

## Chapter 8

### The verb complex

#### 8.1 Overview of verb complex

In clauses other than those with a nonverbal predicate (discussed in 9.1) the predicate consists formally of a verb complex. The verb complex consists of two layers. The inner layer, the verb core, is opaque to the outer modifiers. The outer layer consists of various forms which modify the verb core as a whole. In addition to core and outer modifiers, a group of constituent modifiers occur at the clause level modifying the entire verb complex. These constituent modifiers also modify other constituent types, and are discussed in 9.8. Verb complex core and outer modifiers are discussed in this chapter.

#### 8.2 Verb derivation

Verbs may be derived by compounding or reduplication, or by forming a single lexicalised verb with the causative preposed particle *fa* or the mutual preposed particle *fari*.

##### 8.2.1 Verb compounding

Nominal compounding, discussed in 4.1.1.1, is a productive and relatively common derivational strategy. Compounding is also employed, to a considerably lesser extent, to derive verbs. Compound verbs are left-headed and endocentric. The left hand root must be a verb root. The right hand form may be a verb, as in (8.1)a.-d., a noun ((8.1)e.-f.), or even a root adjective ((8.1)g.):

- (8.1) a. *do-dou-n̄hau* 'be a glutton' (lit. 'RD-be.big-eat')  
b. *lehe-n̄hau* 'be hungry' (lit. 'die-eat')  
c. *gato-g̃omu* 'forget' (lit. 'think-be.insensible')  
d. *fog̃ra-dou* 'be very sick' (lit. 'be.sick-be.big')  
e. *dia-nanafa* 'feel bad' (sad, sorry etc) (lit. 'be.bad-heart')  
f. *dia-tini* 'be unwell' (lit. 'be.bad-body')  
g. *turi-tove* 'tell custom stories' (lit. 'narrate-old')

##### 8.2.2 Reduplicated verbs

Reduplication derives intransitive verbs from transitive roots. In some instances a verb may also be derived from a verb root giving a habitual, ongoing or diminutive verbs, or with semantically unpredictable results. In addition a handful of verbs are derived by reduplication from noun roots. These derivations are illustrated, and the function of reduplication is discussed in some detail, in 2.4.1.1. The effects of reduplication on valency are discussed in 7.3.1.

##### 8.2.3 Causative derivation

The preposed causative particle *fa* combines with a verb to give a complex verb with an increased valency. This regular productive is discussed in 7.3.3. However, a number of verbs exist in which *fa* combines with the root to form a single phonological word, giving a derived verb. In some instances the semantics of the resulting verb are predictable, as in (8.2)a.-b. In others the semantics is unpredictable and lexicalised, as in (8.2)c.

- (8.2) a. *fa-lehe* 'kill' ('CS-die')  
b. *fa-nodo* 'stop (TR)' ('CS-be stopped')  
c. *fa-ku-kumai* 'give s.o. custom medicine to drink' ('CS-RD-drink')

The stress basis for determining wordhood with *fa* is discussed in 3.1.6.2.

### 8.2.4 Derivation with the 'mutual' marker *fari*

The preposed particle *fari* combines productively with verbs to indicate that the marked event applies mutually to more than one participant. However, the form also combines phonologically with certain verbs to form a single lexicalised derived verb. These include:

- (8.3) a. *fari-dia-i* 'be bad to each other, hate each other' (lit. 'MUT-be.bad-?')  
 b. *fari-namha-i* 'be kind to each other, love each other' (lit. 'MUT-love-?')

These derived verbs each have the excrescent final vowel /i/. This may derive diachronically from the third singular object marker or the transitivising suffix. Synchronically it appears to be functionally and semantically empty, as the verbs are intransitive:

- (8.4) *n-a-ke fari-dia-i-u*  
 RL-1.SBJ-PRF MUT-be.bad-?-PRG  
 We were hating each other.

The productive behaviour of *fari* is discussed in 8.3 below.

### 8.2.5 Comparative suffix *-ia* ~ *-a*

The suffix *-ia* ~ *-a* marks stative verbs with a comparative meaning:

- (8.5) *laini ine n-e sodu n̄a laini ana n-e sodu-a*  
 line thisR RL-3.SBJ be.long but line thatN RL-3.SBJ be.long-CMP  
 This washing line is long, but that washing line is longer.
- b. *mala-n̄hau ide n-e tehi n̄a mala-n̄hau are n-e tehi-a*  
 PURP-eat theseRRL-3.SBJ be.many but PURP-eat thoseN RL-3.SBJ be.many-CMP  
 These foods are many, but those foods are more plentiful.

All stative verbs may take this suffix, including verbs such as *fafra* 'be quick' and *bnakoa* 'be slow', but colour terms may not. Verbs with the final vowel /a/ take the *-ia* allomorph, while those with other vowels take *-a*. Verbs taking the comparative suffix include two forms which occur typically as local nouns: *fate* 'above, on top, be high' and *pari* 'below, be low':

- (8.6) *tuḡle ine n-e fate, n̄a tuḡle ana n-e fate-a*  
 hill thisR RL-3.SBJ be.high but hill thatN RL-3.SBJ be.high-CMP  
 This hill is high, but that hill is higher.

The comparative suffix does not occur with causativised stative verbs. There is, for example, no *fa puku-a* 'make it shorter [than something else]'.  
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As well as marking stative verbs, the comparative suffix marks four direction verbs, indicating movement in the direction further than some other movement in that direction. These are:

- (8.7) a. *lao* 'go (towards)' *lao-a* 'go further (towards)'  
 b. *zaho* 'go (away)' *zaho-a* 'go further (away)'  
 c. *hage* 'ascend' *hage-a* 'go further up'  
 d. *kave* 'descend' *kave-a* 'go further down'
- (8.8) *suka n-e zaho n̄a belama n-e zaho-a*  
 PN RL-3.SBJ go but PN RL-3.SBJ go-CMP  
 Suka went away but Belama went further away.

In addition, the suffix may mark the four absolute locatives (discussed in 5.4.2) when they occur postverbally, indicating direction or location of an event:

- (8.9) a. *goino ara n-a-ke lao rhuku,*  
 todayRL I RL-1.SBJ-PRF go landward  
 Today I went inland,  
*ñā fufugo ara a-ke lao rhuku-a*  
 but tomorrow I 1.SBJ-PRF go landward-CMP  
 but tomorrow I will go further inland.
- b. *no-u suḡā n-e au paka ñā ia suḡā tarai n-e au paka-ia*  
 GP-2SGP house RL-3.SBJ exist west but theSG house pray RL-3.SBJ exist west-CMP  
 Your house is in the west [of the village], but the church is further west.

Two other strategies exist for marking the comparative. One involves the form *ia* not suffixed to the verb, but forming a single phonological word with the immediate marker *ñā* and the contrastive marker *bo*. The other involves the directional verb *la* 'go (towards)' (or possibly the constituent marker *la* (function unclear)), following the verb expressing the compared state, and also forming a single phonological word with the immediate and contrastive markers:

- (8.10) a. *manei n-e dou ñā ara n-a dou-a*  
 he RL-3.SBJ be.big but I RL-1.SBJ be.big-CMP  
 He is big, but I am bigger.
- b. *manei n-e dou ñā ara n-a dou ia-ñā-bo*  
 he RL-3.SBJ be.big but I RL-1.SBJ be.big CMP-IMM-CNT  
 He is big, but I am bigger.
- c. *manei n-e dou ñā ara n-a dou la-ñā-bo*  
 he RL-3.SBJ be.big but I RL-1.SBJ be.big go-IMM-CNT  
 He is big, but I am bigger.

All three strategies may be used with stative verbs. The last strategy may also be used with active verbs, indicating that it is the comparative particle/suffix which is limited to occurring with statives, not the notion of comparison:

- (8.11) a. *manei n-e ñheñhe ñā ara n-a ñheñhe la-ñā-bo*  
 he RL-3.SBJ run but I RL-1.SBJ run go-IMM-CNT  
 He ran, but I ran further.
- b. *manei n-e mhoko ñā ara n-a mhoko la-ñā-bo*  
 he RL-3.SBJ sit but I RL-1.SBJ sit go-IMM-CNT  
 He sat, but I sat for longer.

No specific formal strategy exists for marking the superlative, the intensifier *ḡlehe* 'very' having a superlative sense in an overt comparison:

- (8.12) *ḡazu ine n-e dou, ḡazu ana n-e dou-a,*  
 wood thisR RL-3.SBJ be.big wood thatN RL-3.SBJ be.big-CMP  
 This tree is big, that tree is bigger,  
*ñā ḡazu iao n-e dou ḡlehe*  
 but wood thatPV RL-3.SBJ be.big very  
 but that tree yonder is very big.

### 8.3 Causative and mutual marking

Individual verbs may be modified by one of two preposed particles: the causative *fa*, and the mutual *fari*. These mark individual verbs, not entire predications, and any verb in a serial construction may be marked with either.

The causative particle is discussed in detail in 7.3.3.

The preposed particle *fari* combines with a verb to indicate that the marked event applies mutually to more than one participant. The particle in fact may be productively preposed to nouns or verbs. With nouns it emphasises the joint role of the marked participants:

- (8.13) ...*kotu-nā*    *ooe fa ma-māgra*,  
 sprout-IMM say CS RD-fight  
 ...fighting talk developed,

*fari t-au-na*            *ka tagi-mai fari datau t-au-are*  
 MUT SB-exist-thatN LOC RFL-1INCP MUT chief SB-exist-thoseN  
 between ourselves, those chiefs.

It also occurs optionally with the local noun *hotai* 'middle', giving the complex local noun *fari hotai* 'between' (see 5.4.1):

- (8.14) *popoheo n-e au ka fari hotai-di goveo ge buala*  
 PNLOC RL-3.SBJ exist LOC MUT middle-3PLP PNLOC and PNLOC  
 Popoheo is between Goveo and Buala.

With verbs the particle marks the event as applying mutually to each participant included in a plural subject:

- (8.15) a. *gita da fari lase-i nañha-na-na manei*  
 weINC 1INC.SBJ MUT know-3SGO name-3SGP-thatN he  
 We know his name.
- b. *teo ḡ-e-ke fari roge-u n-e-ke-u mane datau-ro...*  
 be.not NT-3.SBJ-PRF MUT plan-PRG RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus man chief-thoseNV  
 Those chiefs had not been making plans between them...

### 8.4 Adverbial-like functions of verb serialisation

The verb core often consists of a single verb. However, verbs may also combine in serial constructions. The causative and mutual markers discussed in 8.3 modify individual verbs, regardless of whether the verb occurs in a serial construction, or where in the series it occurs. All other verb complex modifiers modify the entire predication, whether it is a single verb or a series. The internal characteristics of verb serialisation are discussed in 7.5.

Many functions performed by adverbials in some languages are performed by serialised verbs in Kokota, typically verbs in  $V_1$  or  $V_3$  position (see 7.5). All these are verbs which freely occur as the sole verb in a predication or in any position in a serial construction. However in certain positions they give particular adverbial-like senses to the predication.

Verbs in  $V_1$  position contribute notions such as commencement, initiality, rapidity and closeness:

- (8.16) a. *manei n-e fufunu toka kave-i ia ḡazu*  
 he RL-3.SBJ begin chop descend-3SGO theSG wood  
 He started chopping down the tree.

- b. *fafra mai gau*  
 be.quick come youPL  
 Come quickly, you lot.
- c. *ne namo nhigo gita*  
 RL be.near be.finished weINC  
 We were nearly finished [ie. wiped out].

In  $V_1$  position the verb *kusu/kulu* 'be first' gives the sense that the event expressed by the rest of the predication occurred first in relation to some other event (as in (8.17)a.), or that the subject of the clause performed the event first in relation to other participants performing the event ((8.17)b.):

- (8.17) a. *kulu zaho ka-ia kokori mau mala n̄hau ka toa...*  
 be.first go LOC-theSG dig.taro taro PURP eat LOC fort  
 First go to dig taro to eat in the fort...
- b. *...mane n-e-ke kusu au-de ade*  
 man RL-3.SBJ-PRF be.first exist-theseR here  
 ...[the] people who lived here first.

In  $V_1$  position the motion verbs *lao* 'go (towards)' and *aḡe* 'go, proceed', give a sense akin to the English 'go ahead, proceed', in the case of *lao* potentially at odds with its actual directional meaning:

- (8.18) *n-e-ke la mai-u mane ide kokota*  
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF go come-PRG man theseR PNLOC  
 These Kokota men used to come. [lit ...used to go ahead and come]

In  $V_3$  position motion verbs provide directional information that is given adverbially in some other languages:

- (8.19) a. *manei n-e tao mai*  
 he RL-3.SBJ swim come  
 He swam towards me.
- b. *ia kubiliki n-e seha lao ka ḡilu-na raro-no*  
 theSG rat RL-3.SBJ climb go LOC inside-3SGP pot-thatNV  
 The rat climbed into the pot.
- c. *manei n-e fufunu toka kave-i ia ḡazu*  
 he RL-3.SBJ begin chop descend-3SGO theSG wood  
 He started chopping down the tree.

The adverbial-like function of these  $V_3$  verbs is clear in (8.19)c., where *kave* 'descend' indicates a directed motion resulting from the chopping, not a downward movement on the part of the subject of the clause.

Other common verbs in  $V_3$  position with adverbial-like functions include *hohogo* 'be true', *n̄hen̄he* 'be separate', *ḡonu* 'be insensible'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The verb *ḡonu* has a meaning associated with a lack of awareness or consciousness. It combines with *gato* 'think' to form the compound *gato-ḡonu* 'forget'. Independently it often has the sense 'not understand', or 'not know':

- ginai aḡe ḡonu ia histri-na nau-ne...*  
 FUT go be.insensible theSG history-3SGP place-this  
 The history of this place will become unknown...

- (8.20) a. *n-e-ke lehe hohogo-na bla ka mane aro si-ba-ia*  
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF die be.true-thatN LMT LOC man theseT FOC-ALT-PRO  
 He really died from those men.
- b. *gai manahagi ta au n̄heñhe*  
 weEXC want SB exist be.separate  
 We want to be alone.
- c. *n-e birho ḡonu*  
 RL-3.SBJ lie be.insensible  
 He's asleep.<sup>2</sup>

## 8.5 Pre-head verb modifiers

Numerous modal, aspectual and tense marking forms may precede a predication's verbal head. Two, the abilitative *boka* and the desiderative *manahagi*, function both as main verbs, and as pre-head adverbials. Others are phonologically independent, but occur only as modifiers, while still others combine to form a pre-head modal auxiliary which is indexed to agree with the subject.

### 8.5.1 Modality, aspect and tense overview

The modality, aspect and tense system is based primarily on a modal distinction between realis and irrealis. Tense constitutes a secondary system complementing modality, with two tense categories, present and future, optionally expressed. In addition a number of aspectual categories are recognised, including perfective and progressive.

### 8.5.2 Auxiliaries

#### 8.5.2.1 Auxiliary forms and structure

The auxiliary is comprised of up to five possible forms: a marker of modality and a subject agreement marker, both obligatory, and optional forms marking negative, perfective aspect, and present tense. Whichever of these are represented in a clause combine to form a single phonological word, the structure being representable as:

- (8.21) AUX → MOD + SUBJ + (NEG) + (PRF) + (PRS)

#### 8.5.2.2 Modal and subject agreement forms

Three modal categories are recognised: realis, irrealis, and a neutral category which underspecifies realis status (analogous to the infinitive in a tense based system). Of these three categories, only the realis and neutral category are overtly realised. Irrealis is realised by zero marking. This is unusual, as crosslinguistically in modal systems it is typically the realis category which is unmarked.<sup>3</sup> Realis is realised by the auxiliary initial morpheme *n-*, and neutral by *ḡ-*.

Subject agreement, discussed at more length in 7.1.2.1, recognises four person categories but does not distinguish number. The forms (repeating Table 7.1) are:

Table 8.1: Subject indexing.

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

<sup>2</sup> The verb *birho* has a meaning that encompasses both 'be lying down' and 'sleep'. *Birho ḡonu* is used to distinguish actual sleep.

<sup>3</sup> A number of the Oceanic languages of Southern Vanuatu (and a handful in northern Vanuatu) also have irrealis as the unmarked category. However, the geneses of these typological exceptions are unrelated.

The single C modal forms combine with the single V first exclusive, second and third person subject agreement forms, giving monosyllabic modal/subject forms in those person categories. The modal forms may not combine so readily with the first inclusive agreement form *da*, itself having a CV structure. Typically, no overt realisation of the modal forms occurs with that person category. Consequently the first person inclusive subject agreement category typically does not distinguish modality. However, very occasionally a neutral modal form does occur with first inclusive agreement as a disyllabic form:

- (8.22)  $\bar{g}$ -e      la heve e-u      ge       $\bar{g}$ e-da      fa-lehe-i-nā  
 NT-3.SBJ go what 3.SBJ-be.thus SEQ NT-1INC CS-die -3SGO-IMM  
 How are we going to kill him?

This does not occur with the realis form.

In summary, the auxiliary forms are:

Table 8.2: Modal auxiliary forms.

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
Irrealis	<i>a</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>
Realis	<i>n-a</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>n-o</i>	<i>n-e</i>
Neutral	$\bar{g}$ -a	[ $\bar{g}$ e-]da	$\bar{g}$ -o	$\bar{g}$ -e

### 8.5.2.3 Modal categories

#### 8.5.2.3.1 Irrealis

Irrealis auxiliaries occur in clauses which code either future events, or habitual actions, or past or present events which are not taking place (counterfactuals). Where an event is located in the future irrealis marking typically conveys this without any tense marking (note that in this section irrealis will be represented by an overt  $\emptyset$ ):

- (8.23)  $\emptyset$ -o      la ka-ni-nā      tagi-mi  
 IRR-2.SBJ go see-3SGO-IMM RFL-2PLP  
 Go and look at him yourselves.

However, the future tense marker *ginai* may cooccur with irrealis marking:

- (8.24) *ginai*  $\emptyset$ -o      lehe-nāhau      gau-palu  
 FUT IRR-2.SBJ die-eat youPL-two  
 You two will get hungry

Future irrealis events may also be marked for perfective aspect:

- (8.25) *gai*       $\emptyset$ -a-ke      pulo  
 weEXC IRR-1.SBJ-PRF return  
 We will go back.

The irrealis category also marks habituality. This applies whether the action is habitual at the time of speaking, as in (8.26)a., or was habitual at some point in the past, as in (8.26)b.:

- (8.26) a. *manei*  $\emptyset$ -e      keha nāhenhe,  
 he IRR-3.SBJ NSP be.separate  
 He is different,  
  
 $\emptyset$ -e-ti      fari-fata ka gita ira nakoni  
 IRR-3.SBJ-NEG MUT-?? LOC weINC thePL person  
 he is not the same as we humans.

- b. *ara Ø-a lao tarai e-u tifaro ka sade ide*  
 I IRR-1.SBJ go pray 3.SBJ-be.thus before LOC Sunday theseR  
 I used to go to church every Sunday.

Counterfactual events are coded as irrealis. In (8.27) the main clause predicate consists of the negative existential verb *teo*, and is marked irrealis:

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

The irrealis may also occur with the present tense marker, giving a sense of immediacy to the futurity. In this construction the progressive aspect marker is also obligatory:

- (8.28) *Ø-e-ge fufunu-gu bla tu-turi-ana*  
 IRR-3.SBJ-PRS begin-PRG LMT RD-tell-thatN  
 That story is starting straight away.

### 8.5.2.3.2 Realis

The realis auxiliaries mark real specific events which are actually happening at the time of speaking, as in (8.29)a., or have actually happened at some previous time, as in (8.29)b.:

- (8.29) a. *maneri n-e ġauai*  
 they RL-3.SBJ be.distant  
 They are far away.
- b. *n-e hage-nā ġobilologu*  
 RL-3.SBJ ascend-IMM PN  
 Gobilologu went up.

Realis auxiliaries freely cooccur with the perfective aspect marker *ke* and present tense *ge*, but do not cooccur with the future tense marker *ginai*.

### 8.5.2.3.3 Neutral

Auxiliaries coding the neutral category may occur in clauses which conform to the criteria for realis or irrealis: real events located in the past, as in (8.30)a., or present (8.30)b. (in this case historical present); and events located in the future (8.30)c. or which are habitual (8.30)d.

- (8.30) a. *manei ġ-e-ke ravi lao ka-ira bakla*  
 he NT-3.SBJ-PRF hide go LOC-thePL flat.root  
 He hid down in the roots.
- b. *sofo n-e-ge-ni bla ia sebele, ka sala bla nogoi,*  
 grab RL-3.SBJ-PRS-3SGO LMT theSG axe LOC PN LMT VOC  
 He grabs the axe [and uses it on] Sala, man!,
- ġ-e-ge faroh-i manei sala-n-e-ke-u*  
 NT-3.SBJ-PRS smite-TR he PN-RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus  
 and he kills Sala, that's how it was.
- c. *ginai saigona si-ge ġ-o tahe-i-nā t-au-ana ba*  
 todayIRR evening FOC-SEQ NT-2.SBJ tell-3SGO-IMM SB-exist-thatN ALT  
 This evening you tell them that.



- d. *ge ḡ-e hod-i ḡ-e-u-ṅa ia suli,*  
 SEQ NT-3.SBJ take-TR NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM theSG child  
 Then they take the baby
- ḡ-e puḡri-ṅa ia buklo-na*  
 NT-3.SBJ cut-IMM theSG umbilical.cord-3SGP  
 and they cut its cord.

Neutral auxiliaries may occur with the perfective aspect and present tense markers, as (8.30)a.-b. illustrate, but do not appear to cooccur with the future tense particle.

The neutral modal category is used to maintain a modal status (realis or irrealis) which has already been established. This can involve the maintenance in a subordinate clause of a modal status established in its main clause; or it can involve a main clauses maintaining a modal status established in the preceding discourse.

- (8.31) *ka tema-na la bla n-e faroh-i-na sala manei.*  
 LOC hut-thatN ?? LMT RL-3.SBJ smite-TR-thatN PN he  
 At that small house he killed Sala.

*tana nogoi age ḡ-e tetu-ṅa manei ge*  
 then VOC SEQ NT-3.SBJ stand-IMM he SEQ  
 Then, man, he stood up and,

*nogoi ḡ-e kaike maḡra*  
 VOC NT-3.SBJ one fight  
 man, he fought everyone.

*nogoi ḡ-e farogoho fa-teo-ri mane*  
 VOC NT-3.SBJ smite CS-be.not-3PLO man  
 Man, he killed all the men

*n-e-ke au-ro ka ḡilu-na tema-na e-u*  
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thoseNV LOC inside-3SGP hut-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus  
 who were inside that hut.

Typically in a narrative the modal status of the events is established, and this remains the status of most of the discourse, except for a few specific clause types such as reported speech, relative clauses, and so on. As a consequence, the neutral auxiliaries occur much more frequently in narratives than in conversation or exposition. This means that even when clauses which have another modal status intervene (for example with reported speech), the neutral signifies a return to the established discourse modal status. In other words that status has taken on a default status for that discourse, and the neutral signifies a reversion to the discourse default modal status.

The use of neutral auxiliaries in a narrative as opposed to modally marked forms is a stylistic choice. Some speakers when telling stories use the neutral forms extensively, establishing the modal status of the events early in the discourse, and reverting to the realis or irrealis forms only occasionally when necessary typically to prevent ambiguity. Other speakers use the neutral forms infrequently, maintaining the use of realis or irrealis auxiliaries throughout the discourse.

The most common use of neutral auxiliaries is not, however, in the main clauses of separate sentences, but in subordinate and coordinate clauses of various kinds. These include clauses coordinated to a sentence final 'be thus' clause; as well as the formulaic uses with negation and in irrealis 'why' questions.

'Be thus' tag clauses, discussed in 11.4.1, may mark modal status, with the host clause taking its modal status from the tag:

- (8.32) *ḡ-e fa-hage-u ka kame-na-re n-e-ke-u*  
 NT-3.SBJ CS-ascend-PRG LOC arm-3SGP-thoseN RL-3.SBJ-PRF-PRG  
 He put [them] up on his arms, he was like that.

As discussed in 9.7.2, in one negative construction a main clause with the negative existential verb *teo* governs a subordinate clause realising the negated event. In this construction this subordinate clause is always marked with a neutral auxiliary:

- (8.33) *n-e teo-nā ḡ-e mai-u mane huhurañi are*  
 RL-3.SBJ be.not-IMM NT-3.SBJ come-PRG man PNLOC thoseN  
 Those Huhurangi people aren't coming.

Cause interrogatives, discussed in 10.2.3.2, are expressed by two coordinated clauses - an interrogative and a declarative. The first clause is a 'be thus' clause with *heve* 'what' as subject. The second clause realises the event the cause of which is being questioned.

Where the reasons for a realis event are questioned the interrogative clause and the declarative clause are both marked realis:

- (8.34) *heve n-e-u ge n-e lao-nā manei buala*  
 what RL-3.SBJ-be.thus SEQ RL-3.SBJ go-IMM he PNLOC  
 Why did he go to Buala?

Where the event is irrealis, the interrogative clause is irrealis, while the declarative clause has a neutral auxiliary:

- (8.35) *heve e-u ge ḡ-e lao-nā buala*  
 what 3.SBJ-be.thus SEQ NT-3.SBJ go-IMM PNLOC  
 Why will he go to Buala?

#### 8.5.2.4 Competing auxiliaries unmarked for subject

An alternative and competing auxiliary system exists, reflecting a change taking place in the language. The auxiliary system is undergoing a shift from the system described in 8.5.2.1-2 above realising both modal categories and subject agreement, to a system which distinguishes modality but not subject agreement. The subject agreement function appears to be being lost. In the competing system the third person agreement auxiliary forms, the *e* forms, have expanded to cover the other person categories, forming a part of the modal marker:

Table 8.3: Competing subject-unmarked auxiliaries

Realis	Irrealis	Neutral
<i>ne</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ḡe</i>

In (8.36)a., for example, the subject is second person, so the equivalent subject indexed auxiliary would be *o-ge*. In (8.36)b. the subject is first inclusive, so the subject indexed equivalent form would be *da*.

- (8.36) a. *e-ge lao bla ago...*  
 IRR-PRS go LMT youSG  
 You just go ahead now...
- b. *gita-palu nā ne au fa-ḡonu...*  
 weINC-two IMM RL exist CS-be.insensible  
 We two are living wrong...

The replacement of subject indexed auxiliaries by empty base forms is occurring with apparently all speakers using the subject-unmarked forms occasionally. It appears that younger speakers use the subject-

unmarked forms more commonly than older speakers. There also appears to be a hierarchy of person categories most frequently replaced. The third person indexed auxiliaries are homophonous with the subject-unmarked forms. Of the other person categories, first person exclusive auxiliaries are the most commonly replaced with the subject-unmarked forms, with second person forms less commonly replaced, and first person inclusive by far the least commonly replaced. This hierarchy may be explained by a convergence of two unrelated factors. The first is that the hierarchy corresponds roughly to a frequency of use hierarchy. Clauses with third person subjects are the most common, with first person exclusive (typically singular) subjects the next most common. It is not clear without further analysis whether second person or first inclusive subjects are the least common, but the rough correspondence of third, first exclusive, and the rest, indicates that the most commonly used categories are the most likely to be replaced. The second factor is phonetic. Of the forms realising the three non-third person categories, the first exclusive and second person forms are the most similar to the third person forms, consisting of a single vowel which combines with the modal consonant, while the first inclusive form (*da* in every modal category) is much more distinct. The likelihood of the replacement of subject indexed forms with forms unindexed for subject corresponds to the frequency of use of the categories replaced and the phonetic distinctiveness of the forms realising those categories in relation to the replacement form. In addition, it appears that unindexed auxiliaries are more likely to occur where the clause has an overt subject which occurs post-verbally. Agreement marked auxiliaries seem to be less common where there is no overt subject (in which case the agreement may be more crucial), or where the subject is overtly realised preverbally (with the auxiliary immediately following the nominal it indexes).

The greater use of the non-indexing auxiliaries by younger speakers suggests that the language is in the process of losing its preverbal agreement in favour of a non-indexing auxiliary base.

#### 8.5.2.5 Auxiliary deletion

As discussed in 8.5.2.2, irrealis is the unmarked modal category in Kokota. The weakness of subject indexing reflected in the loss of subject distinctions described in 8.5.2.4 is also reflected in a tendency for auxiliaries with no overt form marking the modal category - irrealis - to be omitted. Where context allows no ambiguity, irrealis auxiliaries are frequently omitted in casual speech. This occurs commonly in imperatives, as in (8.37)a.; or in clauses with the desiderative *manahagi*, where the subject is assumed to be the speaker unless otherwise specified, as in (8.37)b.). It also occurs where the subject (particularly a first person subject) is overtly realised preverbally, rendering the subject indexing of the auxiliary redundant, as in (8.37)c.).

(8.37) a. *hage mai ade*  
ascend come here  
Come up here!

b. *manahagi-nigo nariha ta mai...*  
want-2SGO day.after.tomorrow SB come  
I want you, the day after tomorrow, to come [here].

c. *ara ke nhogi visi a-hi ka gita-palu*  
I PRF pay.back game this-EMPH LOC weINC-two  
I will reverse this game of ours.

#### 8.5.2.6 Negative marker *ti*

In one of the two negation strategies in the language the negative marker *ti* is suffixed to the auxiliary:

(8.38) *buka are-lau e-ti-ke mala fa za-zaho hae ge hae*  
book those-EMPH 3.SBJ-NEG-PRF PURP CS RD-go where and where  
These books will not be for sending everywhere

Negation is discussed in detail in 9.7.

### 8.5.2.7 Perfective aspect marker *ke*

Perfective aspect is marked by the form *ke*, which is suffixed to the auxiliary. The perfective occurs freely with auxiliaries of any of the three modal categories: irrealis, realis and neutral:

- (8.39) a. *gai a-ke pulo*  
 weEXC 1.SBJ-PRF return  
 We will go back.
- b. *n-e-ke birho sara mogare maneri*  
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF sleep thereD PNLOC they  
 They slept there at Mogare.
- c. *manei ġ-e-ke ravi lao ka-ira bakla*  
 he NT-3.SBJ-PRF hide go LOC-thePL flat.root  
 He hid down in the roots.

This particle may cooccur with either of the overt tense markers - future and present:

- (8.40) a. *ginai ke tore-igo-ña bo ago*  
 FUT PRF ask-2SGO-IMM CNT youSG  
 He will ask you to tell more later.
- b. *n-e-ke-ge aġe*  
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF-PRS go  
 He has gone. [Response to question "where is X?"]

The combination of the perfective and the present tense marker give a sense corresponding roughly to the English *already*. The example in (8.40)b. has a sense of "now he has completed going". However, the combination of present with perfective often has the implication of the event having taken place on a previous occasion:

- (8.41) *manei nañha-ġu n-e-ke-ge riso-i e-u*  
 he name-1SGP RL-3.SBJ-PRF-PRS write-3SGO 3.SBJ-be.thus  
 He has already written my name (on a previous occasion).

The implication of a previous occasion on which a similar event had taken place may be present in future tense marked clauses containing the perfective. The following example would be said by someone who had travelled to Buala already on the day of speaking, and was planning to travel there again that day:

- (8.42) *ara ginai a-ke lao buala*  
 I FUT 1.SBJ-PRF go PN  
 I will go to Buala.

This perfective particle usually forms a single phonological word with the auxiliary. However, when auxiliary deletion occurs the perfective may still be realised, as (8.37)c.) illustrates. When the auxiliary is overtly realised, the only particle which can intervene between the auxiliary and *ke* is the abilitative *boka*:

- (8.43) *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.

### 8.5.2.8 Present tense marker *ge*

The present tense marker *ge* typically occurs with the Realis auxiliaries, indicating that the event referred to is actually happening at the time of speaking:

- (8.44) *ne-ge aḡe fa-ho-hogo-na gai ka-ia mereseni mane-vaka*  
 RL-PRS go CS-RD-be.true-thatN weEXC LOC-theSG medicine man-ship  
 Now we believe in the white man's medicine.

The present tense marker may also occur with irrealis auxiliaries, indicating that the event, while in the future and so not yet real, will occur immediately:

- (8.45) *e-ge fufunu-gu bla tu-turi-ana*  
 3.SBJ-PRS begin-PRG LMT RD-tell-thatN  
 That story is starting straight away.

The particle also occasionally occurs with neutral auxiliaries, particularly in the historical present. Kokota speakers make frequent use of the historical present in story telling, typically to bring immediacy to an important or exciting moment. The following example comes from a story about a payback killing. The narrative consists of about two hundred clauses, the first two thirds of which deal with planning the raid, the build up to the killing, and tricking the main victim into presenting an easy target. This all involves realis auxiliaries with no present tense marking. The narrative then switches to present tense:

- (8.46) *sofo n-e-ge-ni bla ia sebele, ka sala bla nogoi,*  
 grab RL-3.SBJ-PRS-3SGO LMT theSG axe LOC PN LMT VOC  
 He grabs the axe [and uses it on] Sala, man!,  
  
*ḡ-e-ge faroh-i manei sala-n-e-ke-u*  
 NT-3.SBJ-PRS smite-TR he PN-RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus  
 and he kills Sala, that's how it was.  
  
*'lehe ne-u gita, ira tara nogoi'*  
 die RL-be.thus weINC thePL enemy VOC  
 'You and I are dead, enemy!'  
  
*ḡ-e-ge-ni-nā manei nogoi*  
 NT-3.SBJ-PRS-3SGO-IMM he VOC  
 he says to him!

The speaker then reverts to realis modality with no tense marking for the remainder of the narrative.

The present tense marker cooccurs with the Perfective marker, apparently only along with a Realis auxiliary, giving the sense that the event is, at the time of speaking, concluded:

- (8.47) *ia foḡra-ḡu ara n-e-ke-ge keli*  
 theSG sick-1SGP I RL-3.SBJ-PRF-PRS be.good  
 My sickness has got better.

### 8.5.3 Abilitative *boka* 'be able to'

The abilitative *boka* has two functions: as a main verb, and as a pre-head modal modifier.

In its verbal root function *boka* has the meaning 'be able':

- (8.48) *...ḡ-e fa-lehe-i-u, ḡ-e-la boka bo*  
 NT-3.SBJ CS-be.dead-3SGO-PRG NT-3.SBJ-go be.able CNT  
 [Tell them to] kill it, if they are able to.

It is potentially transitive, the ability relating to an event which is expressed by a complement clause, represented in square brackets in (8.49)a., or which is established within the preceding discourse, as in (8.49)b.:

- (8.49) a. *a boka-i bo gai [ke fa-doli-ni-na ia nakoni]*...  
 1.SBJ be.able-3SGO CNT weEXC PRF CS-be.alive-3SGO-thatN theSG person  
 We are able to make the person live on...
- b. *nā e-ke keha foḡra nhenhe bo...*  
 but 3.SBJ-PRF NSP sick be.separate CNT  
 But if there is a different sickness
- teo-nā gai boka-i-na e-u*  
 be.not-IMM weEXC be.able-3SGO-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus  
 we aren't able to [cure it].

Example (8.49)b. is from a discussion of custom medicines. The abilitative verb in this instance is understood to refer to the curing of the sickness. In its pre-core modifier role, *boka* indicates that the actor or subject is able to carry out the event coded by the predicate:

- (8.50) *e teo kaike ihei*  
 3.SBJ be.not one whoever  
 There is not anyone
- ta ḡ-e boka fa-lehe-i-na ia to-toi*  
 SB NT-3.SBJ be.able CS-be.dead-3SGO-thatN theSG RD-cook  
 who can kill the fire.

With this function *boka* is a true modifier rather than a verb within a serial construction. This is evident by the fact that other pre-head aspectual particles, such as the frequency markers *fani*, may intervene between *boka* and other verbs.

Because *boka* codes the ability of a participant to do something, this is treated as habitual and can only occur in irrealis or modally neutral clauses. Consequently it doesn't cooccur with a realis marked auxiliary. The habitual-like sense of *boka* also precludes it from occurring in a clause marked for temporal specificity. So while it can occur in clauses marked with the form *ginai* with its future tense marking function, it does not occur in clauses marked by *ginai* with its temporal meaning of 'today (irrealis)'.

The abilitative cannot cooccur with the desiderative *manahagi*.

## 8.5.4 Desideratives

Three ways exist in Kokota for expressing a desire on the part of an actor to carry out an action, or to have an action performed by others. Of these, one, the pre-head desiderative modifier *ḡroi*, occurs rarely. The two common means of performing this function are with the desiderative verb *manahagi*, and by the use of the general possessive base as a pre-head adverbial modifier.

### 8.5.4.1 Desiderative verb *manahagi*

The desiderative *manahagi* has two functions: that of a main verb, and that of a pre-head adverbial modifier. As a verb it is a general desiderative, with a combined sense of liking and wanting. A feature of the cultural context of this language community is that it is implicit that if someone likes something they also want it. It is possible to express liking for an object without the implicit wanting of *manahagi* by using the verb *ke-keli*- 'please', in a construction translatable as "it pleases me". However this is much less commonly used than constructions involving *manahagi*.

As a transitive main verb *manahagi* can have as its direct object an NP realising the object which is wanted or liked, as in (8.51)a., or a complement clause realising an event which the speaker wants to happen, as in (8.51)b.:

- (8.51) a. *ara manahagi-di tupe ide-hi*  
 I want-3PLO coconut.crab theseR-EMPH  
 I want these coconut crabs.
- b. *teo g̃-e manahagi-ni-u gai ta-hage-na ade*  
 be.not NT want-3SGO-PRG weEXC SB-ascend-thatN here  
 We don't want to come up here.

Alternatively, the verb may be ditransitive, with an NP direct object and an indirect object complement clause. The direct object realises the participant whom the speaker wants to carry out the action realised by the clausal indirect object:

- (8.52) *manahagi-g̃au [gau mane huhurañi]*  
 want-2PLO youPL man PNLOC  
 I want you Huhurangi people
- [kaike mai au gudu ade-hi kokota]*  
 one come exist EXHST here-EMPH PNLOC  
 to all come up together and live here at Kokota.

With these transitive functions *manahagi* carries a postverbal agreement enclitic, though occasionally this seems to be omitted. Like any transitive verb *manahagi* can take an incorporated nominal object, in which case no postverbal agreement marking is present:

- (8.53) *ara manahagi sileni*  
 I want money  
 I want money.

However, as a preverbal modifier *manahagi* indicates a desire on the part of the actor to carry out the action realised by a main verb present in the same clause:

- (8.54) *ara manahagi turi-tufa-nigo ago kaike tu-turi...*  
 I want tell-give-2SGO youSG one RD-tell  
 I want to tell you a story...

This is not a serial verb construction, as *manahagi* may precede the future tense marker *ginai*, itself solely a pre-head modifier. In fact these two particles may occur in either order, with commensurate meaning variation. If the desiderative occurs first the implication is that the actor currently wants to carry out the action, but wants to do so at some point in the future, as in (8.55)a., while if the future marker precedes *manahagi* it is read as indicating that the wanting itself will be in the future, as in (8.55)b.

- (8.55) a. *ago manahagi ginai lao buala*  
 youSG want FUT go PNLOC  
 You want to go to Buala (at some time in the future).
- b. *ago ginai manahagi lao buala*  
 youSG FUT want go PNLOC  
 You will want to go to Buala.

*Manahagi* and the abilitative *boka* may not cooccur.

#### 8.5.4.2 Desiderative marker *ḡroi*

The form *manahagi* is a desiderative verb which can be used as a preverbal modifier. The form *ḡroi*, on the other hand, appears to have the sole function of marking desiderative mood:

- (8.56) a. *ara n-a ḡroi dupa-i manei*  
 I RL-1.SBJ DSDR punch-3SGO he  
 I want to hit him.
- b. *ara a ḡroi n̄hau*  
 I 1.SBJ DSDR eat  
 I am going to want to eat.

This desiderative may occur in realis or irrealis clauses, as (8.56) illustrates. In realis clauses the subject at the moment of speaking wants to act. In irrealis clauses the subject will want to act at some point in the very near future.

This form cannot function as a verb (and there is, for example, no plural object form \**ḡro-ri*). It is used interchangeably with *manahagi* in its modifier role and with the pre-verbal possessive base, and cannot cooccur with either.

#### 8.5.4.3 The general possessive base as a preverbal desiderative modifier

A typologically unusual feature of some North-West Solomonian languages is the use of possessive marking with adverbial functions.<sup>4</sup> As touched on in 6.10, in Kokota, forms which function as possessives in noun phrases also occur as adverbial modifiers in two ways, one involving a preverbal location in the clause, the other involving a postverbal location. Postverbal possessives are discussed in 8.6.1. Preverbal possessive forms mark desiderative mood.

Pre-head adverbial possessive modifiers consist of the general possessive base *no-* (discussed in 6.4), with a suffix agreeing with the person and number of the actor or subject of the clause, the suffix forms being identical to those indexing the base for possessor in NPs. (The paradigm is presented in Table 6.2.) With its adverbial function this indexed base indicates a desire on the part of the actor or subject to carry out the action coded by the predication:

- (8.57) *mane aro n-e no-di faroho-ḡai gai*  
 man theseT RL-3.SBJ GP-3PLP smite-1INCO weINC  
 These men want to hit us.

Only the general possessive base is permissible in this construction. The consumable possession base (see 6.4.1) does not occur, even when the action involves consumption by mouth:

- (8.58) a. *maneri n-e papara gu-na n-e no-di n̄hau*  
 they RL-3.SBJ suffer CNTX-3SGP RL-3.SBJ GP-3PLP eat  
 They are suffering because they want to eat.
- 
- b. \**n-e ge-di n̄hau*  
 RL-3.SBJ CP-3PLP eat  
 They want to eat.

With this desiderative function the possessive base is inherently volitional - it may only mark events over which the subject has control. Consequently it only occurs with unergative and transitive agent subjects. It cannot mark stative or experiencer verbs, as in (8.59)a.-b. It can mark the bodily action verbs discussed in

<sup>4</sup> This phenomenon was first observed for Banoni by Lincoln (1976). Ross (1982) discusses the phenomenon in relation to several Bougainville languages.



7.1.3.2.1, which may be interpreted as volitional or non-volitional, but only with their volitional (and thus not middle voice) reading (as in (8.59)c.-d.). The possessive base can also mark the existential verb *au*, with its sense of being, staying or living somewhere ((8.59)e.):

- (8.59) a. *\*ara n-a no-ḡu heta*  
 I RL-1.SBJ GP-1SGP be.strong  
 I want to be strong.
- b. *\*ara n-a no-ḡu bula-nau*  
 I RL-1.SBJ GP-1SGP feel.angry-1SGP  
 I want to be angry.
- c. *ara n-a no-ḡu knaha*  
 I RL-1.SBJ GP-1SGP cough  
 I want to cough [on purpose].
- d. *\*ara n-a no-ḡu knaha-nau*  
 I RL-1.SBJ GP-1SGP cough-1SGP  
 I want to cough [as an involuntary experience].
- e. *ara n-a no-ḡu au bla*  
 I RL-1.SBJ GP-1SGP exist LMT  
 I want to just stay [here].

As with *ḡroi*, the desiderative possessive base may occur in realis or irrealis clauses, with the same semantic distinction between wanting to act at the moment of speaking, and the anticipation of wanting to act at some point in the very near future:

- (8.60) *ara a no-ḡu soso*  
 I 1.SBJ GP-1SGP piss  
 I am going to want to piss [soon].

Pre-head possessive adverbial modification differs from all other pre-head adverbial modifiers in that it may itself be modified by the preposed causative particle *fa*, indicating that the actor of the clause causes another participant to want to perform the action coded by the main verb. In (8.61) the actor is a nominalised clause functioning as a force argument:

- (8.61) *kumai bia ine n-e fa no-ḡu soso-nau ḡlehe ara*  
 drink beer thisR RL-3.SBJ CS GP-1SGP piss-1SGO very I  
 This drinking beer is really making me want to piss.

The possessive base also occurs in restricted exclamations of desire consisting of a first person indexed possessive base and a single lexical item, either a noun, as in (8.62)a., or a verb, as in (8.62)b.:

- (8.62) a. *no-ḡu sileni*  
 GP-1SGP money  
 I want money! [In this context not My money!]
- b. *no-ḡu zaho*  
 GP-1SGP go  
 I want to leave!

In this exclamatory construction both the general and the consumable possessive bases occur. Indeed, both may occur with verbs of consumption. Both of the following are grammatical:

- (8.63) a. *ge-gū n̄hau*  
 CP-1SGP eat  
 I want to eat!
- b. *no-gū n̄hau*  
 GP-1SGP eat  
 I want to eat!

This prompts the hypothesis that the source of the adverbial desiderative use of indexed possessive base lies in these kinds of exclamations. It is possible to hypothesise that first person possessor-indexed nouns were used as desiderative exclamations (as in (8.62)a.). Once the desiderative exclamatory function became entrenched it was extended to verbs (desired events) (as in (8.62)b.) as well as nouns (desired objects). The use of the forms as preverbal desideratives was then generalisable to other syntactic structures including normal full clauses ((8.57)). The fact that most verbs do not express an act of consumption may have meant that only the general possessive base was generalised to full clauses, leading to the situation illustrated in (8.58). This may, as a result, be flowing back to the exclamatory construction leading to the introduction of forms like (8.63)b. in competition with (8.63)a.. This, however, is all speculative at this stage.

### 8.5.5 Unitative *kaike*

The form *kaike* has a root function as the numeral 'one'. It also has a secondary function as a pre-head adverbial with a sense of the action applying to a number of participants in unison or as one. This operates in an absolutive manner, with the unitary nature of the participants applying to the undergoer of verbs which have an undergoer as part of their semantic structure, and to the actor or subject of verbs which do not.

When it occurs in intransitive clauses *kaike* indicates that the action is carried out by a group of participants acting together or in the same way:

- (8.64) *tehi-di mane-re n-e kaike isi hage ka gūku ana*  
 many-3PLP man-thoseN RL-3.SBJ one flee ascend LOC road thatN  
 Many of the people ran away together up the road.

In transitive clauses *kaike* gives the sense that the action is performed on several undergoers as a group or in the same way to each. In transitive clauses *kaike* appears to always cooccur with the exhaustive marker *gudu*:

- (8.65) *...ge ḡ-a kaike fa-lehe-ri gudu n̄a gai teḡe are-lau*  
 SEQ NT-1.SBJ one CS-die-3PLO EXHST IMM weEXC turtle thoseN-SPC  
 ...then we kill every one of those turtles

*Kaike* follows any other pre-head adverbial modifiers.

### 8.5.6 Purposive *mala*

The effect of the purposive marker *mala* differs slightly between volitional and non-volitional subjects. With a volitional actor/subject it indicates that the event coded by the predicate is the *intention* of the actor/subject, as in (8.66)a. With non-volitional subjects it indicates that the event is the *purpose* of the subject, as in (8.66)b.:

- (8.66) a. *mala fa-lehe-i-u n-e-ke-u-o b-ara...*  
 PURP CS-die-3SGO-PRG RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-thatNV ALT-I  
 I intended to kill him...
- b. *buka are-lau e-ti-ke mala fa za-zaho hae ge hae*  
 book thoseN-SPC 3.SBJ-NEG-PRF PURP CS RD-go where and where  
 These books will not be for sending everywhere.

*Mala* occurs in two possible positions. It may occur within the verb core as a pre-head modifier, modifying the verbal head of the predication. In this position it follows the auxiliary, as in (8.66)b. Alternatively, it may occur as an immediate pre-core modifier, preceding the auxiliary and modifying the entire core:

- (8.67) *fa puku-puku-ri bla ago e-u bla goi*  
 CS RD-be.short-3PLO LMT youSG 3.SBJ-be.thus LMT VOC  
 You make it short, man,
- mala n-e-ge au bo turi-di-re...*  
 PURP RL-3.SBJ-PRS exist CNT tell-3PLP-thoseN  
 so that these stories fit [on the tape]

Purposive subordinate clauses are discussed in detail in 11.2.7.

### 8.5.7 Definite marker *torai*

The particle *torai* indicates that the event realised by the clause has definitely happened or will definitely happen:

- (8.68) *n-e-ge torai nhigo teteḡu manei*  
 RL-3.SBJ-PRS definitely be.finished fish(V) he  
 He has definitely finished fishing now.

This is often used as an intensifier:

- (8.69) *nakodou ine n-e torai foḡra-dou. ginai e lehe-u*  
 woman thisR RL-3.SBJ definitely sick-be.big FUT 3.SBJ die-be.thus  
 The old woman is very sick. She will die.

When *torai* modifies a future event with a volitional actor/subject it indicates obligation:

- (8.70) a. *manei ginai torai zaho lao fufugo*  
 he FUT definitely go go tomorrow  
 He must leave tomorrow.
- b. *ginai ke hod-i-di bo bla e-u nafu-na teo ihei mane*  
 FUT PRF take-TR-3PLO CNT LMT 3.SBJ-be.thus base-3SGP be.not whoever man  
 Later we take them [the small ones] because there isn't anyone
- ta torai mai reregi-ni-na ia vetula-na ḡavana*  
 SB definitely come look.after-3SGO-thatN theSG law-3SGP government  
 who has to look after the government's law
- ka-ia ḡilu-na nau gai*  
 LOC-theSG inside-3SGP place weEXC  
 in our village.

*Torai* typically occurs within the verb core as a pre-head modifier, following the auxiliary and modifying the verbal head of the predication, as in (8.68) and (8.69). Alternatively, it may occur as an immediate pre-core modifier, preceding the auxiliary and modifying the entire core:

- (8.71) *ara torai a lao buala*  
 I definitely 1.SBJ go PNLOC  
 I have to go to Buala.

*Torai* cannot cooccur with the abilitative *boka*.

### 8.5.8 Future tense marker *ginai*

The form *ginai* occurs as a temporal locative with the meaning 'today (irrealis)' (ie. 'later today') (discussed in 5.5):

- (8.72)     *ai*           *lehe-nā*   *gita*       *ginai*  
 EXCLM die-IMM weINC todayIRR  
 Oh! We're about to die.

The form *ginai* also has the grammaticalised function of marking future tense. As such it marks futurity of any temporal distance, and is not limited to later within the same day corresponding to the temporal locative function:

- (8.73)     *ara*   *ginai*   *pulo*   *mai*   *ka*   *fa*   *palu*   *wiki-ana*  
 I       FUT   return come LOC CS two   week-thatN  
 I will come back in two weeks.

The time coded by the future marker may be distant. In (8.74) the event referred to is anticipated to occur at some unknown and unspecified time no sooner than the following year, at least six months after the time of speaking:

- (8.74)     *ginai*   *mai*   *gudu*   *bla*   *baiu*   *ka*   *sikolu-ne*   *bla*  
 FUT   come EXHST LMT PSBL LOC school-thisR LMT  
 I think they will all come to this school.

As future events are inherently irrealis, *ginai* cannot cooccur with a realis auxiliary, or a neutral auxiliary. It does occur with irrealis auxiliaries, which are often omitted in future tense marked clauses.

Futurity is frequently not overtly marked. In irrealis marked clauses the context frequently clarifies that a future rather than habitual sense is intended. Equally clauses containing an overt future temporal often do not also carry future tense marking. The future marker *ginai* is used optionally to clarify or emphasise the futurity of the event.

As a temporal locative *ginai* occurs on the clause periphery. As the grammaticalised future tense marker it occurs within the verb complex as a preverbal modifier in one of two positions. It may occur as an immediate pre-core modifier, preceding the auxiliary and modifying the entire core, as in (8.75)a. Alternatively, it may occur within the verb core as a pre-head modifier, following the auxiliary and modifying the verbal head of the predication, as in (8.75)b.:

- (8.75) a. *ka*   *varedake*   *palu*   *zulai*  
 LOC twenty two July  
 On the twenty second of July
- ginai*   *e*       *gato*   *pulo-i*       *ia*       *sekon*   *apointed*   *dei*  
 FUT 3.SBJ think return-3SGO theSG second.appointed.day  
 [one] will remember the Second Appointed Day.<sup>5</sup>
- b. *manei*   *e*       *ginai*   *au*   *ka*   *nau*   *ine*  
 he   3.SBJ FUT exist LOC place thisR  
 He will live in this village.

### 8.5.9 Frequency markers *fani* and *tuma*

The particles *fani* and *tuma* both indicate that the event coded by the predicate they modify occurs regularly. The difference is one of frequency. With *tuma* the modified event occurs very frequently. The

<sup>5</sup> Ie. it will be the anniversary of the Second Appointed Day, the day on which Provincial powers were devolved to the island of Santa Isabel.

exact inference of frequency depends on the nature of the modified event. With normal domestic activities, for example, the inference is that the event occurs every day, or close to it, as in (8.76)a. With events requiring more time and effort, as in (8.76)b., the implicit frequency is not necessarily daily, but nonetheless more frequently than is usual.

- (8.76) a. *manei e tuma teteḡu*  
 he 3.SBJ very.often fish(V)  
 He goes fishing very often.
- b. *suka e tuma lao buala*  
 PN 3.SBJ very.often go PNLOC  
 Suka goes to Buala very often.

Events expressed by clauses marked with *fani* also occur frequently, but less so than those marked with *tuma*.

- (8.77) *ara a fani korho namhari e-u*  
 I 1.SBJ often pull fish be.thus  
 I often catch fish.

Actions which are performed often are normally thought of as habitual. As habitual actions are treated as irrealis in Kokota, clauses containing *fani* and *tuma* are typically irrealis. Realis auxiliaries usually only occur with *fani* or *tuma* when the clause refers to events which formerly, but no longer, occurred frequently. In this case the clause is obligatorily also marked with the perfective aspect marker *ke*.

- (8.78) *tifaro ara n-a-ke fani lao buala*  
 before I RL-1.SBJ-PRF often go PNLOC  
 Before, I used to often go to Buala.

## 8.6 Post-head modifiers and agreement markers

A small number of particles and clitics occur within the verb complex, following the actual verbs. Of these, the possessive base, argument agreement forms, and incorporated arguments occur within the verb complex core. Others occur outside the verb core as outer modifiers, or may occur either inside or outside the core.

### 8.6.1 The general possessive base as post-head immediacy marker

As indicated in 8.5.4.3, in some North-West Solomonian languages possessive marking occurs within the verb complex with adverbial functions. This typologically unusual phenomenon occurs in Kokota. An indexed possessive base (described in 6.4) occurs as a pre-head desiderative adverbial marker (discussed in 8.5.4.3). In addition, Kokota shares with several languages of Choiseul and Bougainville the phenomenon of a clause structure in which the indexed possessive base occurs post-verbally. This construction (Ross's 1982 "Structure B") is historically derived from a nominalised structure. In Kokota it is optional, and functions to mark the event as having high saliency or immediacy. It often occurs as a response to a question such as 'what are you doing?' or 'how are you feeling?', with a sense of the event occurring 'right now':

- (8.79) a. *ara n-a babao no-ḡu*  
 I RL-1.SBJ be.tired GP-1SGP  
 I'm tired.
- b. *ḡe aḡe mhemhe no-mai n-e-u*  
 NT go be.difficult GP-1EXCP RL-3.SBJ-be.thus  
 We find [that] difficult.

While the construction typically indicates an event or state applying at the moment of speaking, it can refer to past or future events. Past events marked in this way usually have a sense of the event having just

occurred, right before the moment of speaking, as in (8.80)a.. However, if another temporal frame has been established, it may indicate that the event had high saliency at the moment indicated, as in (8.80)b.:

- (8.80) a. *ara n-a-ke toga no-g̃u*  
 I RL-1.SBJ arrived GP-1SGP  
 I have just arrived [right now].
- b. *ka-t-au-ana g̃e la lehe no-g̃u bo-sini*  
 LOC-SB-exist-thatN NT go die GP-1SGP CNT-FOC  
 At that I nearly died.

With irrealis marking the postverbal possessive marking indicates that the event is about to occur, immediately after the moment of speaking:

- (8.81) *maneri e zaho no-di*  
 they 3.SBJ go GP-3SGP  
 They are about to go [right now].

In imperatives the form gives a sense that the event should occur immediately:

- (8.82) a. *zaho no-u*  
 go GP-2SGP  
 Go away!
- b. *mai ome no-da*  
 come fuck GP-1INCP  
 Come and let's fuck!

Unlike preverbal possessive marking, both the general and consumable possessive bases occur postverbally. The consumable base occurs with the same function as the general base, but marks events of consumption:

- (8.83) *manei n-e pipiala ge-na*  
 he RL-3.SBJ smoke CP-3SGP  
 He is smoking.

The postverbal indexed possessive base occurs as a modifier within the verb core. Consequently in transitive clauses it precedes realisation of the object, either in the form of an object agreement enclitic (in which case it hosts the enclitic), as in (8.84)a.-b., or an incorporated noun (8.84)c.:

- (8.84) a. *manahagi ta aḡe kae no-g̃u-ni*  
 want SB go see GP-1SGP-3SGO  
 I want to go and see this.
- b. *ara n-a hoda no-g̃u-di palu kokorako ide*  
 I RL-1.SBJ take GP-1SGP-3PLO two chicken theseR  
 I'm taking these two chickens.
- c. *manei n-e-ke n̄hau ge-na namhari nhigo*  
 he RL-3.SBJ-PRF eat CP-3SGP fish be.finished  
 He has just eaten [some] fish.

Note that in (8.84)b. the verb itself is in its intransitive form *hoda*, not its transitivised form *hod-i*. Verbs which take the transitivising suffix only do so when no constituents intervene between the verb and an object enclitic. When the possessive base is present it intervenes, blocking the presence of the suffix.

The indexed possessive base also precedes the progressive aspect enclitic:

- (8.85) *n-e-ge kusu la toga no-di-u bagovu*  
 RL-3.SBJ-PRS be.first go arrive GP-3PLP-PRG PNLOC  
 They are going to Bagovu.

The immediacy indicated by the possessive base may be emphasised by its cooccurrence with the immediate marker *n̄a* (see 9.8.5):

- (8.86) *ara n-a babao no-ḡu-n̄a*  
 I RL-1.SBJ be.tired GP-1SGP-IMM  
 I'm tired [right now].

For three verbs, *mhagu* 'be afraid', *dogoho* 'be lazy, be unwilling' and *ḡonu* 'be insensible, not know', the verb root frequently occurs in a reduced form compounded with the post-verbal possessive base. In this compounding the root is reduced to its initial syllable, the possessive base replacing the non-initial syllables. The semantics of these verbs mean they are likely to have frequently cooccurred with the possessive base in exclamations meaning 'I'm afraid', 'I don't want to' and 'I don't know/understand', the frequency of collocation presumably leading to concatenation and reduction of the forms.

The verbs *mhagu* and *ḡonu* typically occur in intransitive clauses, although both subcategorise for an optional object - the source of the fear in the case of *mhagu*, the subject matter of the lack of understanding or knowledge with *ḡonu*:

- (8.87) a. *ara n-a mhagu*  
 I RL-1.SBJ be.afraid  
 I'm afraid.
- b. *ara n-a ḡonu*  
 I RL-1.SBJ be.insensible  
 I don't understand.
- c. *ara n-a mhagu-ni ia lehe-ḡu*  
 I RL-1.SBJ be.afraid-3SGO theSG be.dead-1SGP  
 I am afraid of my death.
- d. *hei n-e ḡonu-nau-na ara*  
 who RL-3.SBJ be.insensible-1SGO-thatN I  
 Who doesn't know about me?

These combine with the possessive base to form the compounds *mha-no-* and *ḡo-no-*, with meanings identical to a combination of the meaning of the root and the immediacy given by the modifier. The compound *mha-no-* may be intransitive, however it typically occurs as a transitive verb. The compound *ḡo-no-* is only transitive:

- (8.88) a. *ara n-a mha-no-ḡu*  
 I RL-1.SBJ be.afraid-GP-1SGP  
 I'm afraid.
- b. *ara n-a mha-no-ḡu-di kakafre are*  
 I RL-1.SBJ be.afraid-GP-1SGP-3PLO spider thoseN  
 I am afraid of those spiders.
- c. *ara n-a ḡo-no-ḡu-ni nan̄ha-na-na manei*  
 I RL-1.SBJ be.insensible-GP-1SGP-3SGO name-3SGP-thatN he  
 I don't know his name.

The corresponding uncompounded collocations \**mhagu no-* and \**gonu no-* do not occur. With *dogoho* the uncompounded and compound forms both occur and are semantically identical and intransitive only:

- (8.89) a. *ara n-a dogoho no-g̃u si-n̄-ara nogoi*  
 I RL-1.SBJ be.lazy GP-1SGP FOC-IMM-I VOC  
 I can't be bothered, man!
- b. *n-e do-no-g̃u-n̄a ara ge, o-ti huhuru-nau e-u goi*  
 RL-3.SBJ be.lazy-GP-1SGP-IMM I SEQ 2.SBJ-NEG force-1SGO 3.SBJ-be.thus VOC  
 I don't want to, so don't force me, man!
- c. *n-e-ke do-no-di-ro keha mane-ro ka-t-au-are bla*  
 RL-3.SBJ-PRF be.lazy-GP-3PLP-thoseNV NSP man-thoseNVLOC-SB-exist-thoseN LMT  
 Some people just are lazy for those [tasks].

### 8.6.2 Transitivity suffix

The replacive transitivity suffix *-i* is discussed in detail in 7.3.2. It occurs with a specific class of verb roots, but only occurs when the root is the final constituent before an object enclitic. It does not occur on non-final verbs in a series, or to final verbs where an adverbial constituent such as *fakamo* 'always' or the postverbal possessive base intervenes as (8.100) and (8.84)b. illustrate.

### 8.6.3 Postverbal argument indexing

A postverbal agreement enclitic occurs in all transitive clauses.<sup>6</sup> The forms, function and behaviour of this argument indexing are discussed in 7.1.2.2.

### 8.6.4 Demonstrative agreement enclitics

The penultimate position in the verb complex core is occupied by a cliticised demonstrative form. The behaviour of these cliticised demonstratives in subordinate clauses is discussed in various relevant sections of 11.2. In main clauses they are optional, and agree with the absolutive argument. When occurring in an intransitive clause a cliticised demonstrative agrees with the number and deictic features of the sole core argument. This applies whether the subject is unergative, as in (8.90), or unaccusative, as in (8.91).

- (8.90) a. *mane mariñe ge mane g̃ao, mane n-e-ke aḡe-ro-u...*  
 man PNLOC and man PNLOC man RL-3.SBJ-PRF go-thoseNV-PRG  
 The people from Maringe and the people from Gao, those people went...
- b. *...zaho g̃-e la au iaro hurepelo keha-re,*  
 go NT-3.SBJ go exist thosePV PNLOC NSP-thoseN  
 ...some went and lived over at Hurepelo,
- mai au-de-hi ade-hi goveo*  
 come exist-theseR-EMPH here-EMPH PNLOC  
 and these came and lived here at Goveo,
- g̃-e mai au-gu gai keha-ide*  
 NT-3.SBJ come exist-PRG weEXC NSP-theseR  
 these of us came and are living at Goveo
- (8.91) a. *dadara e-u blau n-e-ke zikra-ro*  
 blood 3.SBJ-be.thus LMT RL-3.SBJ-PRF pour-thoseNV  
 Blood was pouring out.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This excludes clauses displaying incorporation, which are formally intransitive.

<sup>7</sup> *Dadara* 'blood' is plural in Kokota.



- b. *maḡra t-au-la manei kame-ḡu n-e au-de bla la bo...*  
 fight SB-exist-CND he hand-1SGP RL-3.SBJ exist-theseR LMT ?? CNT  
 If there is a fight, my hands are here...

If a demonstrative is cliticised to a transitive predication it agrees with the object:

- (8.92) a. *a fa nhigo-ri-ro-u*  
 1.SBJ CS finish-3PLO-thoseNV-PRG  
 I will finish those [stories].
- b. *e-u n-a mhagu-mhagu-di-re ara*  
 3.SBJ-be.thus RL-1.SBJ be.afraid-be.afraid-3PLO-thoseN I  
 So I'm a bit afraid of those [things happening].

### 8.6.5 Incorporated arguments

The position in the verb complex which is occupied by an object indexing enclitic in a formally transitive clause may be occupied instead by an incorporated NP core (with the proviso that the agreement indexing forms cliticise to the preceding word, while incorporated nominals do not). All formally transitive clauses must have either an object indexing enclitic or an incorporated nominal, and cannot have both. Incorporation is discussed in detail in 7.4.

### 8.6.6 Progressive marker *-gu ~ -u*

Progressive aspect is marked by means of the enclitic *-gu ~ -u*, and indicates that the situation coded by the predication is ongoing at a point in time established within the temporal frame of the clause. The allomorphic variation in the marker is phonologically motivated. The underlying form is *-gu*. This appears on the surface following any form which is /u/ final, including forms which end with the diphthongs /au/ and /ou/. Where the /•/ is not necessary to disambiguate the marker from the preceding vowel it is omitted:

- (8.93) a. *ḡ-e au-gu ḡerona*  
 NT-3.SBJ exist-PRG PN  
 They were living at Gerona.
- b. *...n-e kota-u manei gu-na n-e suru-i ta-tahi*  
 RL-3.SBJ go.ashore-PRG he CNTX-3SGP RL-3.SBJ jab-3SGO RD-sea  
 ...he is going ashore because a stingray jabbed him.

This is in keeping with /•/ deletion occurring elsewhere in the language (discussed in 2.1.2.3.3).

The progressive marker can occur in clauses with any of the modal auxiliaries. However a cooccurrence of the progressive with an irrealis auxiliary indicates that the event is not taking place at the moment of speaking, but is about to take place immediately:

- (8.94) a. *ara a aḡe-u*  
 I 1.SBJgo-PRG  
 I am going now.
- b. *mala lase-ri-u gau*  
 PURP know-3PLO-PRG youPL  
 So you will [be] know[ing] them [the stories].

Progressive marking is not limited to active verbs. It can also occur with stative verbs, as in (8.95)a. or experienter verbs ((8.95)b.):

- (8.95) a. ...*ḡ-e*      *aḡe*   *keli-u*      *bla*   *nakoni*   *ana*  
 NT-3.SBJ go    be.good-PRG LMT person thatN  
 ...that man goes good [ie. gets well] [again].
- b. *n-a*      *bula-nau-gu*      *ara*  
 RL-1.SBJ feel.angry-1SGO-PRG I  
 I am (very) cross.

The progressive marker is an enclitic occurring finally within the verb core. It attaches to whatever constituent occurs in penultimate position in the core. In the majority of intransitive clauses this is a verb (as in (8.94)a.). In the majority of transitive clauses it is the postverbal agreement enclitic (as in (8.94)b.). When an incorporated nominal is present the marker is cliticised to that, as the following comparison reveals:

- (8.96)      *manei*   *teo*      *ḡ-e*      *korho*   *namhari-u*  
 he      be.not NT-3.SBJ pull    fish-PRG  
 He wasn't catching fish.

### 8.6.7 Completive aspect marker *nhigo*

As discussed in 7.5.2, the verb *nhigo* 'be finished' can occur as  $V_3$  in a serial verb construction, modifying the rest of the verbs in the series, and indicating that the event expressed by those verbs is carried to completion. The form also occurs as a post-core modifier, modifying the entire verb complex core, and indicating that the entire predication is completed at the time of speaking, a sense akin to the English *already*. The example in (8.97)a. illustrates the serial  $V_3$ , (8.97)b. the post-core modifier. The formal distinction is revealed by the position of the form in relation to the postverbal agreement indexing enclitic:

- (8.97) a. *ara*   *n-a*      *dupa*   ***nhigo-i***      *manei*  
 I    RL-1.SBJ punch be.finished-3SGO he  
 I have finished hitting him.
- b. *ara*   *n-a*      *dupa-i*      ***nhigo***      *manei*  
 I    RL-1.SBJ punch-3SGO be.finished he  
 I have already hit him.

As with any post-core modifier, this follows not only object agreement, but also incorporated nominals (in this example the NP core *ge-na namhari* 'his fish'):

- (8.98)      *manei*   *n-e-ke*      *n̄hau*   *ge-na*   *namhari*   ***nhigo***  
 he      RL-3.SBJ-PRF eat    CP-3SGP fish      be.finished  
 He has already eaten his fish.

As a serial verb, *nhigo* freely occurs in irrealis clauses, indicating that at some point in the future an event will be carried to completion. As a post-core modifier it cannot occur in an irrealis clause, the notion of an event already having occurred clashing with the unrealised nature of irrealis events. *Nhigo* may cooccur with the perfective aspect marker *ke*, indicating that the event had already been completed at some point in the past, as in (8.99)a. With the present tense marker *ge* it indicates that the event is complete at the time of speaking, as in (8.99)b.:

- (8.99) a. *manei*   *n-e-ke*      *toga*   ***nhigo***  
 he      RL-3.SBJ-PRF arrive be.finished  
 He had already arrived.
- b. *manei*   *n-e-ge*      *toga*   ***nhigo***  
 he      RL-3.SBJ-PRS arrive be.finished  
 He has already arrived.

### 8.6.8 *Fakamo* 'always'

The adverb *fakamo* indicates that the event expressed by the predication always occurs. It occurs in two possible positions. It may occur within the verb core modifying the verb or verbs present in the core:

- (8.100) *ge e teo gē lao ge hoda fakamo-i-u gai le-legu nare...*  
 be.thus 3.SBJ be.not NT go and take always-3SGO-PRG weEXC RD-behind day  
 So, we don't always go and take it every day...

More typically the form occurs in the immediate post-core modifier position, modifying the entire verb complex. The semantic result is effectively identical. The formal distinction is revealed by the relative positions of the adverb and the postverbal agreement indexing enclitic:

- (8.101) *fakae-ni fakamo bla gai au-gu mala-na-re naitu t-au-ana*  
 see-3SGO always LMT weEXC exist-PRG footprint-3SGP-thoseN devil SB-exist-thatN  
 We always see those footprints of that devil existing [there].

As an outer modifier *fakamo* follows any incorporated nominal:

- (8.102) *ara a korho namhari fakamo*  
 I 1.SBJ pull fish always  
 I always catch fish.

*Fakamo* cannot cooccur with the post-head possessive base saliency modifier, or with *nhigo* 'be finished'.

### 8.6.9 Exhaustive marker *gudu*

The form *gudu* is an exhaustive marker able to modify verbs or nominals. Its use with nominals is discussed in 4.2.2.4. As an adverb it occurs in the immediate post-core modifier position, modifying the entire predication and indicating that the action was carried out exhaustively. This is effectively absolutive: in transitive clauses it indicates that the event was performed on every possible undergoer, while in intransitive clauses it indicates that the event was performed by every possible actor/subject:

- (8.103) a. *ḡ-a kaike fa-lehe-ri gudu n̄a gai tege are-lau*  
 NT-1.SBJ one CS-die-3PLO EXHST IMM weEXC turtle thoseN-SPC  
 ...we kill every one of those turtles.
- b. *ginai mai gudu bla baiu ka sikolu-ne bla*  
 FUT come EXHST LMT PSBL LOC school-thisR LMT  
 [I think] maybe they will all come to this school.

The adverbial *gudu* may only occur with active predications, and not with statives. This places it in complementary distribution with the post-core intensifier *glehe*, which only occurs with stative predications.

### 8.6.10 Intensifier *glehe*

The form *glehe* occurs in immediate post-core modifier position. It occurs with stative predications intensifying the state coded by the verb:

- (8.104) a. *grugu-o n-e-ke glaba glehe*  
 night-thatNV RL-3.SBJ-PRF be.moonbright very  
 Last night was very moonbright.

- b. *n-e dia ġlehe*  
 RL-3.SBJ be.bad very  
 [That] is very bad.

It also marks experiencer verbs (see 7.1.3.2). However, for bodily action verbs, which may be experiencer or active verbs, only the middle voice experiencer version may be modified by *ġlehe*:

- (8.105) a. *n-a sihe-nau ġlehe*  
 RL-1.SBJ sneeze-1SGO very  
 I'm really sneezing.
- b. *\*n-a sihe ġlehe*

Interestingly, *ġlehe* also marks transitive predications consisting of a causativised stative or experiencer verb. In this construction it does not intensify the causing by the actor, but the state or experience applying to the patient resulting from the causation:

- (8.106) a. *naprai ana n-e fa babao-nau ġlehe*  
 sun thatN RL-3.SBJ CS be.tired-1SGO very  
 That sun is making me very tired.
- b. *kumai ana n-e fa boe-ni ġlehe ġazu ine*  
 water thatN RL-3.SBJ CS be.rotten-3SGO very wood thisR  
 The water has really rotted this wood.
- c. *karipauda-na n-e fa sihe-nau ġlehe ara*  
 curry.powder-thatN RL-3.SBJ CS sneeze-1SGO very I  
 That curry powder is really making me sneeze.

This applies even when a causativised stative occurs within an active serial construction. In (8.107) *ġlehe* is modifying the causativised *heta* 'be strong':

- (8.107) *ago n-o gorha fa heta ġlehe*  
 youSG RL-2.SBJ paddle CS be.strong very  
 You are paddling very strongly.

*Glehe* also occurs with a small group of active verbs which code an event resulting in a state applying to a patient. These verbs include:

- (8.108) a. *tazi* 'keep'  
 b. *fana* 'feed, give food to'  
 c. *namha* 'love, be kind to'  
 d. *ohai* 'keep' (as in a domestic animal - equivalent to the English verb *husband*)

- (8.109) *manei n-e tazi-nau ġlehe*  
 he RL-3.SBJ keep-1SGO very  
 He looked after me very much.

In addition, the desiderative verb *manahagi* may be modified by *ġlehe*, suggesting that wanting is treated conceptually as a state, although the verb itself is not stative:

- (8.110) *ara manahagi-ni ġlehe ta lao-na buala*  
 I want-3SGO very SB go-thatN PNLOC  
 I want very much to go to Buala.

Other than the effective verbs shown in (8.108), *glehe* may not modify an active verb or an entire active predication, only that part of an active predication which is stative. The form is in complementary distribution with the post-core exhaustive marker *gudu*, which only occurs with active predications. Two kinds of exceptions exist to this restriction on *glehe* marking active predications. One is limited to the verbs *hage* 'ascend' and *kave* 'descend', and to clauses which refer to the escape of caged animals:

(8.111) a. *zora ana n-e kave glehe*  
 pig thatN RL-3.SBJ descend very  
 That pig always gets out [of its pen].

b. *memeha ana n-e hage glehe*  
 bird thatN RL-3.SBJ ascend very  
 That bird always gets out [of its cage].

Again it is possible to speculate that a conceptual state applies to the referent animals in these instances - a state of being which predisposes the animals to escape.

The other exception applies to the pre-head frequency modifiers *fani* 'often' and *tuma* 'very often' (see 8.5.9). Any active clause marked with either of these modifiers may also be marked with *glehe*:

(8.112) *ago n-o tuma nhau gausa glehe*  
 youSG RL-2.SBJ very.often eat betel.nut very  
 You really chew betel nut all the time.

In this instance it may be that the modifiers ascribe a characteristic to the subject that is conceptually somewhat akin to a state of being.

## 8.7 Verb complex structure

### 8.7.1 Verb complex core structure

Within the verb complex the verb complex core (representable as V') contains all lexical verbs along with several pre-head and post-head inner modifiers.

The pre-head core modifiers consist of the auxiliary, and four pre-head core modifier positions. The first of these is the auxiliary position. The internal structure of the auxiliary is represented in (8.21). The second position is a tense position which may be filled only by the future tense marker *ginai*. The third position is a mood position which may contain the abilitative *boka*, the purposive *mala*, the definite marker *torai*, or one of the three desiderative markers: *manahagi*, *groyi*, or the pre-head possessive indexing. The fourth position may be filled by one of the frequency markers *fani* 'often' and *tuma* 'very often'. Position five allows only the unitative marker *kaike*.

These pre-head modifiers are followed by a verb or up to three verbs in a serial construction.

The verbs are followed by post-head inner modifiers, comprising a post-head aspect modifier position, which may be filled by either *fakamo* 'always' or the post-head possessive base immediacy/saliency marker. This is followed by an agreement/object position comprising an argument indexing enclitic plus a demonstrative enclitic, or an incorporated nominal. The final core modifier position is a second aspect position which may be filled only by the progressive aspect marker *-gu ~ -u*. This may be summarised as:

(8.113)

$$V' \rightarrow (AUX) + (TNS) + (MOOD) + (FRQ) + (UNIT) + V^* + (ASP1) + \left[ \begin{array}{l} ((OBJ) + (DEM)) \\ (INCORP) \end{array} \right] + (ASP2)$$

With forms displayed (other than auxiliary forms) this schema represents the following for pre-head modifiers:

$$(8.114) \quad V' \rightarrow (\text{AUX}) + (\text{ginai}) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{(\text{boka})\} \\ \{(\text{mala})\} \\ \{(\text{torai})\} \\ \{(\text{manahagi})\} \\ \{(\bar{\text{g}}\text{roi})\} \\ \{(\text{no-})\} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{(\text{fani})\} \\ \{(\text{tuma})\} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{kaike})$$

With forms displayed (other than object indexing, demonstrative agreement, and incorporated nominal forms) the schema represents the following for post-head modifiers:

$$(8.115) \quad V' \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{(\text{fakamo})\} \\ \{(\text{no-} \sim \text{ge-})\} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{(\text{OBJ}) + (\text{DEM})\} \\ \{(\text{INCorp})\} \end{array} \right\} + (-\text{gu} \sim -\text{u})$$

### 8.7.2 Verb complex outer modifier structure

The overall verb complex (representable as V'') comprises the verb core, preceded by one outer modifier position and one post-core outer modifier position.

The pre-head modifier position may contain the purposive marker *mala*, the future tense marker *ginai*, or the definite marker *torai*, all of which may alternatively occur within the core. The same form may not occur both within the core and in the pre-core position. The post-core outer modifier position may contain either the completive aspect marker *nhigo* (which also occurs within the core as a verb), the aspect marker *fakamo* 'always' (which may also occur within the core in ASP1 position), the exhaustive marker *gudu*, or the intensifier *glehe*.

The overall verb complex structure may be summarised as:

$$(8.116) \quad V'' \rightarrow (\text{MODIFIER1}) + V' + (\text{MODIFIER2})$$

With forms displayed this represents the following:

$$(8.117) \quad V'' \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{(\text{mala})\} \\ \{(\text{ginai})\} \\ \{(\text{torai})\} \end{array} \right\} + V' + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{(\text{nhigo})\} \\ \{(\text{fakamo})\} \\ \{(\text{gudu})\} \\ \{(\bar{\text{g}}\text{lehe})\} \end{array} \right\}$$