

Chapter 4 Nominals and noun phrases

4.1 Nominal forms

4.1.1 Nominal derivation

Most phonologically unitary nominal forms consist of a single nominal root morpheme. However, two kinds of morphologically complex nominals exist: compounds, and forms derived by reduplication.

4.1.1.1 Nominal compounding

Nominal compounding involves the concatenation of exactly two normally independent words. Both endocentric and exocentric compounds occur.

4.1.1.1.1 Endocentric compounds

Nouns may be modified by, among other things, another noun or a stative verb (discussed in 4.3.1.2). These are not compounds as they do not constitute a single phonological word. However, many nominal compounds appear to be the result of the morphological concatenation of a nominal head plus modifier. Such compounds are left headed and endocentric. Some have a nominal root as the second element (having the structure N+N=N), with the second element identifying the domain to which the head belongs:

- (4.1) a. *mane-vaka* 'white/Asian man' ('man-ship')¹
b. *hobo-g̃azu* 'tree branch' ('branch-wood')
c. *hiba-mautu* 'right eye' ('eye-right.side')
d. *kala-mhata* 'bush leaves' ('leaf/hair-bush')

Others have a verb as the second element, identifying a state (N+V_{stative}=N) or action (N+V_{active}=N) which is characteristic of the head:

- (4.2) a. *mane-dou* 'important man' ('man-be.big')
b. *vaka-flalo* 'aircraft' ('ship-fly')

The presence of the active verb in (4.2)b. illustrates that not all endocentric nominal compounds are the result of the head plus modifier concatenation, as active verbs may not modify a noun directly, but do so within a relative clause. The compound in (4.1)d. also is not the result of head plus modifier concatenation as the noun *mhata* 'bush' does not occur as a modifier, there being a corresponding adjective (see 4.2.3.1.1).

Given the fact that some roots function as either a verb or a noun it is not always possible to identify whether the modifying root is a verb or noun, or is perhaps underspecified). For example, as an independent form, *pamu* can refer to the act of pumping a tilly lamp, or the pump itself. It is not clear which is applicable in (4.3):

- (4.3) *zuta-pamu* 'tilly lamp' ('lamp-pump')

Note that *pamu* is a Pijin loan, indicating the recent formation of this compound and demonstrating the productivity of this kind of nominal compounding.

¹ *Vaka* 'ship' occurs in several nominal compounds, indicating that the referent of the head nominal is non-indigenous. As well as (4.1)a. these include *gase-vaka* ('woman-ship') 'white/Asian woman' and *ooe-vaka* ('talk-ship') for English and Pijin. *Vaka* also occurs widely as a modifying nominal (see 4.3.1.2).

4.1.1.1.2 Exocentric compounds

Kokota exocentric compounds usually reflect the morphological concatenation of two items which would otherwise be adjacent in a syntactic structure. Many consist of a verb root plus a noun root.

- (4.4) a. *deke-tatala* 'tree sp.' ('step-butterfly/moth')
b. *siko-gīa* 'bird sp.' ('steal-lime')

According to speakers (4.4)a. is so named because it is a tree which butterflies like to land on, while the avian raptor in (4.4)b. has a white head accounted for by a custom story in which the bird attempted to steal an old woman's white lime powder (for chewing with betel nut) by putting its head into her lime container. These compounds reflect the pragmatically unmarked syntactic constituent order of VSO, with the verb and subsequent argument nominal concatenated. It will be noted that in (4.4)a. the noun root represents the subject of the verb root, while in (4.4)b. the nominal represents the object. In (4.4)b. the syntactic position for agent is unfilled, however in normal discourse agents rarely receive a full mention, the participant being indicated by zero anaphora. No compounds have been identified which involve the concatenation of a transitive verb root and a noun root representing the agent. Verb plus nominal compounds thus appear to be absolutive in character. It will also be noted that in both examples the verb root is an active verb. No stative verbs have been found in V+N nominal compounds. These compounds are thus $V_{\text{active}}+N=N$

A small number of compounds concatenate an active verb with a stative verb ($V_{\text{active}}+V_{\text{stative}}=N$). All compounds of this type identified so far have *blahi* 'be sacred' as the second element. It is not clear whether others may occur.

- (4.5) a. *ika-blahi* 'Baptism' ('wash-be.sacred')
b. *n̄hau-blahi* 'Holy Communion' ('eat-be.sacred')

The specifically Christian senses in (4.5) must be less than a century old. It is not clear whether these compounds are thus recently formed, or whether they represent a semantic adaptation of preexisting forms.

A small number of compounds occur which have a noun root as the leftmost element but are exocentric (ie. the referent of the compound is not a hyponym of the referent category of the left element):

- (4.6) *zagi-maha* 'custom adze' ('bird.sp.-eat')

The visual similarity between a bird pecking at the ground and an adze in use is readily apparent. The reasons for the nominal plus verb structure, the reverse of that in (4.4) is less apparent, reflecting perhaps the pragmatically marked syntactic constituent order of argument plus verb.

One compound exists in which the second element is a local noun:

- (4.7) *rīnī-gīlu* 'room' ('?wall-inside')

A formal difference exists between the initial nominal and its independent counterpart *ririinī* 'wall', in that the latter demonstrates frozen reduplication (no independent root **rīnī* exists in synchronic Kokota). However loss of an echo syllable in forms displaying historical but not synchronic reduplication is common in Kokota and may explain this divergence. Alternatively the independent root may have acquired its echo syllable after the compound was formed. Either way, the compound is semantically transparent to speakers and thus demonstrates the potential for local nouns occurring as the second element in compounds of this type.

A large and highly productive subclass of exocentric compounds are those in which the first element is the preverbal purposive marker *mala*. The second element in such compounds is always an active verb, and the compound referent is always an entity which plays a crucial non-agentive role in the event, either as an instrument of some kind (as in (4.8)a., b. and c.) or an undergoer ((4.8)d.).

- (4.8) a. *mala-mhoko* 'bench' ('PURP-sit')
 b. *mala-kuku* 'anus' ('PURP-defecate')
 c. *mal-au* 'inhabited place' ('PURP-exist')
 d. *mala-n̄hau* 'food' ('PURP-eat')

This PURP+V_{active}=N pattern is a highly favoured type of compound in Kokota, with the resulting forms preferred over monomorphemic synonyms (the root *tañano* 'food', for example, is rarely used). These compounds directly reflect the structure of purposive predicates. For example a speaker will indicate whether something is edible by saying it is *mala n̄hau* 'for eating'.

4.1.1.2 Nominal derivation by reduplication

The formal and functional characteristics of reduplication are discussed in detail in 2.4. Reduplication in Kokota has a general derivational function, however two major subregularities exist: the derivation of intransitive verbs from transitive roots, and the derivation of nouns from verbs. Some nouns involve the reduplication of an intransitive verb root, typically unergative, as in (4.9), but occasionally unaccusative ((4.10)). Reduplicated unergative roots have as their referent an instrument (or perhaps locus) that enables the event expressed by the verb to occur.

- (4.9) a. *deke* 'step' → *dedeke* 'stairs'
 b. *kamo* 'go across' → *kakamo* 'stick for transferring fire'
 c. *rata* 'walk on sand or beach' → *rarata* 'sand, beach'

A very small number of nominals are derived by reduplication from unaccusative roots. The resulting meaning has a more idiosyncratic relationship with the verb root meaning. However, the referent always has the verb root meaning as a prominent characteristic. The reduplicated verb root may be active or stative:

- (4.10) a. *nuge* 'shake' → *nunuge* 'earthquake'
 b. *maku* 'be hard' → *mamaku* 'leatherjacket (fish sp. w. hard skin)'

A larger number of nominals are derived by the reduplication of transitive roots. The resulting form may relate to the underived verb as an actor (again with meaning of the verb as a prominent characteristic), as in (4.11)a.-c.). Alternatively the nominal referent may be an instrument ((4.11)d.-e.), an effective theme ((4.11)f.-g. or other theme ((4.11)h.), or possibly as some kind of patient ((4.11)i.) (though it is possible this may also be an instrument).

- (4.11) a. *siko* 'steal' → *sisiko* 'thief'
 b. *kaflo* 'beckon' → *kakaflo* 'crab (w. waving claw)'
 c. *tako* 'catch s.th. in the air' → *tatako* 'bird sp.'
 d. *haglu* 'sweep' → *hahaglu* 'broom'
 e. *kere* 'sting' → *kekere* 'thorns'
 f. *gato* 'thinkTR' → *gagato* 'thought'
 g. *lase* 'know' → *lalase* 'knowledge, cleverness'
 h. *turi* 'tell (a story)' → *tuturi* 'story'
 i. *gufu* 'smokeTR' → *gūgufu* 's.th. to smoke (ie. tobacco)²

Reduplication may also function to derive a noun from a nominal root. The semantic relationships between the derived and underived nominals are relatively idiosyncratic, however the referent of the derived form tends to either resemble in some way ((4.12)a.-b.) or be associated with ((4.12)c.-d.) the referent of the underived root.

² This is largely synonymous with *viri* 'tobacco', but tends to be used when it is about to be, or is being, smoked, for example when asking for some tobacco to smoke there and then, while *viri* is used when the smoking is less immediate, for example when buying tobacco at a store.

- (4.12) a. *bagi* 'wing, fin' → *babagi* 'side roofs of porch'
 b. *bulhi* 'cowrie' → *bubulhi* 'clam sp.'
 c. *tahi* 'sea' → *tatahi* 'stingray'
 d. *komhu* 'year, crop' → *kokomhu* 'bush apple'

4.1.2 Pronouns

Four sets of pronominal forms exist: independent pronouns, possessor indexing, postverbal object indexing, and preverbal subject indexed auxiliaries.

4.1.2.1 Non-independent pronominal categories

As with most Oceanic languages, all Kokota pronominal forms distinguish four person categories: first person exclusive, first person inclusive, second person and third person. The preverbal 'subject' indexing auxiliaries do not distinguish number,³ while possessor and postverbal 'object' indexing distinguish singular and plural, except for in first inclusive where no singular is possible.

Table 4.1: 'Subject' indexing.

1EXC	1INC	2	3
<i>a</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>

Table 4.2: 'Object' indexing.

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>-au ~ -nau</i>	-	<i>-igo ~ -nigo</i>	<i>-i ~ -ni ~ Ø</i>
PL	<i>-gai</i>	<i>-gita</i>	<i>-gau</i>	<i>-di ~ ri</i>

Table 4.3: Possessor indexing.

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>-gu</i>	-	<i>-mu ~ -u</i>	<i>-na</i>
PL	<i>-mai</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-di</i>

The function of these forms and distribution of allophones are discussed elsewhere: subject indexing in 8.5.2.2; object indexing in 7.1.2.2; and possessor indexing in 6.2.

4.1.2.2 Independent pronouns

The following are the independent focal pronoun forms:

Table 4.4: Independent pronouns.

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>ara</i>	-	<i>ago</i>	<i>manei / nai</i>
DL	<i>gaipalu</i>	<i>gitapalu</i>	<i>gaupalu</i>	<i>reipalu</i>
TR	<i>gaitilo ~ gai +NUM</i>	<i>gitatilo ~ gita +NUM</i>	<i>gautilo ~ gau +NUM</i>	<i>reitulo ~ rei +NUM</i>
PL	<i>gai (+NUM)</i>	<i>gita (+NUM)</i>	<i>gau (+NUM)</i>	<i>maneri ~ rei +NUM</i>

The two third singular forms distinguish gender (discussed in 4.1.2.2.2).

³ See 8.5.2 for further discussion of the formal and functional characteristics of Kokota auxiliaries.

4.1.2.2.1 Pronominal number marking

The numerical specification of plural pronouns involves the use of cardinal numeral forms. Cardinals (see (4.2.2.2.1.4)), are derived from most numeral roots by marking the root with the suffix *-gu ~ -u*. Thus 'you four' is expressed as *gau fnotou*.

The non-third person plural forms freely occur with or without numerical specification. Two third person plural forms exist: *maneri* and *rei*. Only *maneri* may occur independently as a numerically unspecified pronoun. *Rei* can only occur in association with a cardinal numeral. Numerically specified groups up to one hundred may be expressed by either, thus 'they four' can be *maneri fnotou* or *rei fnotou*. However, the larger the group the greater the tendency to use *maneri*. Thus while *rei fnotou* is more common than *maneri fnotou*, *maneri nabotou* 'they ten' is much more common than *rei nabotou*. Speakers will accept *rei* with numbers up to 99, however for numbers of a hundred or greater, only *maneri* is acceptable.

Dual pronouns are formed by concatenating the plural pronoun and *palu* 'two', without the cardinal suffix. Thus **gau palugu* 'you two' is ungrammatical. In the third person this concatenation must involve the form *rei*. Groups of three may be referred to by either a special trial pronoun, or following the normal plural pattern. The trial pronoun follows the pattern of the dual, with a concatenated trial pronoun involving the numeral root (eg. *reitilo* 'they three'). The normal numerically specified plural form involves the plural pronoun marked with the cardinal form in the normal way (eg. *rei tilou* 'they three').

The trial pronouns are also used with a paucal function. This may occur to refer to a small group whose precise numbers are either not known or not important. It is also used commonly as a vocative to address small groups:

- (4.13) *gure foro g̃-e-u-gu ade titili-o*
 nut.paste coconut.paste NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-PRS here *titili*-thatNV
 [They] made nut paste and coconut paste here at those standing stones,⁴
- maneri gaha mane e-u...*
 they five man 3.SBJ-be.thus
 they the five men...
- n-e-ge mai toke-nā kaike mane-na koromata e-u...*
 RL-3.SBJ-PRS come arrive-IMM one man-3SGP PNLOC 3.SBJ-be.thus
 and then a man from Koromata comes...
- "tilo mane, n-o friñhe heve gau" g̃-e mai manei e-u*
 three man RL-2.SBJ work what youPL NT-3.SBJ come he 3.SBJ-be.thus
 "Three men, what are you doing?" he came like that.

Pronouns occur with cardinal number forms, which are themselves nominals, and which follow the pronominal form, not precede it as numerals do with other nominal heads. These factors suggest that numerically specified complex pronominals have the number as the head, with modifying person and number information provided by modifying pronouns.

In Kokota diphthongs frequently coalesce in casual speech. The frequency with which dual and trial pronoun forms occur in discourse makes them prime candidates for this coalescence, consequently the first exclusive and second person dual and trial pronouns are normally reduced on the surface to [ɣepalu], [ɣotilo] and so on.

⁴ A *titili* is a group of standing stones with preChristian spiritual significance.

4.1.2.2.2 Third person singular gender distinctions

Unlike most Oceanic languages, some Isabel languages distinguish gender in third person singular pronouns. In Kokota a residual gender distinction exists in the pronoun *nai* 'she':

- (4.14) *ta fakae-ni la nai, nai ginai torai dia-nanafa-na g̃lehe*
 SB see-3SGOCND she she FUT DEF be.bad-heart-thatN very
 If she sees it, she will be very upset.

The form is now used rarely and only by older speakers. The non-feminine third singular pronominal form *manei* is now the standard form across the third singular category, including for female referents:

- (4.15) *manei n-e-ge nakodou*
 she RL-3.SBJ-PRS old.woman
 She is an old woman.

The substantial homonymy between *manei* and *mane* 'man' may provide clues to the origin of this gender distinction, with the final [i] perhaps reflecting an accreted and reduced *ine* 'this', or a reduced form of the pragmatic particle *hi*.

Entities referred to with *manei* are typically human, or at least animate. Proform reference to inanimate objects typically involves demonstratives, reflecting a preference in Kokota for the use of demonstratives over alternatives such as pronouns, however while informants express a dispreference for it, *manei* does occur with inanimates:

- (4.16) *n-e-ge la maku-nā maneī ge, ao bla lehe-na-na e-u*
 RL-3.SBJ-PRS go be.hard-IMM it SEQ thisT LMT die-3SGP-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
 It (the tap on the stove gas pipe) becomes firm, and then it's off.

4.1.2.2.3 Indefinite pronoun *ihei* ~ *hei*

In addition to the inherently definite independent focal pronouns shown in Table 4.4, Kokota has an indefinite independent pronoun, *ihei*. This is clearly related to the interrogative proform *hei* 'who', discussed in 10.2.2.1.1.1, apparently with an accreted initial vowel /i/ present in one variant.⁵ The variant forms occur in free variation, with *ihei* occurring most commonly.

This indefinite pronoun is used to refer to a participant whose identity is uncertain.

- (4.17) a. *...nafu-na teo ihei mane ta torai mai reregi-ni-na*
 base-3SGP be.not whoever man SB definitely come look.after-3SGO-thatN
 ...because there isn't anyone who actually looks after
- ia vetula-na g̃avana ka-ia g̃ilu-na nau gai*
 theSG law-3SGP government LOC-theSG inside-3SGP place weEXC
 the government's law in our village.
- b. *e teo kaike ihei ta aḡe boka fa-lehe-i-na ia to-toi*
 3.SBJ be.not one whoever SB go be.able CS-die-SGO-thatN theSG RD-cook
 There is not anyone who can kill the fire.

⁵ This variation also occurs in Cheke Holo (White et al 1988:69-70), where identical forms display the same alternation. In Cheke Holo, however, it appears that, unlike in Kokota, the most common variant is *hei*. The initial /i/ is presumably connected to the initial vowel in the Cheke Holo first and second person independent pronouns *iara* and *iago*, corresponding to the Kokota *ara* and *ago* (see Table 4.4). It seems likely that this vowel reflects the Proto Oceanic personal article *i.

- c. *a boka ke fa keli-ni bo*
 1.SBJ be.able PRF CS be.good-3SGO CNT
 We can make good
- ihei ia ta toke-i-na ia malaria...*
 whoever theSG SB arrive-3SGO-thatN theSG malaria
 whoever [it is] who catches malaria...

As these examples illustrate, *ihei* functions as a nominal head and may be modified by a relative clause ((4.17)b.), an embedded NP ((4.17)a. and c.), or a quantifier ((4.17)b.). As (4.18) shows, an NP with the indefinite pronoun as head may also itself occur as an adnominal modifier.

- (4.18) *mane hei 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 man sits and kills this fire, that is that true man.

4.1.2.3 Reflexive forms

Reflexive arguments are expressed in Kokota by a reflexive base which is indexed as inalienably possessed by the referent. This base has the form *tagi-*, however in the first person singular category the normal surface form of the base is *tai-*. This reflects a process of loss of the phoneme /y/ widespread in the language. The first singular form with the full *tagi-* is, however, sometimes (but not always) given in careful speech or as a citation form. The reflexive forms are:

Table 4.5: Reflexive forms.

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>tai-g̃u ~ tagi-g̃u</i>	-	<i>tagi-mu</i>	<i>tagi-na</i>
PL	<i>tagi-mai</i>	<i>tagi-da</i>	<i>tagi-mi</i>	<i>tagi-di</i>

4.1.3 Demonstratives

4.1.3.1 Demonstrative forms and categories

Demonstratives distinguish two number categories, singular and plural, and five categories of relationship with deictic centre. The five deictic categories are: touching, within reach, out of reach but nearby, further away but potentially visible, and out of sight. The first four of these categories are expressed using independent particles, while the remaining category is represented by suffixes.

Table 4.6: Demonstrative forms.

	touching	within reach	nearby	potentially visible	not visible
SG	<i>ao</i>	<i>ine ~ -ne</i>	<i>ana ~ -na</i>	<i>iao</i>	<i>-o ~ -no</i>
PL	<i>aro</i>	<i>ide ~ -de</i>	<i>are ~ -re</i>	<i>iaro</i>	<i>-ro</i>

I have avoided using the terms proximal and distal in Table 4.6 for several reasons. First these five categories do not fall into two groups which correspond to those notions. Secondly the actual distance involved, indeed, the actual physical relationship in space with the speaker, depends on a range of factors, the primary of which is the nature of the referent. For example if a knife is being held it will be referred to with *ao*, while if it is within reach but not in the hand it will be *ine*. A house, on the other hand, may be *ao* or *ine* if the speaker is inside it, since they are making contact with it, and it is within reach. If a speaker is outside a house within reach but not touching it only *ine* is possible.

Furthermore, the distinction between the nearby and distant but potentially visible categories is dependent on context. A house at the far end of the village might be *ana* if the speaker is thinking in a scale greater than the village, but *iao* if the speaker is just thinking of houses within the village. It may also be *-o* if it is not within view of the speaker. The category *iao* may also be used if the speaker is not seeing the house at

the time of speaking, but if it is normally visible from the speaker's location or nearby. So *iao* may be used at night to refer to a house which is visible during the day from the speaker's location, or indoors to refer to a house which is visible from just outside. In either situation *-o* may also be used if the speaker is thinking of the house as out of view, or perhaps outside the scope of the discourse context. However, a house in a neighbouring village which is never visible from anywhere near the speaker can only be referred to with *-o*. The potentially visible can be used for very distant objects, as long as they can be seen. Thus a child will call out *iao, iao* when finally locating visually a very distant aeroplane.⁶

In addition to the demonstrative meanings discussed above, all of the demonstratives may function anaphorically.

The allomorphy in the singular 'not visible' category shown in Table 4.6 is phonologically motivated: the allomorph *-no* occurs when the suffix is attached to a /o/ final word, the *-o* in all other environments (eg. *suḡa-o* 'thatNV house' and *raro-no* 'thatNV pot'). The bound allomorphs in the 'within reach' and 'nearby' categories are encliticised forms occurring following a word with the same final vowel as is initial in the demonstrative.

Demonstratives in the 'within reach' and 'nearby' categories also cliticise to inalienable possessor indexing suffixes, without necessarily involving the reduced forms. Thus, for example, *ine* 'this (within reach)' may attach to a possessor indexed noun such as *nene-ḡu* 'my leg', giving the single word *nene-ḡu-ine* 'this leg of mine'.

4.1.3.2 Temporal distance

Certain of the deictic categories discussed in 4.1.3.1 are used to express temporal as well as spatial distance. All time that is passed is treated as belonging to the non-visible category. While temporal locations in the future may not be 'seen' at the time of speaking, they are treated as being potentially 'visible'. The past, on the other hand, is treated as time which will never be 'seen' again. This suggests that the Kokota regard time as involving facing towards the future and away from the past, unlike some other cultures which regard time as involving facing towards what has been (and is thus visible) and away from what has yet to occur (and is thus invisible). For the Kokota past temporal locations are marked with the non-visible determiners:

- (4.19) a. *wiki ta aḡe-o* b. *wiki ta salupu-o*
 week SB proceed-thatNV week SB pass-thatNV
 last week last week

Temporal locations in the future are referred to using the 'within reach' category if the temporal unit is the one adjacent to the unit during which the speech event takes place (eg. if the referent is the immediately forthcoming week or year).

- (4.20) a. *wiki ta mai-ne* b. *komhu ta mai-ne*
 week SB come-thisR year SB come-thisR
 next week next year⁷

Periods further away than the immediately forthcoming period are referred to using the 'nearby but out of reach' category.

- (4.21) a. *ara ginai pulo mai ka fa-palu wiki ana*
 I FUT return come LOC CS-two week thatN
 I will return in two weeks. [lit. ...on that second week]

⁶ For the purposes of interlinear glossing the following abbreviations will be used: touching - T; within reach - R; nearby but out of reach - N; distant but potentially visible - PV; and non-visible - NV.

⁷ There is some divergence of use between 'this' and 'next' in English for immediately forthcoming units of time. I have used 'next' to indicate the immediately forthcoming week/year, ie. the period immediately after the one covering the time of speaking.

- b. *ara teo gē lao ka sitoa goinode, ara ginai lao ka keha nare are*
 I be.not NTgo LOCstore todayRL I FUT go LOC NSP day thoseN
 I won't go to the store today, I'll go on another day. [lit. ...on one of those other days]

It is not clear at this stage whether all future non-adjacent temporal periods are referred to using the nearby category, or whether the distant but visible category can be used for periods further away in time. No examples exist in the collected texts of demonstratives in that category marking temporal locations.

4.1.3.3 Clausal demonstratives

In addition to the monomorphemic demonstrative forms outlined in Table 4.6, a corresponding set of demonstratives exist which are syntactically single word subordinate clauses. These consist of the subordinator *ta* procliticised to the existential verb *au*, followed by any one of the demonstratives shown in Table 4.6. For example *t-au-ao* 'thisT' and *t-au-are* 'thoseN', literally translate as 'that which is this' and 'that which are those'. Clausal demonstratives can function as any kind of argument, as in (4.22), or adnominally (4.23). The demonstrative forms are optionally reduced in this construction by the loss of the initial vowel (as in (4.22)c. and (4.23)c.).

- (4.22) a. *e salupu t-au-aro*
 3.SBJ pass SB-exist-theseT
 These [events] are over.
- b. *ḡ-o tahe-i-nā t-au-ana ba*
 NT-2.SBJ tell-3SGO-IMM SB-exist-thatN ALT
 You tell [them] that.
- c. *fa ka-kave-di-nā t-au-de*
 CS RD-descend-3PLO-IMM SB-exist-theseR
 [He] took them down
- d. *e-u n-e-ke hoda-nā-bla ka-t-au-aro*
 3.SBJ-be.thus RL-3.SBJ-PRF take-IMM-LMT LOC-SB-exist-theseT
 So, they can take from these.
- (4.23) a. *naitu toke n-e lao ka mane t-au-ine, nan̄ha-di-re...*
 devil arrive RL-3.SBJ go LOC man SB-exist-thisR name-3PLP-thoseN
 The arriving devils of this man, their names are...
- b. *teo ḡ-e au-gu kokolo ga-gato t-au-are*
 be.not NT-3.SBJ exist-PRG class RD-think SB-exist-thoseN
 Those kinds of thoughts won't come true. [lit. Those thought types won't be.]
- c. *ḡ-a la hod-i gai kala-na gazu t-au-na*
 NT-1.SBJ go take-TR weEXC leaf-3SGP wood SB-exist-thatN
 We take the leaves of that tree.
- d. *guanha e-ni bla nan̄ha-na-na gazu t-au-ao*
guanha 3.SBJ-3SGO LMT name-3PLP-thatN wood SB-exist-thisT
Guanha is the name of this tree.

Inalienable possessive marking may participate in clausal demonstratives. This occurs infrequently.

- (4.24) *ginai e-u nau t-au-di-de*
 FUT 3.SBJ-be.thus place SB-exist-3PLP-theseR
 These places will be like that. [lit. These of the places...]

Clausal demonstratives may occur with an article:

- (4.25) ...*aḡe hod-i-ri ira foro, ira gure, ira t-au-ro*
 go take-TR-3PLO thePL *foro* thePL *gure* thePL SB-exist-thoseNV
 ...then [they] took the *foro*, the *gure*, those.

A functional distinction between monomorphemic demonstratives and clausal demonstrative forms is not apparent at this stage.

4.1.4 Deictic suffixes

4.1.4.1 Emphatic *-hi*

The suffix *-hi* marks certain deictic forms with contrastive emphasis. This has the effect of contrasting the referent with other possible participants. It occurs with all eight of the independent demonstratives, both as arguments ((4.26)a.-c.) and adnominals ((4.26)d.-e.), and with the three deictic locatives *ade* 'here', *sare* 'there proximal' and *sara* 'there distal' (4.27). It also occurs with pronouns, but only with the first and second person singular pronouns (4.28).

- (4.26) a. *ara teo ḡ-a manahagi friñhe-i ao-hi*
 I be.not NT-1.SBJ want work-3SGO thisT-EMPH
 I don't want to do this [work].
- b. *ine-hi bla botolo fa nhi-nhigo-na*
 thisR-EMPH LMT bottle CS RD-be.finished-3SGO
 This is the last bottle.
- c. *ke kota bla ia-hi*
 PRF land LMT thatPV-EMPH
 [They] came ashore at that [place].
- d. *ara ke nhogi visi a-hi ka gita-palu*
 I PRF repay play thisT-EMPH LOC weINC-two
 I will reverse this game of ours.
- e. *peleta a-hi t-au ka ara*
 plate thisT-EMPH SB-exist LOC I
 This plate is mine.
- (4.27) ...*ge au fa puhi ade-hi selena t-au-na gau*
 SEQ exist CS way here-EMPH PNLOC SB-exist-thatN youPL
 ...then you can all live together here at Selena
- (4.28) a. *ara n-a taḡeo-nigo ago-hi ka n-o-ke toga-nau*
 I RL-1.SBJ thank-2SGO you-EMPH LOC RL-2.SBJ-PRF help-1SGO
 I thank you for you helping me.
- b. *ara-hi a-ti-ke fufunu-di bo t-au-de*
 I-EMPH 1.SBJ-NEG-PRF begin-3PLO CNT SB-exist-these
 I didn't start these [arguments].

Deictics with *-hi* may only be used indicatively, and not for anaphoric reference.

Due to widespread diphthong reduction in the language, the normal surface forms of *ao-hi* and *iao-hi* in casual speech are [ahi] and [jahi]. While *-hi* occurs with all independent demonstratives, it is most common with the 'touching' category forms *ao* and *aro*. These occur more frequently with the suffix than without it.

4.1.4.2 Specifier *-lau*

The suffix *-lau* is a pragmatic marker which occurs primarily (and very commonly) suffixed to demonstratives and deictic locatives. Its function is to provide emphasis in a way that indicates that the referent is exactly the entity at issue. How this is manifested varies widely depending on context. It has something of the sense of the English *one* in expressions such as *that one*, in contrast with *that*. Often it occurs with demonstratives referring to information that is prominent in the discourse, emphasising that it is exactly that information that is being referred to. In (4.29) the speaker is discussing details omitted from the telling of a story.

- (4.29) **are-lau** *ago* *n-e-ge* *turi* *salupu-di-ro* *bla* *ago*
 thoseN-SPC⁸ youSG RL-3.SBJ-PRS tell pass-3PLO-thoseNV LMT youSG
 Those ones [parts of the story] you're leaving out. [lit. ...you're telling past].

teo *gē* *lao-di* *ago* **t-au-are-lau**
 be.not NT go-3PLO youSG SB-exist-thoseN-SPC
 You didn't tell those ones.

Similarly, demonstratives marked with *-lau* are frequently used as discourse sequencers, emphasising that the event in the subsequent clause follows in a sequence of events from the event of the preceding clause.

- (4.30) *kulu* *friñhe-ni* *fea* *ia* *suḡa*
 be.first work-3SGO INIT theSG house
 First they build the house.

friñhe-ni *ia* *suḡa* *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, then that child bites [ie. labour pains start]

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

Adnominally, it has the effect of emphasising that the referent of the head is the very participant referred to earlier.

- (4.31) *g̃-a* *kaike* *fa-lehe-ri* *gudu* *nā* *gai* *teḡe* **are-lau**
 NT-3.SBJ one CS-die-3PLO EXHST IMM weEXC turtle those-SPC
 We kill every one of those turtles

The suffix also attaches to deictic locatives, emphasising that the location in question is exactly the location indicated by the locative, with something of the sense of the English *right here* and *right there*.

⁸ In the absence of something better, I have glossed the form as SPC, as it emphasises that it is specifically the referent that is the participant in question.

- (4.32) *ḡ-e la posa-u sare-lau ka nau fitupogu*
 NT-3.SBJ go emerge-PRG thereP-SPC LOC place PNLOC
 They came out right there at the place Fitupogu,

ta-ni-ana e-u
 SB-3SGO-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
 as it's called.

In the examples above *-lau* occurs with root and clausal demonstratives and deictic locatives. Speakers express a dispreference for *-lau* occurring with other forms, however it does occur occasionally marking other proforms including pronouns and interrogatives.

- (4.33) a. *ka ḡai-lau ta aḡe e-u la ka-ia ḡilu-na tahi...*
 LOC weEXC-SPC SB go 3.SBJ-be.thus CND LOC-theSG inside-3SGP sea
 With us if it's in the sea...

e no-mai mhemhe-ni
 3.SBJ GP-1EXCP be.difficult-3SGO
 it's hard to do.

 b. *hei-lau naḡha-na-na mane ana-lau*
 who-SPC name-3SGP-thatN man thatN-SPC
 what is the name of that man?

The particle *lau* may cooccur with the emphatic suffix *-hi*:

- (4.34) *a-hi-lau fa ḡaha-na-na*
 thisT-EMPH-SPC CS five-3SGP-thatN
 This one is the fifth one.

The suffix occurs most commonly with the demonstrative category including *ana* 'thatN' and *are* 'thoseN'. Vowel syncope typically reduces the resulting forms to [anlau] and [arlau], with the former often reducing further to [ālau].

4.1.5 Proper nouns

Any objects or entities, animate or inanimate, may be assigned a specific name, including people, spirits, locations, buildings, boats, sacred stones and so on.

Kokota individuals have two personal names, of which the first is often an English borrowing, particularly among men. Many custom personal names are semantically opaque, but some are not (eg. *Belama* 'frigate bird'). For individuals with two custom names the first name is normally used in the community. For individuals with an English name, the second (ie. custom) name is normally used, with the English name usually reserved for dealing with westerners.⁹ Reduction of long custom names to two syllables as the normal form of address and reference is common. Quadrisyllabic names always appear to be reducible (*Rivakato* to *Riva*). Trisyllabic names are also reducible, particularly quadrimoraic ones (*Dilauna* to *Dilau*), but also some trimoraic (*Belama* to *Bela*).

Nicknames are common to avoid ambiguity between similarly named individuals. These typically reflect some characteristic of the individual. Of the two men named *Hugo* (pronounced [huɣo]) in Goveo village, one was affected by polio as a child and is usually referred to as *Polio*, although the two have different custom names; an adopted father and son both named Ruebenson Havisade are normally referred to as *Havidou* 'big Havi' and *Havi Ikoa* 'little Havi', and so on.

⁹ As an exception, children in the village school are addressed by their English name, even by teachers who are close relatives and who use their custom names outside school.

The entire coast of Santa Isabel is a seamless chain of named locations, as is at least some of the interior. Place names vary in semantic transparency, some apparently assigned in other languages or prior to lexical change. Some names are entirely opaque. Others, such as *Koilolehe* 'dead coconut', are entirely transparent. Still others are partially transparent: in *Fitupoḡu* the element *fitu* means 'seven' in synchronic Kokota, while *poḡu* is identified by some informants as being "a word for hill in the time before".

4.2 Adnominal modifiers

Nominal heads may be modified by a range of modifiers including relative clauses, embedded phrases, and adnominal modifiers of various kinds. Relative clauses are discussed in 11.2.3; embedded phrases in 4.3; and possession in chapter 6.

Other forms of adnominal modification are discussed here. These include articles, demonstratives, an unspecified class member marker, quantifiers (including numerals), an exhaustive marker, and adnominal locatives.

4.2.1 Markers of specificity and definiteness

4.2.1.1 Adnominal demonstratives

Demonstratives may function either as a nominal head or an adnominal modifier. They assign definiteness to the referent or modified nominal, and typically refer to or modify a participant whose identity has been established in the discourse, is assumed by the speaker to be known to the hearer, or is indicated by gesture. Demonstrative forms and categories are discussed in 4.1.3. Their syntactic behaviour is discussed in 4.3.

4.2.1.2 Articles

Two articles exist: the singular *ia* and plural *ira*. These occur in a pre-head position.

- (4.35) a. ...*korho ma-di ira lholhoḡuai-na*
 pull come-3PLO thePL coil-3SGP
 ...[he] pulled his coils towards him.
- 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.

The articles assign specificity to the nominal they modify. They occur most frequently modifying newly introduced participants, indicating that the speaker has a specific participant in mind. This participant may be definite, as in (4.35)a., or indefinite, as in (4.35)b. While the marked participants in (4.35)b. are not definite, (ie. they have not been established in the discourse and are not assumed to be known to the hearer), they are specific, in the sense that the speaker has the specific insect that bit him in mind, not merely any fly or mosquito.

Subsequent mentions of an introduced participant are typically accompanied not by an article, but by a demonstrative, indicating the definiteness of the referent, and therefore its identity as the previously mentioned participant. As well as modifying newly introduced participants, however, articles may also modify an established participant when its specificity is limited to that resulting from its status as an established participant, rather than because it is known to the hearer outside the context of the discourse. In the text fragment in (4.30), for example, the first line introduces a new participant to the discourse – a house which is constructed to function as a confining house for childbirth. This is marked with an article because although the house is hypothetical, the speaker has a specific house in mind: one which has been constructed for use by a participant already established in the discourse. However, being hypothetical, not definite (in the sense of an actual building known to the hearer), in subsequent mentions (in lines 2 and 4 of (4.30)) the house is again marked with an article.

4.2.1.3 Cooccurrence of articles and demonstratives

Articles precede the nominal they modify, while demonstratives follow the nominal or occur as enclitics. The two do not commonly cooccur, because the specificity expressed by the articles is implicit in the definite status assigned by a demonstrative. However, such cooccurrences are grammatical and may occur.

- (4.36) a. ...*ira suli ta au ka ia nau ana*
 thePL child SB exist LOC theSG place thatN
 ...the children who live in that village
- b. *ira naitu toke aro bo ta au kuru nañha-di-re*
 thePL devil arrive theseT CNT SB exist possess name-3PLP-thoseN
 These arriving devils have names.
- c. ...*tana boro g̃-e lao ira palu tati-ro*
 then boro NT-3.SBJ go thePL two mother&baby-thoseNV
 ...then the two mother and baby stay boro.¹⁰

Moreover, as well as modifying nouns which are also modified by a demonstrative, articles may modify demonstratives themselves occurring as nominal heads, as illustrated by (4.25).

4.2.1.4 Nonspecific marker *keha*

The pre-head particle *keha* indicates that the referent of the NP is a nonspecific member of the class of entities indicated by the head nominal.¹¹ In (4.37) the speaker does not have a particular day in mind, but simply refers to an unspecified day in the future.

- (4.37) *ka keha nare are bo ge ke e-ni ñ-ago an-lau*
 LOC NSP day thoseN CNT SEQ PRF 3.SBJ-3SGO IMM-you that-SPC
 [Wait for] some other day before you tell that one.

As well as being unspecified for identity, *keha* does not specify number. In some situations number specification is assigned by the context. In (4.38) the demonstratives indicate whether the unspecified part(s) are singular or plural.

- (4.38) a. *keha pile-di-re no-na bla tagi-na*
 NSP part-3PLP-thoseN GP-3SGP LMT RFL-3SGP
 Some copies will just belong to him.
- b. *ke la nai keha lholhoḡuai-na-o ade*
 PRF go put NSP coil-3SGP-thatNV here
 [He] went and put another of his coils here.

Number can be indicated with *keha* by the use of a quantifier such as a numeral or *huḡru* 'all', or by *tehi* 'many':

- (4.39) a. *n-e ñha-di keha palu namhari*
 RL-3.SBJ eat-3PLO NSP two fish
 He ate two more fish.

¹⁰ *Boro* refers to the practice of a mother and newly born infant remaining lying in seclusion for a period after the birth.

¹¹ As Ross (pers. comm.) points out, it is noteworthy that both *keha* and the numeral *kaike* 'one' (see 4.2.2.2.1) appear to reflect Proto Oceanic terms for 'one', *keha* being non-specific and *kaike* specific in synchronic Kokota.

- b. *ara n-a fakaē-di keha huḡru nakoni*
 I RL-1.SBJ see-3PLO NSP all person
 I saw a whole group of people.
- c. *ara n-a oha-di keha tehi zora*
 I RL-1.SBJ keep-3PLO NSP many pig
 I keep many pigs.¹²

Keha also occurs with mass nouns:

- (4.40) *ara n-a-ke manahagi-di keha no-ḡu kareseni nhorao*
 I RL-1.SBJ-PRF want-3PLO NSP GP-1SGP kerosene yesterday
 I needed some kerosene yesterday.

Keha indicates that an entity is a nonspecific member of a class of entities. This often results in a meaning similar to that of English *some*. However when the form marks a nominal belonging to a class a member of which has already appeared in the discourse, the effect is to indicate that the entity is a further member of the class. In this sense the meaning is more akin to the English *another*. Example (4.41) is taken from a text about the treatment of a sickness called *naitu tahi* 'sea devil'. The speaker then turns to the implications of another sickness also being present in the patient. The identity of the additional sickness is not relevant, and the speaker has no particular sickness in mind, and the sickness is marked with *keha*:

- (4.41) *nā e-ke keha foḡra nheñhe bo ta-ke au tareme-na-na*
 but 3.SBJ-PRF NSP sick be.different CNT SB-PRF exist ASSOC-3SGP-that
 But some other sickness that is with
- naitu tahi ana ge... teo nā gai boka-i-na e-u.*
 devil sea thatN SEQ be.not IMM weEXC be.able-3SGO-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
 that sea devil we can't do [cure it].
- ḡ-e-la dokta baiu ge ḡ-e aḡe boka-i nā*
 NT-3.SBJ-go doctor PSBL SEQ NT-3.SBJ proceed be.able-3SGO IMM
 I think doctors are able [to cure]
- ta-ḡ-e tareme-na ia keha foḡra nheñhe*
 SB-NT-3.SBJ ASSOC-3SGP theSG NSP sick be.different
 what's with the other different sickness...

The function of *keha* as a nonspecific marker would seem to rule out its cooccurrence with the articles, which assign specificity to the modified participant. However, as the last line of (4.41) illustrates, such cooccurrences are in fact possible. This is not, however, the paradox it seems. Such cooccurrences only occur in situations such as that in (4.41), where the modified nominal has already been established in the discourse as a nonspecific entity. In (4.41) a sickness is established in line 1 which is unspecified in nature. It is relevant only because of its cooccurrence with the sickness which is under discussion. The identity of this additional sickness is not specified, and the speaker has no particular sickness in mind. When it is mentioned again in line 4 an article also occurs, indicating that the nonspecific sickness referred to is the one previously mentioned. The article assigns specificity to the referent in terms of the discourse, while *keha* indicates that the participant is nonspecific in a discourse external sense.

In addition to modifying head nouns, *keha* may also occur as a nominal head. In (4.42)a. *keha* occurs modified by a demonstrative, and in (4.42)b. by a relative clause.

¹² The verb *ohai* is glossed as 'keep', however it means 'keep' only in the sense of animal husbandry.

- (4.42) a. *ḡ-e-u-gu* *nā* *gai* *ira* *legu* *nakoni* *nā...*
 NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-PRG IMM weEXC thePL every person IMM
 It's like that with us all the people...
- zaho* *ḡ-e* *la* *au* *iaro* *hurepelo* ***keha-re...***
 go NT-3.SBJ go exist thosePVPNLOC NSP-thoseN
 some went and lived over at Hurepelo,
- ḡ-e* *mai* *au-gu* *gai* ***keha ide***
 NT-3.SBJ come exist-PRG weEXC NSP theseR
 some of us came and lived at Goveo.
- b. *ka* *ia* *fai* *dokta* *e* *au-i* *la* *bla* ***keha*** *ta* *fakilo-ni* *tritmenti*
 LOCtheSG part doctor 3.SBJ exist-3SGO ?? LMT NSP SB call-3SGO treatment
 On the part of doctors they have what's called 'treatment'
- ka* *ia* *ooe-vaka*
 LOC theSG talk-ship
 in English/Pijin.

Note that when *keha* modifies the demonstratives *ana* 'thatN' or *are* 'thoseN' cliticisation occurs, as illustrated in the second line of (4.42)a.

The example in (4.42)a. illustrates the cooccurrence of demonstratives and *keha*, reflecting an interaction of the parameters of specificity and definiteness. In (4.42)a. a group of people (the entire Kokota people) is established in line 1. Lines 2 and 3 refer to subgroups of these people, the identity of the members of which are unspecified. In this instance *keha* is used to refer to an unspecified member or members of the group referred to in line 1. The use of the demonstratives indicate that definite subgroups known to the hearer are intended (ie. the subgroups that live in Hurepelo and Goveo). The subgroups themselves are definite, while the actual membership of each subgroup remains unspecified simply as members of the overall group established in line 1.

4.2.2 Quantification

4.2.2.1 Number marking

There are no specific number marking morphemes. Instead, articles and demonstratives assign singular or plural status to the head nominal, while numerals and other quantifiers provide more specific enumeration. Kokota distinguishes count and mass nouns. The class of count nouns can be characterised as singular or plural, and includes relatively small objects:

- (4.43) a. *kame-ḡu-ine/ide* b. *kala-ḡu-ine*
 arm-1SGP-thisR/theseR leaf/hair-1SGP-thisR
 this/these hand(s) of mine this hair of mine [just one hair/all my hair]

Mass nouns consist of substances that are regarded as non-individuable, and these are marked as plural. However many, perhaps all, mass nouns also allow singular marking to indicate an individuated unit of the substance:

- (4.44) a. *no-ḡu* *kareseni* ***ide*** b. *no-ḡu* *kareseni* ***ine***
 GP-1SGP kerosene theseR GP-1SGP kerosene thisR
 this kerosene of mine this kerosene of mine
 (an undifferentiated amount) (a drum or bottle of kerosene)

- c. *ira raisi are*
thePL rice thoseN
that rice
(an undifferentiated amount)
- d. *ia raisi ana*
theSG rice thatN
that rice
(a plate of rice)

Some substances appear to allow singular marking without implying an individuated unit. For example *dadara* 'blood' may be modified by a singular or plural demonstrative. Equally some apparently countable objects (such as *pau* 'head' in (4.45)b. and c.) may also be modified by a singular or plural demonstrative. It is not clear at this stage what difference in meaning is carried by this distinction.

- (4.45) a. *dadara-g̃u-ine/ide*
blood-1SGP-thisR/theseR
this blood of mine
- b. *g̃-e pogah-i pau-na-na sala n-e-ke-u*
NT-3.SBJ break-TR head-3SGP-thatN PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
He broke Sala's head.
- c. *marh-i-di pau-g̃u-de n-a-u*
hurt-TR-3PLO head-1SGP-theseR RL-1.SBJ-be.thus
My head hurts.

4.2.2.2 Quantifiers

4.2.2.2.1 Numbers

4.2.2.2.1.1 Numerals and complex number forms

The Kokota use a decimal counting system with lexical items for numerals one to nine, for multiples of ten from ten to ninety, for hundred and for thousand. These numeral forms function adnominally. There is no dedicated lexical item meaning zero.

Table 4.7: Numeral roots.

1	<i>kaike</i>	10	<i>naboto</i>
2	<i>palu</i>	20	<i>varedake</i>
3	<i>tilo</i>	30	<i>tulufulu</i>
4	<i>fnoto</i>	40	<i>palu-tutu</i>
5	<i>g̃aha</i>	50	<i>limafulu</i>
6	<i>nablo</i>	60	<i>tilo-tutu</i>
7	<i>fitu</i>	70	<i>fitu-salai</i>
8	<i>hana</i>	80	<i>hana-salai</i>
9	<i>nheva</i>	90	<i>nheva-salai</i>
		100	<i>g̃obi</i>
		1000	<i>toga</i>

Most numeral lexemes are monomorphemic. The forms for thirty and sixty are synchronically monomorphemic, but demonstrate frozen historical compounding. It will be noted that the first element of *tulufulu* 'thirty' is a reflex of the same protoform from which *tilo* 'three' derives. The corresponding element of *limafulu* 'fifty' is the only reflex in Kokota of Proto-Oceanic **lima* 'five', 'hand'.

Several other forms for multiples of ten are bimorphemic right-headed compounds. The forms for forty and sixty compound the roots for two and three with *-tutu*, which occurs only in these two lexical items, and corresponds to the English 'score', as in 'three score' for sixty. The forms for seventy, eighty and ninety compound the roots for seven, eight and nine with *-salai*. Numbers other than those realised by numeral lexemes are realised by complex number forms:

- (4.46) *kaike gōbi tilo-tutu*
 one hundred three-score
 one hundred and sixty

In complex number forms some multiple of ten forms take the suffix *-ai* when in non-final position. The exceptions are *varedake* 'twenty' and the forms with *-salai*. The lexemes for one to nine, 'hundred' and 'thousand' also do not take the suffix. For example:

- (4.47) *kaike gōbi tilo-tutu-ai gāha*
 one hundred three-score-plus five
 one hundred and sixty five

Table 4.8: Multiples of ten with and without *-ai*.

10	<i>naboto-ai</i>	60	<i>tilo-tutu-ai</i>
20	<i>varedake</i>	70	<i>fitu-salai</i>
30	<i>tulufulu-ai</i>	80	<i>hana-salai</i>
40	<i>palu-tutu-ai</i>	90	<i>neva-salai</i>
50	<i>limafulu-ai</i>		

Numerals function in three main ways: adnominally as either numeric quantifiers or as ordinals, and nominally (as cardinals). In addition *kaike* 'one' also functions as a unitative adverb (discussed in 8.5.5).

4.2.2.2.1.2 Adnominal numeric quantifiers

In their unmarked forms numeral lexemes and complex numbers occur preminally to quantify count nouns:

- (4.48) a. *ira tilo tomoko* b. *naboto gase*
 thePL three war.canoe ten woman
 the three war canoes ten women

As (4.48)a. demonstrates, numerals and articles may cooccur.

The adnominal use of *kaike* 'one' typically assigns indefinite status to the head nominal, similar to the function of indefinite articles in other languages:

- (4.49) *da friñhe-ni kaike visi ade*
 IINC.SBJ work-3SGO one play here
 You and I will play a game here.

The lexemes *gōbi* 'hundred' and *toga* 'thousand' are typically preceded by a numeral indicating multiples. They may only occur without a specifying numeral if an article is present.

- (4.50) a. *naitu toi-kame nā, kaike gōbi kilo-na... t-au ta lao-ro-u*
 devil cook-arm IMM one hundred digit-3SGP SB-exist SB go-thoseNV-PRG
 Centipede devil, one hundred fingers... that's how [the story] goes.
- b. *hage bla ira gōbi kolu*
 ascend LMT thePL hundred snake
 The hundred snakes rose up.

As discussed in 4.1.2, pronouns are an exception to the numeral-nominal relationship of an adnominal numeral preceding a head nominal. Instead the number is head, preceded by pronominal modification.

4.2.2.1.3 Ordinal numbers

Ordinals except for 'first' are formed by preposing the appropriate numeral with the particle *fa*:

- (4.51) a. *ara fa palu mane n-a-ke ooe-na*
 I ORD two man RL-1.SBJ-PRF talk-thatN
 I was the second person who spoke.
- b. *fa fnoto koze a-hi*
 ORD four sing thisT-EMPH
 This is the fourth song.

Numbers of any size, such as *fa gōbi* 'hundredth', or complexity, such as *fa fitu-salai gahau* 'seventy fifth', can form ordinals.

The particle *fa* is formally identical with the preposed causative particle *fa* marking verbs. The origin of the ordinal forms is presumably a kind of predicate construction involving a causative marked numeral with the sense of 'making' a certain number, and it is noteworthy that there is a strong tendency for ordinal marked NPs to function as the predicate of equative constructions. However, synchronically ordinals function attributively as well as predicatively and are thus adnominal modifiers.

- (4.52) *ara ginai fakae-nigo ago ka fa palu wiki ana*
 I FUT see-2SGO youSG LOC ORD two week thatN
 I'll see you in two weeks. [lit. ...in that second week.]

The notion 'first' is not realised by an ordinal but by the verbs *kusu* ~ *kulu* 'be first' and *fufunu* 'begin':

- (4.53) a. *zosea wud n-e-ke kusu hedmasta-na ka sikolu ine goveo*
 PN PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF be.first headmaster-thatN LOC school thisR PNLOC
 Josiah Wood was that first headmaster of this school in Goveo.
- b. *zosea wud n-e-ke fufunu hedmasta-na ka sikolu ine goveo*
 PN PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF begin headmaster-thatN LOC school thisR PNLOC
 Josiah Wood was that first headmaster at this school in Goveo.

Ordinals may be nominalised by a possessor indexing enclitic. In (4.54)a. the possessor complement is present, while in (4.54)b. the nominalised ordinal is modified only by a demonstrative:

- (4.54) a. *ḡ-e lao n̄a fa palu-na ḡazu-na e-u*
 NT-3.SBJ go IMM ORD two-3SGP wood-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
 Go for the second [part] of that tree.
- b. *u heve ba-ine ara ta la-i-na fa palu-na-na*
 be.thus what ALT-thisR I SB go-3SGO-thatN ORD two-3SGP-thatN
 What will I say to give that second one?

4.2.2.1.4 Cardinal numbers

Numerals may function as nominal heads. The polymorphemic numerals (for 'forty', 'sixty', 'seventy', 'eighty' and 'ninety') form cardinals without any formal derivation, as do the forms for 'hundred' and 'thousand'. The monomorphemic numerals other than 'hundred' and 'thousand' form cardinals with the nominalising suffix *-gu* ~ *-u*. The cardinal forms are as follows:

Table 4.9: Cardinal forms.

1	<i>kaike-u</i>	10	<i>naboto-u</i>
2	<i>palu-gu</i>	20	<i>varedake-u</i>
3	<i>tilo-u</i>	30	<i>tulufulu-gu</i>
4	<i>fnoto-u</i>	40	<i>palu-tutu</i>
5	<i>gaha-u</i>	50	<i>limafulu-gu</i>
6	<i>nablo-u</i>	60	<i>tilo-tutu</i>
7	<i>fitu-gu</i>	70	<i>fitu-salai</i>
8	<i>hana-u</i>	80	<i>hana-salai</i>
9	<i>nheva-u</i>	90	<i>nheva-salai</i>
		100	<i>gobi</i>
		1000	<i>toga</i>

The suffix is underlyingly *-gu*, with the consonant deleting in environments resulting in the adjacency of dissimilar vowels. This follows a pattern of synchronic loss of [ɣ] in Kokota, as discussed in 2.1.2.3.3.

Complex numbers form cardinals by suffixing only the final element (if applicable). Thus the cardinal form of *varedake gaha* 'twenty five' is *varedake gahau*.

Cardinals are nominals, and have two functions in Kokota: in counting, and as nominal heads.

Counting numbers (as opposed to objects) involves listing cardinal forms. However some informants report a variant counting system used by old men. This requires further investigation. The variation is as follows:

Table 4.10: Counting system.

Numeral	Standard counting	"Old man counting"
1	<i>kaike-u</i>	<i>taho</i>
2	<i>palu-gu</i>	<i>palu</i>
3	<i>tilo-u</i>	<i>tilo</i>
4	<i>fnoto-u</i>	<i>fnoto</i>
5	<i>gaha-u</i>	<i>fagaha</i>
6	<i>nablo-u</i>	<i>fanablo</i>
7	<i>fitu-gu</i>	<i>fitu</i>
8	<i>hana-u</i>	<i>hana</i>
9	<i>nheva-u</i>	<i>nheva</i>
10	<i>naboto-u</i>	<i>boto</i>

The numerals above ten used by elderly speakers are claimed to be standard. The table highlights variation other than the (possibly misreported) absence of the cardinal suffix.

Cardinal numbers also function as the head of an NP, indicating a specific number of some unspecified object, typically one that is already established in the discourse or understood from context:

- (4.55) a. *lao la tehi n-e-u tege ana, g-e-la naboto-u ba,*
 go CND many RL-3.SBJ-be.thus turtle thatN NT-3.SBJ-go ten-CRD ALT
 If there are many turtles, it might be ten,

varedake-u ba, tulufulu tege ta la hod-i-di-re gai
 twenty-CRD ALT thirty turtle SB go take-TR-3PLO-thoseN weEXC
 or twenty, or thirty turtles that we take.

As nominals cardinals have in fact two slightly different functions. Like the cardinals in (4.35), in (4.56)a. the cardinal *palugu* 'two' refers to two examples of some unspecified object. In (4.56)b., however, it indicates number two in a series of objects, with a commensurate distinction in the verb's object agreement enclitic.

- (4.56) a. *ara n-a-ke tabara-di palu-gu*
 I RL-1.SBJ-PRF buy-3PLO two-CRD
 I bought two.
- b. *...fa kave-i kaike-u, fa kave-i palu-gu,*
 CS descend-3SGO one-CRD CS descend-3SGO two-CRD
 ...[he] took off one, took off number two,
- ḡ-e-u-gu bla ḡ-e-u-gu*
 NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-PRG LMT NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-PRG
 it continued like that...

The possible modification of numerical heads, and the structure of Numerical Phrases, is discussed in 4.4.5.

4.2.2.2.1.5 Small indeterminate number specification

The non-specific marker *keha*, discussed in 4.2.1.4, often has the effect of suggesting a smallish group. Small quantities can also be indicated by a string involving *tilo* 'three' preceded by either *kaike* 'one' or *palu* 'two', sometimes marked with the 'alternative' marker *ba*.

- (4.57) a. *gita da-ke koze-ri palu tilo koze*
 weINC 1INC.SBJ-PRF sing-3PLO two three sing
 We sang two or three songs.
- b. *ge da turi-nā gita, da koze-i kaike ba tilo koze*
 SEQ 1INC.SBJ talk-IMM weINC 1INC.SBJ sing-3SGO one ALT three sing
 Before we talk we'll sing one or three songs.

4.2.2.2.1.6 A lexicalised phrase

The numeral modified phrase *palu mane* 'two man' is a semantically bleached exclamation used to express emotions ranging from surprise to pain.

4.2.2.2.2 Non-numerical quantifiers

Two quantifiers occur in complementary distribution with numerals. These are *huḡru* 'all', and *legu ~ lelegu* 'every'.

4.2.2.2.2.1 *Huḡru* 'all'

The quantifier *huḡru* 'all' forms a single syntactic class of quantifiers with numbers and (*le*)*legu* 'every', and may not cooccur with either. It may cooccur with an article, the nonspecific marker *keha*, *tehi* 'many', or the postnominal exhaustive modifier *gudu*:

- (4.58) a. *...tana mai ḡ-e-u-nā ira huḡru gase*
 then come NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM thePL all woman
 ...then all the women come.
- b. *ara n-a fakae-di keha huḡru nakoni*
 I RL-1.SBJ see-3PLO NSP all person
 I saw all a group of people.

c. *ara n-a fakaē-di huḡru tehi nakoni*
 I RL-1.SBJ see-3PLO all many person
 I saw all the many people.

d. *a turi-di-ra huḡru tu-turi gudu t-au-ro*
 1.SBJ tell-3PLO-thePL all RD-tell EXHST SB-exist-thoseNV
 I tell all of those stories.

4.2.2.2.2 *Legu* and *lelegu* 'every'

The form *legu* has three distinct but semantically related functions, all with meanings based on the underlying sense of 'follow'. It functions as a verb meaning 'follow', a relational noun meaning 'behind' and 'after', and an adnominal quantifier meaning 'every'. The quantifier sense will be discussed here.

As an adnominal quantifier *legu* differs semantically from *huḡru* 'all' in that it indicates each individual in a group or series of nominal referents, having a sense of 'each and every', rather than 'all'. It typically modifies temporal locatives, but may also modify non-temporal nominals:

(4.59) *ḡ-e-u-gu-nā gai ira legu nakoni-nā*
 NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-PRG-IMM weEXC thePL every person-IMM
 We were like that, every person

n-a-ke kapru-ro sare
 RL-1.SBJ-PRF gather-thoseNV there
 who was gathered there.

A reduplicated version, *lelegu*, modifies temporal locatives (a function not also performed by *huḡru*).

(4.60) *ara n-a lao ka sitoa le-legu nare*
 I RL-1.SBJ go LOC store RD-every day
 I go to the store every day.

(*Le*)*legu* forms a single syntactic class of quantifiers with numbers and *huḡru*. It's cooccurrence possibilities are identical to those described for *huḡru*.

4.2.2.3 "Multitude" markers *tehi* and *togatehi*

Two modifiers, *tehi* 'many' and *togatehi* 'very many', form a single class of pre-head adnominals.

The form *tehi* functions in three syntactically distinct but semantically related ways. It is a noun meaning 'a large quantity or number of', and a main verb meaning 'be numerous', but it primarily functions as an adnominal quantifier meaning 'many'. As an adnominal quantifier *tehi* indicates a large number or quantity of the referent of the head nominal:

(4.61) a. *manei 'tehi tu-turi' n-e-u sini*
 he many RD-tell RL-3.SBJ-be.thus FOC
 There are many stories, he says.

b. *gai n-a togla-di tehi zora*
 weEXC RL-1.SBJ chase-3PLO many pig
 We chased many pigs.

c. *n-a-ke lao buala tehi fata*
 RL-1.SBJ-PRF go PNLOC many occasion
 I went to Buala many times.

Tehi may not cooccur with a numeral, but may occur with articles (as in (4.62)), and with *keha* (discussed in 4.2.1.4 and exemplified in (4.39)).

- (4.62) *ira tehi parahaḡala*
 the many giant
 the many giants

The form *togatehi* is a compound of *toga* 'thousand' and *tehi* 'many', and has the meaning 'very many', indicating a greater number than *tehi*. Its syntactic behaviour is identical to that of *tehi* with its adnominal function.

- (4.63) *ara n-a n̄ha-di toga-tehi meruku ide*
 I RL-1.SBJ eat-3PLO thousand-many flying.fox theseR
 I ate these very many flying foxes.

4.2.2.4 *Gudu* 'Exhaustive'

The form *gudu* is a post-head exhaustive marker which functions most commonly to modify predicates, but which may also modify nominals. With its adverbial function it indicates that the action encoded by the verb was carried out exhaustively (as discussed in 8.6.9). With its adnominal function it indicates every possible member of the class of entities expressed by the modified nominal.

- (4.64) a. *n-a duduma-di-ra teḡe gudu*
 RL-1.SBJ pity-3PLO-thePL turtle EXHST
 I feel sorry for all the turtles.
- b. *gita gudu n-a-ke fakae-ni mane ana*
 weINC EXHST RL-1.SBJ-PRF see-3SGO man thatN
 We all saw that man.
- c. *are-lau gudu*
 thoseN-SPC EXHST
 All of those [things you just mentioned]!

As discussed in 4.2.2.2.1, the exhaustive marker may cooccur with *huḡru* 'every'. Cooccurrence of *gudu* with numerals or *tehi* is not also possible, presumably for semantic reasons. Exhaustive marking of an object NP often cooccurs with exhaustive aspect marking of the verb:

- (4.65) *n-a manahagi-di gudu ara namhari gudu*
 RL-1.SBJ want-3PLO EXHST I fish EXHST
 I want every one of the fish.

Like cardinal numerals and *tehi*, *gudu* may be nominalised by suffix *-gu*, and function as a nominal head:

- (4.66) *belo e-ti-u da nomh-i gudu-gu*
 bell 3.SBJ-NEG-be.thus 1INC.SBJ hear-TR EXHST-NM
 It's not a bell that we can hear it all.¹³

4.2.3 Adjectives

The assignment of attributes to the referent of a nominal is largely performed by a stative verb modifying the noun. Thus (4.67)a. corresponds to (4.67)b.

¹³ This is a saying that is used when someone is speculating about what someone else is doing. It means that it is not possible to know everything that is going on in private.

- (4.67) a. *kaike namhari dou*
 one fish be.big
 a big fish
- b. *namhari ine n-e dou*
 fish thisR RL-3.SBJ be.big
 This fish is big.

These adjectival verbs (to use Ross's 1998 terminology) modify the noun directly, and not as a relative clause. This is demonstrated by the fact that modification by a relative clause consisting of a stative verb with a subordinating particle is also possible, however this occurs infrequently.

- (4.68) *o la hoda mai-ni-u ia raro ta dou*
 2.SBJ go take come-3SGO-PRG theSG pot SB be.big
 Go and bring the big pot.

Most stative verbs can function adjectivally. The exceptions appear to be those for which there is a corresponding adjective. Nouns may also function attributively:

- (4.69) a. *ragi bonihehe* b. *misikete koilo* c. *nehe vaka*
 dance heathen biscuit coconut umbrella ship
 heathen dance coconut biscuit manufactured umbrella¹⁴

The adjectival use of nouns and verbs is discussed in more detail in 4.3.1.2.

Colour terms are stative verbs not adjectives. This is illustrated by the fact that as well as occurring predicatively, they may occur adnominally without any special marking (as in (4.70)a.), or within a relative clause (4.70)b.):

- (4.70) a. *'memeha' t-au-o ka ia ooe ka gai nakoni zuzufra*
 bird SB-exist-thisT LOC theSG talk LOC weEXC person black
 It's 'bird' in the language of we black people.
- b. *ara n-a dadagra no-gu-di palu kaklatu ta vega are*
 I RL-1.SBJ startle GP-1SGP-3PLO two testicle SB white thoseN
 I was shocked by those two white testicles.

In addition to the adjectival use of stative verbs and nouns, a very small number of true adjectives exist in the language. Some of these forms only function as adjectives. Others function as an adjective and a verb, but not a stative verb. In addition, there is a small class of forms which carry inalienable possessive marking indexed to the possessor of the attribute, but which are either not nouns or are derived in some way, and which follow the modified noun not precede it as in a possessive construction.

4.2.3.1 Formally underived adjectives

So far only three formally underived adjectives have been identified:

- (4.71) a. *mata* 'bush, wild'
 b. *ohai* 'domesticated, tame'
 c. *tove* 'old'

¹⁴ *Vaka* 'ship' occurs widely as a modifier. As with its occurrence in compounds, it indicates that the referent of the head nominal is of a type introduced since the arrival of Europeans, not of a traditional type. Thus manufactured umbrellas are *nehe-vaka* ('umbrella-ship') to distinguish them from the traditional leaf umbrella, and *kaku-vaka* ('banana-ship') refers to a banana species identical to those normally grown commercially in Australia and elsewhere and thus presumably introduced, and so on. The opposite, traditional as opposed to introduced, is expressed by use of the adjective *mata* 'bush' (see 4.2.3.1.1.)

4.2.3.1.1 *Mata* 'bush'

The form *mata* occurs only as an adjective. It is clearly related diachronically to the noun *mhata* 'bush', however there is no systematic derivation involved. This is the only instance where corresponding voiced and voiceless phonemes occur in a minimal pair which are distinguished only by word class. It is possible that borrowing is involved with the adjectival form. According to White et al (1988:116, 120) the influential neighbouring language Cheke Holo (aka Maringe) has both *mata* and *mhata* as variant forms. He gives no examples for *mhata*, but his examples for *mata* suggest that it functions as both a noun and adjectivally, and my own Cheke Holo informant¹⁵ is unfamiliar with the form *mhata*.

The Kokota adjective *mata* has two closely connected senses. In one it indicates that the referent of the modified nominal has a prototypical association with the bush.

- (4.72) *kaike naitu mata*
 one devil bush
 a bush devil.

This prototypical association is often used to distinguish wild from domesticated plants or animals, as in (4.73)a., and to distinguish things associated with the land rather than the sea ((4.73)b.).

- (4.73) a. *zora mata* b. *kakau mata*
 pig bush crab bush
 bush [ie. wild] pig land crab (a description not a specific variety)

The second sense distinguishes traditional artifacts from introduced goods. In this respect it is the antonym of *vaka* 'ship' (discussed in 4.1.1.1.1). Introduced manufactured goods have completely replaced many traditional artifacts, such as lamps. Others, such as umbrellas, coexist with the traditional goods. *Mata* indicates that the referent is an object made from local available materials:

- (4.74) a. *zuta mata* b. *nehe mata* c. *pohe mata*
 lamp bush umbrella bush clothing bush
 bush lamp bush umbrella bush clothes

4.2.3.1.2 *Ohai* 'tame'

As an adjective, the form *ohai* indicates that the referent is domesticated or tame. It distinguishes animals that are farmed, such as pigs (whether they are particularly tame by nature), from their wild equivalent; and characterises animals (or birds) which are normally wild but which have been caught and tamed as pets. It is the antonym of the first sense of *mata* discussed above.

- (4.75) *zora ohai*
 pig tame
 domesticated pig

In addition to its adjectival function, *ohai* is a transitive verb meaning 'to keep' (in the sense of animal husbandry). This is not an instance of a verb occurring adjectivally, along the lines of the example in (4.67)a. *Ohai* cannot occur as a stative verb:

- (4.76) **zora ine ne ohai*
 This pig is tame.

¹⁵ John Palmer, currently resident in Port Vila, Vanuatu.

4.2.3.1.3 *Tove* 'old'

Like *mata* 'bush', *tove* 'old' occurs only as an adjective:

- (4.77) a. *n-e-ke mai velepuhi-na ka gai selena,*
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF come right.way-thatN LOC weEXC PNLOC
 That catechist came to us at Selena,

ka ira mane-dou tove
 LOC thePL man-be.big old
 to the old big men.

- b. *ine-hi kaike suḡa tove-na*
 thisR-EMPH one house old-thatN
 This is an old house.

- c. *manei mane tove*
 he man old
 He is an old man.

The assignment of the attribute 'old' to an entity may be expressed using an equative construction like those in (4.77)b. and c. However the actual referent may function as the subject, in which case a particular equative construction is used where the existential verb is subordinate and functions as a clausal nominal, which is then modified by *tove*.

- (4.78) *ia faiba n-e-ke kokopo e t-au tove-na*
 theSG dinghy RL-3.SBJ-PRF capsized 3.SBJ SB-exist old-thatN
 The boat that capsized was old.

The literal meaning of (4.78) is actually closer to something like: "The boat that capsized equated to an old existence". These are the only ways of assigning this attribute to an entity - *tove* does not occur as a stative verb:

- (4.79) **suḡa ine ne tove*
 This house is old.

It does, however, occur in the compound verb *tuturitove* 'tell custom stories'.

4.2.3.2 Possessor indexed adjectival forms

A small class of forms exist which function adjectivally and have a derivational relationship with non-adjectival roots, but which do not behave morphosyntactically in the same way as either verbs or nouns. Like adjectival verbs and nouns, these adjectival forms immediately follow the head noun, however they are marked with possessor agreement suffixes. The forms in this class (marked for third singular possessor) include:

- (4.80) *mamanena* 'male' (of animals)
gagasena 'female' (of animals)
lehena 'dead' (of creatures)
lelehena 'dead' (of plants)
dolina 'alive' (of creatures)
dodolina 'alive' (of plants)
foforuna 'new'
kenuna 'first'

The possessor indexing agrees with the entity to which the attribute applies. This is most commonly third person, but any person or number category may occur, as (4.82)b. illustrates.

4.2.3.2.1 Gender

The adjectives *mamanena* 'male' and *gagasena* 'female' are derived by reduplication from the nouns *mane* 'man' and *gase* 'woman', and are used to assign gender to animals, but may not be used with human referents.

- (4.81) a. *ine kaike zora ma-mane-na*
 thisR one pig RD-man-3SGP
 This is a male pig.
- b. *taiyo n-e pusi ga-gase-na*
 PN RL-3.SBJ cat RD-woman-3SGP
 Taiyo is a female cat.

4.2.3.2.2 Alive and dead

The states of being alive and being dead, and the events of being born and dying, are expressed using verbs which differ depending on whether the subject is a creature (person, animal, bird, fish etc) or a plant.¹⁶ For both, an underived root is used in relation to creatures, while a reduplicated derivation is used with plants:

Table 4.11: Verbs of existential status.

	creatures	plants
be alive; be born	<i>doli</i>	<i>dodoli</i>
be dead; die	<i>lehe</i>	<i>lelehe</i>

This distinction is carried over into the adjectival function. Although these four verb forms are stative (as well as dynamic), they have an adjectival function in which they do not behave as other stative verbs, but carry possessor agreement marking in the same way as the gender adjectives above. Although no other derivational process is involved, the differing morphological behaviour of the verbal and adjectival uses justifies regarding these as adjectives as well as verbs, not mere adjectival verbs.

- (4.82) a. *ine kaike zora doli-na*
 thisR one pig be.live-3SGP
 This is a live pig.
- b. *ago kaike zora lehe-mu*
 youSG one pig be.dead-2SGP
 You are a dead pig.
- c. *ḡazu are e ḡazu le-lehe-di*
 wood thoseN 3.SBJ wood RD-be.dead-3PLP
 These trees are dead trees.

4.2.3.2.3 Foforu-na 'new'

As with the verbs of existential status, *foforu* 'be new' is a stative verb which cannot function adjectivally, but with the form also occurring as an adjective with possessor indexing:

- (4.83) *suḡa are palu suḡa foforu-di*
 house thoseN two house new-3PLP
 These are two new houses.

¹⁶ It is interesting to speculate on the ontological implications of this distinction.

4.2.3.2.4 *Kenu-na* 'first'

The form *kenu* has a number of functions with related meanings. It is a relational noun meaning 'front' or 'first'. As an intransitive verb it means to be ahead or in the forefront, and as a transitive verb means to be ahead of someone in a competition or comparison. Reduplicated it occurs as a noun meaning 'the first one'. In addition, it functions as an adjective:

- (4.84) *ine-hi* *bla* *botolo* *kenu-na-na* *ta* *kulu* *kumai-ni-na* *gita*
 thisR-EMPH LMT bottle first-3SGP-thatN SB be.first drink-3SGO-thatN weINC
 This is the first bottle (that we will drink).

The possessor marking indicates that this is not an instance of an adjectivally functioning stative verb, while the postverbal position indicates that the form is not functioning as a relational noun. The same meaning can be expressed with the form preceding the noun:

- (4.85) *ine-hi* *bla* *kenu-na* *botolo-na*
 thisR-EMPH LMT front-3SGP bottle-thatN
 This is the first bottle.

However, in this example the form is functioning as a relational noun, giving the sentence a more literal meaning of something like "this is the first of the bottles".

4.3 Noun phrase structure

Several kinds of NPs occur, depending on the phrasal head. This section will discuss the structure of NPs with an ordinary nominal head. Minor NP types, including those with as heads pronouns, reflexives, personal and location names, local nouns, demonstratives, and numerals. These will be discussed in 4.4. In addition a subordinated clause may function as an argument. This will be discussed in 11.2.4.

NPs which have a noun as head consist of a nominal core, and a series of optional outer modifiers. The nominal core consists of a noun, an optional pre-head core modifier, an optional post-head core modifier, and possessor indexing. The noun and the core modifiers form the structural and semantic core of the NP. It is this core which is modified by any outer modifiers that may be present. Nouns may also be modified by a relative clause, however this will also be discussed in 11.2.3.

4.3.1 NP core

A clear distinction exists between the core and non-core components of an NP. The constituent status of the NP core is evident in incorporation: the NP core is that part of an NP which may participate in incorporation. Consequently the diagnostic for whether an adnominal modifier is core or non-core is whether that modifier participates in incorporation or not. This is discussed in more detail in 7.4.

The nominal head and its optional core modifiers form the semantic and structural core of an NP. The head consists of a nominal form which is either an underlying noun, or a member of another word class which has been nominalised or is functioning as a nominal. Core modifiers include a small closed class of pre-head core modifiers, several open classes of lexical post-head core modifiers, and possessor indexing.

4.3.1.1 Pre-head core modifiers *tehi* 'many' and *togatehi* 'very many'

An immediate pre-head core modifier position may be filled by the modifiers *tehi* 'many' and *togatehi* 'very many'. Details of the functions of these modifiers are discussed in 4.2.2.3.

- (4.86) a. *ago* *n-o* *hoda* *tehi* *kaku*
 you RL-2.SBJ take many banana
 You took many bananas.

- b. *ara n-a korho toga-tehi namhari*
 I RL-1.SBJ pull thousand-many fish
 I caught very many fish.

In both examples in (4.86) the modifier and noun are incorporated, neither verb being in its transitive form.

4.3.1.2 Post-head core modifiers

An immediate post-head core modifier position also exists. This may be filled by almost any member of an open word class, including nouns (including local nouns), proper nouns (personal or locative), stative verbs, or adjectives, or by a member of a small class of spatial locatives. It may also appear that a very limited type of relative clause may also occur in this post-head core position. Core modification by nouns, stative verbs and adjectives is discussed in some detail below.

4.3.1.2.1 Nouns as post-head core modifier

Lexical nouns may occur as the core modifier. This may function to specify what kind of entity the referent is, within a class identified by the head nominal:

- (4.87) a. *ke la toke ka palu mane vave-ro n-ago*
 PRF go arrive LOC two man in.law-thoseNV IMM-youSG
 You go to those two in-laws.
- b. *ia pike mau-g̃u 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
 My piece of taro Sala and Rurubongi brought...
- c. *ara a tu-turi-ni ia naitu parahaḡala*
 I 1.SBJ RD-tell-3SGO theSG devil giant
 I will tell a story about the giant devil.
- d. *ka nare sade g̃-e lao-u g̃-e la tarai-u*
 LOC day Sunday NT-3.SBJ go-PRG NT-3.SBJ go pray-PRG
 On Sundays they were going and praying.

There are numerous kinds of men, pieces and devils, and several days of the week, and the core modifiers in (4.87) serve to specify a subclass of each entity. Noun core modifiers may be even more specific, indicating a single member of the class expressed by the head:

- (4.88) *ia mane n-e-ke lehe e fani mane premie e-u*
 theSG man RL-3.SBJ-PRF die 3.SBJ often man Premier 3.SBJ-be.thus
 The man who died used to be Premier.

In some instances the core modifier noun provides additional information about the referent, rather than specifying a subclass:

- (4.89) *palu panikine kumai ide*
 two cup water theseR
 these two cups of water

In (4.89) *kumai* is not specifying a subclass of cups. Instead it provides information about the contents of the cups at the time.

Because a noun may occur as the core modifier, two nouns may occur in either order in the core, with variation in meaning commensurate with the change in the head-modifier relationship:

- (4.90) a. *ira no-mai kastom mereseni tagi-mai*
 thePL GP-1NCP custom medicine RFL-1NCP
 our own medicine customs
- b. *ira no-mai mereseni kastom gai*
 thePL GP-1NCP medicine custom weINC
 our custom medicines

The phrase in (4.90)a. refers to the speaker's community's traditions, specifically, traditions relating to medicine, while in (4.90)b. the reference is to medicine, specifically, medicines within the community's tradition.

Nominal compounds themselves consist of two elements. However, being lexical words, they may occur with a core modifier, or as a core modifier:

- (4.91) *ia mereseni mane-vaka*
 theSG medicine man-ship
 the white man's medicine

4.3.1.2.2 Personal name core modifiers

The degree of specificity exhibited by the core modifier in (4.88) is taken a step further by the use of personal names to identify a specific individual or entity:

- (4.92) a. *ḡ-e tetu-ṅa mane-dou mare*
 NT-3.SBJ stand-IMM man-be.big PN
 Old man Mare spoke out.
- b. *kai bo au ia pīrisi hugo hebala*
 later CNT exist theSG priest PN PN
 Later there was the priest Hugo Hebala
- b. *ḡ-e au-gu buala e-u*
 NT-3.SBJ exist-PRG PNLOC 3.SBJ-be.thus
 living in Buala.
- c. *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 to the church
- d. *...ḡ-e-u-ṅa mane faknoe ine*
 NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM man PN thisR
 ...thought this man Faknoe.

The position of the PNs in relation to the demonstratives in (4.92)c. and d. demonstrate that the PNs are functioning as core modifiers and not as phrasal adjuncts in these examples.

Conjoined personal names can modify a single head:

- (4.93) *mane sala ge ruruboṅi 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.

This demonstrates that it is PN' which occurs as a core modifier, not merely PN.

4.3.1.2.3 Location name core modifiers

Locative proper nouns may occur as outer modifiers, corresponding syntactically to locative prepositional phrases. They may also function as a core modifier, specifying the head by associating it with a particular location, as in (4.94).

- (4.94) a. *ḡ-e aḡe-u mane huhurañi-de haidu maneri sare-u*
 NT-3.SBJ go-PRG man PNLOC-theseR meet they thereP-be.thus
 These Huhurangi people were going and they held a meeting there.
- b. *ara n-a-ge fufunu lase-i ooe kokota*
 I RL-1.SBJ-PRS begin know-3SGO talk PNLOC
 I am starting to understand the Kokota language.
- c. *ḡ-e mai-nā ia velepuhi ka gai ka nau kokota ine*
 NT-3.SBJ come-IMM the right.way LOC weEXC LOC place PNLOC thisR
 Then the catechist came to us, to this Kokota place.

4.3.1.2.4 Local nouns as core modifiers

Local nouns, both intrinsic (as in (4.95)a.-b.) and absolute ((4.95)c.-d.) occur as core modifiers assigning specific locative information to the referent.

- (4.95) a. *pile mairi* b. *pile hotai*
 side left side between
 left side middle side
- c. *pile rhuku* d. *pile paka*
 side landward side east
 landward side east side

The exception is the relational noun *kenu* 'front', which occurs as an adjective with possessor marking (see 4.2.3.2.4)

4.3.1.2.5 Stative verb core modifiers

Ross (1998:98) defines an 'adjectival verb' as a member of a subclass of stative verbs which have the predicate syntax of a stative verb, but which modify nouns without relative marking. Almost all stative verbs in Kokota function adnominally without subordinate marking, although such marking is possible, as a comparison of (4.96)a. and b. (repeating (4.67)a. and (4.68)) demonstrate.

- (4.96) a. *kaike namhari dou*
 one fish be.big
 a big fish
- b. *o la hoda mai-ni-u ia raro ta dou*
 2.SBJ go take come-3SGO-PRG theSG pot SB be.big
 Go and bring the big pot. [lit. ...the pot that's big.]

It appears that almost all stative verbs behave in this way. The exceptions include stative verbs that correspond semantically to an adjective. Apart from that, stative verbs freely occur as the core modifier, assigning a state to the referent:

- (4.97) a. *n-e-ke mai-u puhi keli-ro*
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF come-PRG way be.good-thoseNV
 Those good ways came.

- b. *ine-hi ia buka blahi*
 this-EMPH theSG book be.sacred
 This is the Bible.
- c. *soda maku*
 clam be.hard
 hard clam (a subtaxon of clams)

4.3.1.2.6 Adjectives

Adjectives occur as core modifiers. Adjectival forms and meaning are discussed in detail in 4.2.3.

4.3.1.2.7 Reflexive core modifiers

An indexed reflexive base may occur as a core modifier:

- (4.98) *korho-u tagi-di ka nau fai kokota a-hi,*
 pull-PRG RFL-3PLP LOC place side PNLOC thisT-EMPH
 They pulled themselves to this Kokota place,
- la bla ira mane tagi-di*
 go LMT thePL man RFL-3PLP
 the people themselves.

The adnominal function of reflexives is to contrastively emphasise the identity of the referent. In (4.98), for example, emphasis is being placed on the fact that the people came of their own volition, rather than being brought or instructed to come. Reflexive forms are discussed in 4.1.2.3.

4.3.1.3 Possessor indexing

The internal structure of possessive forms and their relationships is discussed in detail in Chapter 6, however it is appropriate here to locate possessor indexing within the overall NP structure. Possessor indexing is the most peripheral component of the NP core, and represents the core's parameters. The possessor NP is an outer modifier and is discussed in 4.3.2.2.2.

4.3.1.3.1 Alienable possessor indexing by possessive base

Alienable possession involves a pre-head possessor-indexed possessive base occurring as the leftmost core modifier.

- (4.99) *ara n-a hoda ge-gū kaku*
 I RL-1.SBJ take CP-1SGP banana
 I'm taking my bananas.

The 1SG possessor indexed consumable base *ge-gū* in (4.99) can be seen to be a core modifier as it is participating in incorporation.

4.3.1.3.2 Inalienable possessor indexing by enclitic

Inalienably possessed entities index their possessor by a core final enclitic, being the rightmost core modifier. As such, the indexing form attaches to the otherwise final constituent in the core, whether or not that constituent is the head nominal. Inalienable enclitics do not commonly occur with one of the post-head core modifiers discussed in 4.3.1.2, so the enclitic usually occurs attached directly to the head nominal. However the two may cooccur, in which case it is the modifier that carries the enclitic, demonstrating that the indexing forms are enclitics not suffixes:

- (4.100) a. *ia pike mau-ḡu n-e-ke hod-i-o sala ge rurubonī bla...*
 theSG piece taro-1SGP RL-3.SBJ-PRF take-TR-thatNV PN and PN LMT
 My piece of taro Sala and Rurubongi brought... [Repeating (4.87)b.]
- b. *n-e hure nā tilo tomoko dou-di wistin*
 RL-3.SBJ carry IMM three war.canoe be.big-3PLP western
 They carried the three big war canoes of the westerners.¹⁷

Inalienable possessor indexing is 'direct', to the extent that it attaches to the head, unless a post-head core internal modifier is present, rather than to a possessive base. It is a matter of interpretation whether this falls within the definition of 'direct' possession, especially since pre-head alienable possession also occurs within the core, even though it attaches to a possessive base.

4.3.1.4 NP core structure

The possessive base, being the leftmost core modifier, precedes the pre-head modifiers *tehi* and *togatehi*:

- (4.101) *ara kuru ge-ḡu tehi maniko*
 I have CP-1SGP many pawpaw
 I have many pawpaw.

Again incorporation confirms the presence of both modifiers in the core. As the examples in (4.100) demonstrate, a post-head lexical modifier precedes an inalienable possessor indexing enclitic.

As *tehi* and *togatehi* form a single class it is useful for syntactic representations to label that class MULT(iplicity). Members of a number of word classes may occur as post-head modifier. However, since when they do so they are functioning adjectivally, and given that not all members of some classes (such as stative verbs) behave in this way, forms functioning adnominally in the immediate post-head position may be regarded as behaving as adjectives (ADJ). The syntactic distinction between alienable and inalienable possessor indexing may be captured as APOSS and IPOSS.

The NP core forms a single constituent within the larger NP. To capture this hierarchy of constituents within the NP it is useful to adopt X• notation and represent the core as N•. The NP core has the following structure:

- (4.102) N' → (APOSS) + (MULT) + N + (ADJ) + (IPOSS)

It will be noted that this rule allows both alienable and inalienable possessor indexing to occur simultaneously with the same head. This potential for dual indexing is discussed in 6.5.2.2.4.

4.3.2 NP non-core modifier structure

The forms and functions of adnominal outer modifiers are discussed in detail in 4.2. The syntactic behaviour of these modifiers within the NP is discussed here.

4.3.2.1 Pre-core modifier structure

Pre-core adnominal modifiers include articles, the nonspecific marker *keha*, enumerative (NUM) and ordinal (ORD) numbers, and the quantifiers *huḡru* 'all' and *(le)legu* 'every'. Of these, *huḡru*, *(le)legu*, the enumeratives, and apparently the ordinals, cannot cooccur and constitute a single quantifier position class. Three pre-core positions thus exist, in the following order:

- (4.103) (ART) + (NSP) + (QUANT)

¹⁷ *Wistin* refers to the Solomon Islands' Western Province, and to people from that area.

The quantifier position with its range of possible forms expands as:

$$(4.104) \quad \text{QUANT} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{NUM} \\ \text{ORD} \\ \text{huḡru} \\ \text{(le)legu} \end{cases}$$

The category NUM may contain more than one numeral combining to form a complex number. The manner in which complex numbers are formed is discussed in 4.2.2.2.1.1. As discussed in 4.2.2.2.1.3, ordinals are formed by marking a number of any complexity with the preposed particle *fa*. The category ordinal thus expands as:

$$(4.105) \quad \text{ORD} \rightarrow \text{fa} + \text{NUM}$$

The non-core status of the modifiers shown in (4.103) is confirmed by the fact that *huḡru*, which occurs in the rightmost QUANT position, cannot participate in incorporation:

$$(4.106) \quad \begin{array}{llll} *n\text{-a} & \bar{n}hau & \mathbf{huḡru} & namhari \\ \text{RL-1.SBJ} & \text{eat} & \text{all} & \text{fish} \\ \text{I ate all the fish.} & & & \end{array}$$

4.3.2.2 Post-core modifiers

Post-core adnominal modifiers include demonstratives and the exhaustive marker *gudu*, as well as a possessor NP, various adnominal adjuncts, and relative clauses.

4.3.2.2.1 Post-core outer modifiers

Two post-core modifier positions exist (other than complement and adjunct positions). One may be filled by the exhaustive marker *gudu*, discussed in 4.2.2.4. The other may be filled by a demonstrative.

The innermost of the post-core modifiers is the exhaustive marker. This may be seen to be a non-core modifier as it does not participate in incorporation. Consequently it follows the inalienable possessor enclitic, which is the outermost core modifier:

$$(4.107) \quad \begin{array}{llllll} e & palu & \bar{g}azu\text{-}di & \mathbf{gudu} & bla & are\text{-}lau \\ \text{3.SBJ} & \text{two} & \text{wood-3PLP} & \text{EXHST LMT} & \text{thoseN-SPC} & \\ \text{Those [treatments] are both trees [of treatments].} & & & & & \end{array}$$

Demonstrative forms and functions are discussed in detail in 4.1.3. Demonstratives occupy the final modifier position other than complements or adjuncts. If both occur, the exhaustive marker and a demonstrative occur in that order:

$$(4.108) \quad \begin{array}{llll} ira & huḡru & suḡa & \mathbf{gudu} \quad are \\ \text{thePL} & \text{all} & \text{house} & \text{EXHST thoseN} \\ \text{every one of those houses} & & & \end{array}$$

In the absence of *gudu* and any post-head core modifiers the demonstrative may be cliticised directly onto the head itself, as in (4.109)a. If a lexical post-head modifier is present the demonstrative may be cliticised onto that, as occurs twice in (4.109)b.: in the first NP the clitic is attached to a personal name functioning as a post-head core modifier, and in the second to an adjective. If an inalienable possessor enclitic is present then the demonstrative is cliticised to that ((4.109)c.). Demonstratives do not appear to cliticise to *gudu*.

- (4.109) a. *ḡ-e tu-turi-nā palu mane-de sala ge tikilave*
 NT-3.SBJ RD-tell-IMM two man-theseR PN and PN
 These two men Sala and Tikilave talked.
- b. *mane suaragi-ne ḡ-e tufa-ri-u pohe mata-de*
 man PN-thisR NT-3.SBJ affect-3PLO-PRG clothes bush-theseR
 This man Suaragi was giving them these bush clothes.
- c. *zaho si-ago ka ta muni-ro hiba-ḡu-de ara*
 go FOC-youSG LOC SB hide-thoseNV eye-1SGP-theseR I
 You go, to where you're hidden from these eyes of mine.

4.3.2.2.2 Possessor complement

NPs in which the head carries possessor indexing may contain an NP which realises the possessor. This is subcategorised for by possessor indexing, so is a complement. A possessor complement occurs immediately following the demonstrative if one is present in the phrase. Any kind of NP may occur as a possessor. The possessor NPs in (4.110) include a personal name, an ordinary nominal, a pronoun, a reflexive, and a location name.

- (4.110) a. *e-u ao bla tu-turi-na ḡobilologu,*
 3.SBJ-be.this thisT LMT RD-tell-3SGP PN
 So that's the story of Gobilologu,

tu-turi-di-re palu mane taude
 RD-tell-3PLP-thoseN two man SB-exist-theseR
 those stories of these two men.
- b. *n-e la piri-ni-u ka-ia kolu-seku-na-o manei*
 RL-3.SBJ go bind-3SGO-PRG LOC-theSG snake-tail-3SGP-thatNV he
 He tied him up with that snake's tail of his.
- c. *ira no-mai kastom mereseni tagi-mai*
 thePL GP-1NCP custom medicine RFL-1NCP
 our own medicine customs
- d. *n-e-ge mai toke-nā kaike mane-na koromata*
 RL-3.SBJ-PRS come arrive-IMM one man-3SGP PNLOC
 A man from Koromata was arriving.

Possessors may also be realised by prepositional adjuncts instead of nominal complements, with no possessor indexing present in the core. This is discussed in 4.3.2.2.3.1.

4.3.2.2.3 Adnominal adjuncts

The NP may contain an adjunct. This may be a prepositional phrase, a deictic locative, a place name, a personal name, or a relative clause. The adjunct position follows that of the possessor complement.

4.3.2.2.3.1 Adnominal prepositional adjuncts

An NP may be modified by a prepositional phrase. Only one true preposition, *ka*, exists in Kokota, with a very broad locative function. PPs may function as adverbial or sentential modifiers, or adnominally. As an adnominal adjunct its functions range from identifying a physical location, to identifying a possessor. An adnominal PP may locate the head noun in a particular physical location:

- (4.111) *ia mavitu ka ia g̃ilu-na nau*
 theSG community LOC theSG inside-3SGP place
 the community within the village

More commonly it indicates the possessor of the NP head.

- (4.112) a. *padagi-ne ka gai e keha za-zaho-na-na bo*
 shrine-thisR LOC weEXC 3.SBJ other RD-go-3SGP-thatN CNT
 Our shrine has a different way.
- b. *t-au-la ke nhogi ia lehe ka suaragi e-u*
 SB-exist-CND PRF payback theSG die LOC PN 3.SBJ-be.thus
 If that is so we will payback the death of Suaragi.

As (4.112)b. demonstrates, the possessed head does not need to be a physical object. Prepositional possession is discussed in 6.6.

4.3.2.2.3.2 Deictic locatives as adnominal adjunct

A phrase with a deictic locative head (DLP) may occur as an adnominal adjunct. In (4.113) the nominal head *g̃ahipa* is modified by a deictic locative phrase with the head *sarelau* (itself modified by a location name).

- (4.113) *mala-na-re au ka g̃ahipa sare-lau lego*
 footprint-3SGP-thoseN exist LOC stone thereN-SPC PNLOC
 Those footprints of his are in the stone there at Lego.

Deictic locatives are discussed in detail in 5.2.

4.3.2.2.3.3 Location names as adnominal adjunct

Place names may occur in the post-head core modifier position. However locative modification of an NP may also occur by means of a locative adjunct consisting of a location name. The syntactic behaviour of a location name with an adnominal adjunct function, as with its adverbial construction, directly parallels that of the locative prepositional phrase, but does not involve the use of a preposition. A locative adjunct of this kind may function as a pseudo-locative possessor, as in (4.114)a. (see 6.6 for further discussion), or the actual name of a location (effectively the personal name of a location), as in (4.114)b.

- (4.114) a. *e-u mane ide kokota n-e-ke kulu tarai*
 3.SBJ-be.thus man theseR PNLOC RL-3.SBJ-PRF be.first pray
 So these Kokota people were the first to start prayer.
- b. *zemesie au ka nau ine goveo*
 PN 3.SBJ exist LOC place thisR PNLOC
 James lives in this village Goveo.

In (4.114) the location names can be seen to be adjuncts not core modifiers as they follow the demonstratives also present. Demonstratives are outer modifiers, so locative core modifiers precede any demonstrative present (as (4.94)a. and c. illustrate).

4.3.2.2.3.4 Local noun adjuncts

Local nouns (discussed in 5.4) primarily function as oblique locative arguments. However, like location names discussed above, local nouns may function as a core modifier (discussed in 4.3.1.2.4), or as a locative adjunct:

- (4.115) a. *g̃-e la toke-na ka titili are-lau fate e-u*
 NT-3.SBJ go arrive-thatN LOC *titili* thoseN-SPC above 3.SBJ-be.thus
 They arrived at those standing stones up there.
- b. *da mala rereo-u... ka nau ao-hi pari*
 1INC.SBJ PURP shield-PRG LOC place thisT-EMPH below
 We will be the shield... in this place below.

It appears that as an adnominal adjunct NLOCs occur alone, and not with any modifiers of their own.

4.3.2.2.3.5 Personal name adjuncts

Like location names, personal names typically occur as core modifiers, but may also occur as an adnominal adjunct.

- (4.116) *g̃-e fa-lehe-i-u suaragi n-e-ke-u*
 NT-3.SBJ CS-die-3SGO-PRG PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
 They killed Suaragi,
- palu mane aro sala ge ruruboñi*
 two man theseT PN and PN
 those two men Sala and Ruruboñi.

Again the relative positions of the demonstrative *aro* and the personal name demonstrate that in this example the PN' is outside the NP core.

4.3.2.2.3.6 Relative clauses

The internal structure of relative clauses is discussed in 11.2.3.4. However their location within the NP can be usefully discussed here. Reduced relative clauses consisting of a single stative verb, including the existential verb *au*, the subject of which is the head noun, occur as an immediate post-core modifier. Relative clauses are discussed in detail in 11.2.3, but broadly two kinds of relative clauses exist: those marked with the subordinator *ta* (as in (4.117)a. and line 2 of (4.117)b.), and those which are zero marked but have a modal auxiliary ((4.117)b.).

- (4.117) a. *ara n-a lulua gu-na n̄ha-ni mala-n̄hau ta dia ana*
 I RL-1.SBJ vomit about-3PLP eat-3SGO PURP-eat SB be.bad thatN
 I'm vomiting from eating that bad food.
- b. *...nafu-na are bla g̃-e-la ge-mai mitia n-e-ke-u-re*
 base-3SGP thoseN LMT NT-3.SBJ-go CP-1EXCP meat RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-thoseN
 ...because only those were those meats like that,
- gai ira nakoni zuzufra ta aḡe hod-i fakamo-na gai*
 weEXC thePL person black SB go take-TR always-thatN weEXC
 of we black people, that we would always take.

In (4.117)a. and line 1 of (4.117)b. the relative clause precedes, not follows, the demonstrative. In (4.117)b. the demonstrative is cliticised to the relative clause. However, the nominal head *mitia* in (4.117)b. is in fact modified by two relative clauses, the second occurring in line 2 of that example. This second, full, relative clause contrasts syntactically with the reduced relative clause in line 1 and that in (4.117)a. Instead of occurring before the demonstrative it occurs as the final modifier in the NP. In (4.117)b. it follows not only the demonstrative, but a possessor complement NP.

The clausal demonstratives discussed in 4.1.3.3 are syntactically, though perhaps not functionally, reduced relative clauses (ie. RELCs of the immediate post-core type). In (4.118) the head *mane* 'man' is modified by a reduced relative clause consisting of the subordinator *ta* cliticised to the existential verb *au*, with the demonstrative *ine* also cliticised to the verb.

- (4.118) a. *naitu toke n-e lao ka mane t-au-ine, nan̄ha-di-re...*
 devil arrive RL-3.SBJ go LOC man SB-exist-thisR name-3PLP-thoseN
 The arriving devils of this man, their names are...

Reduced relative clauses functioning as demonstratives occur frequently in discourse. Such forms are clearly a ritualised and somewhat semantically bleached use of this reduced relative clause type.

Reduced relative clauses are limited to those consisting of a single subordinated lexeme. Relative clauses of greater internal complexity may only occur in NP final position. In (4.119)a. the relative clause follows both a demonstrative, and the limiter *bla*. In line 2 of (4.119)b. two conjoined full relative clauses follow the clausal demonstrative in line 1 and modify a single head (*ḡazu*). In Line 3 a full relative clause again occurs NP finally and follows a clausal demonstrative.

- (4.119) a. *teo mereseni tehi-u ara, marha-pau ana bla ta tahe aḡe-i-na*
 be.not medicine many-CRD I hurt-head thatN LMT SB tell go-3SGO-thatN
 I don't have many medicines, just that headache that I will tell.

- b. *ta la hod-i-la gai ḡazu t-au-o*
 SB go take-TR-CND weEXC wood SB-exist-thatNV
 If we take that tree

ta fa ku-kumai-ni-u ba ta fa siri la-i-u
 SB CS RD-drink-3SGO-PRG ALT SB CS smell go-3SGO-PRG
 that is to drink or to smell

ka nakoni t-au-o ta toke-i t-au-o malaria,
 LOC person SB-exist-thatNV SB arrive-3SGO SB-exist-thatNV malaria
 to that person who has got that malaria,

boka ke aḡe keli bo bla
 be.able PRF go be.good CNT LMT
 they are simply able to get well.

No examples exist in my corpus of a reduced relative clause modifying a head that is also modified by the exhaustive marker *gudu*. There is no immediately apparent reason why they should not cooccur, but as no examples are available it is not clear whether they may, and if so, in what order.

4.3.2.2.4 Post-core modifier structure

The possessor NP, being a complement, is closer to the core than (ie. precedes) any adjuncts. In (4.120), for example, three post-core modifiers are present. The innermost is the demonstrative *aro*. This is followed by the possessor complement (in this case a PNLOC), with the PN' adjunct occurring phrase finally.

- (4.120) *n-e-ke la mai-u mane-di aro fitupoḡu sala ge rurubon̄i*
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF go come-PRG man-3PLP theseT PNLOC PN and PN
 They came, these men of Fitupogu Sala and Rurubongi.

As (4.117)b. above illustrates, a full relative clause also follows a possessor complement if one is present. In (4.121) a full relative clause follows an adjunct (in this case a local noun).

(4.121) *n-e-ke au-gu parahaḡala ade ka*
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-PRG giant here LOC
 The giant was living here on

vuhuku ine fate n-e-ke au-na-u nhagarai dou-na
 mountain thisR above RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thatN-PRG banyan be.big-that
 this mountain above where there was that big banyan tree.

The evidence of (4.117)b., (4.120) and (4.121) reveals that adjuncts follow the possessor complement, while full relative clauses follow both.

The sequence of post-core modifiers is therefore:

(4.122) (RELC) + (EXHST) + (DEM) + (NPPOSS) + { (PP)
 { (DLP) + (RELC)
 | (PNLOC)
 | (PN)

Note that the order of the exhaustive marker and the inner of the two relative clause positions is unknown.

4.3.3 Multiple head NPs

A series of nominal heads plus their modifiers can be linked to form a complex NP:

(4.123) a. *ḡ-e mai la keha mane mariñi keha mane hoḡrano*
 NT-3.SBJ come COND NSP man PNLOC NSP man PNLOC
 If some man from Maringe or some man from Hograno came,

ta mhagu-i-na an-lau
 SB fear-3SGO-thatN thatN-SPC
 that you might be afraid of.

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

Typically no conjunction links such constituents, however, the conjunction *ge* may intervene, as in (4.123)b. Full relative clauses have scope over all constituents in strings like these. In (4.124) the relative clause in the first line has scope over all three of the preceding nouns.

(4.124) *ira mavitu, ira nakoni, ira suli ta au ka-ia nau ana*
 thePL community thePL person thePL child SB exist LOC-theSG place thatN
 The community, the people, the children that live in that village

ḡ-e fa manemane-u ka tuku-ḡai-na gai
 NT-3.SBJ CS be.very.happy-PRG LOC wait-1EXCO-thatN weEXC
 are very happy as they wait for us.

The scope of the relative clauses in sentences such as this, coupled with the presence of non-core modifiers modifying each head noun, indicate that an NP may consist of one or more constituents smaller than an NP, but larger than an N•, ie an N". Consequently the post-core modifier sequence given in (4.122) does not accurately reflect syntactic structure, as the final RELC is not present in the same level of the hierarchy. The structure of an NP is thus:

(4.125) NP → N" + ((CONJ) + N")* + (RELC)

4.3.4 Summary of NP structure

In summary, an NP with a lexical nominal head may consist minimally of a core consisting of a single noun with no modifiers, and maximally of a sequence of N''s, each consisting of a core containing a head plus a number of pre- and post-head modifiers, along with a number of pre- and post-core modifier particles, a possessor complement, and an adjunct, all modified by a full relative clause. The structure of lexical nominal NPs may be represented as follows:

- (4.126) a. NP → N'' + ((CONJ) + N'')* + (RELC)
- b. N'' → (ART) + (NSP) + (QUANT) + N'
 + (RELC) (EXHST) + (DEM) + (NPPOSS) + { (PP)
 (DLP)
 (PNLOC)
 (PN)
- b. QUANT → { NUM
 ORD
 huḡru
 (le)legu
- c. N' → (APOSS) + (MULT) + N + (ADJ) + (IPOSS)
- d. ORD → *fa* + NUM

4.4 Minor NP types

4.4.1 Pronominal Phrases

Within clause level syntax NPs with a pronominal head behave in the same way as NPs with other nominal heads. However, the internal structure of pronominal headed NPs differs from that of other NP types. Consequently a subtype of the NP in Kokota is the Pronominal Phrase (PROP).

A Pronominal Phrase consists of a pronoun head and one modifier position. This modifier position may be filled by a numerical specifier, the exhaustive marker *gudu*, an embedded NP specifying the identity of the pronominal referent, or a deictic locative phrase.

4.4.1.1 Pronominal head

The head of a PROP is a single pronoun lexeme, the forms and categories of which are discussed in detail in 4.1.2. Pronoun lexemes distinguish the person categories first exclusive, first inclusive, second, and third persons, and the number categories singular, dual, trial and plural. Other numerical specification is made by modification of the phrasal head.

4.4.1.2 Pronominal number specification

Pronominal number marking is discussed in detail in 4.1.2.2.1. Unlike in nominal-headed NPs, number specification in PROPs follows the head, not precedes it. Furthermore, specification involves numbers in their cardinal (and thus nominal) form. PROP number specification therefore involves modifying the pronominal head with a post-head nominal.

- (4.127) *gai fnoto-u n-a birho*
 we four-CRD RL-1.SBJ sleep
 We four are sleeping.

For obvious semantic reasons number specification above three does not occur with singular, dual or trial pronoun forms. A constraint on redundancy in pronoun number marking prohibits the marking of dual pronouns with the number specifier for 'two'. As noted in 4.1.2.2.1, numerical specification of three is possible as an alternative to a trial pronoun, but again redundancy prohibits the cooccurrence of a trial pronoun with number specification for 'three'.

4.4.1.3 Exhaustive marking

The exhaustive marker *gudu* may modify pronouns, indicating that the referent group includes all potential members:

- (4.128) a. *gai gudu n-a-ke fakae-ni mane ana*
 weEXC all RL-1.SBJ-PRF see-3SGO man thatN
 We all saw that man.

In the third person *gudu* may only occur with the plural form *maneri*, and not with the form *rei*. The distinction between *maneri* and *rei* is discussed in 4.1.2.2.1.

4.4.1.4 NP specification of pronouns

An ordinary nominal NP can occur embedded within a PROP, specifying details of the referent. While such an NP may consist of a single noun, as in (4.129)a., NPs of any complexity may occur, including pre- or post-head, core or outer modifiers.

- (4.129) a. *kaike saigona ta-ke hoda toke-gai-nā gai-palu tati*
 one evening SB-PRF take arrive-1EXCO-IMM weEXC-two mother&baby
 One evening that [you] will take us back, mother and baby.
- b. *ka gai ira nakoni zuzufru tana nogoi naitu tahi ke aḡe-u-ni-u*
 LOC weINC thePL person black then VOC devil sea PRF go-be.thus-3SGO-PRG
 With us black people, then, man!, 'sea devil' is what it's called.
- c. *gau mane huhurañi-de zaho koko-ni huhurañi*
 youPL man PNLOC-theseR go leave-3SGO PNLOC
 You Huhurangi people leave Huhurangi.
- d. *n-e-ke kave mai-nā fate, gu-da gita ira huḡru nakoni*
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF descend come-IMM above about-1INCP weINC thePL all person
 He came down from heaven, for all us people.
- e. *tana aḡe-na hage-ni-nā sare-lau ia hinage maneri gaha mane-de*
 then go-thatN ascend-3SGO-IMM thereP-SPC theSG boat they five man-theseR
 Then they these five men brought up the canoe there.

4.4.1.5 Personal name specification of pronouns

A dual or trial pronoun may be modified by a personal name to indicate that the named individual is included in the pronominal reference. This only occurs when the named individual is not present at the time of speaking.

- (4.130) a. *gai-palu belema*
 weEXC-two PN
 we, Belema and I

- b. *gita-tilo hugo*
 weINC-three PN
 we three, you and I and Hugo

With trial pronouns two individuals can be named if neither are present, demonstrating that PROP is modified by PN'.

- (4.131) *gau-tilo riva ge hugo*
 you-three PN and PN
 you three, [you] Riva and Hugo

It appears that personal name specification of Pronominal Phrases can only occur where the group referred to contains the addressee or the speaker or both. Consequently the strategy does not appear to apply to third person categories:

- (4.132) **rei-palu riva ge hugo*
 they-two PN and PN
 they two Riva and Hugo

4.4.1.6 Locative specification of pronouns

Pronouns may be modified by a deictic spatial locative phrase (discussed in 5.2).

- (4.133) a. *ara a tu-turi tufa-igo ago keha mereseni ka gai ade kokota*
 I 1.SBJ RD-tell affect-2SGO youSG other medicine LOCweINC here PNLOC
 I will tell you about some medicines of us here in Kokota.
- b. *gau ade paka, fafra mai gau*
 youPL here west be.quick come youPL
 You here in the west, come quickly.

4.4.1.7 Pronominal Phrase structure

Unlike nominal-headed NPs, only one modifier position exists in the Pronominal Phrase. All the PROP modifiers discussed above occur in this position. The structure of the Pronominal Phrase is as follows:

- (4.134) PROP → PRO + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(CRD)} \\ \text{(EXHST)} \\ \text{(NP)} \\ \text{(PN')} \\ \text{(DLP)} \end{array} \right.$

4.4.2 NPs with reflexive head

A reflexive argument is expressed by a possessor indexed reflexive base (discussed in 4.1.2.3). While reflexives typically occur without any modification, an NP adjunct may occur. This may have a nominal or pronominal head:

- (4.135) a. *ira mereseni ka tagi-mai gai nakoni zuzufra*
 thePL medicine LOC RFL-1EXCP weINC person black
 the medicine of ourselves we black people
- b. *ira mereseni ka tagi-mai nakoni zuzufra*
 thePL medicine LOC RFL-1EXCP person black
 the medicine of ourselves we black people

A modifier adjunct forms a single constituent with the reflexive base in a Reflexive Phrase:

(4.136) RFLP → RFL + (NP)

4.4.3 Demonstratives as nominal head

In addition to their adnominal role, independent demonstratives may function as an argument. In this nominal role they typically occur without any modifiers (other than the suffixed emphatic *-hi*, the specific marker *-lau* and limiter *-blau*). However demonstratives may be modified by a single spatial locative form. This may be a deictic locative ((4.137)a.), a local noun ((4.137)b.), or a location name ((4.137)c.). The effect of this modification is to give the demonstrative a locative referent.

- (4.137) a. *ka t-au-ao ge*
 LOC SB-exist-thisT SEQ
 At that [ie. as a result of that]
- age kuru nakoni n̄a n-e-ke-u n̄a aro-hi ade-hi*
 SEQ have person IMM RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus IMM theseT-EMPH here-EMPH
 these [places] here have people.
- b. *fa-lehe-ri mane n-e mai au n-e-u*
 CS-die-3PLO man RL-3.SBJ come exist RL-3.SBJ-be.thus
 He killed some of those men who came and were
- are fate ḡ-e-gu n-e-ke-u*
 thoseN above NT-3.SBJ-be.thus NT-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
 in those [places] on top.
- c. *...zaho ḡ-e la au iaro hurepelo keha-re*
 go NT-3.SBJ go exist thosePV PNLOC NSP-thoseN
 ...some of those went and lived at those Hurepelo [places].

While Demonstrative Phrases typically function as oblique locatives, they may function as core arguments, as the subject demonstrative in (4.137)a. illustrates. The structure of a demonstrative NP is as follows:

(4.138) DEMP → DEM + { (DLOC)
 { (NLOC)
 { (PNLOC)

4.4.4 NPs with personal name as head

Personal names occur as the head of a Personal Name Phrase consisting of a PN head, optionally modified by an NP adjunct.

- (4.139) a. *kelokolo ḡ-e lisi-ni-u selana...*
 PN NT-3.SBJ lease-3SGO-PRG PNLOC...
 Kelokolo leased Selana...
- ka nomana witali ia mane-vaka*
 LOC PN PN theSG man-ship
 to Norman Wheatley, the white man.
- b. *ia dadara-na zesas ia no-mai lod*
 theSG blood-3SGP PN theSG GP-1EXCP Lord
 the blood of Jesus our Lord

A Personal Name Phrase head may consist of more than one PN linked by a conjunction. Either conjunction *ge* or *neu* may link PNs, however *ge* is by far the more common in this context.

- (4.140) *ia pike mau-g̃u 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
 My piece of taro Sala and Ruruboñi brought...

The operation of conjoined PNs as a single constituent PNP head involves a PN• level between PN and PNP. The structure of a PNP is thus:

- (4.141) PNP → PN' + (NP)
 PN' → PN + (CNJ + PN)

4.4.5 NPs with numeral head

Numbers function primarily as pre-head adnominal modifiers. However, as discussed in 4.2.2.2.1.4, numerals may be nominalised as cardinals, and function as a nominal. As nominals, cardinals typically occur without any modification:

- (4.142) *kaike-u ara n̄hau-ni, kaike-u n-e au blau*
 one-CRD I eat-3SGO one-CRD RL-3.SBJ exist LMT
 One I ate, one remains.

However, a single post-head modifier position exists in which a noun may occur, specifying the class of entities to which the numerical referent belongs.

- (4.143) *ara manahagi-di palu-gu namhari*
 I want-3PLO two-CRD fish
 I want two fish.

In (4.143) the cardinal is the head, while *namhari* 'fish' indicates what class of entities the speaker wants two of. A more literal translation would be something like "I want two of fish" or "I want a pair of fish". This only superficially resembles the less marked sentence in (4.144), in which the noun is head, and the numeral a pre-head modifier indicating simply the number of referents of the head that the speaker wants.

- (4.144) *ara manahagi-di palu namhari*
 I want-3PLO two fish
 I want two fish.

The structure of phrases with a cardinal head is:

- (4.145) CRDP → CRD + (N)

As discussed in 4.2.2.2.1.3, ordinals may also function as nominal head, after nominalisation by inalienable possessor indexing. Nominalised ordinals may occur with modifiers in two positions, a post-head noun modifier, and a demonstrative. The example in (4.146) has both, with the demonstrative cliticised to the noun modifier.

- (4.146) *g̃-e lao n̄a fa palu-na g̃azu-na e-u*
 NT-3.SBJ go IMM ORD two-3SGP wood-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
 Go for that second tree.

Nominalised ordinals typically occur with a demonstrative, particularly when no noun modifier is present, however it is not obligatory:

(4.147) a. *u heve ba-ine ara ta la-i-na fa palu-na-na*
 be.thus what ALT-thisR I SB go-3SGO-thatN ORD two-3SGP-thatN
 What will I say to give that second one?

b. A. *fa palu-na-na*
 ORD two-3SGP-thatN
 That second one?

B. *fa palu-na, naitu sasapu e-ni*
 ORD two-3SGP devil pass 3.SBJ-3SGO
 The second, 'passing devil' it's called.

A phrase with an ordinal head involves an ordinal number plus an inalienable possessor enclitic as the phrasal core, followed by an optional complement noun (not a full NP), and demonstrative:

(4.148) a. ORDP → ORD' + (N) + (DEM)
 b. ORD' → ORD + IPOSS