I could board.' [Aro. 15.49 R)

Note that in both examples *toro* occurs in the predicate of a relative clause that modifies a non-specific NP. Relative clauses with *toro* lack the relative pronoun *to*. For relative clauses see [TSG_10_02].

8.2.8 The imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect marker expresses that a situation is simultaneous with the moment of the utterance or some other point of reference given by the context, e.g.

(25) **Materua,   havee   to   paku   vaha   mi   nom-   an   a   beiko?**
     Materua,   what   REL   do   again   with   IMPF-   2SG   ART   child
     'What are you doing with the child?' [Aro. 6.44 R]

(26) **Be-   a   otei   nao   tea   tataeana,   e   subuava   na   nao   bata- na.**
     when   ART   man   go   COMPL   defecate   ART   old.woman   TAM   go   along-IMPF
     'When the man went to the toilet, the old women went along (with him).' [Aro. 7.58-59R]

The imperfective aspect can be used with the imperative:

(27) **O   Gii, Gii   paapoo   mi   nom   a   sibono   maanii,**
     Oh   Gii, Gii   stay.at.home   with   IMPF   ART   rack   possum
     nam   nao   nao   roho   mohina ...
     1EXC   go   DIR   first   garden
     'Oh Gii, Gii stay at home with the possum rack, we go to the garden ...' [Aro 2.39-41R]

8.3 Incorporated nominals

Incorporated nominals directly follow the head of the verb complex and can express various semantic roles such as the patient (1), the place (2) or the cause (3). If the head of the verb complex is a transitive verbal, the verb phrase can be intransitivised by the incorporation of a nominal. Compare the two turns in the following dialogue: the first one shows an incorporated nominal with an indefinite meaning (i.e. *karuu*), the second one the corresponding definite noun phrase (i.e. *amaa kuruu ei*):

(1) **"Bara, ean paa osi <u>karuu</u>   ma- u?"   .**
     well 2SG TAM pick nut   DIR- IM
     '"Well, did you pick <u>nuts</u>?"

     "A! Enaa paa osi   vaevuru   maa a-   maa <u>karuu</u>   ei."
     yea 1SG TAM pick already   DIR ART- PL   nut   DEM
     "Yes, I already picked <u>the nuts</u> now."' [Vae. 1.79-80R]

In the next example the nominal *kasuana* is first used in a locative prepositional phrase and then incorporated. In both cases it denotes the place where the child is put.

(2) **Kahi va- hio ri-   ori <u>te-   o</u>   kasuana.**
     TAM CAUS-sit   IMPF- 3PL PREP-ART   ground
     'They are going to make (him) sit <u>on the ground</u>.' [Kor.18R]

     ... me-ori paa va- hio <u>kasuana-</u>   u   bona   beiko.
      and-3PL TAM CAUS-sit ground   IM   ART   child
     '...and they have made the child sit <u>(on the) ground</u>.' [Kor. 13-14R]

Finally, incorporated nominals can express the cause of an event. The example given below comes from a legend. The giant sees a leaf from his breadfruit tree hovering in the air and asks the leaf:

(3) **Ean   paa ta-   pesu   <u>kukurii</u>   ma- u   gee?**
     2SG   TAM AC-   pick   little.snake DIR- IM   or
     'Did you broke off <u>(because of a) snake</u>?

     Ean   paa ta-   pesu   <u>iravata</u>   ma- u   gee?
     2SG   TAM AC-   pick   wind   DIR- IM   or
     Did you broke off <u>(because of the) wind</u>?' [Mor. 2.45-46R]

8.4 Adverbials

Similar to the categories of noun, verb and adjective, the category of adverbial is defined as a syntactic category. With the exception of nominals, all content words that function as a modifier in a verb complex are classified as adverbials and abbreviated as *adv.* in the Teop lexical database. This syntactic definition includes:

adverbs which by definition only occur as modifiers of verbals

(1) **O   suraa   toro   asi   va-   mataa.**
    ART   fire   must   burn   ADV- good
    'The fire must burn well.' [Hel. 3.31R]

(2) **Enaa kahi pahin   vahio   koa   u-   nom- an.**
    1SG   TAM immediately marry   just   IM-   IMPF- 2SG
    'I will immediately marry you.' [Daa. 1.255R]

adjectivals

(3) **E   guu   na   dee   peree ri-   ori,**
    ART   pig   TAM   take   raw   IMPF:3PL-   PRON:3PL
    They take the pig raw (i.e. their portions) [Kae. 1.78R]

and verbals (serial verbs) like *pete* in sentences below:

(4) **Ean   toro vaasusu   pete   ama-   nam.**
    2SG   must   teach   continue   OBJ:1EXC- PRON:1EXC
    'You must continue to teach us.' [Sii. 6.69R]

All adverbials have a fixed position within the verb complex, though only a few occur before the nucleus. These can be found in the Teop lexical database by searching for the *ps/* field for *preverbal adv.*

The serial verbs are discussed in the next section [TSG_08_05].

8.5 Serial verbs

Strictly speaking, serial verbs are verbals that follow the head of a verb complex and function as an adverbial. But we stick to the common term *serial verbs* and treat them here in a separate section because *serial verb* has become a well established category in linguistics. For this reason we also used the term VERB SERIALISATION as a keyword in the grammatical notes of the R- and E-versions of the corpus of annotated recordings.

The data show up to three verbals in a serial verb construction:

(1)   **Gono koa bona ta   naono, me   [navuhu booboha]   bono sinivi**
       got   just   ART piece wood   and   hit   break   ART canoe
       '(He) just got the stick and hit the canoe to pieces.' [Aro. 2.112R]

(2)   **Ean re- [paa gono takun   tavus   kahi] e   bono   suraa**
       2SG CONJ- TAM get   collect   go.out   from 3SG ART   fire
       'Then you take them out of the fire.' [Hel. 4.16R]

The syntactic and semantic relations that hold between the serial verbs themselves and between the serial verbs and the arguments of the clause can be quite complicated as the following example shows.

(3)   **... me ori [paa taneo popo potee]   bona bua tom tana**.
         and 3PL TAM start live be.like   ART two   REC couple
     '... and they started living together like a couple.' [Nah. 2.103E]

The head of the VC is *taneo* 'start' which as a transitive verbal governs *popo* 'live'. The intransitive verbal *popo* 'live' is modified by the verbal *potee*'be like'. Through *potee* the verb complex becomes transitive and governs the primary object *bona bua tom tana* 'a couple'. Similar examples where the valence of the VC is increased by a serial verb are the following two clauses in which the serial verb construction consists of two verbals and expresses two simultaneous events:

(4)   **me-ori [paa vagana umee]   bono gohoho**.
       and-3PL TAM fish   forget   ART tide
       'and they fished (and) forgot about the in-coming tide.' [Iar. 2.72E]

(5)   **Me - ori [varavihi ihuana rori]   ta   aba**
       and- 3PL hide   wait   IMPF   ART person   ...
       'They were hiding (and) waiting for someone ...' [Eno. 1.156R]

The next example also shows valence increase but here the nucleus is an adjectival:

(6)   **Enaa [na kikisi oha-   u   nom] an**.
       1SG TAM strong   surpass- OBJ:2SG IMPF 2SG
       'I am stronger than you.' [Val. 2.10E]

The construction of an adjectival followed by the serial verb *oha* is the common expression for comparison.

For further information on serial verbs search the corpus under the keyword VERB SERIALISATION and Reinig (2004).

8.6 The applicative

The applicative is expressed by the particle *ni* which follows the head of the verb complex and its lexical modifiers but precedes the object marker, the directional particle, the immediateness marker and the adverb *roho*. It changes the valence of the VC in that it introduces a new primary object or promotes a secondary object or adjunct to the position of a primary object. With 1st and 2nd person pronominal objects, the applicative particle is combined with the incorporated dative preposition *ki/ k-*.

(1) **Enaa [na   tamaka kurus   ni   ki-   u   nom] an.**
     1SG   TAM sad   very   APP   DAT- OBJ:2SG IMPF 2SG
     'I feel very sorry for you.' [Sia. 1.66 E]

8.6.1 The applicative with intransitive verbs

When combined with intransitive verbs (i.e. intransitive verbal heads of VCs), the applicative transtivises the verb complex so that it governs a primary object:

(2) **Enaa na   tamaka   nom**
     1SG   TAM sad   IMPF
     'I am sad'

(3) **Enaa [na   tamaka   ni   nom]-ee.**
     1SG   TAM sad   APP   IMPF- 3SG
     'I am sad about it/ because of it.' [Pur. 2.444R]

The applicative particle is regularly used with verbs of emotion to express who or what the emotion is aimed at, e.g. *hevee ni* 'be angry with', *mararae ni* 'be happy about, etc. Other semantic roles expressed by applied objects are cause, instrument, and content:

Table 1: Semantic roles of applied objects:

	simple verb		applicative		Examples
instrument	**vagana**	go fishing	**vagana ni**	use for fishing	[Sii. 6.17E]
	magisi	warm o.s.	**magisi ni**	use for warming o.s.	[Aro. 7.49E]
cause	**goroho**	sleep	**goroho ni**	sleep because of	[Sii. 2.249R]
	mate	die	**mate ni**	die of	[TD *behu*]
	oga	cry	**oga ni**	cry of	[Aro 1.16E]
content	**moroko**	speak	**moroko ni**	speak about	[Daa. 2.11]
	vahutate	tell a story	**vahutate**	tell a story about	[Mor. 2.0E]

8.6.2 The applicative with transitive verbs

The applicative does not seem to occur with transitive verbs. Verbs denoting actions that affect s.o. or s.th. and can be carried out with an instrument can be used in ditransitive constructions with the primary object referring to the patient and the secondary one to the instrument:

(4) SUBJ   VC   OBJ:patient

     [Enaa] [kahi asun u-   nom]-[an]!
     1SG   TAM kill OBJ:2SG   IMPF- 2SG

     'I am going to kill you!' [San. 1.107R]

(5)   SUBJ   OBJ1:patient   OBJ2:instrument

me- **[ori] paa** <u>**asun**</u> **[bari]**   **[bona maa taba vaasuasun te-**   **ori]**
and   3PL   TAM   kill   4SG/PL   ART   PL   thing   fight   PREP-   3PL
'and they killed him with their weapons.' [Sii. 6.308E]

(6)   SUBJ   VC   OBJ:theme

me- **[ori]**   **[paa gono maa] [bona maa taapeau].**
and   3PL   TAM   get   DIR   ART   PL   spear
'and they got their spears' [Sii. 6.292E]

(7)   SUBJ   VC   OBJ1:theme   OBJ2:instrument

[A]- re   **[paa gono vaha]** **[o**   **vasu o**   **hihivaa] [bono kakapihi].**
1EXC   CONJ   TAM   get   again   ART   stone   ART   hot   ART   tongs
'Then we get the hot stones again with the tongs.' [Hel. 1.51R]

8.6.3 The applicative with ditransitive verbs

There are two types of simple (non-causative) ditransitive verbs: the recipient oriented verbs that take a recipient and the patient oriented verbs that take a patient as their primary object, see [TSG_06_03], section 1.2. When these verbs are combined with the applicative particle, their secondary object takes the position of the primary object, while the original primary object is removed or demoted to the position of an adjunct.

A typical ditransitive recipient oriented verbal is *hee* 'give s.o. s.th.', e.g.

(8)   SUBJ:agent VC   OBJ1:recipient   OBJ2:theme

Me   **[Toko]**   **[paa** <u>**hee**</u>**]**   **[bene Sookara]**   **[bona overe].**
and.ART   Toko   TAM   give   ART   Sookara   ART   coconut
'Toko gave Sookara the coconut.' (compare [Sia. 1.68E]

When *hee* is used with the applicative, the theme becomes the primary object whereas the recipient is either removed or demoted to the position of an adjunct.

(9)   SUBJ:agent VC   OBJ1:theme   ADJUNCT:recipient

[eori to] **[hee** <u>**ni**</u>   **nao-ri]**   **[bona**   **taba ani]**   **[**<u>**vo**</u>   **kuri- ri-**   **ori]**
3PL   REL   give   APP   DIR-IMPF:3PL   ART   ART   thing   eat   GOAL   hand-   POSS-   3PL
'it is them who give the food into their hands' [Bua. 1.221R]

(10)   OBJ1:theme   VC   SUBJ:agent

[A   **maa iana bara maa meha**   **taba] [hee** <u>**ni**</u>   **nao**   **nom] [nam]**
ART   PL   fish   and   PL   other   thing   give   APP   DIR   IMPF   1EXC
'Fish and other things we gave' [Pur. 2.272R]

(11)   OBJ1:theme VC   SUBJ:agent ADJUNCT:time

Eori koa **o**   **taba [to] [**<u>**hee- hee**</u>   <u>**ni**</u>   **roho]**   **[ara]**   **[nabunuu].**
3PL   just   ART   thing REL   RED- give   APP   before   1INC   in.the.olden.days
'These are the things that we used to give in the olden days.' [MLV 2.27 R]

This means that the use of the applicative results in valence reduction.

With ditransitive patient oriented verbs the applicative promotes the instrumental secondary object to the primary object position and demotes the patient object.

(12)   OBJ2:instr. VC   SUBJ   OBJ1:patient

Me   paa   sue   ki   bona [bona taba] [toro booboha]   e   bona overe,
and   TAM   say   DAT   4SG   ART   thing must break   3SG   ART   coconut
and   said   to   her   the   thing must break   she   the   coconut
'And (the old woman) told her what to use for breaking the coconut.'[1]

me   paa   boha voen,
and   TAM   say   this

                        VC   OBJ1:instrument

"Ahiki, enaa [na   booboha   ni   nom] [a   kahoo ri-   o   aba]."
no   1SG   TAM break   APP   IMPF ART Kopf   POSS-ART   person
and (she) said, "No, I only use the head of human beings for breaking."

VC   OBJ1:instrument

[Booboha   vai   ni] [bona   kahoo n-   e   subuava.]
break   then APP   ART   head   POSS- ART   old.woman
'Then (she) used the old woman's head for breaking.' [Aro. 4.102-104R]

Again the applicative serves as a means of valence reduction. The same applies to the applicative construction with *gono* (see example (7)):

(13) **"Eam   o   upa?"**
     2PL   ART   unable.to.fish
      "Are you unable to catch fish?"

"Ahiki, enam   na   toku   koa   nom
 no   1EXC.PL TAM   not.know just   IMPF

[OBJ1:instrument]   [VC   ]   [SUBJ:agent]

[a   tabae]   [toro gono ni]   [nam]."
ART   what   must get APP   1EXC.PL

"No, we just don't know what me must use to get (some)." [Sii 6.13-14R]

---

[1] Lit. 'told her the thing she must break the coconut with.' The NP *bona taba* 'the thing' is the secondary object of the verb *sue* in the matrix clause and simultaneously the topicalised secondary object of the embedded clause.

8.7 The directional particles

There are two directional particles:

maa   'hither, towards the deictic centre of who or what is talked about'
nao   'thither, away from the deictic centre of who or what is talked about'

The directional particles occur in the verb complex after the applicative particle or an incorporated preposition and before the immediateness marker:

V ADV APP/ PREP **maa/nao** IM IMPF

They are most frequently combined with motion verbs and verbals of communication. With motion verbs they specify the direction of the movement and can often be translated by 'come' and 'go', e.g.

(1)   **Gunaha   maa!**
      move.down DIR
      'Come down <u>here</u>!'

With communication verbals *maa* and *nao* can be used instead of an argument referring to the addressee:

(2)   **Be-a   paree hivi maa, ean re-   paa   sue   nao,** ...
      if- ART   *paree* ask   DIR   2SG   CONJ-TAM   say   DIR
      'If the *paree* asks <u>you</u>, then you say <u>to him</u>, ... [Mor. 3.61E]

The directional particle *maa* is also used to express that the subject is the beneficiary of an action.

(3)   **enaa paa asun   vaevuru maa e   Suvin**
      1SG   TAM kill   already DIR   ART   PN
      'I have already killed Suvin <u>for us</u>' [San. 1.88E]

8.8 Negation

The negation *saka ... haa* is a discontinuous morpheme. While *saka* holds the first position in the clause, *haa* occurs after the lexical elements of the verb complex, i.e. it comes after the adverbs which are derived by *va-* from adjectivals.

(1) **E   Ririgono   he   <u>saka</u> baitono pete   <u>haa</u>.**
    ART   Ririgono   CONJ NEG listen   continue NEG
    'But Ririgono was still not listening.' [Nah. 1.58E]

(2) **A   moon   bona <u>saka</u> tei   <u>haa</u> mi   nana   bono   navisi.**
    ART   woman DEM NEG be   NEG with IMPF   ART   vagina
    'This woman did not have a vagina.' (lit. 'was not with a vagina') [Pur. 5.68E]

The negation *saka ... haa* does not only negate verbals like *baitono* (1) or *tei* (2), but also nominals (3), pronouns (4), nominal constructions (5) and prepositional phrases (6):

(3)   negated nominal

    <u>saka</u> abana   <u>haa</u>- ri
    NEG   men   NEG- IMPF:3PL
    'They were not men.' [San. 2.35E]

(4)   negated pronoun

    <u>Saka</u> eara   <u>haa</u>- na   a   abana   to   pasi gogi   rara.
    NEG   PRON:1INC NEG IMPF:3SG ART men   REL   TAM *gogi*   IMPF:IINC
    'Its is not us, the men, who will do the *gogi*-ritual.' [Sii. 6.106E]

(5)   negated nominal constructions

    <u>Saka</u> peha taem <u>haa</u>- na   to   nomaa o   toro.
    NEG   one   time NEG IMPF REL   come   ART   ship
    'Not only one time did the ship come.' [Pur. 2.12R]

(6)   negated prepositional phrase

    A   sikuuru <u>saka</u> te-   o   beiko   <u>haa</u> na.
    ART   school   NEG PREP ART child   NEG IMPF:3SG
    'This school was not for the children.' [Pur. 1.213R]

There is even one example in which *saka ... haa* negates a clause:

(7) **O   mana,   koara   rori   evehe <u>saka</u> eve   mamana   <u>haa</u>- na**
    ART   truth   speak.language   IMPF:PL but   NEG 3SG   real   NEG- IMPF:3SG
    'The truth is,   they speak (their) language, but it is not (the) real (language).' [Pur. 2.411R]

The only TAM marker found with *saka ... haa* is *paa* in combination with the immediateness marker *u* (with its variants *vu* and *ve*):

(8) **Enaa saka paa kaveru haa ve a-   maa muu te-   am.**
    1SG   NEG TAM steal   NEG IM ART   PL   taro   PREP 2PL
    'I did not steal your taro.' [Sia. 1.34E]

The fact that phrases with *saka ... haa* constructions can be marked for the imperfective aspect (2-7) shows that they are verb complexes; or put differently, *saka ... haa* does not only verbalise nominals but also prepositional phrases and clauses.

For other negations search for *ahiki, goe, hiki,* and *vahiki* in the corpus and the lexical database.

9 Argument structure

9.1 Subjects and objects

Teop has intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses. On the basis of their coding and their syntactic behaviour, three kinds of argument can be distinguished:

1.   the subject ;

2.   the primary object (i.e. the sole object of transitive clauses and the first object of unmarked ditransitive clauses that exactly shows the same morphosyntactic properties as the sole object on transitive clauses;

3.   the secondary object (i.e. the second object in unmarked ditransitive clauses).

(1)   **[Me   Toko]   [paa hee]   [bene Sookara]   [bona overe].**
      and.ART Toko   [TAM give]   [ART Sookara]   [ART coconut]
      'Toko gave Sookara the coconut.' [Sia. 1.68E]

The coding strategies are:

1. Sequential order of arguments, see below [TSG_09_02] and [TSG_05_01]

2 Cross referencing pronominals, see below [TSG_09_03] and [TSG_06_07]

3 Articles, see below [TSG_09_04] and [TSG_07_02]

Teop is a verb-second language. The position before the verb complex is occupied by the topic of the clause which can be the subject, the primary or the secondary object, see [TSG_09_02]. If the topic can be understood from the context, it can be left out so that the clause starts with the verb complex, see below [TSG_09_05].

Teop does not distinguish between active and passive voice. But transitive verbs expressing destruction and a few others can be detransitivised by the derivational prefix *ta-*, see [TSG_06_03], section 3, and TD for verbs derived by *ta-*. A further translation equivalent of English passives is a construction with a topicalised object and an impersonal 3PL pronoun in the function of the subject:

(2)   **A   si   otei   paa asun vahaa   koa v- ori   hanana.**
      ART   DIM   man   TAM kill again   just IM-3PL   road
      'The man was killed on the road.' (lit. 'The man they just again killed on the road.')
      [Aro. 7.128E]

9.2 The sequential order of arguments

The sequential order of arguments is to some extent variable. The first position of the verbal clause is that of the topic and can be occupied by all three types of argument: the subject, the primary object or the secondary object. If the subject is the topic, the first postverbal position is held by the primary object and the second one by the secondary object. If an object holds the topic position, the subject directly follows the verb complex and the second postverbal position is held by the other object.

Table 1: Sequential order of arguments

TOPIC	VC	1	2
subject	VC	primary object	secondary object
primary object	VC	subject	secondary object
secondary object	VC	subject	primary object

Examples

	SUBJ	VC		OBJ1	0BJ2
	agent			recipient/patient	theme/instrument

(1) **[Me   Toko]**   **[paa hee]**   **[bene Sookara]**   **[bona overe].**
[and.ART Toko]   [TAM give]   [ART Sookara]   [ART coconut]
'Toko gave Sookara the coconut.' [Sia. 1.68E]

(2) **[E   Toko]**   **[na   asun vamate ri   nana]**   **[bona maa keusu]**   **[bona vasu]**
[ART Toko]   [TAM hit   dead   OBJ   IMPF]   [ART PL   rat   ART   stone]
'Toko is killing the rats with a stone.'

	OBJ1	VC		SUBJ	OBJ2
	recipient			agent	theme

(3) **[A   kave vaa   nabunuu]** **[na   dao   ri]-**   **[ori]**   **[bona   kave   baoru.]**
[ART net   LK   past]   [TAM call   IMPF:3PL]   [PRON:3PL]   [ART   net   baoru]
'The net of the past, they called *kave baoru*.' [San. 2.5R]

	OBJ2	VC		SUBJ	OBJ1
	theme			agent	recipient

(4) **[O   paku bona ve]** **[pasi hee   ri   vu]** - **[e]** **[bona   a   ba noasinae]**
[ART feast this   but] [TAM give OBJ   IM]   [3SG] [ART   ART   his.relatives]
'But this feast he will give his relatives.' [MLV 1.22R]

9.3 Cross-referencing pronominals

Irrespective of their position, the subject is cross-referenced by the imperfective aspect marker and the primary object by the object marker.

Figure 1: Cross-referencing pronominals
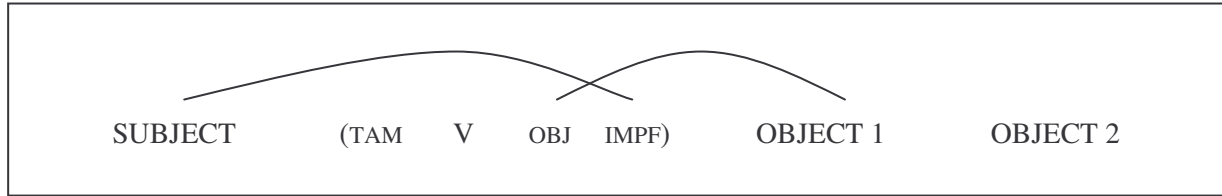
While the imperfective marker shows some syncretism, the object marker does not show homonymous forms. It cross-references all person/ number categories except for the third person singular. 1SG and 1EXC.PL object pronouns take the object marker *a-* as a prefix and can additionally be cross-referenced by the object marker within the verb complex. The pronouns of other persons only combine with the object marker if the object marker holds the last position of the VC. In this case the object marker and the pronoun form a phonological word that can be called object pronoun.

Table 1: Object marker, imperfective aspect marker and pronouns

Person	Pronoun	Imperfective aspect	Object marker	Object pronoun
1SG	**enaa / naa**	**nom**	**a- / ama**	**anaa, amanaa**
1EXC PL	**enam/ nam**	**nom**	**a- / ama**	**anam, amanam**
2SG	**ean / an**	**nom**	**u**	**vuan**
2PL	**eam / am**	**nom**	**ame -**	**ameam**
1 INCL PL	**eara / ara**	**rara/ ra**	**ara**	**araara**
3SG	**eove / eve / ee/ o**	**nana/ na**	**-**	**e, eve, i**
3PL	**ori**	**rori / ri**	**ri**	**riori**
4SG				**bona**
4SG/PL			**(ri)**	**bari**

(1)   **Enaa   kahi   hua   nao   <u>nom</u>**
     1SG   TAM paddle   go   IMPF:1SG
     'I will paddle away.' [Vae. 1.9E]

(2)   **Enaa kahi asun   <u>u-</u>   <u>nom-</u>   an**
     1SG   TAM   kill   OBJ:2SG-   IMPF:1SG-   PRON: 2SG
     'I will kill you.' [San. 1.107R]

(3)   **Nomana to   kahi asun va-   mate-mate   <u>ri</u>   <u>nom</u>   naa   ori**
     today   REL   will   hit   CAUS-RED- dead   OB J:3PL   IMPF:1SG PRON:1SG   PRON:3PL
     'It's today that I'll kill them!' [Eno. 1.53E]

The imperfective aspect marker, however, does not agree with the subject if the subject is a third person and the object a first or a second person. In this case the imperfective aspect marker cross-references the object.

(4)   **be   ori   von   ama   <u>nom</u>   a-   nam.**
     as.long.as   PRON:3PL   pay   OBJ:1PL.EXC IMPF:1PL.EXC   OBJ:1PL.EXC-   PRON:1PL.EXC
     '(We'll do your work,) as long as they pay us.' [Pur. 1.843R]

9.4 Argument marking by articles

The articles can be classified into three classes: the specific articles, the non-specific articles and the partitive article. The specific articles are further divided into basic and object articles. Both the specific and the non-specific articles distinguish between three noun classes and singular and plural, see [TSG_07_02]. For the coding of arguments, only the distinction between basic and object articles is relevant.

Table 1: Basic and object articles

	noun classes					
	e-class		a-class		o-class	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
basic article	**e**	**ere, o**	**a**	**o**	**o**	**a**
object article	**bone, bene**	**bere, benere, bono**	**bona**	**bono**	**bono**	**bona**

The object articles are related to the demonstratives *bene* 'this' and *bona* 'that', but in contrast to the object articles, these demonstratives do not distinguish noun class and number, and they always follow the noun phrase nucleus. In the spoken language, and occasionally also in transcriptions and the edited versions of transcriptions, the object article is followed by the basic article, e.g.

(1)   **bona**   **a**   **si**   **aba**
          OBJ.ART   BASIC.ART   DIM   person
          'the little person' [Iar. 2.65R]

(2)   **bona**   **a**   **are**
          OBJ.ART   BASIC.ART   betelnut
          'the betelnut' [Nan. 2.7E]

In interaction with word order and cross-referencing pronominals, the basic and the object article contribute to the coding of the syntactic functions of nominal arguments according to the following rule that are called **article selection rules**:

1. Topics always hold the first position in the clause and take the basic article irrespective of their syntactic function (see [TSG_09_02], see example (3) and (4)).

2. Irrespective of their position, subjects always take the basic article.

3. Non-topical primary objects take the basic article when the subject of the clause is a first or a second person, otherwise they take the object article.

4. Non-topical secondary objects take the basic article only when both the subject and the primary object refer to the speech act participants. Otherwise they take the object article.

Table 2: Nominal arguments marked by the basic article

subject	primary object	secondary object
1st/2nd pers. pron.	1st/2nd pers. pron.	basic art N
1st/2nd pers. pron.	basic ART N / 3rd pers. pron.	object ART N
basic ART N / 3rd pers. pron.	object ART N	object ART N
basic ART N / 3rd pers. pron.	1st/2nd pers. pron.	object ART N

Corresponding to the two kinds of argument– the arguments marked by the basic article and those marked by the object article – Teop has two pronouns that refer to non-speech-act participants: a basic 3rd person pronoun and a *b*-pronoun. The latter is called 4th person pronoun, see [TSG_06_07], section 5; [TSG_09_07], section 2.

The examples below (3-7) illustrate the article selection rules; the underlined phrases are arguments that refer to non-speech-act participants.

Object marking in transitive clauses:

(3) **Enaa   paa asun- u   e   guu.**
     1SG.SUBJ TAM kill- IM   BASIC.ART pig
     'I have killed the pig.'
     (for comparable examples in texts see [Mat. 1.78E], [San. 1.88E])

(4a) **A   beiko   te-   naa paa asun- u   bene   guu.**
     ART child   PREP- 1SG TAM kill- IM   OBJ.ART pig
     'My child has killed the pig.' [Aro. 15.134R]

If the object is topicalised, it is still possible to distinguish subject and object:

(4b) **E   guu paa asun- u   a   beiko   te- naa**
     BASIC.ART pig   TAM kill- IM   BASIC.ART child   PREP- 1SG
     'The pig has been killed by my child.'

This clause cannot mean 'The pig has killed my child,' because then 'my child' would be the object and marked by the object article:

(4c) **E   guu paa asun- u   bona   beiko   te- naa**
     BASIC.ART pig   TAM kill- IM   BASIC.ART child   PREP- 1SG
     'The pig has killed by my child.'

Secondary object marking:

(5a) **Enaa   pasi vaasusu avameam   a   meha   taba**.
     1SG.SUBJ will teach   2PL.OBJ.IM   BASIC.ART other thing
     'I'll teach you another thing.' [Sii. 6.45R]

(5b) **Me   paa vaasusu ri   bari   bona   meha taba**.
     and TAM teach   OBJ:3PL 4SG/PL.OBJ OBJ.ART other thing
     'And (he) taught them another thing.' [Sii. 6.46R]

(6) **Enaa   paa vaasusu ri-   a   abana bona   meha   taba.**
     1SG.SUBJ TAM teach   OBJ- BASIC.ART men   OBJ.ART other thing
     'I taught the men another thing.'

(7a) **Eori   paa vaasusu ara- ra-   ara   bona   meha   taba**
     PRON:3PL   TAM teach   OBJ:1INC-IMPF:1INC- PRON:1INC OBJ.ART other   thing
     'They taught us another thing.'

(7b) **be- ori   havi ara- ra-   ara   bona   menaga**
     when-PRON:3PL rub   OBJ:1INC-IMPF:1INC PRON:1INC OBJ.ART tapioca-pudding
     'when they rub the tapioca-pudding on us' (lit. 'rub us the tapioca-pudding') [Kae. 2.302R] [1]

The clauses (5a) and (5b) are adjacent clauses in a legend. They have exactly the same ditransitive verbal predicate *vaasusu* 'teach s.o. s.th.', the same secondary object *meha taba* 'other thing', and the same sequential order of arguments, yet the marking of the secondary argument is different because the subject and the primary object in (5a) refer to speech act participants, but in (5b) the implied subject 'he' and the primary object *bari* 'them' refer to non-speech-act participants. The example (6) and (7) show that the secondary object is also marked by the object article when only one of the other arguments is a third person. For further ditransitive clauses see [TSG_09_05].

The coding of non-topical objects can only be explained if one considers the argument structure of the clause and, in addition, the kinds of relations that hold between the speaker and the participants he/she speaks about, i.e. **speech-act roles** of the arguments. Three kinds of speech-act roles are relevant for the understanding of the use of Teop articles:

---

[1] Another example of this kind from the text corpus is [Vos.1.95R].

o   the speech-act participants, i.e. the speaker and the addressee;

o   the first order outsider X, i.e. a participant[2] that is not a speech-act participant

o   the second order outsiders Y, i.e. further non-speech-act participants in addition to X .

Examples for **first order outsiders** (X):

(8)   *I have killed* <u>*the pig*</u>. (3)
      I'll teach you <u>*another thing*</u>.(5a)

Examples for **first** and **second order outsiders** (X and Y):

(9)   <u>*He*</u> *taught* <u>*them*</u> <u>*another thing*</u>. (5b)
      <u>*They*</u> *taught us* <u>*another thing*</u>. (7a)
      <u>*They*</u> *rub the* <u>*tapioca-pudding*</u> *on us.* (7b)

Arguments that refer to outsiders are called **outsider arguments**. In clauses that contain only one outsider argument as in (3) and (5a), this argument is a first order outsider irrespective of its syntactic function.

Second order outsiders imply the existence of a first order outsider. The former is distinguished from the latter in that it figures higher on the syntactic functions hierarchy:

(10)   *subject > primary object > secondary object*

Accordingly, the following rules hold:

If in a transitive clause the subject refers to a speech-act participant and the object to an outsider, the object is a first order outsider argument, see (3).

If in a ditransitive clause the subject refers to a speech act participant, but the objects don't, the primary object is a first order outsider argument and the secondary object a second order outsider argument, see (6).

If the subject is an outsider argument, it is a first order outsider argument, while all other outsider arguments are asigned the status of a second order outsider argument, see (4a), (5b) and (7).

The secondary object is only a first order outsider argument when both the subject and the primary object refer to speech act participants (5a).

All three types of core argument - the subject, the primary and the secondary object – can be topicalised and then are marked by the basic article irrespective of their syntactic function. The argument structure of the clause remains the same as is shown by the cross-referencing morphology in the verb complex and the order of arguments following the verb complex. Topicalisation of an argument also does not affect the speech act role structure of the clause as the following example illustrates:

(11) **O   vioga me   na   dao-dao bata   ra-   ara**
     ART *vioga* also TAM   RED-call at.the.same.time IMPF:1INC- PRON:1INC
     bono are   te   Magaru
     ART betelnut PREP.ART Earthquake
     'The *vioga* palm, we also call Earthquake's betelnut palm.' [Val. 2.61E]

The verb *dao* 'call s.o. s.th.' is ditransitive. Its primary object denotes the recipient (*o vioga*) and its secondary object the name (*bona are te Magaru*). As the primary object (*o vioga*) is topicalised, the secondary object directly follows the subject (*ara* 'we'), but it is still a second order outsider argument and consequently marked by the object article.

---

[2] The term *participant* is used here in the broad sense of 'someone or something that participates in the situation talked about'.

To conclude, the selection of the article is determined by

- o their pragmatic role as a topic or a non-topic

- o their syntactic function as a subject, primary object or secondary object

- o their speech-act role as a speech-act participant, a first order outsider or a second order outsider

The article selection rule is paralleled in the paradigm of pronouns which distinguishes two kinds of object pronouns: the third and the fourth person [TSG_09_07].

Non-specific objects are marked by the non-specific article regardless of their speech act role.

(12) **Me- ori paa asun roho ta guu ge havee?**
and- 3PL TAM kill before NSP.ART pig or what
'And did they kill a pig or what?' [MM 2.263R]

9.5 Topic

9.5.1 The overt topic

Teop is a verb-second language. The first position of a clause is occupied by the topic which can be the subject, the primary object and the secondary object. The first example shows a ditransitive clause with the subject as its topic, followed by the primary object *bene Sookara* and the secondary object *bona overe*.

(1) **<u>Me   Toko</u> paa   hee   bene Sookara   bona overe.**
     and   Toko TAM give   ART Sookara   ART   coconut
     'And Toko gave Sookara the coconut.' [Sia. 1.68E]

The verbal *hee* takes the recipient as the primary object as is evident in clauses where the recipient NP is cross-referenced by the object marker. In the clause below, the primary object *bona banoasinae* 'his relatives' is cross-referenced by the 3PL-object marker *ri*, whereas the secondary object *o paku bona* 'this feast' functions as the topic.

(2) **<u>O   paku bona ve</u>   pasi hee ri   vu-   e   bona banoasi-nae**
     ART   feast DEM PART TAM give OBJ:3PL IM-   3SG   ART   relatives-POSS.3SG
     'This feast, he will give his relatives.' [MLV 2.21R]

In (3) the topic is the primary object of *dao* 'call s.o./s.th. a name', *o pipi vai* 'this sore'.

(3) **Evehe, te-   a   bua moo- na- e,   o   pipi o   bero**
     but   PREP- ART two   leg- POSS- 3SG   ART   sore ART   many
     <u>O   pipi vai</u>   na   dao ri-   ori   bono toka-pis
     ART   sore DEM   TAM call IMPF- 3PL   ART   toka-pis
     'But on his two legs (he had) many sores.
     These sores, they call *toka-pis*.' [Sia 1.18-19E]

The selection of non-subjects as topics is far less frequent than the choice of the subject as the topic.

9.5.2 Clauses without a topic and ellipsis of topic

There are two types of clauses in which the first position is held by the verb complex. The first type is a clause without a topic that introduces a new participant into the discourse, whereas the second type of clause occurs in contexts where the topic is elided as it can be unequivocally identified.

Below the first example shows the beginning of a story which lacks a topic but introduces a new participant by the post-verbal subject phrase *a peha vaan*. In the second clause this new participant figures appears in the topical locative phrase *komana vaan bona* 'inside that village'.

(4) **Tei- tei   roho   <u>a   peha   vaan.</u>**
     RED- exist before   ART   one   village
     <u>Koma- n-   a   vaan   bona</u> na   tei   rori   o   vahara beiko   o   bero.
     inside- POSS- ART village DEM   TAM exist IMPF ART   little.PL child   ART   many
     'Long ago, there was a village.
     Inside this village, there were many children.' [Mat. 1.1E]

As (2) and (3) illustrate, topic is a syntactic category that is independent of the category of subject. In coordinate constructions, we find subjects as well as objects that are not overtly expressed, but only implied. Since such clauses generally start with the verb complex, these implied subjects or objects are evidently to be understood as topics.

The example (5) shows a coordinate construction in which the topical subject of the first conjunct controls the ellipsis of the topical object in the second conjunct.

(5)   SUBJ$_i$ VC   or   (_VC   SUBJ

     E   guu [na tei   nana]   ge ____[na asun]   [ori]   ?
     [ART pig] [TAM be   IMPF:3SG] or   [TAM kill]   [PRON:3PL]
     'Is the pig there or did they kill (it)?' [Aro. 15.128-129R]

In the next example, a third person singular topic (*Sokara*) is maintained over a sequence of clauses in various forms and functions. (6b) consists of direct speech in which the previous topic *Sokara* appears as a 1SG pronoun. In the next clause (6c), *ori* 3PL refers to the previous topic *Sokara* and other people. In (6d) and (6e) the topic is not overt. For semantic reasons, however, it cannot be coreferential with *ori*, but only with *Sokara*. The implied topic has the syntactic function of a subject in (6d), but in (6e) the syntactic function of an object.

(6a) **Me   Sokara paa   boha   vo-   en**
     and   Sokara TAM say   like- DEM
     'And Sokara said

(6b) **"Enaa   kahi butara bata-   u tea   pita."**
     1SG   TAM try   SIMUL- IM COMPL   walk
     "I'll try to walk."

(6c) **Me- ori   paa   nao.**
     and- they TAM   go
     And they went.

(6d) (SUBJ) **Saka   butara vira   haa-   na.**
     (3SG)   NEG   try   much   NEG-   IMPF:3SG
     (He)   did not try much.

(6e) (OBJ) **Kapee bata   ri-   ori.**
     (3SG)   carry   along   IMPF:3PL- PRON:3PL
     They carried (him) along.' [Sia. 1.135-139E]

The referent of the implied topic can change within a single sentence, suggesting that as long as the context provides sufficient clues, any argument may be implied:

(7)   **Me-ori paa   umee koa   bona moon.**
     and-3PL TAM forget just   ART   woman
     Paa   kona koa- u vo-   en   paa   mate-u.
     TAM   think just- IM like- DEM TAM die- IM
     '(But then at last they abandoned the search) and they just forgot the woman.
     (They) just thought that (she) had died.'
     (lit. 'and they just forgot the woman, just have thought like this has died')[Mat. 1.55-56E]

9.6 Focus

The focus construction is similar to the relative clause construction, see [TSG_10_02]. The focused NP holds the first position in the clause and is followed by a clause introduced by *to*. The construction of NP *to...* can be literally translated as 'it's X who/what ...'

Subjects, objects and secondary objects can be focused:

(1) **"Si   otei! Enaa na   kikisi   oha   u-   nom- an!"**
    DIM   man   1SG TAM   strong   pass OBJ:2SG- IMPF- PRON:2SG
    E   Moogee me   paa sue   ki   bene Magaru,
    ART   Monkey and   TAM say   DAT   ART Magaru
    "Ahiki, <u>enaa to</u>   kikisi oha   u- nom- an!"
    no,   1SG   REL   strong pass   OBJ-IMPF-2SG
    '(Earthquake said to Monkey,)
    "Dear man! I am stronger than you!"
    But Monkey said to Earthquake,
    "No<u>, it's me who</u> is stronger than you!"' [Val. 2.10-12E]

(2) **O   hum bona he   ahiki   ta   taba ani.**
    ART   place DEM CONJ not.exist NSP.ART   thing eat
    <u>A   tapeako a   puara   to</u>   ani ori.
    ART   manioc ART   wild   REL   eat   3PL
    '(At) that place, there wasn't any food.
    <u>Wild manioc</u>, they ate.' [Sia 1.144E]

The next two examples show a topicalised object followed by a focused subject:

(3) **eori re-   paa kao- kao pete   bono paku vaa- tea   hivi von.**
    3PL   CONJ-TAM RED- go   continue ART feast LK- COMPL   ask price
    O   paku bona he, <u>a   papana te- a   moon   to</u>   kahi paku maa- ri.
    ART   feast DEM CONJ ART   side   PREP- ART   woman REL   TAM do   DIR- IMPF
    and then they proceed with the feast of asking for the bride price.
    'This feast, however, is prepared by <u>the woman's side</u>.
    (lit. 'This feast, however, it's the side of the woman who prepares (it).') [Daa. 1.23-24E]

(4) **... <u>maamihu   kiu vai   naa to</u>   paku nom.**
      all   work DEM 1SG REL   do   IMPF
    '(...(she) makes me sweep and scrub pots.)
    All this work, it's me who does (it)'. [Sha. 1.47-48R]

9.7 Pronouns as arguments

The table below shows the forms of the pronouns; for further information on their morphology see [TSG_06_07].

Table 1: Pronouns

Person	Pronoun	Object marker	(Object marker -) pronoun
1SG	**enaa / naa**	**a- / ama**	**a-naa/ ama-naa**
2SG	**ean / an**	**u**	**vu-an**
3SG	**eove / eve / ee/ o**	**-**	**ee, eve, -i**
4SG			**bona**
1EXC PL	**enam/ nam**	**a- / ama**	**a-nam**
1 INCL PL	**eara / ara**	**ara**	**ara-ara**
2PL	**eam / am**	**ame -**	**ame-am**
3PL	**eori / ori /o**	**ri**	**ri-ori**
4SG/PL			**bari**

9.7.1 Pronouns in clause initial position

In clause initial position, i.e. as topics or focused arguments, the *e*-forms (*enaa, ean, eove/ eve* ..) are used, whereas postverbally in subject and object function the forms without *e-* occur. The *e-* seems to be the article *e* which is also found with *teiee* 'who', kinship terms and proper names of persons, see [TSG_07_02].

(1) **Enaa**   **kahi**   **suu-**   **sue**   **nom**   **a**   **tootoo**   **te-**   **naa.**
    1SG   TAM   RED- tell   IMPF   ART   live   PREP-1SG
    'I am going to talk about my life.' [Pur. 1.0-1R]

The clause initial pronoun can be a subject as in (1) or an object. In (2) *eve* is the focused object of the transitive verb *kusu*. Although it anaphorically refers to a plural NP, it is singular in form as is often the case with pronouns referring to inanimate items.

(2)   OBJ1   SUBJ
    eve   **to**   **kusu** **vaa**   **te-**   **o**   **usu**   **vaha bata**   **na-**   **e.**
    3SG   REL   crush LK   PREP-ART   louse again SIMUL   IMPF- 3SG
    '(it was) them (the galip nuts) that he crushed like lice' [Vae. 1.106R]

9.7.2 The fourth person object pronoun

The fourth person object pronouns *bona* and *bari* are used for primary objects when the subject of the clause is a third person, and for secondary objects when the subject and/ or the primary object are third persons.

(3) **Enaa na**   **rake nom**   **e.**
    1SG   TAM   want   IMPF:1SG   **3SG**
    'I want it/him/her.'

(4) **Eove na**   **rake nana**   **bona.**
    3SG   TAM   want   IMPF:3SG   **4SG**
    'S/he   wants it/him/her.'

The next two clauses are ditransitive clauses. In (5) the secondary object, the theme argument *Daphne* is focused and the primary object, the recipient (of the name), is a fourth person pronoun as the subject *ori* is a third person. Note that the form *bari* 4SG/PL is chosen instead of *bona* 3SG, because the subject is plural, see [TSG_06_07], section 5.

(5) OBJ2   SUBJ OBJ1
    Daphne to   dao- dao roho-   ori bari.
    Daphne REL   RED- call before-   3PL   4SG/PL
    'Daphne (was) what they called her (a ship).' [Pur. 1.156-157R]

If in a ditransitive clause the subject refers to a speech act participant, the primary object is a third person pronoun and the pronominal secondary object a fourth person pronoun:

(6)   SUBJ   OBJ1 OBJ2
    Pesu ta   veraka.   Ean re   tasu nao e   bona.
    pick ART ripe.breadfruit. 2SG   CONJ throw DIR 3SG   4SG
    'Pick a ripe breadfruit and throw it at him.' [Jen. 1.69E]

In (6) *e* refers to the recipient ('at him') and *bona* to the theme, i.e. 'it' (the breadfruit).

Our next example illustrates the use of two fourth person pronouns within a single clause:

(7) SUBJ   OBJ1   OBJ2
    o-   re   paa mosi   suku   maa bari   bona
    3SG/PL- CONJ TAM cut   following DIR 4SG/PL 4SG
    'so that they cut it as he wants it' (lit. 'so that they cut it following him') [Tah. 2.22R]

The incorporated preposition *suku* 'following, according to, because of' governs the pronoun *bari* 'him'. This pronoun refers to a single person, but has a plural form because the subject is plural. In contrast, the second pronoun, *bona* 'it' does not show this kind of agreement. When *mosi* 'cut' is used by itself in a transitive clause with a 3PL subject, the pronominal patient object is *bari* as expected:

(8) **o-   re   paa mosi   bari**
    3PL- CONJ TAM cut   4SG/PL
    'then they cut it' [Tah. 2.25R]

9.7.3 First and second person pronouns functioning as secondary objects

When first and second person pronouns function as primary objects, they take the short forms (*naa, an, eve,e, i, nam, am*) and combine with the object markers, see [TSG_06_07], section 3.

(9) **Eh, vaa- hae   vareko ama- naa!**
    hey   CAUS-go.on.board please   OBJ:1SG-PRON:1SG
    'Hey, please, take me on board!' [Aro.15.21R]

There is only one example where a second person pronoun functions as a secondary object:

(10) **a   beiko   te- nam,   ei**
     ART child   PREP- 1EXC   DEM

     SUBJ   OBJ1 OBJ2
     enam   paa   maake   ki- vu- e   bene   ean
     1EXC   TAM   choose   DAT- IM- 3SG OBJ.ART 2SG
     'our boy here, we chose you for him.'
     (lit. '... we chose him you.') [Vos. 1.468-469R]

Because of the incorporated *ki* DAT, the verb complex is ditransitive and takes the recipient/ beneficary *e* 'for him' as its primary object and the theme *bene ean* 'you' as the secondary object. This secondary object is an *e*-pronoun marked by the object article *bene*. It is not cross-referenced by or combined with an object marker.

Since secondary objects denote themes or instruments, pronouns referring to speech act participants are not expected to occur often in this function.

9.7.4 Reflexivity

Since the coding of objects is dependent on speech act roles which distinguish between insiders (first and second person), first order outsider (third person) and second order outsider (fourth person), one would assume that reflexivity has an impact on the coding of outsider arguments. If the action of X doing something to himself is expressed by a transitive clause and 'himself' is expressed by a pronoun, this pronoun does not refer to a second order outsider, but to a first order outsider as it is coreferential with the subject. Consequently, it should not be expressed by the fourth person pronoun which refers to a second order outsider. Rather we would expect the third person pronoun. A number of examples support this hypothesis, e.g.

(11) **Nomaa vai kou   tahi vahuhu   ni   e   te- o   veoveo.**
come now PART stab put.feet.into.the sand APP- 3SG PREP- ART village.square
'(She) came indeed (flying in the air)   -
(and when landing) she stabbed (herself/ her feet) into the sand[1] on the village square.'
[Aro. 4.17R]

(12) **Sa   nata haa vo- na- en   mee,**
NEG know NEG like–IMPF- DEM also
e   roosuu to   hae bata   mi- na- e-   te- o   sinivi.
ART giant REL board SIMUL with- IMPF- PRON:3SG PREP-ART   canoe
'(He) also did not know that it was the giant who had come on board of the canoe with him.'
[Sii. 6.219E], see also [Vae. 1.78E]

Another way of expressing reflexivity is illustrated by the following example where the pronominal reflexive object is expressed by an *e*-pronoun (*eove*) with the object article:

(13) **Me   Kousiaga paa tara- tara bata   bona,**
and Kousiaga TAM RED look SIMUL   PRON:4SG
me- paa hivi- hivi komana bata   bene   eove, ...
and- TAM RED- ask PART   SIMUL   OBJ.ART 3SG
'And Kousiaga looked at her and kept asking himself, ...' [Ata. 1.15R]

The construction *bene eove* seems to belong to same paradigm as *bene ean* in (10).

9.7.5 The sequential order of pronominal arguments

If both a third person subject and a first or second person object follow the verb complex, the usual constituent order of the subject preceding the object is reversed and the object precedes the subject. Compare (14) with (15):

(14)   VC   SUBJECT OBJECT
Nomana to   kahi asun va- mate-mate ri   nom   naa   ori!
today   REL TAM kill CAUS-RED- kill OBJ:3PL IMPF:1SG PRON:1SG PRON:3PL
'Today I'll kill them.' [Eno. 1.53E]

(15) VC   OBJECT   SUBJECT
Vaasusu ama- nam   ori.
teach   OBJ- PRON:1EXC PRON:3PL
'They taught us.' [Pur. 1.85R]

---

[1] The object 'herself' is expressed by the 3SG pronoun. It is unlikely that *e* in *ni-e* APP–3SG refers to the subject as in the preceding and the following clauses the topical subject is ellipsed. Enoch's edition supplies the objects *bono buo moo kakaniva teve* 'her two sharp claws' [Aro. 4.17E], *bona moonae* 'her claws' [Aro. 4.85E] and *bona bua moonae* 'her two claws [Aro. 4.127E].

Postverbal pronouns referring to speech act participants preceede pronouns or NPs referring to outsiders, irrespective of their syntactic function. The syntactic function of subject and object are distinguished by the obejct markers, e.g. *a-naa* OBJ-PRON:

(16) | ADJUNCT | *to* | VC | | OBJECT- | SUBJECT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Teebona** | **to** | **tavatava** | **a-** | **naa** | **ori** |
| there | REL | make.incisions | OBJ- | 1SG | 3SG |

'There they made incisions on me.' [MM 2.193-195R]

(17) | OBJ2 | | VC | OBJ1 | | SUBJ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **A** | **inu** | **na** | **hee** | **a-** | **naa** | **e** | **gavaman** |
| ART | house | TAM | give | OBJ- | 1SG | ART | government |

This house was given to me by the government. [Pur. 2.28R]

The prominent role of pronouns referring to speech act participants is also shown by the agreement rules of object markers; see [TSG_09_03].

9.8 Adjuncts

Adjuncts are formed by prepositional phrases or locative phrases and are positioned at the beginning or the end of the clause [TSG_05_02] and [TSG_06_09].

At the begining of a clause, we have to distinguish two kinds of constructions. If none of the arguments functions as a topic, the adjunct is followed by the verb complex which then is followed by the subject and the objects:

(1)   ADJUNCT   VC   SUBJECT
       [Nabunuu] **[na   tiitii roho]** **[a   peha vuu   tom sinana]**
       long.ago   TAM exist before   ART one   cluster REC mother
       'Once upon a time there lived a mother with her child.' [Aro. 5.1R]

For similar constructions see [Aro. 1.1R], [Aro. 1.1E], [Aro. 5.1E].

(2)   **Me te- a   rasuu na tii   nana   o   peho   kariapa.**
       and   PREP- ART jungle TAM exist IMPF:3SG ART one.ART *kariapa*
       'And in the jungle, there was a *kariapa* tree.' [Mor. 2.21.R]

If, however, the clause has a topic, the sentence initial topic is very often followed by the conjunction *me* that in other contexts means 'and'.

(3)   **O   vuri bona   me- naa paa rake mana   ta   sikuuru.**
       ART   time DEM   and- ISG TAM want eventually COMPL go.to.school
       'That time I eventually wanted to go to school.' [Pur. 1.65R]

(4)   **Te- o   peho bon me   sina- ri- o   beiko   paa vahuhu.**
       PREP- ART one day and- mother-OBJ- ART child   TAM give.birth
       'One day the children's mother gave birth.' [Aro. 6.4E]

This construction is also found with ellipsed topics:

(5)   **Te- o   peho bon me- paa tara bana ri   maa**
       PREP- ART one.ART day and- TAM see   again OBJ DIR
       bona bua   tom keara...
       ART two   REC brother
       'One day (she) again saw the two brothers ...' [Aro. 4.13E]

It seems that we only find temporal and locative adjuncts in sentence initial position, whereas in clause final position we also find benefactive, purposive, instrumental and causal adjuncts. Note that those introduced by incorporating prepositions can alternate with primary objects in case that the preposition is incorporated into the verb complex; see [TSG_06_09]. For example:

(6)   VC   OBJECT1   ADJUNCT
       me- paa vaakuu vahaa bana bono pesun   ki   bene keara   rutaa   teve.
       and- TAM drop   back   again ART skin   DAT ART brother little   PREP.3SG
       'and then again dropped the skin for his little brother.' [Mom. 1.47E]

(7)   VC   OBJECT1
       me- paa vaakuu vaha ki   maa bona si   keara   rutaa teve
       and- TAM drop   again DAT DIR ART DIM brother little PREP.3SG

       OBJECT2
       bono kapa kokoraa.
       ART skin empty
       'and (he) dropped the empty skin for his younger brother.' [Mom. 1.39E]

10 Complex sentences

10.1 Complement clauses

So far we have identified four types of complement clauses in Teop which we name after their kind of linkage

asyndetic clauses
re-clauses
be-clauses
tea-clauses

A fifth type of clause-linkage is strictly speaking not a complement clause construction, but contains two independent clauses that are linked by the preposition *vo* 'like' and the correlative deictic *en* 'this, here', e.g. *vo-en* 'like this', in the first clause (cf. TD *voen*; [TSG_06_09], section 6).

(1) **Enam   na   upehe   vo-   nom-   en   ean   toro nao   teebona**.
     1EXC   TAM   think   like-   IMPF-   this   2SG   must   go   there
     'We think that you must go there.'
     (Lit. 'We think like this: you must go there.') [Pur. 1.268R]

Table 1: Complement clauses

type of linking	TAM	embeddedness	subject	raising
asyndetic	not restricted	embedded	any NP	-
conjunction *re*	no TAM	embedded	anaphoric pronoun	-
conjunction *be*	no TAM	embedded	any NP	subj > obj.
complementiser *te*	no TAM	embedded	no subject	subj > obj

10.1.1 Asyndetic complement clauses

The asyndetic clause is found with verbs of cognition, perception and communication. It is time-independent, has its own subject and may contain a focus construction (3), see [TSG_09_06].

(2) **Sue   ki   ma-   e   subuava   a   otei   paa   asun v-   ori.**
     tell   DAT   DIR-   ART   old.woman   ART   man   TAM   kill   IM-   3PL
     'Tell the old woman, they have killed the man.' [Aro. 7.104-105R]

(3) **A   otei   saka nata haa- na**
     ART   man   NEG   know NEG- IMPF
     tabae to   kahi ta paku nana-   i,
     what   REL   TAM   AC do   IMPF:3SG-   here
     'The man does not know what must be done here.'
     (lit. 'The man does not know what (is it) that must be done here.') [Vos. 1.215R]

See also the section on dependent interrogative clauses [TSG_10_04].

10.1.2 *Re*-clauses

Clauses linked by *re*, which always holds the second position of the clause, generally express that the event in question follows or is the consequence of a previous event. Following a verb of the meaning 'tell s.o. to s.th., make s.o. do s.th.', *re*- clauses function as a complement clause. In other contexts, they occur as non-embedded clauses and can have the TAM-marker *paa*, see [TSG_08_02], [TSG_10_05], [TSG_10_06] and TD under *re*.

(4) **Kao nao te subuava, ean re sue ki ee**
go DIR PREP.ARTold.woman 2SG CONJ tell DAT 3SG
o re varakaha bona otei.
3SG CONJ let.free ART man
'Go to the old woman to tell her to let the man free.' [Aro. 7.73-74R]

10.1.3 *Be*-clauses

Be-clauses are used with modal verbs like *rake* 'want', if their subject is different from that of the superordinate predicate.

(5) **Evehe e Sookara saka rake haa be a bua otei vaarii kapee bari.**
but ART Sookara NEG want NEG COMPL ART two man DEM carry 4SG/PL
'But Sookara did not want that these two men carried him.' [Sia. 1.102E]

The subject of the complement clause can be raised , thus functioning as the object of the matrix verb, i.e. *rake*:

(6) **Enaa na rake nom e iaa Loata be sue- sue bona hum bona.**
1SG TAM want IMPF ART mother Loata COMPL RED- talk.about ART part DEM
'I want mother Loata to talk about this part.' [MLV 1.6R]

Note that temporal and conditional clauses are also introducd by *be,* see [TSG:10_06].

10.1.4 *Tea*-clauses

The *tea*-clause is the most closely integrated type of complement clause. Its predicate is not marked for TAM, never negated and does not have a subject of its own. Either the subject or the object of the superordinate predicate can function as its subject.

(7) **Bara, eara antee vai tea paku a taba- an.**
well 1INC can now COMPL make ART thing- eat
'Alright, we can now make the food.' [Iar. 2.131R]

(8) **Eori to kahi ausu ri maa- ri bari tea vaamahaka.**
3PL REL TAM help OBJ:3PL DIR- IMPF:3PL 4SG/PL COMPL cook
'They are the ones that help them to cook.' [Vos. 2.354R]

(9) **E iaa na sue ki bona moon tea mamata bono matavus.**
ART Mother TAM tell DAT ART woman COMPL open ART door
'Mother told the girl to open the door.' (TD *sue*)

If the complement clause has an object, the choice of its article is subject to the article selection rule [TSG_09_04]. Therefore *tabaan* 'food' has the basic article in (7) and (10), but the object article in (11).

(10) **Naa sa nata vira haa nom tea paku a taba- an vaa Teotoro.**
1SG NEG know at.all NEG IMPF COMPL do ART thing- eat of Europeans
'I did not know at all how to prepare European food.' [Pur. 1.106R]

(11) **eve   paa   antee   vaevuru tea   an   <u>bona taba- an.</u>**
     3SG TAM can   now   COMPL eat   ART thing- eat
     'she can now eat the food' [Nan. 2.36-37R]

The next example shows a complement clause with the ditransitive verb *hee*. The primary recipient object *anaa* 'me' is a raised object of *rake*, whereas the secondary object holds the first position of the sentence as a focused argument:

(12) OBJ2   V   OBJ1 SUBJ   COMPL
     Bero a-   maa kiu   to   rake vaha anaa a   gavaman tea   hee.
     many ART- PL   work REL want again me   ART government COMPL give
     'The government wanted to give me many tasks.'
     (lit. '(It was) many works that the government again wanted me to give.)' [Pur. 2.292R]

Occasionally, the complement-taking predicate attracts the applicative particle of the predicate of the complement clause. The verb *busu* takes the applicative particle in the meaning of 'throw something', as illustrated in the first sentence of the example below. This *ni* is attracted by the superordinate verb *goe* 'not do' in the second sentence.

(13) **A-   maa avuin   sa   busu   vakahu haa ni   ri-   ori.**
     ART- PL   nose.jewelry   NEG throw.   quickly NEG APP OBJ- 3PL
     Toro goe   ni-   am   tea   busu.
     must not.do APP- 2PL COMPL   throw.away
     'The *avuins*, they do not quickly throw away.
     You must not throw (them) away.' [Mah. 2.154-155R]

10.1.5 Classification of complement taking predicates

We have not yet examined the complement clauses in detail. But it is obvious that one and the same verb can have different types of complement clauses.

Table 2: Complement taking predicates

		correlative	asyndetic	re	be	tea
upehe	'think'	+	+			
sue	'tell'		+	+		+
nata	'know'		+			+
rake	'want'			+	+	+

10.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are clauses that modify a noun phrase and are introduced by the relative pronoun *to* 'the one(s) that', which, like any relative pronoun, has two functions: on the one hand it refers to the modified noun phrase and thus connects the relative clause, and on the other, it functions as the topic of the relative clause and plays a particular syntactic role therein.

(1) **Gaga han te- a ruene vai <u>to</u> paa gono ma- u e subuava ei.**
    drink PART PREP- ART water this REL TAM get DIR- IM ART old.woman this
    'Drink from this water that this old woman got.' [Aro. 1.31R]

We classify *to* as a relative pronoun because it holds the position of a noun phrase in the relative clause. It always functions as the topic, and as any other topic, it can play various syntactic roles. In the preceding example it functions as the object of *paa gono mau* 'got'. At the same time it refers back *a ruene vai* 'this water' and thus links the relative clause to the NP it modifies.

Being the topic of the clause, *to* is immediately followed by the VC. In other words, the order of constituents of the relative clause follows the general rule:

TOPIC   VC   NON-TOPICAL ARGUMENTS ADJUNCTS

In our data the relative pronoun *to* can function as a subject, primary object, secondary object and an adjunct.

Subject**:**

(2) **are vaa- ani a beiko vai to asun bene guu.**
    EXC.CONJ CAUS-eat ART child DEM REL kill ART pig
    'we'll feed the child that killed the pig.' [Aro. 15.158R]

Primary object:

(3) **te- a inu vai to dao ri- ori bona kara overe**
    PREP- ART house this REL call IMPF- 3PL ART *kara overe*
    'into this house that they called *kara overe*' [Bua. 1.121R]

(4) **O are to pokaa komana ra- ara bono are te Magaru**.
    ART betelnut REL call selves IMPF 1INC ART betel**.**nut PREP Earthquake
    'It is the betel nut palm, that we ourselves (also) call (by the name) Earthquake's betel nut palm.'
    [Val. 2.13-15R]

Secondary object denoting the theme**:**

(5) **a- maa taba vai to hee ama- ra- ara ori ei**
    ART- PL thing DEM REL give OBJ- IMPF 1INC 3PL here
    'the things that they give us here' [Vos. 1.95-96R]

Secondary object denoting the instrument**:**

(6) **a- maa meha nahu to nahu-nahu ni- e**
    ART- PL other pot REL RED- cook APP- 3SG
    'other pots that she cooked with (used for cooking)' [Iar. 2.8R]

Locative adjunct**:**

(7) **Ah a inu vai <u>to</u> ani nom nam a- maa hiroo.**
ah ART house this REL eat IMPF 1EXC ART- PL *hiroo*
'Yes, a house where we eat the *hiroo***.'** [Bua. 1.116R]

(8) **me, vo te- o kasuana to hopo vaha- e**
and GOAL PREP- ART ground REL disappear.inside.of again- 3SG
'and – to the ground where he disappeared inside**'** [Val. 2.49R]

A noun phrase can be modified by two juxtaposed relative clauses in which *to* plays different syntactic roles:

(9) **Erau, Moogee abana gunaha vai kahi bono naono vai**
and.so Monkey jump down now from ART tree DEM
'And so Monkey jumped down from that tree.'

    <u>to</u> ta- kaku, <u>to</u> toka na- e.
REL AC-break REL perch IMPF- 3SG
'that broke, that he had been perching on**.'** [Val. 2.85-87R]

In the first relative clause, *to* is the subject of *takaku* 'broke', whereas in the second one, it is an adjunct. The examples below show that relative clauses do not necessarily directly follow the noun phrase they modify.

(10) **a oraa bona vue na dao ri- ori bona suvin**
ART spirit this particular TAM call IMPF- 3PL ART *suvin*
'this particular spirit is called the *suvin*'

    to tii nana te- o island bona
REL live IMPF PREP- ART island this
'(the one) that lived on this island**'** [San. 1.16-17R]

(11) **O matapaku saka mataa haa- na**
ART treatment NEG good NEG- IMPF
'The treatment was not good

    OBJ2 VC SUBJ OBJ1

    to [paku-paku ki-] [a moon vai] [bene Toovarapiri]
REL RED- do DAT- ART woman DEM ART Toovarapiri
that this woman gave Toovarapiri.'

The way this woman treated Toovarapiri was not good.' [Nan. 3.32E]

10.3 Nominal relative clauses

Like other types of relative clauses, nominal relative clauses are introduced by the particle *to*. But instead of modifying a preceding head noun, they have the same function as a noun phrase and function as a predicate of a non-verbal clause or an argument.

(1) **Ei   to   sue   nom   naa.**
     DEM   REL   say   IMPF   1SG
     'This is what I am saying.', compare [Vos. 1.157R]

(2) **To   paku bata vo   na   ei**,
     REL   be   along like IMPF:3SG DEM
     to   paku bata vo   nana   o   taatate.
     REL   be   along like   IMPF:3SG   ART   tradition
     'This is how it goes, (this is) how the tradition goes.' [Vos. 1.548R]

(3) **(E)   tama-na- e   he saka nata- nata haa- na,**
     (ART)father- POSS- 3SG   but NEG RED- know NEG- 3SG
     to   paku-paku bata- na   mi-   e   sina   na-   e   bona.
     REL   RED- do   along-3SG with- ART   mother- POSS- 3SG   4SG
     '... his father did not know what his mother was doing with him.' [Nan. 3.59-60R]

In the three examples given above, the nominal relative clauses are specific and referential as they refer to a particular event that has been mentioned before.

But nominal relative clauses can also be used in a generic sense:

(4) **To   nao   bata vo   nana   a   moon,**
     REL   go   along GOAL IMPF   ART   girl
     o   taovu   na   uvu vaovoi bata koa ni   na-   e.
     ART   hood   TAM   wear always   along just APP   IMPF- 3SG
     'Wherever the girl goes, she wears the *taovu*-hood all the time.' [Vos. 3.202R]

In contrast to English, Teop nominal relative clauses are formally distinguished from dependent interrogative clauses, see [TSG_10_04].

10.4 Dependent interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses cannot only function as independent clauses expressing questions, but can also function as dependent clauses. The first three examples show dependent embedded clauses functioning as complements.

(1) **A   otei   saka   nata   haa-na**
ART   man   NEG   know   NEG-IMPF:3SG
tabae   to   kahi   tapaku   nana-   i.
what   REL   TAM   be.done   IMPF:SG- here
'The man does not know <u>what</u> must be done here.' [Vos. 1.215R]

(2) **Enaa saka nata haa   nom**
1SG   NEG   know NEG   IMPF
o   vinu tabae   to   nao-nao nao   rohori   tea   skul ...
ART   year what   REL   RED-go DIR   before.3PL COMPL   school
'I do not know <u>which</u> year they went to get their training ....' [Sii. 2.27R]

(3) **Sa   tara haa– na   bene teiee to   aheahe bata nana.**
NEG   see   NEG– IMPF:3SG   ART   who REL   sing   along IMPF:3SG
'(... he heard a singing. He) did not see <u>who</u> was singing.' [Tah. 5.13E]

All three sentences have in common that the interrogative pronouns relate to someone or something particular that cannot be identified by the person talked about: a particular thing that must be done in the first case, a particular year in the second one and a particular singer in the third one. In contrast, the nominal relative clauses refer to s.th. that can be easily identified through its context, see [TSG_10_03], example (1-3).

In the following example the interrogative clauses still seem to be dependent, but they are not embedded like complement or adverbial clauses because the clauses following the interrogative clauses are connected by the conjunction *me* or *re*. Semantically they differ from the preceding clauses in that interrogative phrases do not relate to particular persons or entities but carry a generic meaning in the sense of 'whoever, anybody, no matter who' and 'no matter how many'.

(4) **Erau, o-   re-   paa -- e   teiee to   kahi nao   nana   tea   vaaupee,**
so   3SG- CONJ- TAM ART   who REL   TAM   go   IMPF:3SGCOMPL   be.initiated
a   beiko   vaa- sau   pasi mee   vori
ART   child   of-   where   TAM take   GOAL.3PL
me-   paa   no   vaatii bari   inu   bona vue,   ...
and-   TAM   go   put   4SG/PL   house DEM   particular
Tovihi   a   beiko to   pasi nao- u,
how.many   ART   child REL   TAM   go-   IM
o-   re   tii   teebona, a   bero sana a   beiko to   tii   rori teebona.
3SG/PL- CONJ stay   there   ART   many very ART   child REL   stay   IMPF:3PL there

'And so, he/she – <u>whoever</u> will go through the initiation ritual,
<u>whatever</u> child they will take there,
(they) put him into this particular house, (this house that they call *tobara*, that is inside the jungle.)
<u>However</u> many children will go there,
they will stay there, it is many children indeed who will stay there.' [San. 3.11-17R]

See also [TSG_10_06], example (7) and (8).

10.5 Purposive clauses

There are two kinds of purposive clauses: *tea*-clauses and *re/ne*-clauses. Both types are formally similar to complement clauses, see [TSG_10_01].

(1)   **... meori paa   va-   hio   ri   bari   <u>tea   an</u>.**
         and   3PL   CAUS-sit   OBJ   4SG/PL   COMPL   eat
         '... and they made them sit down to eat'. [Aro. 11.44E]

(2)   **...me-ori   paa   gono anaa,   <u>enaa ne   titsa   te-   a   Methodist</u>.**
        and-3PL   TAM   get   1SG.OBJ   1SG   CONJ   teacher   PREP-   ART   PN
        '...and they selected me to become a teacher of the Methodist (Church).'   [Mah. 1.54R]

(3)   **Nao   pahi   an   ruene,   <u>ean   re   tara te-   a   vaabeabe-   m-   an</u>!**
        go   EMPH 2SG   river   2SG   CONJ look   PREP-   ART   reflection   POSS- 2SG
        'Go to the river to have a look at your reflection.' [Vur. 1.14-15E]

In the first example the puposive clause is linked by *tea*. Similar to *tea*-complement clauses, it lacks TAM marking and does not have an overt, but an implied subject that is coreferential with an argument (here the object) of the matrix clause. In contrast, the subjects of the purposive clauses marked by *ne/re* are expressed by pronouns that are coreferential with the object of the matrix clause (2) or with its subject (3). It is not clear whether *tea* and *ne/re* purposive clauses have the same function and distribution or not.

10.6 Temporal and conditional clauses introduced by *be*

The conjunction *be* introduces temporal and conditional clauses (1, 2) which in some cases cannot be unequivocally distinguished (3). When the *be*-clause precedes the main clause, the main clause can be marked by *re* that indicates that the state of affairs is a consequence of a previous event, see [TSG_08_02].

(1) ...**murinae   be-   an   posi   va-   kavara   a   overe**,
    after.that   when-   2SG   squeeze   ADV-   be.finished   ART   coconut
  ean   re-   paa   koma   mee   te-   a   besin   tapeako   vai ...
  2SG   CONJ-   TAM   pour   also   PREP-   ART   basin   manioc   DEM
  '...then, when you have finished squeezing the coconut,
  you also pour it into the bowl with this manioc...' [Hel. 1.20-21R]

(2) **Be-   an   rake   tea   rake   anaa,**
  if-   2SG   want   COMPL   look.for   1SG
  ean   paa   vuriha   anaa   tobi-   n-   a   namana."
  2SG   TAM   find   ISG   middle-   POSS-   ART   ocean
  'If you want to look for me, you find me in the middle of the ocean.' [Sha. 1.87R]

(3) **Be-   naa   nao, enaa   toro   matatopo   rakaha   bata   nom!**
  when/if-   1SG   go,   1SG   must   be.prepared   very   SIMUL   IMPF
  'When/if I go, I must be well prepared.' [Asu. 1.79E]

While the verb complex of temporal and open hypothetical conditional clauses lacks TAM marking, counterfactual conditional clauses can be marked by various TAM markers:

(4) **Me   be   kahi   tii   vakisi   nana   enaa   re   tamaka   rakaha   nom**.
  and   if   TAM   stay   still   IMPF:3SG   ISG   CONJ   sad   very   IMPF:1SG
  'And if she still stayed there, I would be very sad.' [Pur. 5.116-117R]

(5) **Be-   ara   kahi   kao   tavus,   e   guu   re-   paa   ani   ara-   ara.**
  if-   1INC   TAM   go   go.outside   ART   pig   CONJ-   TAM   eat   OBJ-   1INC
  'If we went outside (now), the pig would eat us (but we'll stay inside).' [Aro. 15.50-51R]

(6) **Be-   an   paa   sue   vuru   maa, enaa   pasi   dee   vuru   ma-   e."**
  if-   2SG   TAM   say   earlier   DIR   1SG   TAM   carry   earlierDIR-   3SG
  'If you had told me, I would have brought it with me.' [Ter. 1.84-85E])

The use of the TAM-markers in conditional clauses has not been investigated yet, but note that in (6) the adverb *vuru* expresses anteriority, while *pasi* seems to indicate counterfactuality (for TAM-marking see chapter [TSG_08_02]).

The conjunction *be* can be combined with interrogative pronouns in dependent interrogative clauses which, similar to generic dependent interrogative clauses and conditional clauses, are followed by a *re*-clause.

(7) **Be   teiee   tagune   va-   vigisi,   o   re -   paa   no   ruuruu**
  when   who   wake.up   ADV-   late   3SG   CONJ-   TAM   go   not.find
  'Whoever woke up late, would not find anything.' [Aro. 1.11E]

(8) **Be   nao   vo-   sau,   eve   nao   bata-   na**.
  when   go   GOAL-   where   3SG   go   SIMUL-   IMPF:3SG
  'Wherever (he) went, she went.' [Aro. 7.60R]

These clauses relate to recurrent or habitual events.

10.7 Clauses linked by *he*

The conjunction *he* connects two sequential clauses and can appear in either the first or the second one. As the *he*-clauses haven't yet been investigated, we confine ourselves to presenting a few typical examples and start with constructions in which the *he*-clause follows its unmarked partner clause. These clauses can be syntactically independent of the preceding clause or function as an embedded complement clause.

In our first example, *he* expresses a contrast, but not simultaneity as Vaasiti had turned into a tuna before (*roho*) Gaivaa turned into a seagull. The *he*-clause is not marked for tense.

(1) **Me- e   Vaasiri na-   ta-   verete   potee   roho   bona aasun,**
     and-ART Vasiri   TAM AC- change   be.like   before   ART tuna
     e   Gaivaa <u>he</u>   ta-   verete   potee   bona keeraa.
     ART   Gaivaa CONJ AC- change be.like   ART   seagull
     'And - Vaasiri had turned into a tuna,
     <u>while</u> Gaivaa turned into a seagull.' [Sha. 1.121-122R]

But tense/aspect marking does occasionally occur as the following example shows that expresses a non-simultaneous contrast:

(2) **Enaa paa   sue   na-   u toro gono-gono an,**
     1SG   TAM tell   DIR- IM must RED- get   2SG
     ean   <u>he</u>   paa asun vahoara vaha ri-   ori?
     2SG   CONJ TAM hit   wrongly again OBJ- 3PL
     'I had told you to get (them inside), <u>but</u> you hit them instead?' [Aro. 2.30R]

In other constructions, the *he*-clause does not so much express a contrast, but rather seems to focus on simultaneity.

(3) **Oga nana   rau,   e   sumeke <u>he</u>   tavus bana   ki   bona.**
     cry   IMPF:3SG DEM   ART old.man CONJ appear again   DAT 4SG
     '(While Gaivaa) was crying, the old man again appeared to him.' [Sha. 1.97-98R]

Simultaneity rather than contrast is also expressed in complement clauses that are dependent on perception verbs:

(4) **Enaa paa   baitono eve   he   kusu   maa bona karavona!"**
     1SG   TAM hear   3SG   CONJ crunch DIR   ART lobster
     '"I heard him crunching the lobster!"' [Mor. 3.49R]

But note that in all examples so far, the two clauses had different subjects.

In dialogues one of the speakers may interrupt the other by a short question to draw the attention to a particular participant that the addressee seemed to have forgotten. The following dialogue comes from a story about a dangerous pig:

(5) **"Nigara , a-   re   aun vo   inu."**
     come.on 1INC-CONJ leave GOAL house
     "E   guu he?"
     ART pig   CONJ
     "Ahiki, a-   re   butara bata koa!"
     no,   1SG- CONJ try   SIMUL just
     '"Come on, let's leave (and go) to the house."
     "<u>But the pig</u>?"
     "No, let's just try!" [Aro. 15.65-68R]

Constructions in which the *he*-clause precedes its partner clause are less frequent. As far as we can judge from the data we looked at, the *he*-clause refers to what has been said before and relates this old information to the new information given in the following clause.

(6) **Eori <u>he</u> na tei rori te- o are bona,**
3PL CONJ TAM stay IMPF PREP- ART betelnut.palm DEM
o are bona sa gogooravi vakisi haa- na, o pereperee.
ART betelnut.palm DEM NEG red still NEG- IMPF ART green
'<u>When</u> they were staying on this betelnut palm,
this betelnut palm was not red yet, it was green.' [Val. 2.17-18R]

The *he*-clause can actually repeat the wording of the previous clause. This construction comes close to the so-called tail-head-construction found in Papuan and Oceanic languages.

(7) **Erau tama- na- e <u>vahio</u> vaha vai bona meha - a meha moon.**
and.so father- POSS- 3SG marry again DEM ART other - ART other woman
Eve <u>he</u> vahio bona meha moon,
3SG CONJ marry ART other woman
me- ori paa tei- tei bata mi bona si beiko vai.
and- 3PL TAM RED- stay SIMUL with ART DIM child DEM
'And so his father <u>married</u> another – another woman
<u>When</u> he <u>married</u> the other woman,
they lived together with this poor child.' [Nan. 3.6-8R]

(8) **... me-ori paa <u>pahana</u> vo Taguakana.**
... and-3PL TAM go.across GOAL Taguakana
Eori <u>he</u> pahana Taguakana,
3PL CONJ go.across Taguakana
me- ori paa nao pete te- o island.
and- 3PL TAM go continue PREP- ART island.'
'... and they <u>went across</u> to Taguakana.
<u>When</u> they <u>went across</u> to Taguakana,
they went further on to the island.' [Mor. 3.33-35R]

In order to emphasise that the situation referred to by *he*-clause has come to an end, its predicate can be modified by the adverb *vakavara* 'being finished' through which the *he*-clause expresses anteriority

(9) **Eove <u>he</u> aheahe <u>va- kavara</u>, me- paa pita pete.**
3SG CONJ sing ADV- finished and- TAM walk continue
'<u>When</u> she had finished singing, (she) continued her walk.' [Val. 3.46-47E]

10.7.1 The *he tea*-construction

He-clauses following their partner clause can have a complement clause introduced by *tea* as their predicate. These clauses do not express contrast, but simultaneity and can have the same or a different subject as the preceding clause.

(10) **Me- ori paa abana a bua sahata,**
and- 3PL TAM jump ART two poor.one
eori <u>he</u> <u>tea</u> vapaaparu bata.
3PL CONJ COMPL embrace.each.other SIMUL
'And they jumped, the two poor ones, <u>while</u> embracing each other.' [Aro. 3.39-40R]

(11) **Erau me Bukimeasun paa nao tea rooroto aasun,**
one.day and.ART Bukimeasun TAM go COMPL fish tuna
a bua tom keara <u>he</u> <u>tea</u> tei.
ART two REC sibling CONJ COMPL stay
'One day, Bukimeasun went tuna fishing,
<u>while</u> the two sisters were staying (at home).' [Aro. 3.3-4R]

While in (10) and (11) the *he-tea*-construction functions as a sentence adverbial, the example below shows this construction in the function of a complement clause:

(12)   ... **tea tabae enaa paa   baitono a   oraa he   tea   kusu   bona karavona ...**
       ... because 1SG TAM hear   ART spirit CONJ COMPL crunch   ART lobster
       '... because I heard the demon crunching the lobster, ...' [Mor. 3.61R]

10.7.2 The *toboha-he*-construction

The *toboha-he* construction consists of two clauses and expresses the meaning of 'as soon as the event X happened, the event Y happend'.

(13)   **Toboha   tara nana,   eve   he   tara ahe   bene -**
       as.soon.as   see   IMPF:3SG 3SG CONJ see recognise ART
       a   moon   na   hio nana   matana, ...
       ART woman TAM sit   IMPF:3SG bow
       'As soon as he opened his eyes, he recognised a- a woman was sitting at the bow, ...'
       [Aro. 8.4-86R]

(14)   **Kahi ma   toboha   suguna vahabana rori   kasuana, e   su-**
       TAM come as.soon.as arrive   again   IMPF:3PL beach,   ART   -
       e   roosuu he   tara va- hiki.
       ART giant   CONJ see ADV- be.nothing
       'As soon as they arrived again at the beach, the - the giant saw that there was nothing.'
       [Eno. 1.131-132R]

The verb complex of the first clause contains the word *toboha* 'as soon as' in the position of a prenuclear adverb, while the second clause is marked by the conjunction *he*.

10.8 Clause chaining

Clause chaining constructions consist of clauses that are strung together by an intermediate dependent non-embedded clause. This intermediate clause is not marked for tense or mood, does not have a topic and its verb is often the same as the verb of the first clause. Constructions that contain the same verb in the intermediate as in the preceding clause are called Tail-Head Constructions in the literature on Papuan languages.

In the first two examples the topic is the subject, in the third one, it is the object.

(1) **A otei he tea va- ba- baitono vai koa**.
ART man CONJ COMPL MULT- RED- listen then just
Vaa- baitono va- kavara koa, me- paa hua voosu vaan
MULT.RED[1]- listen ADV- be.finished just and- TAM paddle go.home village.
'But the man was just <u>listening</u>. (When he) finished <u>listening</u>, (he) paddled home to the village.'
[Tah. 5.39-41E]

(2) **... me- paa goroho umee bana koa toon n- a vasu**.
...and- TAM sleep forget again just top POSS- ART stone
Goroho nana,
sleep IMPF:3SG
a bua roosuu he hae gunaha bana maa bona ruene,
ART two giant CONJ board go.down again DIR ART river
'... and (he) fell fast <u>asleep</u> on the stone.
(While he) was <u>sleeping</u>,
the two giants came down the river.' [Viv. 1.41-43E]

(3) **Me- ori paa nomaa me- paa ma asun va- mate bene Kurikakaniva**
and- 3PL TAM come and- TAM come kill ADV/CAUS- die ART PN
Asun va- mate vai ori, me- ori paa nao vaha nao ...
kill ADV/CAUS die now PRON:3PL and- 2PL TAM go back DIR
'And they came and killed Kurikakaniva.
They killed (her), and they went back ...' [Asu. 1.163-165R]

The temporal relation between the intermediate clause and the following clause is expressed by adverbs (*vakavara* (1), *vai* (3)) or, in the case of simultaneity by the imperfective aspect (2).

---

[1]The prefix *vaa-* seems to be a variant of *vaba* = va–ba = MULT–RED.

10.9 Reason clauses

Structurally, reason clauses do not differ from independent clauses apart from the fact that they are introduced by *tea tabae* or *ei kou*. They always follow the clause they relate to. It is not clear if there is any semantic difference between *tea-tabae*-clauses and *ei-kou*-clauses. Both kinds of reason clauses can express particular as well as generally valid reasons. The phrase *tea tabae* literally means 'because of what?' and is similar to Tok Pisin *bilong wanem* 'lit. 'for what?' so that it might be a loan translation. The phrase *ei kou* contains the demonstrative *ei* 'this', but we do not know the meaning of *kou* in this context.

Particular reasons expressed by *tea tabae* and *ei kou*:

(1) **Me   Horivana   paa   hoa,   me   hoa**,
    and   Hurricane   TAM   blow   and   blow
    evehee   saka   antee   haa   tea   hoa   va-   kuu   ni   bene   Moogee
    but   NEG   able   NEG   COMPL   blow   CAUS-fall   APP   ART   Monkey
    tea tabae   e   Moogee   na   ato   va-   kikis   rakaha   te-   o   naono.
    because   ART   Monkey   TAM   hold   ADV-   strong   very   PREP-   ART   tree
    'And Hurricane arose and blew, but he was not able to blow Monkey down
    because Monkey hold very firmly on to the tree.' [Gol. 1.23-26E]

(2) **Evehee   ei kou   ei,   a   otei   paa   tara   vareasi   vaevuru   ni   bona   subuava**,
    But   of.course   DEM   ART   man   TAM   see   disgusted   already   APP   ART   old.woman
    ei kou   a   pirupiruru   ae   a   mata   dorodoro
    because   ART   runny.nose   and   ART   eye   runny
    'But, of course, the man looked with disgust at the woman
    because she had a runny nose and runny eyes.' [Aro. 8.126-127E]

Generally valid reasons expressed by *tea tabae* and *ei kou*:

(3) **o-   re-   paa   paku   bona   eve   koa   a   peha**,
    3SG-   CONJ-   TAM   go   4SG   3SG   just   ART   one
    tea tabae   a   kiu   n-   o   potee   sa   kikis   vira   haa   vo-   na-   en
    because   ART   work   POSS-   ART   *potee*   NEG   strong   very   NEG   like-   IMPF-   DEM
    te-   a   kiu   n-   o   sinivi   suuna.
    PREP-   ART   work   POSS-   ART   canoe   genuine
    '... then he does it just by himself
    because the building of the *potee* type canoe is not as hard
    as the building of the *sinivi suuna* (genuine canoe).' [Mor. 4.21-24R]

(4) **Eve-   hee   tea   moroko   ki-   ri   bono   nahu**,
    3SG-   CONJ   COMPL   talk   DAT-   OBJ:3PL   ART   pot
    ahiki   be   ta   peha   nahu   baitono   ei kou   sa   o   aba   haa-   ri.
    not.exist   COMPL   ART   one   pot   listen   because   NEG   ART   people   NEG-   IMPF:3PL
    'But when he was talking to the pots,
    not one of them listened because (pots) are not people.' [Aro. 2.24-26E]