Chapter 11
Complex sentences

This chapter is concerned with sentences containing more than one clause, or with major extra-clausal constituents. Multi-clausal sentences are of primarily two types - those displaying coordination, in which more than one complete clause occurs at the same level in the syntax; and those displaying subordination, in which one clause is embedded within another. Subordinate clauses in Kokota have a range of functions, including modifying nominals (relative clauses) or entire main clauses (adverbial clauses), or acting as a main clause argument (as subject, complement or adjunct). In addition, the chapter examines a number of minor constituent types which occur outside the main clause but are not themselves coordinated main clauses, includes recapping constituents (demonstratives and reduced clauses), and 'be thus' clauses based on the verb *-u* 'be thus'.

11.1 Coordination

11.1.1 Particles *ge* and *age*

11.1.1.1 *Ge* and *age* as clause sequencing particles

The particle *ge* occurs either clause initially or clause finally, coding a sequential relationship between the marked clause and another constituent. When the particle occurs clause finally, it marks the event coded by the clause as preceding the event coded by the next clause:

(11.1) a. *friñhe-ni* *n-e* *nhigo-u* *ia* *tañano* *si-**ge**,*
work-3SGO RL-3.SBJ finish-PRG theSG food FOC-SEQ
Making the food was finished and then

n-e-ge *mai* *toke-ña* *kaike* *mane-na* *koramata*
RL-3.SBJ-PRS come arrive-IMM one maN-3SGP PNLOC
a man from Koromata arrives.

b. *...ḡ-e* *tetu-ña* *manei* ***ge**,* *nogoi* *ḡ-e* *kaike* *magra...*
NT-3.SBJ stand-IMM he SEQ VOC NT-3.SBJ one fight
...he stood up and then, man! he fought everyone...

More commonly the particle occurs clause initially. In this position it marks the event coded by the clause as following the event coded by the preceding clause:

(11.2) a. *manahagi-gau* *gau* *mane* *huhuraṅi*
want-2PLO youPL man PNLOC
I want you people from Huhurangi

kaike *mai* *au* *gudu* *ade-hi* *kokota,*
one come exist EXHST here-EMPH PNLOC
to all come up together [and] live at kokota,

ge *ḡ-e* *au-ña* *velepuhi*
SEQ NT-3.SBJ exist-IMM right.way
then there will be catechists.

b. *"..."* *ḡ-e-u-ña* *suaragi,*
NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM PN
"..." said Suaragi,

ge *gē-e* *agē* *lehe-nā* *n-e-ke-u*
SEQ NT-3.SBJ go die-IMM RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
and then he died, that's how it was.

The relationship between *ge* and the clause it marks is thus iconic: it follows clauses marked as preceding and precedes clauses marked as following. The order of the two clauses is also typically iconic, as the examples in (11.1) and (11.2) illustrate. However, while the iconic relationship between the particle and the clause it marks is obligatorily reflected in their structural relationship, the ordering of the two clauses only tends to be iconic - the reverse order is also possible. In (11.3) the clause which represents the event which occurred second in time actually precedes the clause representing the event which occurred first in time. However, the clause representing the second event is still marked with *ge* in its iconic clause initial position:

(11.3) ***ge*** *gē* *zaho-nā* *gita* *buala*
SEQ NT go-IMM weINC PNLOC
Before we go to Buala

gita *da* *kusu* *zuke* *faiba* *fea*
weINC 1INC.SBJ be.first seek dinghy INIT
we must look for a boat.

The fact that the sequencing particle *ge* occurs sentence initially in (11.3), not between the coordinated clauses, demonstrates two facts. Firstly it demonstrates that the two clauses are indeed coordinated in a single sentence, since the semantic relationship between the clauses cannot result from their order alone. Secondly it demonstrates that *ge* is not a conjunction at this clausal level: since the particle does not occur between the clauses it cannot be conjoining them. The particle marks individual clauses in a way that conveys information about the temporal relationship between the event coded by the marked clause and other events. No conjunction exists in these coordinated structures.

In all the examples in (11.1) to (11.3) both coordinated clauses are positive. However one of the sequenced events can be negative:

(11.4) *ara* *n-a* *fa-no-nomho* *bo,*
I RL-1.SBJ CS-RD-hear CNT
I listened,

ge *teo* *bla* *gē* *nomh-i-u*
SEQ be.not LMT NT hear-TR-PRG
but I didn't hear it.

Constituents related at the clausal level are not limited to pairs of clauses. Other sentence level constituents may be related sequentially to a clause. Temporal constituents may be related to a clause in this way. In (11.5)a. a temporal locative occurs with a *ge*-marked clause, indicating that the time coded by the temporal locative will precede the event coded by the clause. In (11.5)b. a temporal interrogative occurs. In (11.5)c. a local noun phrase occurs with *legu* 'behind' with its temporal meaning. This sentence level adverbial phrase is related sequentially to the clause by *ge*.

(11.5) a. *ginai* ***ge*** *gē* *toi-nā*
todayIRR SEQ NT cook-IMM
Later today (must come) before [we] cook.

b. *niha-na* ***ge*** *da* *lao-nā* *buala*
when-thatN SEQ 1INC.SBJ go-IMM PNLOC
When will we go to Buala?

c. *legu-na* *toka* *kave* *ana* *gita* *gāzu* *ana*
behind-3SGP chop descend thatN weINC wood thatN
After we have cut down that tree

ge *gē* *fike* *noñā* *ago*
SEQ NT chop.wood firewood youSG
then you will make firewood.

As discussed in 11.3, Kokota discourse style employs frequent recapping, often with a demonstrative referring to the event coded by the previous clause, or a prepositional phrase consisting of a clausal demonstrative (*ka-t-au-*), also referring to the event coded by the previous clause. With both of these recapping strategies *ge* commonly occurs marking the main clause:

(11.6) a. *friñhe-ni* *ia* *sugā* *n-e* *nhigo-u*
work-3SGO theSG house RL-3.SBJ be.finished-PRG
Making the house is finished.

an-lau ***ge*** *kata* *n-e-u* *suli* *ana*
thatN-SPC SEQ bite RL-3.SBJ-be.thus child thatN
That, and then the child starts biting. [ie. labour pains begin]

an-lau ***ge*** *gē-e* *lao-ña* *ka-ia* *sugā*
thatN SEQ NT-3.SBJ go-IMM LOC-theSG house
That, and then she goes to the house

gē-e *fa* *doli-ni-a* *suli* *e-u*
NT-3.SBJ CS live-3SGO-theSG child 3.SBJ-be.thus
[and] gives birth to the baby.

b. *n-e-ke* *agē-ro-u* *gē-e* *hure* *gē-e* *agē-u*
RL-3.SBJ-PRF go-thoseNV-PRG NT-3.SBJ carry NT-3.SBJ go-PRG
They went and they carried and they went.

ka-t-au-ana ***ge*** *tafe* *ia* *ñehe...*
LOC-SB-exist-thatN SEQ spring.open theSG umbrella
At that the umbrella sprang open...

Ge also occurs introducing the second clause in periphrastic manner and cause interrogatives. This is discussed in 10.2.3.

Ge has a variant form *age*, which occurs in clause initial position only. *Age* primarily occurs when the preceding clause itself has a clause final *ge*. This dual sequencer marking occurs frequently. The first of the sequentially related clauses has *ge* in final position, marking the event coded by the clause as preceding a subsequent event. The second clause has *age* in initial position, marking the event coded by the clause as following a preceding event. When dual sequencer marking occurs, the clause initial second clause sequencer must have the form *age*.

(11.7) a. *gē-e-ke-u-gu* *mare* ***ge***
NT-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-PRG PN SEQ
Mare was saying that, then

age *ke* *broza* *koko-ni-ña* *putuo*
SEQ PRF pack leave-3SGO-IMM PNLOC
they packed up and left Putuo

b. *n-e* *la* *de-deke-u* *sini* ***ge***
RL-3.SBJ go RD-step-PRG FOC SEQ
He stepped and then

age *ḡ-e* *koko* *la-ni-ña* *sara* *rauru*
SEQ NT-3.SBJ leave go-3SGO-IMM thereD seaward
he threw him there seaward.

This dual sequencer marking occasionally occurs with other sentence initial constituents such as recapping PPs:

(11.8) *ka-t-au-ao* ***ge***
LOC-SB-exist-thisT SEQ
From that

age *kuru* *nakoni-ña* *n-e-ke-u-ña* *aro-hi* *ade-hi*
SEQ have person-IMM RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-IMM theseT-EMPH here-EMPH
there are people here.

Occasionally *age* occurs clause initially in place of *ge* in clauses where the preceding clause does not have a final *ge*:

(11.9) *"..."* *ḡ-e-u-ña* *tikilave,*
NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM PN
"..." said Tikilave,

age *ḡ-e* *lao-ña* *mane* *kokota* *ide* *n-e-ke-u*
SEQ NT-3.SBJ go-IMM man PNLOC theseR RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
and then these Kokota people went, it was like that.

11.1.1.2 *Ge* as a sub-clause level conjunction

In addition to its clause marking sequencer function, the particle *ge* occurs below the level of the clause as a conjunction. With this function there is no sequential sense, the particle simply conjoining phrasal and word level constituents. Only constituents of the same constituent class may be conjoined in this way. In (11.10)a. two adnominal post-head core modifiers (in this case personal names) are conjoined within a single NP core and modify a single nominal head (*mane* 'man'). In (11.10)b. two verbs are conjoined in a single predication.

(11.10) a. *mane* ***sala*** ***ge*** ***ruruboñi*** *n-e-ke* *namha* *mai* *ka* *suaragi*
man PN and PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF love come LOC PN
Sala and Rurubongi were kind to Suaragi.

b. *au* *bo* *n-e* *au-gu,* ***zaho*** ***ge*** ***zaho-u,*** *ke* *pulo* *mai*
exist CNT RL-3.SBJ exist-PRG go and go-PRG PRF return come
They were staying, going and going, and would come back...

Phrasal constituents are also conjoined by *ge*. In (11.11) a number of different NP types are conjoined. In (11.12) two locative obliques are conjoined.

(11.11) a. *...n-e-ge* *knusu*
RL-3.SBJ-PRS break
...they broke,

ia *papari-na,* ***ia*** ***hipi*** ***ḡazu-ne*** ***ge,*** ***sisibe*** ***are-lau****...*
theSG wood.stack-thatN theSG heap wood-thisR and embers thoseN-SPC
that wood stack, this wood heap, those embers...

b. *la hure kota-i n-e-u hinage* ***mane mariñe ge mane gāo***
go carry go.ashore-3SGO RL-3.SBJ-be.thus boat man PNLOC and man PNLOC
They carried their canoes ashore, the people from Maringe and the people from Gao

c. *ara-hi a turi tufa-nigo kaike tu-turi fakasai-di nau-de,*
I-EMPH 1.SBJ tell affect-2SGO one RD-tell history-3PLP place-theseR
I'm going to tell you a history story of these places,

gu-di ***gōbilologu*** *ge* ***faknoe****...*
CNTX-3PLP PN and PN
about Gobilologu and Faknoe...

(11.12) *buka are-lau e-ti-ke mala fa-za-zaho* ***hae ge hae***
book thoseN-SPC 3.SBJ-NEG-PRF PURP CS-RD-go where and where
Those books won't be for sending wherever and wherever.

11.1.2 Contrasting conjunction *nā*

The conjunction *nā* 'but, instead' conjoins clauses only. It occurs clause initially in the second of the two conjoined clauses:

(11.13) *gita-palu-nā ne au fa-gōnu. da la au-gu rhuku*
weINC-two-IMM RL exist CS-be.insensible 1INC.SBJ go exist-PRG landward
We are living wrong. We are living on the shore side [ie. in the bush],

nā *gita-palu gē au la ka nasona a-hi gērona keli*
but weINC-two NT exist CND LOC point thisT-EMPH PNLOC be.good
but if you and I live at the point at Gerona [that would] be good.

The *nā* marked clause may occur as the first clause in an utterance, but only if the situation for which the clause is an alternative has just been established in the discourse, as with speaker B's response in (11.14):

(11.14) A. *hea 't-au-de gē-e puku-nā-bla' g-e-u-nā ago*
EXCLM SB-exist-theseR NT-3.SBJ be.short-IMM-LMT NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM youSG
Hey, "these are short," you said.

B. ***nā*** *heve-u sini*
but what-be.thus FOC
But so what?

Although *nā* may be sensibly glossed as 'but', it does not correspond exactly to that English conjunction. The form in fact introduces a clause coding a situation which is presented as a contrast to the situation coded by the preceding clause. This contrastive function often gives the conjunction a sense more akin to English *instead*. In the piece of text in (11.15) the conjunction opening clause 2 relates that clause to the preceding clause with the sense that despite the situation coded in the preceding clause, the situation coded in clause 2 pertains. Specifically, despite the fact that the piece of taro was brought by the participants mentioned, and contrary to the positive expectations implicit in that, the speaker is dying from that piece of taro. The conjunction introducing clause 3 then contrasts the situation coded in that clause with that coded in clause 2.

(11.15) *ia pike mau-gū n-e-ke hod-i-o sala ge ruruboñi bla*
theSG piece taro-1SGP RL-3.SBJ-PRF take-TR-thatNV PN and PN LMT
The piece of taro Sala and Rurubongi simply brought,

nā *ne* *lehe-ni* *a-hi* *ara*
but RL die-3SGO thisT-EMPH I
but I'm dying from it,

nā *teo* *ḡ-a* *lehe* *hae* *ḡ-o* *ḡonu* *la* *gau*
but be.not NT-1.SBJ die where NT-2.SBJ be.insensible CND youPL
but it's not that I'm dying because of where ever, if you are confused.

ka *sala* *ge* *ruruboñi* *bla* *n-a* *lehe-na* *ara*
LOC PN and PN LMT RL-1.SBJ die-thatN I
Simply from Sala and Rurubongi I am dying.

The situation coded in the second (*nā* marked) clause may be contrasted with a situation which is not overtly expressed in the preceding clause, but is implicit in it. In (11.16) the addressees live at Putuo. The situation coded in the second clause is presented in contrast to the addressee's living in Putuo, not to the opinion that Putuo is not much good:

(11.16) *putuo* *t-au-na* *teo* *ḡ-e* *surai* *keli-u*
PNLOC SB-exist-thatN be.not NT-3.SBJ ?? be.good-PRG
That Putuo is not really much good,

nā *ke* *la* *mai* *ade* *bo...*
but PRF go come here CNT
so instead [of living there] go ahead [and] come here [to live]...

11.1.3 Zero conjunction

Events which relate closely to each other are often expressed by clauses which are not coordinated, but are merely adjacent to each other in the discourse and represent separate sentences:

(11.17) *ara* *n-a* *lao* *tetegū,* *n-a* *korh-i-ri* *tehi* *namhari*
I RL-1.SBJ go fish(v) RL-1.SBJ pull-TR-3PLO many fish
I went fishing. I caught many fish.

However, smaller constituents which occur within a single clause may be coordinated without an overt coordinator, especially constituents marked with a constituent marker such as *bo* 'contrastive' or *ba* 'alternative' (which are not themselves conjunctions, as discussed in 9.8). In (11.18)a. two verb complexes are coordinated, in (11.18)b. two NPs:

(11.18) a. *turi* *bo,* *friñhe* *bo,* *e-u*
tell CNT work CNT 3.SBJ-be.thus
[We'll] talk [and] work [at the same time]. [lit. Talk, work, it'll be like that.]

b. *ia* *puku* *ba,* *ia* *do* *ba,* *n-e* *kati-nau* *ara*
theSG fly ALT theSG mosquito ALT RL-3.SBJ bite-1SGO I
A fly or a mosquito bit me.

11.1.4 *N-e-u* 'it is thus' as conjunction

The form *n-e-u* consists of the verb *-u* 'be thus', preceded by the realis and 3SG subject markers *n-e*. This occurs very commonly, with a range of functions, the most common of which is as a tag clause (see 11.4). A further function is to introduce a constituent and conjoin it to a preceding constituent. In this sense the form appears to be undergoing a process of grammaticalisation in which it is becoming a conjunction.

The form occurs commonly introducing a clause, where the situation coded by the second clause is presented as cooccurring with the situation coded by the first clause.

(11.19) *kai bo au ia pirisi hugo hebala*
later CNT exist theSG priest PN PN
Later there was the priest Hugo Hebala.

ḡ-e au-gu buala e-u
NT-3.SBJ exist-PRG PNLOC 3.SBJ-be.thus
He was living in Buala.

n-e-u *ḡetu n-e-ke mane datau-na e-u*
RL-3.SBJ-be.thus PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF man chief-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
[At that time] Getu was the chief.

It is not entirely clear that the clauses in lines 2 and 3 of (11.19) are even conjoined and form a single sentence, in the sense that as a single complex sentence the two clauses would have some psychologically real relationship closer than that of clauses which are merely adjacent in the discourse. By introducing the clause in line 3, *n-e-u* appears to mark that clause as coding a situation that is associated in some semantically close way with the situation coded by the preceding clause, in this instance that the events occurred concurrently. In that example it is *n-e-u* alone which indicates the concurrence captured by the bracketed element of the free translation. The literal translation of *n-e-u* is something along the lines of 'it is/was thus' or 'be thus'. This meaning is readily apparent in the many instance where a clause is introduced by *n-e-u* but clearly does not form a single sentence with a preceding clause, as speaker B's response in (11.20) illustrates:

(11.20) A. *ge fufunu la-gu e-u*
SEQ begin go-PRG 3.SBJ-be.thus
Start [telling the story] now.

B. ***n-e-u*** *hae*
RL-3.SBJ-be.thus where
Where? [lit. Be thus where?]

The association with a situation coded by a preceding clause does not necessarily involve concurrence. The relationship is frequently sequential:

(11.21) *'...da fa-lehe-i-u mane-ne' ḡ-e-u-n̄a palu mane-de*
1INC.SBJ CS-die-3SGO-PRG man-thisR NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM two man-theseR
"...we will kill this man" said these two men,

n-e-u *ḡ-e fa-lehe-i-u suaragi n-e-ke-u*
RL-3.SBJ-be.thus NT-3.SBJ CS-die-3SGO-PRG PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
and they killed Suaragi, it was like that.

The semantics of the clauses in (11.21) more readily give a conjunction-like appearance to *neu*. However, this is more so when the form occurs between constituents smaller than a clause. In (11.22) the first instance of *neu* apparently conjoins individual verbs or perhaps verb complexes. However, the presence of the limiter-marked second occurrence of *neu* undermines a conjunction analysis here, suggesting as a more literal translation of the clause something like "dancing, likewise playing, they were just like that there".

(11.22) *ragī,* ***n-e-u*** *visi,* ***n-e-u*** *bla maneri sare*
dance RL-3.SBJ-be.thus play RL-3.SBJ-be.thus LMT they thereP
Dance and play, that is what they did there. [Response to Q 'What did they do in Buala?']

However, in (11.23) *neu* occurs between two verb complexes, apparently both marked by the same sentence final tag clause *n-a-u* 'I am/was thus'. Here the behaviour of the form is more strongly conjunction-like:

(11.23) *ne* *kapo* *no-gū* ***n-e-u*** *marh-i-di* *pau-gū-de*
RL feel.cold GP-1SGP RL-3.SBJ-be.thus feel.pain-TR-3PLO head-1SGP-theseR
I'm cold [ie. feverish] and my head hurts,

n-a-u
RL-1.SBJ-be.thus
I'm like that.[1]

The most conjunction-like appearance of *neu*, however, is when it occurs between NPs. In (11.24)a. the form conjoins two subject NPs in a subordinate clause, in (11.24)b. it conjoins two NPs governed by a single preposition.

(11.24) a. *ka* *fata* *kave-ro* *mane* *pirisi* ***n-e-u*** *ira* *abeabe*
LOC occasion descend-thoseNV man priest RL-3.SBJ-be.thus thePL server
When the priest and the servers went out,

ga-gato-mu-na *ago* *n-e-ge* *nhigo* *tarai* *baiu* *n-e-u*
RD-think-2SGP-thatN youSG RL-3.SBJ-PRS finish pray PSBL RL-3.SBJ-be.thus
maybe your thought was that prayer is finished?

b. *n-e-ge* *agē* *iusi* *fakamo* *ira* *mereseni*
RL-3.SBJ-PRS go use always thePL medicine
Now we always use medicine

ka-ia *dokta* ***n-e-u*** *mane-vaka* *e-u*
LOC-theSG doctor RL-3.SBJ-be.thus man-ship 3.SBJ-be.thus
of the doctor and white man.

11.1.5 Presentation of alternatives

The presentation of alternatives does not involve a conjunction comparable to the English *or*. Instead, this function is performed by the marking of each alternative constituent with the constituent modifier *ba* 'alternative'. This may mark constituents of any size from individual words up to complete clauses. This particle is not a conjunction, and is discussed in detail in 9.8.1.

11.2 Subordination

Several clause types occur subordinated within a main clause. Some subordinate clauses occur immediately governed by the sentence node with the function of modifying the entire main clause, while others function adnominally. Others function as arguments of the main clause predication, or as nominal predicates in non-verbal clauses.

In general, subordinate clauses with any of these functions fall into two categories - realis and irrealis. Realis subordinate clauses have no subordinating particle. Irrealis subordinate clauses are governed by the subordinating particle *ta*. This latter category includes most conditional clauses.

Several minor types of adverbial subordinate clauses also exist, each with their own formal characteristics.

11.2.1 Realis versus irrealis subordination

Most subordinate clauses fall into two types - those which code a realis event and those which code an irrealis event. The former do not involve any subordinating particle, while the latter do.

The modal characterisation of events in subordinate clauses in part reflects the way those events would be treated if they were expressed by a main clause. The basis of the main clause classification of events as realis or irrealis is discussed in 8.5.2.3. However, the range of subordinate clause predications which are

[1] Note that *pau* 'head' may be plural even when referring to a single individual's head.

treated as irrealis is considerably wider than those treated as irrealis in main clauses. Any real event which actually occurred before the moment of speaking, or is actually occurring at the moment of speaking, is treated as realis. In subordinate clauses all other events are treated as irrealis. The prototypical non-real event is one which is located at a time after the moment of speaking, in other words one which has yet to occur. This prototypical distinction is neatly reflected in relative clauses in terminology for divisions of time:

(11.25) a. *ka* *wiki* ***n**-e-ke* *agē-o*
LOC week RL-3.SBJ-PRF go-thatNV
last week (lit. that week that went)

b. *ka* *wiki* ***ta*** *mai-ne*
LOC week SB come-thisR
next week (lit. this week that will come)

In (11.25)a. the week referred to is in the past, and its going has actually occurred. As such the relative clause coding the event is realis, with a realis auxiliary and no subordinating particle. In (11.25)b. the coming of the week has yet to occur. As such the event is not yet real and it is treated as irrealis and the relative clause has no auxiliary. Instead the subordinating particle *ta* is present. In effect, an auxiliary and the subordinator are in complementary distribution in subordinate clauses. The absence of an auxiliary in irrealis subordinate clauses correlates with the omissibility of the person auxiliary in irrealis main clauses, and the (crosslinguistically unusual) status of irrealis as the unmarked of the two modal categories.

Any subordinated positive active predication is realis. While the examples in (11.25) are useful from a contrastive point of view, (11.25)a. does not reflect a prototypical use of a realis subordinate. The following (bracketed) relative clause is more typical:

(11.26) *...g-e-ke* *mai* *ñhau* *ka-ira* *tañano*
NT-3.SBJ-PRF come eat LOC-thePL food
...he came and ate from the food

[***n**-e-ke* *fafara-di* *maneri*] *n-e-u...*
RL-3.SBJ-PRF sacrifice-3PLO they RL-3.SBJ-be.thus
(which) they had sacrificed...

Irrealis subordinate clauses cover a much wider range of events. These include events which, while positive and active, have yet to occur. Such events are treated as irrealis in subordinate clauses, as they are in main clauses:

(11.27) *mane* *ihei* [***ta*** *mhoko* *fa-lehe-i-na* *to-toi-ne*], *an-bla* *mane-na*
man whoever SB sit CS-die-3SGO-thatN RD-cook-thisR thatN-LMT man-thatN
Whichever [is the] man who will sit [on] and kill this fire, that [will be] that [true] man.

However future events are not the only events which are expressed as irrealis in both main and subordinate clauses. Habitual events, while being positive events, are coded as irrealis as they are not actual specific events, as the main clause in line 3 of (11.28)a. illustrates. The act of referring to an entity by the word which a language assigns to that entity is inherently habitual so is also treated as irrealis, as in (11.28)b.-c.:

(11.28) a. *lao* *la* *tehi* *n-e-u* *tegē* *ana,*
go CND many RL-3.SBJ-be.thus turtle thatN
If there are many turtles,

gē-e-la *naboto-u* *ba,* *varedake-u* *ba,* *tulufulu* *tegē*
NT-3.SBJ-go ten-CRD ALT twenty-CRD ALT thirty turtle
then it's ten, or twenty, or thirty turtles

[***ta*** *la* *hod-i-di-re* *gai*]
SB go take-TR-3PLO-thoseN weEXC
that we take.

b. *e* *au-i* *la* *bla* *keha*
3.SBJ exist-3SGO ?? LMT NSP
He [the doctor] has something

[***ta*** *fakilo-ni* *tritmenti* *ka-ia* *ooe-vaka*]
SB name(V)-3SGO treatment LOC-theSG talk-ship
that [they] call treatment in Pijin.

c. *ḡ-e* *la* *fa-lehe-i-nā* *n-e-ke-u* *fadalao*
NT-3.SBJ go CS-die-3SGO-IMM RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus PN
They killed Fadalao,

[***ta***-*ni-na* *naitu* *t-au-ne*]
SB-3SGO-thatN devil SB-exist-thisR
as that devil was called.

In addition to habitual events, hypothetical events are treated as irrealis, with subordinated clauses expressing hypothetical events coded irrealis:

(11.29) a. *tana* *aḡe* *toke-i* *ia* *nare*
then go arrive-3SGO theSG day
Then comes the day

[***ta*** *mala* *aḡe* *friñhe-ni* *ia* *mala-ñhau*]
SB PURP go work-3SGO theSG PURP-eat
for making the food.

Subordinate clause events located in the past or present are realis if positive. However, the non-occurrence of an event is treated as irrealis regardless of the temporal frame of the event. Thus past counterfactual ((11.30)a.) and present counterfactual ((11.30)b.) subordinated clauses are irrealis.

(11.30) a. *teo* *ḡ-e* *kaike* *mane*
be.not NT-3.SBJ one man
There was not one man

[***ta*** *kave-na*] *ka* *maneri* *k-au* *toa-na*
SB descend-thatN LOC they LOC-exist fort-thatN
who came out, of those in the fort.

b. *e* *teo* *kaike* *ihei* [***ta*** *aḡe* *boka* *fa-lehe-i-na* *ia* *to-toi*]
3.SBJ be.not one someone SB go be.able CS-die-3SGO-thatN theSG RD-cook
There is not anyone who can kill the fire.

Note that the subordinate clauses in (11.30) are not negative. Instead they express positive events. However, the wider context of the main clause indicates that these events did not occur, and thus, despite expressing positive events located in the past or present, the clauses are coded as irrealis.

Like habitual events, states have a validity that holds beyond individual temporal locations or modal status. However, in main clauses states may be coded as realis if the state actually exists or existed at a particular point in the past or present. Subordinate clauses expressing states vary in their modal coding. In relative clauses states are always coded as irrealis. This is as true of temporary states, as in (11.31)b., as it is of permanent states ((11.31)a.):

(11.31) a. *la-i* *bla* *kaike* *tu-turi* [***ta*** *puku*] *bl-ago*
go-3SGO LMT one RD-tell SB be.short LMT-youSG
Just tell a story that's short.

b. *ge* *ḡ-e* *tetu-nā* *mane* [***ta*** *foḡra* *marha-pau* *a-hi*]...
SEQ NT-3.SBJ stand-IMM man SB sick be.in.pain-head thisT-EMPH
...then the man who is sick with this headache stands up...

However, other subordinate clause types resemble main clauses in that they code real states as realis. For example the complement clause in (11.32) is realis:

(11.32) a. *ka* *gato* *la-i-na* *bla* *ago* [***n***-*e* *sodu-na*]
LOC think go-3SGO-thatN LMT youSG RL-3.SBJ be.long-thatN
When you think it [the story] is long,

fahorogoto *la-i* *si-ago*
?? go-3SGO FOC-youSG
you complete it all.

Like states, relationships such as knowing or possessing have a non-specific quality in reality or temporal terms. However, like states, while main clauses expressing such relationships are coded realis, subordinate clauses must be irrealis:

(11.33) a. *e-u* *za-zaho-na-na* *marha-pau* *tarihi* *ḡeḡelehu*
3.SBJ-be.thus RD-go-3SGP-thatN be.in.pain-head pillow heavy
That's the way of the headache 'Heavy Pillow'

[***ta*** *lase-i-na* *ara*]
SB know-3SGO-thatN I
that I know.

b. *ḡ-e* *tetu-nā* *mane* [***ta*** *kuru-i-ne* *naitu* *toke*]
NT-3.SBJ stand-IMM man SB have-3SGO-thisR devil arrive
The man who had an arriving devil stood up.

Like states, existential clauses are realis as main clauses but irrealis as subordinate clauses:

(11.34) a. *ge* *ḡ-e* *tufa-nā* *ka-ira* *nakoni* *mavitu*
SEQ NT-3 affect-lMM LOC-thePL person community
...then [we] give [the food] to the people

[***ta*** *au* *ka* *ḡilu-na* *no-mai* *nau*
SB exist LOC in-3SGP GP-1EXCP village
who live within our village.

The use of the subordinator *ta* with the existential verb *au* has given rise to formulaic clausal demonstratives such as *t-au-na* 'that (nearby)' (lit. 'that which is that') and *t-au-de* 'these (within reach)' (lit. 'that which are these'). These clausal demonstratives are discussed in 4.1.3.3.

Irrealis subordinate clauses are typically marked with the subordinator *ta*, as discussed above. However, where the context makes clear the irrealis status of the subordinate clause, the subordinator is occasionally omitted. This occurs very commonly when the subordinate clause is marked with the purposive marker *mala*. The prototypically unrealised nature of intended events gives purposive subordinates a prototypical irrealis status. As discussed in 11.2.7, this licences the omission of the subordinator. However, the subordinator may occur in such clauses, as (11.35)a. illustrates. Less commonly, omission of the subordinator occurs with other irrealis subordinate clauses, typically where the event coded by the subordinate clause is located in the future within the temporal frame of the main clause. When the

subordinator is omitted an irrealis auxiliary may occur. As discussed in 8.5.2.2, irrealis is realised by zero marking, contrasting with marked realis and neutral categories. The auxiliary thus consists only of the person indexing vowel. This auxiliary may occur when the subordinator is omitted, as in (11.35)b. In main clauses irrealis auxiliaries tend to be omitted when there is no ambiguity about the identity of the subject or actor. This is also true of subordinate clauses. Consequently an irrealis subordinate clause from which the subordinator has been omitted may have no auxiliary, as in (11.35)c.

(11.35) a. *manahagi-ḡau gau* [***ta*** ***mala*** *fa-lehe-i-na naitu ao-hi*]
want-2PLO youPL SB PURP CS-die-3SGO-thatN devil thisT-EMPH
We want you all to kill this devil.

b. *manei n-e tahe-i-na* [*ara* ***a*** *tazi-ni sote ine*]
he RL-3.SBJ tell-3SGO-thatN I 1.SBJ keep-3SGO shirt thisR
He said I can keep this shirt.

c. *manahagi-ḡau gau* mane huhuraⁿi
want-2PLO youPL man PNLOC
I want you Huhurangi people

[*kaike mai au gudu ade-hi kokota*]
one come exist EXHST here-EMPH PNLOC
to all come and live together here at Kokota

11.2.2 Constituent order possibilities in relative and complement clauses

As discussed in 9.2, the pragmatically unmarked clause constituent order in the language is VAO or VS. However, main clauses allow the preverbal topicalisation of any argument. In addition, a clause final focus position exists. Subordinate clauses of all types have the same pragmatically unmarked constituent structure as main clauses. However the pragmatically marked possibilities differ from those of main clauses.

11.2.2.1 Topicalisation in relative and complement clauses

The topicalisation possibilities for relative and complement clauses differ between zero-marked clauses and those with the subordinator *ta*. However, all zero-marked clauses allow the same possibilities regardless of whether they are functioning as relative or complement clauses, as do all *ta* marked clauses.

Clauses marked with the subordinator *ta* do not allow any argument to occur in preverbal topicalised position. This applies to all *ta* marked clauses regardless of main clause function.

In zero-marked relative and complement clauses a preverbal topicalised argument is possible, but is ergative - only actors (ie. the subjects of transitive predications) may be topicalised, as (11.36)b.-c. illustrate for relative and complement clauses respectively. Intransitive subjects are precluded from occurring preverbally, even if unergative ((11.36)d.), as are objects ((11.36)e.-f.). The pragmatically unmarked structure is shown in (11.36)a.

(11.36) a. *ara manahagi-ni* [*o poma-i ago mheke ana*]
I want-3SGO 2.SBJ hit-3SGO youSG dog thatN
I want that you hit that dog.

b. *ia mheke* [***ago*** *n-o-ke poma-i-o*] *n-e lehe*
theSG dog youSG RL-2.SBJ-PRF hit-3SGO-thatNV RL-3.SBJ die
The dog you hit is dead.

c. *ara manahagi-ni* [***ago*** *o poma-i mheke ana*]
I want-3SGO youSG 2.SBJ hit-3SGO dog thatN
I want that you hit that dog.[2]

[2] The 2.SBJ preverbal agreement marker is optional and would typically be omitted here.

d. **ara manahagi-ni* [***ago*** *o mai ade*]
I want-3SGO youSG 2.SBJ come here
I want that you come here.

e. **ia mheke* [***ago*** *n-e-ke kat-i-igo*] *n-e lehe*
theSG dog youSG RL-3.SBJ-PRF hit-TR-2SGO RL-3.SBJ die
The dog that bit you is dead.

f. **ara manahagi-ni* [***mheke ana*** *o poma-i ago*]
I want-3SGO dog thatN 2.SBJ hit-3SGO youSG
I want that you hit that dog.

Note that although *manahagi* 'want' is potentially ditransitive, the *ago* 'youSG' in (11.36)c. is within a direct object complement clause, indexed by the third singular agreement enclitic on the main clause verb, not a direct object separate from an indirect object complement clause, as would be the case if the main clause agreement enclitic was second singular:

(11.37) *ara manahagi-nigo* ***ago*** [*o poma-i mheke ana*]
I want-3SGO youSG 2.SBJ hit-3SGO dog thatN
I want you to hit that dog.

As the controlled argument may not be overtly realised in relative clauses (as discussed in 11.2.4), topicalisation is only possible when the subordinate actor is not the controlled argument.

11.2.2.2 Focus in relative and complement clauses

Like main clauses, both *ta* marked and zero-marked relative and complement clauses allow an argument in clause final focus position. However in main clauses a focussed argument is marked with the focus particle *si*. In subordinate clauses of all types this focus particle may not occur. Instead, in relative and complement clauses a focussed argument occurs in clause final position without *si*. This occurs infrequently. More than one argument must be present in the subordinate clause. Moreover, intransitive subjects and objects occur in clause final position unless an oblique is also present. Consequently it is typically a transitive actor which is focussed in subordinate clauses, as (11.38) illustrates for zero-marked and *ta* marked relative and complement clauses:

(11.38) a. *ara n-a fakae-ni ia gāzu*
I RL-1.SBJ see-3SGO theSG wood
I saw the stick

[*n-o-ke poma-i-o ia mheke* ***ago***]
RL-2.SBJ-PRF hit-3SGO-thatNV theSG dog youSG
<u>you</u> hit the dog with.

b. *ara manahagi-ni* [*o poma-i mheke ana* ***ago***]
I want-3SGO 2.SBJ hit-3SGO dog thatN youSG
I want that <u>you</u> hit that dog.

c. *e teo kaike gāzu* [*ta poma-i-o ia mheke* ***ago***]
3.SBJ be.not one wood SB hit-3SGO-thatNV theSG dog youSG
There isn't a stick for <u>you</u> to hit the dog with.

d. *ara manahagi-ni* [*ta poma-i-o mheke ana* ***ago***]
I want-3SGO SB hit-3SGO-thatNV dog thatN youSG
I want that <u>you</u> hit that dog.

However, relative and complement clause focussing is not limited to actors. In (11.39), for example, an intransitive subject occurs in clause final position, following an oblique:

(11.39) *ara* *manahagi-ni* [*ta* *mai* *ade* ***ago***]
I want-3SGO SB come here youSG
I want that you come here.

11.2.3 Relative clauses

Realis subordinate clauses occur as adnominal modifiers identifying or characterising the head nominal on the basis of an event in which the participant coded by the head nominal took part, or a state which applies to that participant.

The behaviour of relative clauses within NP structure is discussed in 4.3.2.2.3.6. As discussed in that section, two types of relative clauses exist: reduced and full. Reduced relative clauses consist only of the subordinator *ta* plus a single stative verb, and occur within the NP core. Nothing further needs to be added here regarding reduced relative clauses other than that they may modify any nominal main clause argument. Full relative clauses are NP outer modifiers. The rest of this section deals with full relative clauses.

11.2.3.1 Main clause arguments modified

Any main clause argument may be modified by a relative clause. In (11.40)a. the main clause actor (ie. transitive subject) is modified, in (11.40)b. an unergative intransitive subject, in (11.40)c. an unaccusative subject, in (11.40)d. an undergoer, in (11.40)e. an oblique, and in (11.40)f. a possessor:

(11.40) a. ***ia*** ***mane*** [*n-e-ke* *fa-lehe-i* *ia* *zora*]
theSG man RL-3.SBJ-PRF CS-die-3SGO theSG pig
The man who killed the pig

n-e *korh-i-ri* *keha* *namhari*
RL-3.SBJ catch-3PLO NSP fish
caught some fish.

b. ***ia*** ***mane*** [*n-e-ke* *dupa-nau* *ara*] *n-e* *zaho* *bla*
theSG man RL-3.SBJ-PRF punch-1SGO I RL-3.SBJ go LMT
The man who hit me simply left.

c. *n-e* *totonu* *blau* ***tu-turi*** [*n-e-ke* *la-i-o* *ago* *goino*]
RL-3.SBJ be.straight LMT RD-tell RL-3.SBJ-PRF go-3SGO-thatNV youSGtodayRL
That story you told today is straight.

d. *...la* *hure-ri* ***ira*** ***tilo*** ***tomoko*** [*n-e-ke* *hage-ro* *gudu* *maneri*]
go carry-3PLO thePL three war.canoe RL-3.SBJ-PRF ascend-thoseNV EXHST they
[They]...went and carried the three war canoes they had come up in.

e. *...g̃-e-ke* *mai* *n̄hau* *ka-**ira*** ***tan̄ano***
NT-3.SBJ-PRF come eat LOC-thePL food
...he came and ate from the food

[*n-e-ke* *fafara-di* *maneri*]...
RL-3.SBJ-PRF sacrifice-3PLO they
which they had sacrificed...

f. *...a-ke* *mai* *siko* *ginai* *ka-ira* *ge-di* *no-di* *e-u*
1.SBJ-PRF come steal todayIRR LOC-thePL CP-3PLP GP-3PLP 3.SBJ-be.thus
...later we would come and steal from the food and things of

mane [*n-e-ke* *kusu* *au-de* *ade*]
man RL-3.SBJ-PRF be.first exist-theseR here
the men who lived here first.

11.2.3.2 Relative clause argument roles

The participant expressed by the main clause argument which is modified by the relative clause (ie. the coreferential argument) may have any grammatical relation in the relative clause. It may have the same relation in both clauses, as in (11.40)a., where the coreferential argument is an agent and transitive actor in both clauses. In (11.40)b. the coreferential argument is a [+A] argument in both clauses, but has slightly different grammatical relations: in one it is a transitive actor and in the other an unergative subject. Similarly in (11.40)c. the coreferential participant is a [-A] argument in both clauses, an unaccusative subject in the main clause and a theme in the relative clause. Alternatively, the argument may have completely different roles and relations, as in (11.40)d. and e., where the coreferential argument is an oblique in one clause and an undergoer in the other. The fact that both these roles are not [+A] is not significant - a participant may be the [+A] argument of one clause and the [-A] argument of the other. In (11.40)f. the main clause oblique is [+A] in the relative clause (an unergative subject), while in (11.41) the [-A] main clause undergoer object is [+A] relative clause actor:

(11.41) *ia* *datau* *n-e* *fa-lehe-i* ***ia*** ***mheke***
theSG chief RL-3.SBJ CS-die-3SGO theSG dog
The chief hit the dog

[*n-e-ke* *kat-i-ni*] *e-u*
RL-3.SBJ-PRF bite-TR-3SGO3.SBJ-be.thus
which had bitten him.

The freedom of participants to function in any role in both main and relative clauses creates the potential for ambiguity, as in (11.41). Here neither the actor nor undergoer of the transitive relative clause are overtly realised. Since the two main clause participants are also the two relative clause participants, and both are third singular, some means of distinguishing between the two participants in the relative clause is necessary. However, this means need not be linguistic.

Where no overt arguments are present in the relative clause the ambiguity is not resolved syntactically: the dog cannot be assumed to have the same role in the relative clause as it does in the main clause, as it could well have a different role (as it does in (11.41). In situations like this ambiguity is resolved pragmatically and semantically. In (11.41) the dog would normally be assumed to be the actor of the relative clause because dogs typically bite, and chiefs typically do not. If a semantically anomalous event was being described, the unusual role assignment would require an overt realisation of the arguments, in which case constituent order would resolve the ambiguity. Equally, where either participant could readily perform either role, overt mentions allow constituent order to resolve the ambiguity. In (11.42), for example, no ambiguity is possible as the unmarked VAO constituent order dictates the reading.

(11.42) a. *ara* *n-a* *fakae-ni* *ia* *gāzu*
I RL-1.SBJ see-3SGO theSG wood
I saw the stick

[*n-e-ke* *poma-i-o* *ia* *datau* *ia* *mane-dou*]
RL-3.SBJ-PRF hit-3SGO-thatNV theSG chief theSG man-be.big
the chief hit the old man with.

b. *ara* *n-a* *fakae-ni* *ia* *gāzu*
I RL-1.SBJ see-3SGO theSG wood
I saw the stick

[*n-e-ke* *poma-i-o* *ia* *mane-dou* *ia* *datau*]
RL-3.SBJ-PRF hit-3SGO-thatNV theSG man-be.big theSG chief
the old man hit the chief with.

11.2.3.3 Relative clause argument role tendencies

A relative clause may modify a main clause argument of any argument role. However, unelicited data reflects various tendencies. Relative clauses on main clause undergoers and intransitive subjects occur commonly; and on obliques slightly less so, while relative clauses on actors occur very infrequently.

The role in the relative clause of the controlled argument shows similar tendencies: by far the most common controlled arguments are relative clause intransitive subjects. Undergoers are less common, obliques still less so, and coreferential actors are rare.[3]

11.2.3.4 Relative clause structure

The constituent order possibilities for subordinate clauses are discussed in 11.2.2. However, a constraint applies to relative clauses that does not apply to other subordinate clause types: the relative clause argument which is coreferential with its main clause head is subject to control by the head and may not be overtly realised except by agreement in the subordinate verb complex. An NP realising the controlled argument may not occur.

As the coreferential argument is controlled, a relative clause cannot have all its arguments specified other than by agreement. In addition, relative clauses are subject to the same tendency as other clause types to realise highly activated participants by zero anaphora (see 9.3). Consequently relative clauses frequently consist of the verb complex only. Where an argument is realised, it is typically either a transitive actor or an undergoer in a clause where the head fulfils the other core transitive role, or is an oblique. In (11.43)a. the controlled argument is the object and in (11.43)b. the actor. In (11.43)c. it is an oblique.

(11.43) a. *da-ke* *au-gu* *banesokeo* *ka* ***nau*** [*n-a* *tabar-i-ne* *ara*]
1INC.SBJ-PRF exist-PRG PNLOC LOC place RL-1.SBJ buy-3SGO-thisR I
We will stay at Banesokeo at the place I bought.

b. *e* *teo* ***kaike*** ***ihei*** [*ta-ge* *boka* *fa-lehe-i-na* *ia* *to-toi*]
3.SBJ be.not one whoever SB-PRS be.able CS-die-3SGO-thatN theSG RD-cook
There is not anyone who can kill the fire.

c. *ḡ-e* *farogoho* *fa* *teo-ri* ***mane***
NT-3.SBJ smite CS be.not-3PLO man
He killed the men

[*n-e-ke* *au-ro* *ka* *ḡilu-na* *tema-na*] *e-u*
RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thoseN LOC inside-3SGP hut-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
who were inside the small house

Since intransitive clauses have only one core argument, intransitive subjects are very rarely overtly realised in relative clauses. This is only possible where the head functions as a relative clause oblique. Equally, transitive relative clauses with both core arguments overtly realised occur very infrequently, and only in the same circumstances:

(11.44) *ia* *tafnu* [*n-e-ke* *toi-ni* *maneri* *ia* *namhari*]
theSG oven RL-3.SBJ-PRF cook-3SGO they theSG fish
The oven they cooked the fish in

n-e *dou*
RL-3.SBJ be.big
was big.

Relative clauses with more than one overt argument are also possible where the arguments are both obliques:

[3] See Corston 1996 for a lengthy discussion of these tendencies in Roviana.

(11.45) *ḡ-a* *turi-ni-n̄a* *ara* *tu-turi* *gabili* *faaknu*
NT-1.SBJ tell-3SGO-IMM I RD-tell be.aggressive murder
I will tell the story of the killer

[*n-e-ke* *au-re*
RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thoseN
who lived

ka-ia *puhi* *boñihehe* *ka* *gizuna* *a-hi* *gai*]
LOC-theSG way heathen LOC island thisT-EMPH weEXC
in the heathen time on our island.

Like controlled core arguments, controlled relative clause obliques are not overtly realised. When this occurs the entire prepositional phrase has a zero realisation, even if in the main clause the coreferential argument is not also an oblique. In (11.44) a main clause unaccusative subject is modified by a relative clause in which the coreferential participant functions as an instrument. Instruments are normally realised by prepositional obliques with the preposition *ka* as head (as discussed in 7.7.1.6). However, when a main clause core argument occurs as a controlled relative clause oblique, as in (11.44), no preposition occurs in either clause. This is also illustrated in (11.46), where the main clause object controls a relative clause instrument which would otherwise be realised within a *ka* prepositional oblique:

(11.46) *...la* *hure-ri* *ira* *tilo* *tomoko*
go carry-3PLO thePL three war.canoe
They went and picked up the three war canoes

[*n-e-ke* *hage-ro* *gudu* *maneri*]
RL-3.SBJ-PRF ascend-thoseNV EXHST they
which they had come up in.

11.2.3.5 Relative clause recursion

Relative clauses are potentially recursive, with arguments of one relative clause themselves eligible to be modified by a relative clause. In (11.47) the object arguments of the relative clause in line 2 are themselves modified by the relative clause in line 3:

(11.47) *ka-t-au-ana* *ge* *tafe* *ia* *n̄ehe*
LOC-SB-exist-thatN SEQ spring.open theSG umbrella
At that sprang open the umbrella

[*n-e-ke* *mala* *totoku-di-ro* *ira* *liliḡomo,* *ira* *papaza,*
RL-3.SBJ-PRF PURP cover-3PLO-thoseNV thePL warning.charm thePL turmeric
that was for covering the warning charm, the turmeric,

[*n-e-ke* *au-ro* *ka-ia* *pau-na* *hinage-na*]] *e-u*
RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thoseNV LOC-theSG head-3SGP boat-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
that were in the front of the canoe.

11.2.3.6 Relative clause demonstrative enclitics

Full relative clauses optionally contain a cliticised demonstrative agreeing with the controlled argument. This demonstrative attaches to the verb complex. Where a relative clause is intransitive, the verb complex may be marked with an enclitic agreeing with the subject of that clause (unergative or unaccusative):

(11.48) a. *teo* *ḡ-e* *kaike* *mane*
be.not NT-3.SBJ one man
There was not one man

[*ta* *kave-**na***] *ka* *maneri* *k-au* *toa-na*
SB descend-thatN LOC they LOC-exist fort-thatN
who came out, of those in the fort.

b. *e-u* *teo* *ḡ-e* *boka* *turi-di* *manei*
3.SBJ-be.thus be.not NT-3.SBJ be.able tell-3PLO he
He isn't able to tell

heve *ḡlepo* [*n-e-ke* *torai* *dia-**re***]...
what thing RL-3.SBJ-PRF definitely be.bad-thoseN
whatever things that were very wrong...

In transitive relative clauses the demonstrative enclitic attaches to the postverbal agreement marker. Where the controlled argument is the relative clause actor the demonstrative agrees with that argument. This can be seen in (11.49)a., where the relative clause object is plural and the actor singular. Where the controlled argument is the object, as in (11.49)b., the postverbal agreement marker and the demonstrative enclitic form a sequence which agrees with both the person and number of the undergoer, and its demonstrative category.

(11.49) a. *e* *teo* *kaike* *mane* [*ta* *magra-**di-na*** *naitu* *are*]
3.SBJ be.not one man SB fight-3PLO-thatN devil thoseN
There is not one man who can fight these devils.

b. *ia* *nakodou* *n-e* *toi-ri* *ira* *kaku*
theSG woman RL-3.SBJ cook-3PLO thePL banana
The woman cooked the bananas

[*n-e-ke* *la* *hod-i-**ri-ro***]
RL-3.SBJ-PRF go take-TR-3PLO-thoseNV
she had picked.

The demonstrative may also agree with a controlled oblique. In (11.46) the demonstrative enclitic *-ro* 'those (not visible)' agrees with the controlled instruments.

No evident formal or syntactic bases motivate the presence or absence of a demonstrative enclitic. Instead the motivation appears to be pragmatic - the demonstrative is used to facilitate referent identification. Speakers have the option of employing this strategy if they judge it useful on a clause by clause basis. However, while elicited relative clauses often do not contain a demonstrative enclitic, that is not an accurate reflection of language use. In almost all unelicited relative clauses in the corpus a demonstrative enclitic is present.

11.2.4 Subordinate clauses as arguments

Subordinate clauses may function as arguments of a main clause. As events or states cannot be volitional entities, arguments realised by subordinate clauses are limited to non-volitional semantic roles. One effect of this is that argument clauses may not function as the agent of a transitive clause, or as an unergative subject. Beyond that, they may occur with any grammatical relation.

11.2.4.1 Subordinate clauses as subjects

While an argument clause may not function as agent, it may occur as the actor of a transitive predication, with the semantic role of force. In (11.50) the clause *friñhe heta* 'work hard' is the actor of the transitive causative predication, and is marked with the demonstrative *ine* 'this (reachable).

(11.50) [*friñhe* *heta* *ine*] *n-e* *fa* *babao-nau* *ara*
work be.strong thisR RL-3.SBJ CS be.tired-1SGO I
This working hard is making me tired.

While subject clauses are typically marked with a demonstrative, this is optional:

(11.51) [*birho ravata*] *n-e* *fa lehe-ñhau-nigo* *ago*
sleep afternoon RL-3.SBJ CS die-eat-2SGO youSG
Sleeping in the afternoon is making you hungry.

Force argument clause actors have a superficial resemblance to nominalised adverbial contextual subordinate clauses (discussed in 11.2.5.1). In (11.52)a. the initial argument clause is simply the context in which the speaker's thirst occurred. In (11.52)b., however, a virtually identical clause is the force actor of the main clause predication. While the argument clause is virtually identical in both sentences, the main clause in (11.52)a. is intransitive, with the speaker as subject, as the preverbal agreement indicates. In (11.52)b. the main clause is transitive, with a causative marked predication and the speaker as object (indexed postverbally).

(11.52) a. [*mhoko-na* *ka* *naprai* *nhorao*] *n-a-ke* *no-ḡu* *kumai* *ara*
sit-thatN LOC sun yesterday RL-1.SBJ-PRF GP-1SGP drink I
Sitting in the sun yesterday, I wanted to drink.

b. [*mhoko-no* *ka* *naprai* *nhorao*] *n-e-ke* *fa* *no-ḡu* *kumai-**nau*** ***ara***
sit-thatNV LOC sun yesterday RL-3.SBJ-PRF CS GP-1SGP drink-1SGO I
Sitting in the sun yesterday made me want to drink.

Clauses which function as the subject of an unaccusative intransitive predication typically express an event which the main clause comments on in terms of its state or some characteristic associated with it:

(11.53) [*tetegū* *namhari-ne*] *e* *bu-bluse* *ḡlehe*
fish(V) fish-thisR 3.SBJ RD-be.easy very
This catching fish is very easy.

The use of a main clause with a subordinate clause as subject occurs frequently in exposition as a recapping device indicating the progression of events, often indicating the completion of one stage in a sequence of events:

(11.54) *o* *la* *roh-i* *ia* *ḡuanha...*
2.SBJ go scrape-TR theSG *ḡuanha*
You go and scrape the *guanha* [tree]...

[*la roh-i*] *n-e* *nhigo-u,* *toke-na* *fa* *blahi*
go scrape RL-3.SBJ be.finished-PRG arrive-thatN CS be.tabu
Going and scraping it is finished, [then] go back and bless [it].

As with force subordinate clause actors, subordinate clause unaccusative subjects may or may not be marked with a demonstrative, as (11.53) and (11.54) illustrate. In most elicited sentences with a subordinate clause unaccusative subject a demonstrative is present, while in most unelicited sentences the clause is not marked by a demonstrative.

11.2.4.2 Complement clauses

11.2.4.2.1 Complement clause grammatical relations and interclausal argument coreference

A number of verbs subcategorise for a sentential complement as either direct or indirect object. These include:

(11.55) a. *tahe* 'tell'
b. *snakre* 'allow'
c. *lubati* 'allow'
d. *fa noto* 'cause to stop'
e. *fa teo* 'cause to be not'
f. *fa nagr̄-i* 'cause to be blocked'.
g. *gato* 'think about'
h. *manahagi* 'want'
i. *gonu* 'be insensible/not know'
j. *gato-gonu* 'forget'
k. *fa nhigo* 'cause to be finished'
l. *ooe* 'say'

Of these, the verbs in (11.55)a.-i. subcategorise for either one or two complements. Where only one complement occurs it may be an NP or a complement clause. Where two complements exist, the direct object is always an NP, and the indirect object a complement clause. The verbs in (11.55)j.-l. subcategorise only for a single complement, which may be an NP or a complement clause. The semantic possibilities for direct and indirect complement clauses with these verbs fall into four groups:

Table 11.1: The semantics of direct and indirect object complement clauses.

	Bivalent clauses	Trivalent clauses	
	Direct object complement clause	Direct object noun phrase	Indirect object complement clause
A. *tahe, snakre, lubati, fa noto, fa teo, fa nagr̄-i*	**event** actor tells of s.o. else doing, allows s.o. else to do, stops/blocks s.o. else from doing, or thinks of s.o. else doing	**participant** who is told/ allowed/stopped/blocked or thought about	**event** DO is told/allowed to do; stopped/blocked from doing; or thought about doing
B. *manahagi*	**event** actor wants to do/ wants s.o. else to do	**participant** who actor wants to act	**event** actor wants DO to do
C. *gonu, gato-gonu, fa nhigo*	**event** actor doesn't know/ has forgotten how to do, or has finished doing	-	-
D. *ooe*	-	**participant** who is spoken to	**event** DO is told about

With the verbs in group A the main clause actor is not coreferential with the subject/actor of the complement clause. The subject/actor of the complement clause may be overtly realised within the complement clause, as in (11.56)a. Alternatively, the subject/actor of the complement clause may be realised as the direct object of the main clause, as in (11.56)b., in which case the complement clause is the indirect object. In this second alternative the complement clause subject/actor is coreferential with the main clause direct object and may not be overtly realised in the complement clause.

(11.56) a. *ia nahani n-e fa noto-**i** [agē tetegū-na **gita***]
theSG rain RL-3.SBJ CS stop-3SGO go fish(V)-thatN weINC
The rain stopped us going fishing.

b. *manei n-e fa noto-**nau** **ara** [ta nhau-di-re mala-nhau ta dia are*]
he RL-3.SBJ CS stop-1SGO I SB eat-3PLO-thoseN PURP-eat SB be.bad thoseN
He stopped me eating that bad food.

Group A verbs with indirect object complement clauses require coreference between the main clause undergoer and the complement clause subject/actor. The effect of this is that indirect object complement clauses do not allow an overt subject/actor within the complement clause itself.

With the verbs in group C the complement clause direct object realises an event which the main clause actor performs. The complement clause subject/actor must therefore be coreferential with the main clause actor. As with coreferential main clause nominal direct objects in group A verbs, the coreferential argument may not be overtly realised. Consequently, with group C verbs the complement clause subject/actor may never be overtly realised:

(11.57) a. *ara gō-no-gū-di* [*ta tahe-di-re are-lau*]
I be.insensible-GP-1SGP-3PLO SB tell-3PLO-thoseN thoseN-SPC
I don't know how to tell those [stories].[4]

b. *n-e-ge mai fa nhigo-i-u* [*lao tabar-i-na banesokeo*]
RL-3.SBJ-PRS come CS be.finished-3SGO-PRG go buy-3SGO-thatN PNLOC
He's coming and finishing buying Banesokeo.

The desiderative verb, *manahagi*, behaves in the same way as both group A and group C verbs. As with group A verbs, the actor of *manahagi* may want another participant to act. This may be expressed either with a direct object complement clause containing the complement clause subject/actor, as in (11.58)a., or with an NP direct object realising the other participant, and an indirect object complement clause realising the event, as in (11.58)b. Again, in this situation the indirect object complement clause subject/actor is coreferential with the main clause direct object and may not be overtly realised.

(11.58) a. *ara manahagi-**ni***
I want-3SGO
I want

[*da friñhe-ni kaike visi **gita-palu***] *n-a-ke-u-o*
1INC.SBJ work-3SGO one play weINC-two RL-1.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-thatNV
that we two play a game, as I said.

b. *manahagi-**gāu** **gau** [ta mala fa-lehe-i-na naitu ao-hi]*
want-2PLO youPL SB PURP CS-die-3SGO-thatN devil thisT-EMPH
We want you all to kill this devil.

However, *manahagi* also behaves in the same way as the group C verbs, with a direct object complement clause realising an event which has as its actor the same participant as the actor of the main clause. Again the complement clause subject/actor is coreferential with the main clause actor and cannot be overtly realised:

(11.59) *teo gē manahagi-**ni**-u **gai** [ta hage-na ade]*
be.not NT want-3SGO-PRG weEXC SB ascend-thatN here
We don't want to come up here. [lit. We don't want that [we] come up here.]

One further verb, *ooe* 'say', behaves like the verbs in group A, except in two important respects. Like group A verbs it may occur with a direct object NP and an indirect object complement clause, with the subject/actor of the complement clause coreferential with the main clause direct object and not overtly realised:

(11.60) *manei n-e ooe-**nau** **ara** [ta mala tazi-ni-na sote ana]*
he RL-3.SBJ say-1SGO I SB PURP keep-3SGO-thatN shirt thatN
He said to me to keep that shirt.

However, unlike group A verbs, it appears that *ooe* may not occur with a complement clause direct object. Moreover, with *ooe* there is no restriction that the complement clause subject/actor be coreferential with the

[4] Note that in this example the verb *gōnu* occurs in a reduced form comprising a single word with postverbal aspectual possessor marking. This reduction, discussed in 8.6.1, also commonly occurs with *mhano* 'be afraid'.

main clause direct object. As these two arguments may not be coreferential, it is possible for the complement clause subject/actor to be overtly realised:

(11.61) *o* *la* *ooe-**ni*** ***zemesi***
2.SBJ go say-3SGO PN
Go and tell James

[***ara*** *teo* *gē* *agē-u* [*gu-na* *n-a* *fogra-nau*]]
I be.not NT go-PRG CNTX-3SGP RL-1.SBJ be.sick-1SGO
[that] I'm not coming because I'm feeling sick.

11.2.4.2.2 Main clause position of complement clauses

Complement clauses occur in the pragmatically unmarked main clause position for the argument they represent. In bivalent main clauses the complement clause occurs in postverbal position, following the actor if that argument is also realised postverbally, as (11.59) illustrates. In trivalent clauses, the complement clause occurs postverbally, following both the actor, if present, and direct object, as (11.60), (11.61) and other examples above illustrate.

11.2.4.3 Nominalised clauses as peripheral arguments

Subordinate clauses may function as an oblique adjunct, governed by the preposition *ka*. In this context the clause is obligatorily marked with a demonstrative or article. Being nominalised in this way, possessor indexing enclitics may also occur with these clauses. Oblique subordinate clauses typically mark a location of some kind. This may be an event because it is a location in a series of events:

(11.62) a. *o* *la* *fufunu* [***ka*** [*n-e-ke* *au-o* *rei-palu* *ade* *fate*]]
2.SBJ go begin LOC RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thatNV they-two here above
Start [telling the story at the point] where they two stayed on top here.

b. [***ka*** [*mhoko* *agē-na-na* *gobilologu*]] *nogoi*
LOC sit go-3SGP-thatN PN VOC
When Gobilologu sat down, man! [lit. At that sitting down of Gobilologu...]

gē-e *agē* *su-gu* *ia* *to-toi* *gē-e* *lehe-u* *n-e-ke-u*
NT-3.SBJ go hiss-PRG theSG RD-cook NT-3.SBJ die-PRG RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
the fire went hiss and started to die, it was like that.

c. *kulu* *zaho* [***ka***-[*ia* *kokori* *mau*
be.first go LOC-theSG dig.taro taro
First go to the digging of taro

[*mala* [*nhau* *ka* *toa,*] [*fa hage* *ka* *toa*]]]]
PURP eat LOC fort CS ascend LOC fort
to eat in the fort, to take up to the fort.

The oblique may also represent a physical location associated with an event, either characteristic of the location, as in (11.63)a., or temporarily associated with it ((11.63)b.):

(11.63) *o* *roh-i-u* [***ka***-[*ia* *hage-na* *naprai*]
2.SBJ scrape-TR-PRG LOC-theSG ascend-3SGP sun
You scrape it [the tree] where the sun rises. [ie. on the side that the sun rises]

b. *ke* *pulo* *e-u* *tana* *zelu,*
PRF return 3.SBJ-be.thus then PNLOC
They went back to Zelu,

[***ka***-[*n-e-ke* *hure-ri-ro* *ira* *tilo* *tomoko* [*n-e* *zaho* *kutare*]]]
LOC-RL-3.SBJ-PRF carry-3PLO-thoseNV thePL three war.canoe RL-3.SBJ go mud.shell
to where they had carried the three canoes, which had gone like mudshells.

In addition to functioning as main clause oblique adjuncts, nominalised clauses occur with a number of other minor functions. This includes as possessor. In (11.64) the purpose of the coming of Gobilologu is the possessor of the road in the main clause:

(11.64) *n-e* *gārui-gārui* *la-ni-ña*
RL-3.SBJ garden-garden go-3SGO-IMM
They brushed

[*ka* [*gāuku-na-na* [*mala* *la* *mai-na* *gobilologu*]
LOC road-3SGP-thatN PURP go come-3SGP PN
along that road for the coming of Gobilologu.
[lit ...that road belonging to the purpose of the coming of Gobilologu]

A nominalised clause may also modify a pronoun - not as a relative clause, but in the same way that an NP may modify a pronoun as discussed in 4.4.1.4. In (11.65) the pronoun *gai* 'we (exclusive)' (itself the object of a nominalised clausal oblique) is modified by a nominalised phrase marked with the article *ira* 'the (plural)':

(11.65) *...gē-e* *fa-mane-mane-u* [*ka* [*tuku-gai-na*
NT-3.SBJ CS-man-man-PRG LOC wait.for-1EXCO-thatN
...they are very happy[5] as they wait [lit. ...at that waiting]

gai ***ira*** [***ta*** ***la*** ***zuke-i*** ***ia*** ***tegē*** ***ka-ia*** ***tahi***]]] *e-u*
weEXC thePL SB go seek-3SGO theSG turtle LOC-theSG sea 3.SBJ-be.thus
for we the [ones] who go hunting turtles in the sea, like that.

11.2.4.4 Subordinate clause recursion

As a result of the range of functions open to subordinate clauses, a subordinate clause may occur embedded within another subordinate clause. Relative clause recursion has been discussed in 11.2.3.5. Embedding also occurs with argument and adverbial subordinate clauses. The range of possibilities is wide. In (11.66), for example, a nominalised clause oblique itself has a complement clause object:

(11.66) [*ka* [*gato* *la-i-na* *bla* *ago* [*n-e* *sodu-na*]]]
LOC think go-3SGO-thatN LMT youSG RL-3.SBJ be.long-thatN
When you think it [the story] is long,

fahorogoto *la-i* *si-ago*
?? go-3SGO FOC-youSG
you complete it all.

11.2.5 Adverbial subordination

A number of adverbial functions may be performed by subordinate clauses. With most the clause is governed by a constituent which is an adjunct of the main clause head. These constituents include the contextualising nouns *gu-* and *nafu-*, the temporal local nouns *legu-* 'behind' and *gīlu* 'inside', and the temporal locative *gilai* 'until'. Some contextual clauses, along with one further adverbial clause type, the affective clause, are not governed by another constituent, but are governed directly by the sentence head.

[5] The verb *fa-mane-mane* has the morphological structure indicated by the morpheme gloss, but the lexicalised meaning of 'be very happy'.

11.2.5.1 Contextual clauses

11.2.5.1.1 Zero-marked contextual clauses

A nominalised subordinate clause may indicate the context in which the main predication holds. In (11.67) the initial clause provides the context in which the speaker's thirst occurred:

(11.67) [*mhoko-na ka naprai nhorao*] *n-a-ke no-ḡu kumai ara*
sit-thatN LOC sun yesterday RL-1.SBJ-PRF GP-1SGP drink I
Sitting in the sun yesterday, I wanted to drink.

Contextual clauses of this kind are nominalised, typically by a cliticised demonstrative, and are neither realis nor irrealis, but are related temporally only to the main clause event. In (11.67) the event expressed by the contextual clause has occurred, so would be coded realis as a main clause, while in (11.68) the event has yet to occur, so would be coded irrealis, however the two are structurally identical.

(11.68) [*mhoko-na ka naprai fufugo*] *ginai no-ḡu kumai ara*
sit-thatN LOC sun tomorrow FUT GP-1SGP drink I
Sitting in the sun tomorrow, I will want to drink.

Contextual clauses of this type are attested only sentence initially.

11.2.5.1.2 Contextual clauses governed by contextualising nouns

Two contextualising nouns, *gu-* and *nafu*, are discussed in 5.6. As contextual nouns they function in an identical manner. However, *nafu* also has the root meaning of 'base'. As it is in the process of being grammaticalised as a contextual noun, and speakers still identify the root meaning when it occurs with its contextualising function, it is glossed as 'base'. *Gu-*, on the other hand, occurs only as a contextualiser, and is glossed as 'CNTX'. *Gu-* and *nafu* are possessor indexed to a constituent which provides contextual information about the event coded by the main clause. The indexed constituent (the complement of the possessor indexing) may be an NP. However, it may also be a subordinate clause expressing an event which provides the context for the main clause event:

(11.69) a. *ara n-a babao no-ḡu* [*gu-na* [*n-a friñhe heta fakamo*]]
I RL-1.SBJ be.tired GP-1SGP CNTX-3SGP RL-1.SBJ work be.strong always
I'm tired because I always work hard.

b. *teo la bla gai ḡ-e aḡe fa surai fa mana-ri*
be.not ?? LMT weEXC NT-3.SBJ go CS ?? CS spiritual.power-3PLO
We don't have much strength in

ira mereseni kastom... [*nafu-na* [*n-e-ge heta ira dokta*]]...
thePL medicine custom base-3SGP RL-3.SBJ-PRS be.strong thePL doctor
the custom medicines...because the doctors are strong...

Clauses subordinated by *gu-* and *nafu* have identical formal characteristics as main clauses. They are not subject to the constituent structure restrictions discussed in 11.2.2, and the subordinator *ta* does not occur. Modal auxiliaries occur as with main clauses (as (11.69) illustrates), and any or all arguments may be overtly realised, even when they are coreferential with main clause arguments. All main clause constituent order possibilities occur in contextual clauses. As (11.70) illustrates, arguments with any grammatical relation can occur in preverbal topic position, including actors, unergative and unaccusative subjects, objects, and obliques.

(11.70) a. *ara n-a lao,* [*gu-na* [***zemesi*** *n-e-ke tore-nau ara*]]
I RL-1.SBJ go CNTX-3SGP PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF ask-1SGO I
I went because James asked me to.

b. *ara* *n-a* *fahega*
I RL-1.SBJ be.happy
I am happy

[*gu-na* [***ia*** ***kue-ḡu*** ***ara*** *n-e* *mai*]]
CNTX-3SGP theSG grandfather-1SGP I RL-3.SBJ come
because my grandfather has come.

c. *ke* *nodo* *fea* *ke* *mai* *tore-i* *kaoni* *t-au-o,*
PRF stop INIT PRF come ask-3SGO account SB-exist-thatNV
Stop coming and asking for credit,

[*nafu-na* [***ia*** ***kaoni*** ***ka*** ***gita*** *n-e-ge* *aḡe* *tehi* *salupu*]]
base-3SGP theSG account LOC weINC RL-3.SBJ-PRS go many pass
because our credit has gone passed a lot.

d. *ara* *n-a* *dia-nanafa* [*gu-na* [***ago*** *a* *ginai* *zaho* *koko-**nigo***]]
I RL-1.SBJ be.bad-heart CNTX-3SGP youSG 1.SBJ FUT go leave-2SGO
I am sorry because I will leave you.

e. [*nafu-na* [***ka-ira*** ***mane-vaka*** *e* *au*
base-3SGP LOC-thePL man-ship 3.SBJ exist
Because with the white man there are

no-di *fama* *ka-ira* *buluka,* *ka-ira* *zora*]],
GP-3PLP farm LOC-thePL cow LOC-thePL pig
their farms of cows, of pigs,

e-u *n-e-ke* *hoda-ña-bla* *ka* *t-au-aro*
3.SBJ-be.thus RL-3.SBJ-PRF take-IMM-LMT LOC SB-exist-thoseT
they can take from those.

Clauses governed by *gu-* and *nafu* may also locate an argument in clause final focus position. The focussed argument may be marked with the focal particle *si*, as in main clauses, though the focal particle may also be omitted (as it must be in relative and complement clauses):

(11.71) a. *ara* *n-a* *mai* [*gu-na* [*ginai* *turi* *tufa-nau* ***si-ago***
I RL-1.SBJ come CNTX-3SGP FUT tell affect-1SGO FOC-youSG
I have come because <u>you</u> will tell me [the stories].

b. *e-u* *teo* *ḡ-e* *boka* *turi-di* *manei...*
3.SBJ-be.thus be.not NT-3.SBJ be.able tell-3PLO he
I can't tell them to him...

[*nafu-na* [*n-e-ke* *blahi* *ka-gai* ***tu-turi*** ***are***]]
base-3SGP RL-3.SBJ-PRF be.tabu LOC-weEXC RD-tell thoseN
because those stories are tabu for us.

Clauses subordinated by *gu-* and *nafu* may have a non-verbal predicate. In (11.72) an equative clause is governed by *nafu*:

(11.72) *n-a* *no-mai* *agē* *mhemhe-ni-u* *gai*
RL-1.SBJ GP-1.SBJEXCP go be.difficult-3SGO-PRG weEXC
We are finding it hard

ta-ke *fa-nodo-i* *fea* *t-au-na* *za-zaho-na-na* *tegē* *ine,*
SB-PRF CS-stop-3SGO INIT SB-exist-thatN RD-go-3SGP-thatN turtle thisR
to stop that way [hunting] of this turtle,

[*nafu-na* [*are-bla* *ira* *doli-mai* *gai*]]
base-3SGP thoseN-LMT thePL live-1EXCP weEXC
because those are our life.

Conjoined clauses may be subordinated to *gu-* or *nafu*, in which case the possessor indexing on the contextual noun is plural, reflecting the plural contextual bases expressed by the conjoined clauses:

(11.73) *ara* *n-a* *lao,* [*gu-**di*** [*zemesi* *n-e-ke* *tore-nau* *ara*]]
I RL-1.SBJ go CNTX-3PLP PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF ask-1SGO I
I went because James asked me to

n-e-u [*ara* *n-a* *manahagi* *lao*]]
RL-3.SBJ-be.thus I RL-1.SBJ want go
and I wanted to go.

Clauses governed by *gu-* and *nafu* typically occur finally within the main clause. However, they may occur main clause initially, as (11.70)e. illustrates.

11.2.5.2 Temporal adjuncts governed by local nouns

Two local nouns have temporal as well as spatial locative functions. These are *legu* 'behind, after' and *gīlu* 'inside, within, during', and are discussed in 5.4.1. Both typically have a nominal complement. However, both may also have a subordinate clause as complement. In this situation the local noun carries third person possessor indexing agreeing with the subordinated clause. When the complement is a subordinate clause only a temporal reading is possible.

Clauses which are subordinated by *legu* are nominalised by means of a demonstrative or possessor indexing marking the subordinate verb complex. These clauses express an event which precedes the event coded by the main clause.

(11.74) a. [***legu**-na* [*toka* *kave-i* ***ana*** *gita* *gāzu* *ana* *ge*]]
behind-3SGP chop descend-3SGO thatN weINC wood thatN SEQ
After [that] we cut down that tree

g̃-o *fike-i* *no-u* *gāzu-nā* *ago*
NT-2.SBJ cut.firewood-3SGO GP-2SGP wood-IMM youSG
you can make your firewood.

b. [***legu**-na* [*n-e-ke* *zaho-**na*** *manei*]] *ara* *n-a* *bula-nau-nā*
behind-3SGP RL-3.SBJ-PRF go-3SGP he I RL-1.SBJ feel.angry-1SGO-IMM
After that leaving of his [ie. after he had left] I felt angry.

Clauses governed by *legu* typically occur main clause initially, iconically reflecting the actual temporal sequence of the events. However, this is a tendency, not a categorical restriction, as main clause final *legu* subordinates occasionally occur:

(11.75) *...huhurañi* *au-re* *keha-re* *n-e-ke-u* *gai,*
PNLOC exist-thoseN NSP-thoseN RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus weEXC
...some of us lived at Huhurangi

[***legu**-na* [*au-na* *ia* *boñihehe*]]
behind-3SGP exist-3SGP theSG paganism
after the existence of the heathen time.

Local nouns typically occur immediately governed by the sentence head. However, they may instead be governed by an intervening preposition. This applies when the local noun complement is a subordinate clause as much as when it is an NP:

(11.76) *ara* *n-a* *tehi* *ta* *marh-i-au-re*
I RL-1.SBJ many SB be.in.pain-TR-1SGO-thoseN
I have many pains

[***ka*** [***legu**-na* [*faroho-nau-o* *maneri*]]]
LOC behind-3SGP smite-1SGP-thatNV they
since they were hitting me.

Nominalised clauses governed by *legu* allow only the pragmatically unmarked constituent order VS/VAO. No pragmatically marked constructions such as preverbal topicalisation or clause final focussed arguments are possible.

The behaviour of subordinate clauses governed by *gīlu* 'inside' is not fully understood. They do not appear to be nominalised:

(11.77) *fufunu* *ka* *keli-kava-o*
beginLOC be.good-ground-thatNV
Start from the peace

n-e *la* *mai-u* [*ka* [*gīlu-na* [*toke-i* *ia* *ta* *dia*]]]
RL-3.SBJ go come LOC inside-3SGP arrive-3SGO theSG SB be.bad
[and go ahead until] they come to in the arrival of the badness.

11.2.5.3 Temporal adjuncts governed by *gilai* 'until'

The particle *gilai* 'until' introduces a subordinate clause which expresses an event marking the end of the event expressed by the main clause. In positive main clauses *gilai* indicates that the main clause event finishes at a point in time coinciding with the occurrence of the subordinate clause event:

(11.78) a. *boro* *bla* *au* *sare* *nogoi* [***gilai*** [*toke-i-n-e-ke-u*
boro LMT exist thereP VOC until arrive-3SGO-RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
[They] just stay *boro*[6] there, man!, until comes

ia *nare* *mala* *sugitabu-na* *suli* *ana* *e-u*
theSG day PURP baptism-3SGP child thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
the day for the baptism of the child.

b. *lao* [***gilai*** [*toke-i-u* *ka* *n-e-ke* *au-o* *rei-palu* *ade*]]
go until arrive-3SGO-PRG LOC RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thatNV they-two here
Go ahead [with the story] until [you] get to where they two lived here.

[6] The verb *boro* refers to a period after the birth of a child when the mother and the infant remain together indoors in close physical contact.

In (11.78)a. the main clause event continues until a subsequent event occurs in a sequence of events. In (11.78)b. the main clause event continues until a point in a story at which an event in the story takes place.

In negative main clauses the subordinate clause indicates that the non-occurrence of the event expressed in the main clause lasts until the event in the subordinate clause takes place, effectively indicating that the main clause event only occurs once the subordinate clause event has happened:

(11.79) a. *o-ti* *mai* [***gilai*** [*e* *mai* *manei*]]
2.SBJ-NEG come until 3.SBJ come he
Don't come until he comes.

b. *teo* *ḡ-e-ke* *mai-u* *manei* [***gilai*** [*n-a-ke* *toi*]]
be.not NT-3.SBJ-PRF come-PRG he until RL-1.SBJ-PRF cook
He didn't come until I had cooked.

With some elderly speakers *gilai* is itself governed by the preposition *ka*:

(11.80) *gu* *bla* *ḡ-e* *au* *palu* *mane-re,*
be.thus LMT NT-3.SBJ exist two man-thoseN
Like that those two men stayed,

[***ka*** [***gilai*** [*n-e-ge* *knusu* *ia* *papari-na*]]]
LOC until RL-3.SBJ-PRS be.broken theSG wood.stack-thatN
until the wood stack is broken.

The elderly speaker who gave the example in (11.80) consistently used *ka* in this context. Among all except the elderly, however, this usage has been completely lost, and *gilai* is governed directly by the sentence head. Nonetheless, all speakers accept the presence of *ka* with *gilai* as grammatical in every instance.

Clauses governed by *gilai* conform to the internal structural constraints described for realis subordinate clauses in 11.2.2.1.

11.2.5.4 Affective clauses

Affective adverbial clauses indicate that the main clause event occurs with the intention of affecting another participant. These clauses consist of the affective verb *tufa* with the affected participant as object. Affective clauses occur with either an auxiliary or the subordinator *ta*.

(11.81) *ara* *n-a* *togla-di* *ira* *zora* [***tufa***-*di* *nakoni-de*]
I RL-1.SBJ chase-3PLO thePL pig affect-3PLO person-theseR
I chased the pigs for these people.

As discussed in 7.5.2, *tufa* may have a benefactive or malefactive reading, depending on the semantics of the main clause of the event.

11.2.6 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses express an event or state which the main clause event is dependent on to occur. These clauses are subordinate to the main clause, and are marked with the conditional marker *la*. The conditional marker occurs immediately after the verb complex of the subordinate clause, following any postverbal agreement enclitic or incorporated undergoer:

(11.82) a. [*ta mai au* ***la*** *gai ade,*]
SB come exist CND weEXC here
If we come and live here,

a-ke mai siko ginai ka-ira ge-di no-di e-u
1.SBJ-PRF come steal todayIRR LOC-thePL CP-3PLP GP-3PLP 3.SBJ-be.thus
later we would come and steal from the food and things of

mane n-e-ke kusu au-de ade
man RL-3.SBJ-PRF be.first exist-theseR here
the men who lived here first.

b. [*ta toi-****ni*** *****la*** *ago namhari ana,*]
SB cook-3SGO CND youSG fish thatN
If you cook that fish

gita teo gē-da siri-ni gudu
weINC be.not NT-1INC.SBJ smell-3SGO EXHST
we won't smell it all.

c. [*ta korho* ***namhari la***] *gita da ñha-di bla*
SB pull fish CND weINC 1INC.SBJ eat-3PLO LMT
If I catch fish we'll just eat them.

Unlike other subordinate clauses with the subordinator *ta*, the verb complex of conditional clauses may not be marked with a cliticised demonstrative; the conditional marker and demonstrative enclitics being mutually exclusive.

Conditional clauses typically occur sentence initially, iconically realising the temporal sequence of a prerequisite event followed by a dependent event. However, as with *legu* temporal clauses (see 11.2.5.2) this is a tendency only and the reverse order is possible, with no apparent change in meaning:

(11.83) *gē-e la heve e-u,* [*ta au la gau selena*]
NT-3.SBJ go what 3.SBJ-be.thus SB exist CND youPL PNLOC
How would it be if you all lived at Selena?

Conditional clauses are frequently introduced by the subordinator *ta*. As discussed in 11.2.1, *ta* introduces irrealis subordinate clauses. Its occurrence in conditional clauses indicates that the event expressed by the clause has not happened, but may yet happen. However, to use *ta* the speaker must have a specific event in mind. Events which are hypothetical and not specific envisaged events are not marked with *ta*, nor are positive past counterfactual conditional events. Negative past counterfactual events, however, are marked with *ta*. Conditional clauses which are marked with *ta* are modally neutral, and may occur with the neutral modal auxiliary *gē-*, although this is typically omitted:

(11.84) [*ta* ***gē-e*** *heta la fogēra-n-lau,*]
SB NT-3.SBJ be.strong CND sick-thatN-SPC
If that sickness is strong,

a-ke la-di gāzu t-au-ro...
1.SBJ-PRF go-3PLO wood SB-exist-thoseNV
I give [medicine from] those trees...

When *ta* is not present in a conditional clause an auxiliary is obligatory. *Ta* does not occur when the speaker regards the conditional event as very speculative and hypothetical. There is no absolute demarcation point between future events which are regarded as sufficiently specific to be marked with *ta*, and those which are speculative and hypothetical enough for the *ta* to be omitted. In (11.85)a., for example, two speakers are debating the risks of custom stories falling into the wrong hands, and *ta* is omitted. In

(11.85)b. the conditional clause has the pragmatic function of a suggestion canvassing a possibility not previously discussed:

(11.85) a. *are si ara n-a mhagu-mhagu-di-re,*
thoseN FOC I RL-1.SBJ be.afraid-be.afraid-3PLO-thoseN
Those, I am a bit afraid of those,

[***g̃-e*** *lao* ***la*** *histiri-de*]...
NT-3.SBJ go CND history-theseR
if these histories go...

b. *nogoi, gita-palu-n̄a ne au fa-ḡonu, da la au-gu rhuku*
VOC weINC-two-IMM RL exist CS-be.insensible 1INC.SBJ go exist-PRG landward
Man, we are living wrong, because we are living landward [ie. in the bush],

n̄a [*gita-palu* ***g̃e*** *au* ***la*** *ka nasona a-hi ḡerona*] *keli*
but weINC-two NT exist CND LOC point thisT-EMPH PNLOC be.good
but if you and I live at the point at Gerona, it would be good.

Positive past counterfactual clauses are also not marked with *ta*. While all past counterfactual main clauses and relative and complement clauses are treated as irrealis, positive past counterfactual conditional clauses are treated as modally neutral:

(11.86) [***g̃-e-ke*** *au* ***la*** *manei,*] *ḡ-e-la a fahega ḡlehe ara*
NT-3.SBJ-PRF exist CND he NT-3.SBJ-go 1.SBJ be.happy very I
If he had lived [instead of dying], I would've been very happy.

Real events can also be expressed by a conditional clause, if the event is being presented as one which the event coded by the main clause was dependent on. In this situation a realis auxiliary occurs:

(11.87) *ara teo ḡ-a fahega, ḡ-e-la* [***n***-*e-ke au-ro la manei*]
I be.not NT-1.SBJ be.happy NT-3.SBJ-go RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thoseNV CND he
I am not happy like [I was] when he was alive.

As noted in 9.7.2, in one negation strategy in the language the negative existential verb *teo* has a sentential complement realising the event which is negated. This is the strategy which applies to negative conditional clauses other than past counterfactuals. As *teo* is the verb of the conditional clause and the subsequent predicate its complement, the conditional marker immediately follows *teo*, not the negated predication:

(11.88) [*ta* ***teo*** ***la*** [*ḡ-e nahani-u*]], *ara ginai a lao tetegu*
SB be.not CND NT-3.SBJ rain-PRG I FUT 1.SBJ go fish(V)
If it is not raining I will go fishing

However, conditional negative past counterfactuals are formed using the negative particle *ti*, in a clause introduced by the subordinator *ta*:

(11.89) *ara teo ḡe bula-nau-gu*
I be.not NT feel.angry-1SGO-PRG
I wouldn't be angry

[*ta* ***ti***-*fa-dia-i-la manei ḡlepo an-lau*]
SB NEG-CS-be.bad-3SGO-CND he thing thatN-SPC
if he hadn't done that bad thing [lit. ...if he hadn't made that thing bad.]

The conditional marker may mark the existential verb *au* subordinated by *ta* to form a single word clause translatable as 'if that is so' or 'since that is so'. This clause refers anaphorically to an event expressed by

the preceding main clause, introducing a main clause coding an event which is dependent on that preceding event:

(11.90) *n-e la lehe mariñe, ka mane-aro, si-ba no-ḡu kaka.*
RL-3.SBJ go die PNLOC LOC man-theseT FOC-ALT GP-1SGP grandparent
My grandfather is dead from Maringe, from those men.

[***t-au-la***] *ke nhogi ia lehe ka suaragi e-u*
SB-exist-CND PRF payback theSG die LOC PN 3.SBJ-be.thus
Since that is so [we] will payback the death of Suaragi.

11.2.7 Purposive subordinate clauses

The purposive particle *mala* marks the event expressed by a clause as being intended or purposeful. In main clauses *mala* occurs immediately following the modal auxiliary and any attached tense or aspect markers, and preceding the verb (see 8.5.6). The particle occurs commonly, however, in subordinate clauses.

11.2.7.1 Main clause possibilities of purposive subordinates

Subordinate clauses with *mala* indicate the purpose of the modified constituent. Purposive subordinate clauses can function adverbially, adnominally, or as a complement clause. As adverbial subordinates they modify an entire main clause, coding the purpose of the event expressed by main clause:

(11.91) *ḡahipa sagetolu ine, hod-i aḡe nai-ni ka suḡa tarai-ne*
stone PN thisR take-TR go put-3SGO LOC house pray-thisR
This stone Sagetolu, take it and put it in the church

[***mala*** *lao ka miziam*]
PURP go LOC museum
in order to go to a museum.

Adverbial purposive subordinates typically occur main clause finally, as in (11.91), but they may occur initially:

(11.92) [***mala*** *nhigo lao ago*] *n-e-u palu t-au-re*
PURP finish go youSG RL-3.SBJ-be.thus two SB-exist-thoseN
In order for you to finish, those two are like that...

Where they function adnominally, purposive subordinates indicate that the modified nominal has the purpose expressed by the subordinate clause:

(11.93) *e au ḡlepo* [***mala*** *hod-i teḡe ine*]
3.SBJ exist thing PURP take-TR turtle thisR
There is a thing for taking this turtle.

Adnominal purposive subordinates are embedded within the NP, occurring immediately after the head nominal. Typically these clauses modify a main clause argument, as in (11.93). However, they may also modify the nominal predicate of an equative construction:

(11.94) *ana belo* [***mala*** *tarai*]
thatN bell PURP pray
That was the bell for prayer.

Purposive clauses also occur as complements of a number of verbs including various verbs coding speech events, verbs of cessation, and the desiderative *manahagi*. They may occur as the direct object of these verbs, as in (11.95), or as indirect objects, as in (11.96).

(11.95) a. *ia* *nahani* *n-e* *fa* *noto-i*
theSG rain RL-3.SBJ CS stop-3SGO
The rain stopped

[***mala*** *agē* *tetegū* [*ne-ke-u-o* *gita*]]
PURP go fish(V) RL-PRF-be.thus-thatNV weINC
us going fishing as we said [we would].

b. *manei* *n-e* *tahe-i* [***mala*** *tazi-ni* *ara* *sote* *ine*]
he RL-3.SBJ say-3SGO PURP keep-3SGO I shirt thisR
He said that I could keep this shirt.

(11.96) *manei* *n-e* *tahe-nau* *ara* [***mala*** *tazi-ni* *no-na* *sote* *ana*]
he RL-3.SBJ say-1SGO I PURP keep-3SGO GP-3SGP shirt thatN
He told me that I could keep that shirt of his.

11.2.7.2 Modal and tense/aspect status of purposive subordinates

As discussed in 11.2.1 above, relative and complement clauses normally occur with either an auxiliary (when realis) or the subordinator *ta* (when irrealis). Purposive subordinate clauses typically occur without either. However, in a significant minority of instances the subordinator does occur, introducing the purposive marked subordinate. In the first line of (11.97)a. *ta* introduces a purposive complement clause, in (11.97)b. an adverbial, and in (11.97)c. a relative clause.

(11.97) a. *manahagi-gāu* *gau* [***ta*** ***mala*** *fa-lehe-i-na* *naitu* *ao-hi*]
want-2PLO youPL SB PURP CS-die-3SGO-thatN devil thisT-EMPH
We want you all to kill this devil

[*a* *mala* *doli* *keli* *au* *gai*]
1.SBJ PURP live be.good exist weEXC
so we can live on.

b. *...palu* *fata* *roh-i* *ara* *gāzu* *a-hi* *e-u,*
two occasion scrape-TR I wood thisT-EMPH 3.SBJ-be.thus
...two times I scrape this tree,

[***ta*** ***mala*** *siri-na* *manei*]
SB PURP smell-thatN he
for him to inhale.

c. *tana* *agē* *toke-i* *ia* *nare* [***ta*** ***mala*** *agē* *friñhe-ni* *ia* *mala-ñhau*]...
then go arrive-3SGO theSG day SB PURP go work-3SGO theSG PURP-eat
Then comes the day to make the food...

Events coded by purposive subordinate clauses are typically either habitual (as in (11.93), (11.94), (11.95)b., (11.96) and (11.97)b.-c.), or located in the future within the temporal frame of the main clause (as in (11.91), (11.92), (11.95)a., and (11.97)a.). In other instances the intended event is located in the past but did not occur. All three of these event types, habitual, future and past counterfactual, are coded as irrealis in Kokota. Purposive subordinate clauses coding all such events are also irrealis and so could be expected to be marked with the subordinator *ta*. However, as intended events are typically located in the future (within the temporal frame either of speaking or of the main clause event), they are typically irrealis. The presence of both the subordinator, limited as it is to irrealis clauses, and the purposive marker, is redundant. Consequently the *ta* is typically omitted. However, in all such clauses its presence is optionally possible.

The absence of auxiliaries in irrealis purposive clauses has a similar motivation. As noted in 8.5.2.5, irrealis auxiliaries are frequently omitted. This is particularly common when *mala* is present, as the

prototypically habitual or future nature of intended events renders an irrealis auxiliary redundant. However, they do occasionally occur. In subordinate clauses the auxiliary and *mala* may occur in either order. In the second line of (11.97)a. the auxiliary precedes the purposive marker. In (11.98) it follows it:

(11.98) *...**mala** **e** au histri are-lau ka sikolu-ne ka suli-da gita*
PURP 3.SBJ exist history those-SPC LOC school-this LOC child-1INCP weINC
...so those histories can stay in the school for our children.

Very occasionally a realis purposive subordinate clause occurs. As these clauses do not have the prototypical modal status, the auxiliary is obligatory. Again the auxiliary may precede or follow *mala*:

(11.99) a. *fa puku-puku-ri bla ago e-u bla goi*
CS RD-be.short-3PLO LMT youSG 3.SBJ-be.thus LMT VOC
You make it short, man,

[***mala*** ***n-e**-ge* *au* *bo* *turi-di-re*]
PURP RL-3.SBJ-PRS exist CNT tell-3PLP-thoseN
so that these stories fit [on the tape]

e-u *bo* *bla* *si-la-re*
3.SBJ-be.thus CNT LMT FOC-??-thoseN
they're like that.

b. *ka-t-au-ana* *ge* *tafe* *ia* *n̄ehe*
LOC-SB-exist-thatN SEQ spring.open theSG umbrella
At that sprang open the umbrella

[***n-e**-ke* ***mala*** *totoku-di-ro* *ira* *liliḡomo,* *ira* *papaza,*
RL-3.SBJ-PRF PURP cover-3PLO-thoseNV thePL warning.charm thePL turmeric
that was for covering the warning charm, the turmeric,

[*n-e-ke* *au-ro* *ka-ia* *pau-na* *hinage-na*]] *e-u*
RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thoseNV LOC-theSG head-3SGP boat-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
that were in the front of the canoe.

In (11.99)a. the fitting of the stories on the tape is presented as being realis (and present tense), as the addressee is telling stories which are already being recorded and some of which are already on the tape. It is interesting that the realis subordinate clause is modifying an irrealis imperative main clause. This is possible because the speaker is directing the addressee to carry out a future event to conform to a present state. The example in (11.99)b. is coded realis because the umbrella is already covering the items mentioned at the point in the temporal frame of the story.

The absence of an overt auxiliary in a purposive subordinate does not prevent the presence of a tense or aspect marking which would otherwise be suffixed to the auxiliary, such as the perfective aspect marker in (11.100)a., and the present tense marker in (11.100)b.:

(11.100) a. *ke* *la* *toke* *ia* *taem* [*mala* ***ke*** *visiti* *ka* *hugo* *hebala*]
PRF go arrive theSG time PURP PRF visit LOC PN PN
The time came [for them] to visit with Hugo Hebala.

b. *n̄a* *e-u* *la-i* *bl-ago* *kaike* *ta* *puku-na*
but 3.SBJ-be.thus go-3SGO LMT-youSG one SB be.short-3SGP
So likewise you give one that's short

[*mala* ***ge*** *fafra* *nhigo* *bla* *e-u*]
PURP PRS be.quick finish LMT 3.SBJ-be.thus
so [we] are finished quickly.

11.2.7.3 Internal structure of purposive subordinates

Purposive subordinates need not be clauses with verbal predicates. Any kind of predicate can occur as the purpose of the modified clause or nominal. For example, in (11.101) possessive predicates have been subordinated (in (11.101)a. adverbially, in (11.101)b. adnominally):

(11.101) a. *tazi-ri* *boboke-mu-are* [*mala* ***no-gū*** ***ara***]
keep-3PLO inner.thigh-2SGP-thoseN PURP GP-1SGP I
Keep your inner thighs for me.

b. *totogale* [*mala* ***no-na*** ***belama***]
picture PURP GP-3SGP PN
a photo I will give to Belama [lit. a picture intended to belong to Belama]

Purposive clauses with verbal predicates only allow the language's unmarked clause constituent structure of VAO or VS, followed by any oblique arguments. As with other clause types, it is rare for all arguments to be specified. In (11.100)b., for example, no overt arguments occur. However, an argument with any grammatical relation may occur. An unergative subject is present in (11.97)b.; an unaccusative subject in (11.99)a.; direct objects in (11.99)b.; and an oblique in (11.100)a.. Multiple arguments are possible, as in (11.98), where an unaccusative subject and two obliques receive overt mentions. As discussed in 9.3, there is an overall tendency in the language for recently mentioned participants to receive zero mentions. Consequently, as with other clause types, purposive clauses with all arguments are rare. However, as with other clause types, they do occasionally occur, as in (11.95)b., where an actor and object are both present. While any argument may occur in adverbial purposive clauses, in relative clauses of any type the controlled argument may not be overtly realised (see 11.2.3), and this applies equally to purposive relative clauses.

Although purposive subordinate clauses do not allow any of the pragmatically marked clause constituent orders this does not preclude clauses in which an incorporated undergoer precedes the actor. As in other clause types, purposive subordinate clauses allow undergoer incorporation:

(11.102) *n-e* *lao* [*mala* *tabara* *viri*]
RL-3.SBJ go PURP buy tobacco
He went to buy tobacco.

Purposive subordination may have scope over more than a single clause. Clause chaining may occur, with the purposive marker having scope over the entire chained structure:

(11.103) *kulu* *zaho* [*ka*-[*ia* *kokori* *mau*
be.first go LOC-theSG dig.taro taro
First go to the digging of taro

[***mala*** [*nhau* *ka* *toa,*] [*fa hage* *ka* *toa*]]]]
PURP eat LOC fort CS ascend LOC fort
to eat in the fort, to take up to the fort.

In purposive relative clauses the participant which is coreferential with the nominal head typically has a peripheral function, such as an instrument (as in (11.93) and (11.99)b.) or locative (as the temporal locatives in (11.97)c. and (11.100)a.). In fact *mala* often simply indicates that the head has a purpose which is associated in some way with the event in the subordinate clause. This association can be simply one of accompaniment. In (11.104) the song accompanies the activity coded by the purposive clause:

(11.104) *koze* [*mala* *se-seha* *niba* *tifaro*]
song PURP RD-climb possum before
Song for climbing for possums before.

Adverbial purposive subordinate clauses may contain an argument which is coreferential with a main clause argument. Where that is so the participant may have any grammatical relation in the subordinate clause.

The relation may be the same in both clauses, however it need not be - in (11.91), for example, the main clause object participant occurs as the subordinate clause subject.

11.3 Recapping

Kokota makes frequent use of recapping strategies to link sequences of events. This occurs in all discourse types, including conversation and narration, but is employed most frequently in exposition, where for substantial slabs of text every sentence may commence with some recapping device. Recapping strategies in Kokota include the use of demonstratives, prepositional oblique demonstratives, reduced clauses, and clauses indicating completion of a recapped event.

11.3.1 Demonstrative recapping

Clause initial demonstratives occur with anaphoric reference to the event expressed by the preceding sentence. These demonstratives occur with the sequencer *ge*, placing the event coded by the sentence in which they occur within a sequence following the event coded by the preceding clause:

(11.105) *friñhe-ni ia sugā n-e nhigo-u*
work-3SGO theSG house RL-3.SBJ be.finished-PRG
Building the house is finished.

an-lau ge *kata n-e-u suli ana*
thatN-SPC SEQ bite RL-3.SBJ-be.thus child thatN
That, then the child starts biting. [ie. contractions begin.]

an-lau ge *gā-e lao-ña ka-ia sugā*
thatN-SPC SEQ NT-3.SBJ go-IMM LOC-theSG house
That, then she will go to the house

gā-e fa-doli-ni ia suli e-u
NT-3.SBJ CS-be.alive-3SGO theSG child 3.SBJ-be.thus
[and] give birth to the baby.

doli t-au-na ia suli
be.alive SB-exist-thatN theSG child
The child is born.

ao ge *gā-e hod-i gā-e-u-ña ia suli*
thisT SEQ NT-3.SBJ take-TR NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM theSG child
This, then they take the child.

Demonstrative recapping typically employs root demonstratives (discussed in 4.1.3.1), illustrated in (11.105). However, clausal demonstratives (discussed in 4.1.3.3) also occasionally occur:

(11.106) *au-ña ia sebele-na, rereo-na, kolae-na*
exist-IMM theSG axe-thatN shield-thatN spear-thatN
There were fighting axes, shields, spears.

gu maneri tifaro n-e-ke-u-ña-ia
be.thus they before RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-IMM-PRO
They were like that in the old days.

t-au-na si-ge *gā-e au mai-ña no-di friñhe-re maneri*
SB-exist-thatN FOC-SEQ NT-3.SBJ exist come-IMM GP-3PLP work-thoseN they
That, and then their work went ahead.

The use of demonstrative recapping is largely limited to exposition.

11.3.2 Oblique demonstrative recapping

Oblique marked demonstratives occur consisting of the locative preposition *ka* cliticised to a clausal demonstrative (discussed in 4.1.3.3). Like demonstrative recapping, these oblique demonstratives locate the event coded by the sentence in a sequence of events, following the event coded by the preceding sentence. However, with oblique demonstratives the relationship between the events is closer in terms of both time, and cause and effect. Demonstrative recapping simply locates one event after another in time. With oblique demonstratives the event coded by the sentence is presented as occurring in response to the event expressed by the preceding sentence (not unlike the English sentence initial *at that...*).

(11.107) *ḡ-e la mai-u mane velepuhi, ḡ-e au-gu logahaza e-u*
NT-3.SBJ go come-PRG man right.way NT-3.SBJ exist-PRG PNLOC 3.SBJ-be.thus
A catechist came, he lived at Logahaza.

...n-e-ke au-re sare logahaza n-e-ke velepuhi-re
RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thoseN thereP PNLOC RL-3.SBJ-PRF right.way-thoseN
...[he] lived there at Logahaza and was catechist.

ka-t-au-ao, *hage tarai, gu nogoi,*
LOC-SB-exist-thisT ascend pray be.thus VOC
At this, [they] went up and prayed, like that, man!,

hage bo e-u mane kokota ide-u
ascend CNT 3.SBJ-be.thus man PNLOC theseR-be.thus
these Kokota people went up.

Recapping oblique demonstratives typically do not cooccur with the sequencer *ge*, however they may do so:

(11.108) *'aria da-ge pato-ri-u' ḡ-e-u-gu,*
1INC.IMP 1INC.SBJ-PRS touch-3PLO-PRG NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-PRG
"Let's go and touch them." They said,

la au kuru mai-di-re-n-e-ke-u
go exist be.first come-3PLO-thoseN-RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
and stopped them from coming.

ka-t-au-ana ***sini-ge,*** *ḡ-e tetu-n̄a solomoni...*
LOC-SB-exist-thisT FOC-SEQ NT-3.SBJ stand-IMM PN
At that then Solomon stood up...

Oblique demonstrative recapping is employed commonly in narratives.

11.3.3 Reduced clause recapping

Clauses may be partially repeated as a recapping strategy. These clauses are reduced by the omission of the modal auxiliary and any other modifier, with only the verb or verbs, and optionally one or more argument, repeated:

(11.109) *ḡ-e hod-i-n̄a ia rarau, ziku-ro nogoi*
NT-3.SBJ take-TR-IMM theSG arm.ring arm.ring-thoseNV VOC
He took the arm ring, those arm rings, man!,

ḡ-e fa hage-u ka kame-na-re n-e-ke-u
NT-3.SBJ CS ascend-PRG LOC arm-3SGP-thoseN RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
He was putting [them] up on his arms.

fa hage ka kame-na-re sini age
CS ascend LOC arm-3SGP-thoseN FOC SEQ
Put [them] up on his arms and then

g̃-e agẽ n-e-u-n̄a manei
NT-3.SBJ go RL-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM he
he went.

More commonly, the predication is marked with a 'be thus' tag clause (discussed in 11.4):

(11.110) *n-e toga agẽ-u maneri,*
RL-3.SBJ arrive go-PRG they
They arrived.

toga g̃-e-u *tana nogoi lao hure-i hinage-na...*
arrive NT-3.SBJ-be.thus then VOC go carry-3SGO boat-thatN
They arrived and then went [and] carried that boat...

11.3.4 'Completion' clause recapping

The partial repetition described in 11.3.3 occurs infrequently. A more frequently used recapping strategy employs 'completion' clauses. Completion clauses are unusual in structure. The main clause of a completion clause consists of the verb *nhigo* 'be finished'. The event which is completed is expressed by a subordinated verb complex which cannot be marked with a modal/subject auxiliary. This verb complex is the subject of the main predication *n-e nhigo* 'it is finished', which it must precede. Thus in (11.114) *la roh-i* in line 3 and *fa blahi* in line 4 are the subjects of *n-e nhigo* in each completion clause. However, what is unusual is that the arguments of the subordinated verb complex coding the completed event typically occur after the main clause predication. Thus in (11.114) line 4, *ara* 'I' is the subject of the subordinated predication *fa blahi*. A more literal translation of this completion clause would be something like "I bless is finished...". Arguments occasionally occur immediately following the subordinated verb complex, as shown with the object *ia sug̃a* 'the house' in (11.111) (repeating in part (11.105):

(11.111) *ge kulu friñhe-ni fea ia sug̃a*
SEQ be.first work-3SGO INIT theSG house
First [they] make the house.

[*friñhe-ni* ***ia sug̃a*** *n-e nhigo-u*]
work-3SGO theSG house RL-3.SBJ be.finished-PRG
Building the house is finished.

an-lau ge kata n-e-u suli ana
thatN-SPC SEQ bite RL-3.SBJ-be.thus child thatN
That, then the child starts biting. [ie. contractions begin.]

However, typically arguments occur after the main clause predication, as the subject in (11.114) line 4. In (11.112)a. *ia tañano* 'the food' is the object of *friñhe-ni* 'make it'. In (11.112)b. *ka-t-au-ana* 'of that' is an oblique adjunct of the predication *fa ku-kumai* 'cause to drink medicine'.

(11.112) a. *...friñhe tañano, ke la toi mala-n̄hau ka-manei g-e-u-ni...*
work food PRF go cook PURP-eat LOC-he NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-3SGO
...make food, cook food for him, they do that...

...g̃ure, foro, g̃-e-u-gu... ...maneri g̃aha mane e-u
nut.paste coconut.paste NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-PRG they five man 3.SBJ-be.thus
...nut paste, coconut paste, that's what they the five men were doing...

[*friñhe-ni* *n-e* *nhigo* ***ia*** ***tañano*** *si-ge*],
work-3SGO RL-3.SBJ be.finished theSG food FOC-SEQ
Making the food is finished and then

n-e-ge *mai* *toke-ña* *kaike* *mane-na* *koramata...*
RL-3.SBJ-PRS come arrive-IMM one man-3SGP PNLOC
a man from Koromata arrives...

b. *...ḡe* *fa* *ku-kumai-ni* *e-u*
NT CS RD-drink-3SGO 3.SBJ-be.thus
...[you] make him drink [the medicine]

[*fa ku-kumai* *n-e* *nhigo* ***ka-t-au-ana***]
CS RD-drink RL-3.SBJ be.finished LOC-SB-exist-thatN
Making [him] drink from that [medicine] is finished,

ke *fa* *ba-blahi* *ḡ-e-ke-gu* *nakoni* *ana...*
PRF CS RD-be.tabu NT-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus person thatN
[then] bless that person...

Completion clauses occur during the narrative or expositional description of a series of events, recapping the event expressed by the preceding sentence and indicating that that event is completed. These occur in narratives to indicate that one event is carried out to completion before the next event occurs:

(11.113) *...ḡ-e* *la* *fa-lehe-i-ña* *n-e-ke-u* *fadalao*
NT-3.SBJ go CS-die-3SGO-IMM RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus PN
...they went [and] killed Fadalao,

ta-ni-na *naitu* *t-au-ne*
SB-3SGO-thatN devil SB-exist-thisR
who was this devil.

fa-lehe-i ***n-e*** ***nhigo*** *sini* *ge* *age,* *ḡ-e* *toke-ña...*
CS-die-3SGO RL-3.SBJ be.finished FOC SEQ SEQ NT-3.SBJ arrive-IMM
They killed him finish and then they went back...

Completion clauses occur often in exposition, particularly when a process involving a series of stages is being described. Each stage is typically described, then a clause indicating its completion introduces the subsequent clause:

(11.114) *o* *la* *roh-i* *ia* *ḡuanha*
2.SBJ go scrape-TR theSG inhale
You go and scrape the 'inhale'.

ḡuanha *e-ni* *bla* *nañha-na-na* *ḡazu* *t-au-ao*
inhale 3.SBJ-3SGO LMT name-3SGP-thatN wood SB-exist-thisT
'Inhale' is just the name of this tree.

[***la roh-i*** ***n-e*** ***nhigo***], *toke-na* *fa* *blahi*
go scrape-TR RL-3.SBJ be.finished arrive-thatN CS be.tabu
Going and scraping it is finished, go back and bless [it].

[***fa blahi*** ***n-e*** ***nhigo*** ***ara*** *ge* *age*], *ḡ-e* *ḡuanha-ña* *nakoni...*
CS be.tabu RL-3.SBJ be.finished I SEQ SEQ NT-3.SBJ inhale-IMM person
Blessing is finished, and then the person [who has the sickness] inhales...

11.4 'Be thus' clauses

The verb *-gu ~ -u* has a broad range of functions with a semantically weak predication best translated as 'be thus'. This verb is cliticised to an auxiliary, often forming a single word clause, except occasionally with its quotative function, when it may occur in isolation. When it does occur in isolation it is the underlying form *gu* which occurs. When cliticised the initial /•/ is deleted except when the final vowel of the host is /u/.

11.4.1 Exclamatory tag clauses

One major function of the 'be thus' clause is as an exclamatory tag marking a constituent, usually a complete clause, with a sense best translated as 'that's how it is' or 'that's how it was'. The form *e-u*, having a zero modal component, is formally irrealis. However, *e-u* is semantically bleached to the point where it has little more than an emphatic sense. Although it may mark irrealis clauses, as with the future event in (11.115)a., *e-u* also marks modally neutral clauses, as in (11.115)b., and realis events ((11.115)c.):

(11.115) a. *t-au-la ke nhogi ia lehe ka suaragi* ***e-u***
SB-exist-CND PRF payback theSG die LOC PN 3.SBJ-be.thus
Since that is so [we] will payback the death of Suaragi, it's like that.

b. *ḡ-e la mai-u mane velepuhi,* ***ḡ****-e au-gu logahaza* ***e-u***
NT-3.SBJ go come-PRG man right.way NT-3.SBJ exist-PRG PNLOC 3.SBJ-be.thus
A catechist came, he lived at Logahaza, it's like that.

c. ***n****-e-ke kave* ***e-u*** *bla manei* ***e-u***
RL-3.SBJ-PRF descend 3.SBJ-be.thus LMT he 3.SBJ-be.thus
He went down, it's like that

In other instances *e-u* actually marks an event as irrealis. In this case the person indexing agrees with the subject of the clause. This applies to events in the full range covered by irrealis in main clauses, including future and habitual events, as in (11.116)a.-b., but does not apply to the irrealis example in (11.115)a., as the subject of the main clause in that example is first inclusive. When used in this less semantically bleached sense, the perfective aspect marker *ke* may mark the auxiliary, as in (11.116)c.

(11.116) a. *mane heta ḡ-e aḡe-u-n̄a* ***e-u***
man be.strong NT-3.SBJ go-PRG-IMM 3.SBJ-be.thus
A strong man will be going, he'll be like that. [ie. He will be a strong man.]

b. *ḡlepo t-au-o si-ge, age ḡ-e mai-n̄a*
thing SB-exist-thatNV FOC-SEQ SEQ NT-3.SBJ come-IMM
That thing then comes

ḡ-e n̄hau-gu ***e-u***
NT-3.SBJ eat-PRG 3.SBJ-be.thus
[and] eats, he's like that.

c. *manei ginai n̄hau namhari* ***e-ke-u***
he FUT eat fish 3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
He will be eating fish, he'll be like that.

This less bleached use of irrealis tags is limited to third person subjects, however. The analogous first and second person tags **a-u* and **o-u* do not occur.

Realis marked 'be thus' clauses always have a less semantically bleached sense than that of the irrealis tags illustrated in (11.115). While these irrealis tags have a general sense of 'the way things are', realis tags emphasise that the situation expressed by the clause is the way that event or state actually is or was. Realis tags may mark realis or modally neutral clauses (as in (11.117)a.-b.), or clauses with no modal auxiliary

(as in (11.117)c. and the second clause in (11.117)d.). When marking a modally neutral clause or one without an auxiliary they assign realis status to the events coded by the clause:

(11.117) a. *n-e-ge* *la* *teo* *ia* *nakoni* ***n-e-u***...
RL-3.SBJ-PRS go be.not theSG person RL-3.SBJ-be.thus
The people have gone to nothing...

b. *ḡ-e* *teo* *boka-i-na* ***n-e-u***
NT-3.SBJ be.not be.able-3SGO-thatN RL-3.SBJ-be.thus
They weren't able to do that, they were like that.

c. *fa kae aḡe* ***n-e-u,*** *teo* *ḡ-e* *ka-ni-u...*
CS see go RL-3.SBJ-be.thus be.not NT-3.SBJ see-3SGO-PRG
He looked [but] he didn't see him...[7]

d. *n-e* *rauru* *manei,* *pru* ***n-e-u*** *seku-na* *hinage-o*
RL-3.SBJ seaward he jump RL-3.SBJ-be.thus tail-3SGP boat-thatNV
He went seaward and jumped into into the back of the boat.

The less semantically bleached nature of the realis tags is indicated by their subject agreement possibilities. The irrealis tag only occurs with the third person subject agreement marker *e*, regardless of the identity of the participants in the marked constituent. By contrast, the realis tags may be indexed to a participant in the marked clause:

(11.118) a. *ka* *fata* *rhue-di-ro* *maneri,*
LOC occasion cry-3PLP-thoseNV they
When everyone cried [lit. At those cryings of theirs]

ga-gato-ḡu-na *ara* *n-e-ge* *lehe* *baiu* *manei* ***n-a-u***
RD-think-1SGP-thatN I RL-3.SBJ-PRS die PSB she RL-1.SBJ-be.thus
I thought maybe she had died, I was like that. [lit. [in] that thought of mine...]

b. *manei* *n-e* *faheḡa,* *ge* *gita* *da* *dia-nanafa* ***da-u***
he RL-3.SBJ be./happy SEQ weINC 1INC.SBJ be.bad-heart 1INC.SBJ-be.thus
He is happy, but we feel bad, that's how we are.

In both these examples the third person tag *n-e-u* can freely occur in place of the tags shown, give the slightly different sense 'It is/was like that' in place of 'I was/we are like that'.

Realis tag clauses may carry the perfective aspect marker *ke* and the progressive marker *-gu*:

(11.119) a. *...ḡ-e-ge* *faroh-i* *manei* *sala* ***n-e-ke-u***
NT-3.SBJ-PRS smite-TR he PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
...[and] he kills Sala, he was like that.

b. *suaragi* *mane-na* *kokota* ***n-e-ke-u***
PN man-3SGP PNLOC RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
Suaragi was a Kokota man, he was like that.

c. *ka* *fata* *kae-ni-n-ara* *manei,*
LOC occasion see-3SGO-thatN-I he
When I saw him

[7] The form *fakae* is given elsewhere as a monomorphemic verb. The varied status of *fakae* as a monomorphemic verb and a causativised version of *kae* is discussed in section 3.5 of Appendix 3.

manei	*n-e-ke*	*nhau*	*ge-na*	*namhari*	***n-e-ke-u-gu***
he	RL-3.SBJ-PRF	eat	CP-3SGP	fish	RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-PRG

he was eating fish, he was like that.

As (11.119)b. illustrates, tag clauses may mark verbless predicates as well as verbal clauses.

Tag clauses optionally cliticise to the preceding word. The implications of this cliticisation for stress placement are discussed in 3.1.5.

11.4.2 Sentence initial 'be thus' clauses

A 'be thus' clause may occur sentence initially, to indicate that the sentence is a comment on the content of the preceding discourse. In (11.120)a. the speaker has described two illnesses (attributed to 'devils'), and the appropriate custom medicines for each. He concludes the exposition with the sentence given. In (11.120)b. the speaker has explained at some length that an expected visitor is unwell, and has sent him in his place, and concludes with the example.

(11.120) a.

e-u	*bla*	*za-zaho-di-re*	*palu*	*naitu*	*ta-lase-ri-re*	*ara*
3.SBJ-be.thus	LMT	RD-go-3PLP-thoseN	two	devil	SB-know-3PLO-thoseN	I

So that's the way of the two devils that I know.

b.

n-e-u	*n-a-ge*	*mai*	*toke*	*a-hi-na*	*ara*
RL-3.SBJ-be.thus	RL-1.SBJ-PRS	come	arrive	this-EMPH-IMM	I

Thus I have come to you now.

Sentence initial 'be thus' clauses of this kind may be formally realis or irrealis, but only third person indexing is possible.

Irrealis 'be thus' clauses occur as exclamatory clauses, marked with the constituent modifiers discussed in 9.8:

(11.121) a.

e-u	*bla*
3.SBJ-be.thus	LMT

That's all!

b.

e-u	*baiu*
3.SBJ-be.thus	PSB

Maybe. [Response to proposition.]

11.4.3 Quotative 'be thus' clauses

'Be thus' clauses occur with a quotative function, assigning the origin of remarks or thoughts to the sole argument of the clause.[8] These 'be thus' clauses immediately follow a representation of the comments or thoughts. Often comments are presented as reported speech and directly quoted:

(11.122)

'ehe,	*keli-bo'*	***g̃-e-u-na***	*g̃obilologu*
yes	be.good-CNT	NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM	PN

"Yes, good." Said Gobilologu.

Quotative 'be thus' clauses are often marked with the immediate marker *na*. They are typically modally neutral, however realis and irrealis quotative clauses do occur:

[8] An identical form in Zabana is analysed by Fitzsimons (1989) as a verb 'to say'. His examples suggest it may in fact be limited to a quotative function like that in Kokota.

(11.123) a. *'ago'* ***n-e-u-nā*** *manei*
youSG RL-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM he
"You!" He said.

b. *l-ago.* *'ara'* ***e-u-nā*** *goio*
go-youSG I IRR-be.thus-IMM VOC
You go ahead. "I..." you will say, man!

With this quotative function only third person agreement occurs, regardless of the person identity of the subject, as (11.123)b. illustrates. With this quotative function it is possible, at least among older speakers, to omit the auxiliary entirely, giving the verb in isolation:

(11.124) *'...teo* *gē-o* *doli-gu* *e-u'* ***gu*** *maneri...*
be.not NT-2.SBJ be.alive-PRG 3.SBJ-be.thus be.thus they
"...you will not be alive." They said...

Quotative uses of the 'be thus' verb may be transitive, with postverbal agreement indexing the participant to whom the comments are addressed:

(11.125) a. *'kue-gū'* ***n-e-u-ni*** *bla...*
grandfather-1SGP RL-3.SBJ-be.thus-3SGO LMT
"My grandfather!" He simply said to him...

b. *'fa kave-ri* *no-u* *rade* *tagi-mu'* ***n-e-ke-u-ni-u***
CS descend-3PLO GP-2SGP arm.ring RFL-2SGP RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-PRG
"Take off your arm ring yourself" he was saying to him.

Thoughts may also be quoted in the same way:

(11.126) a. *'gē-e-la* *heve* *e-u* *ge,* *gē-a* *fa-lehe-i-nā* *gōbilologu,*
NT-3.SBJ-go what 3.SBJ-be.thus SEQ NT-1.SBJ CS-die-3SGO-IMM PN
How will I kill Gobilologu,

gē-e *mala* *tai-gū* *nīheñhe'* ***gē-e-u-nā*** *faknoe*
NT-3.SBJ PURP RFL-1SGP be.separate NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM PN
so I can be alone?" thought Faknoe.

b. *'nariha'* ***n-e-ke-u-nā-ia***
day.after.tomorrow RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-IMM-PRO
"The day after tomorrow." They thought.

'Be thus' clauses are also used to assign authorship to comments or ideas without directly quoting remarks. In this situation the 'be thus' clause is obligatorily marked with the perfective aspect marker *ke*, and with the demonstrative enclitic *-o*, indexing the comments or ideas cited:

(11.127) a. *tazi-ri* *boboke-mu-are* *mala* *no-gū* *ara* ***n-o-ke-u-o***
keep-3PLO inner.thigh-2SGP-thoseN PURP GP-1SGP I RL-2.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-thatNV
Keep your inner thighs for me, as you said [you would].

b. *mala* *fa-lehe-i-u* ***n-a-ke-u-o*** *b-ara,*
PURP CS-die-3SGO-PRG RL-1.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-thatNV ALT-I
I thought to kill him,

teo *bla* *si-boka-gū-na* *ka* *kuiti* *aro-hi*
be.not LMT FOC-be.able-1SGP-thatN LOC trick theseT-EMPH
but that ability of mine with these tricks wasn't able to.