Chapter 11
Complex sentences

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

11.1 Coordination

11.1.1 Particles ge and age

11.1.1.1 Ge and age as clause sequencing particles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. "..." č-e-u-ña suaragi,
NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM PN
"...," said Suaragi,
and then he died, that’s how it was.

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

(11.3)  

```
  ge  ge  zaho-r\-a  gita  buala  
SEQ NT  go-IMM  weINC  PNLOC
```

Before we go to Buala

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

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

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

(11.4)  

```
  ara  n-a  fa-no-nomho  bo,  
I  RL-1.SBJ  CS-RD-hear  CNT
I listened,
```

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

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

(11.5)  

```
a.  ginai  ge  ge  toi-r\-a  
todayIRR  SEQ  NT  cook-IMM
Later today (must come) before [we] cook.
```

```
b.  niha-na  ge  da  lao-r\-a  buala  
when-thatN  SEQ  1INC.SBJ  go-IMM  PNLOC
When will we go to Buala?
```
c. legu-na toka kave ana gitα ąazu ana
behind-3SGP chop descend thatN weINC wood thatN
After we have cut down that tree

gē gē fike noña ago
SEQ NT chop wood firewood youSG
then you will make firewood.

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

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

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

an-lau ge ą-e lao-ńa ka-ia suğa
thatN SEQ NT-3.SBJ go-IMM LOC-theSG house
That, and then she goes to the house

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

b. n-e-ke aģe-ro-u ą-e hure ą-e aģe-u
They went and they carried and they went.

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

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

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

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

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

278
b. *n-e la de-deke-u sini ge*

RL-3.SBJ go RD-step-PRG FOC SEQ

He stepped and then

*a* ge *koko la-ni-ňa sara rauru*

SEQ NT-3.SBJ leave go-3SGO-IMM thereD seaward
he threw him there seaward.

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

(11.8) *ka-t-au-ao ge*

LOC-SB-exist-thisT SEQ

From that

*a* ge *kuru nakoni-ňa n-e-ke-u-ňa aro-hi ade-hi*

SEQ have person-IMM RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-IMM theseT-EMPH here-EMPH
there are people here.

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

(11.9) "*...* *g-é-u-ňa tikilave,*

NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM PN

"..." said Tikilave,

*a* ge *lao-ňa mane kokota ide n-e-ke-u*

SEQ NT-3.SBJ go-IMM man PNLOC theseR RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus
and then these Kokota people went, it was like that.

11.1.1.2 *Ge* as a sub-clause level conjunction

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

(11.10) a. *mane sala ge rurubonĩ n-e-ke namha mai ka suaragi*

man PN and PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF love come LOC PN
Sala and Rurubongi were kind to Suaragi.

b. *au bo n-e au-gu, zaho ge zaho-u, ke pulo mai*

exist CNT RL-3.SBJ exist-PRG go and go-PRG PRF return come
They were staying, going and going, and would come back...

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

(11.11) a. *(n-e-ge knusu)*

RL-3.SBJ-PRS break
...they broke,

*ia papari-na, ia hipi ǵasu-ne ge, sisibe are-lau...*

theSG wood.stack-thatN theSG heap wood-thisR and embers thoseN-SPC
that wood stack, this wood heap, those embers...
b. la hure kota-i n-e-u hinage mane marinte ge mane gao
go carry go ashore-3SGO RL-3.SBJ be.thus boat man PNLOC and man PNLOC
They carried their canoes ashore, the people from Maringe and the people from Gao

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

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

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

11.1.2 Contrasting conjunction ňa

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(11.15) ia pike mau-ǵu n-e-ke hod-i-o sala ge rurubońi bla
theSG piece taro-1SGP RL-3.SBJ-PRF take-TR thatNV PN and PN LMT
The piece of taro Sala and Rurubongi simply brought,
The situation coded in the second (ňa marked) clause may be contrasted with a situation which is not overtly expressed in the preceding clause, but is implicit in it. In (11.16) the addressees live at Putuo. The situation coded in the second clause is presented in contrast to the addressee's living in Putuo, not to the opinion that Putuo is not much good:

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

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

11.1.3 Zero conjunction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The form occurs commonly introducing a clause, where the situation coded by the second clause is presented as cooccurring with the situation coded by the first clause.
Later there was the priest Hugo Hebala. He was living in Buala. [At that time] Getu was the chief.

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

A. ge fufunu la-gu e-u
Start [telling the story] now.

B. n-e-u hae
Where? [lit. Be thus where?]

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

"...we will kill this man" said these two men,

and they killed Suaragi, it was like that.

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

However, in (11.23) neu occurs between two verb complexes, apparently both marked by the same sentence final tag clause n-a-u 'I am/was thus'. Here the behaviour of the form is more strongly conjunction-like:
I'm cold [ie. feverish] and my head hurts.

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

(11.24) a. *ka fata kave-ro mane pirisi n-e-u ira abeabe*

When the priest and the servers went out,

*ga-gato-mu-na ago n-e-ge nhigo tarai baiu n-e-u*

maybe your thought was that prayer is finished?

b. *n-e-ge ageh iusi fakamo ira mereveni*

Now we always use medicine

*ka-ia dokta n-e-u mane-vaka e-u*

of the doctor and the white man.

11.1.5 Presentation of alternatives

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

11.2 Subordination

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

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

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

11.2.1 Realis versus irrealis subordination

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

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

---

1 Note that *pau* ‘head’ may be plural even when referring to a single individual’s head.
treated as irrealis is considerably wider than those treated as irrealis in main clauses. Any real event which actually occurred before the moment of speaking, or is actually occurring at the moment of speaking, is treated as realis. In subordinate clauses all other events are treated as irrealis. The prototypical non-real event is one which is located at a time after the moment of speaking, in other words one which has yet to occur. This prototypical distinction is neatly reflected in relative clauses in terminology for divisions of time:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

    ĝ-e-la naboto-u ba, varedake-u ba, tulufulu teşe
    NT-3.SBJ-go ten-CRD ALT twenty-CRD ALT thirty turtle
    then it's ten, or twenty, or thirty turtles
[ta la hod-i-di-re gai]
SB go take-TR-3PLO-thoseN weEXC
that we take.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[ta mala aģe friihe-ni ia mala-rihau]
SB PURP go work-3SGO theSG PURP-eat
for making the food.

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

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

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

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

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

Like habitual events, states have a validity that holds beyond individual temporal locations or modal status. However, in main clauses states may be coded as realis if the state actually exists or existed at a particular point in the past or present. Subordinate clauses expressing states vary in their modal coding. In relative clauses states are always coded as irrealis. This is as true of temporary states, as in (11.31)b., as it is of permanent states ((11.31)a.):
(11.31) a. \( \text{la-i bla kaike tu-turi [\text{ta} puku]} \) bl-ago
\( \text{go-3SGO LMT one RD-tell SB be.short LMT-youSG} \)
Just tell a story that's short.

b. \( \text{ge g̃e tetu-ña mane [\text{ta} fo̱ra marha-pau a-hi]} \)
SEQ NT-3.SBJ stand-IMM man SB sick be.in.pain-head thisT-EMPH
...then the man who is sick with this headache stands up...

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

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

\( \text{fahorogoto la-i si-ago} \)
?? go-3SGO FOC-youSG
you complete it all.

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

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

[\( \text{ta lase-i-na ara} \)]
SB know-3SGO-thatN I
that I know.

b. \( \text{g̃e-e tetu-ña mane [\text{ta kuru-i-ne naitu toke}} \)
NT-3.SBJ stand-IMM man SB have-3SGO-thisR devil arrive
The man who had an arriving devil stood up.

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

(11.34) a. \( \text{ge g̃e tufa-ña ka-ira nakoni mavitu} \)
SEQ NT-3 affect-IMM LOC-thePL person community
...then [we] give [the food] to the people

[\( \text{ta au ka ġili-na no-mai nau} \)]
SB exist LOC in-3SGP GP-1EXCP village
who live within our village.

The use of the subordinator \( \text{ta} \) with the existential verbal \( \text{au} \) has given rise to formulaic clausal demonstratives such as \( \text{i-aus-na} \ 'that (nearby)' (lit. 'that which is that') and \( \text{i-aus-de} \ 'these (within reach)' (lit. 'that which are these'). These clausal demonstratives are discussed in 4.1.3.3.

Irrealis subordinate clauses are typically marked with the subordinator \( \text{ta} \), as discussed above. However, where the context makes clear the irrealis status of the subordinate clause, the subordinator is occasionally omitted. This occurs very commonly when the subordinate clause is marked with the purposive marker \( \text{mala} \). The prototypically unrealised nature of intended events gives purposive subordinates a prototypical irrealis status. As discussed in 11.2.7, this licences the omission of the subordinator. However, the subordinator may occur in such clauses, as (11.35)a. illustrates. Less commonly, omission of the subordinator occurs with other irrealis subordinate clauses, typically where the event coded by the subordinate clause is located in the future within the temporal frame of the main clause. When the
subordinator is omitted an irrealis auxiliary may occur. As discussed in 8.5.2.2, irrealis is realised by zero marking, contrasting with marked reals and neutral categories. The auxiliary thus consists only of the person indexing vowel. This auxiliary may occur when the subordinator is omitted, as in (11.35)b. In main clauses irrealis auxiliaries tend to be omitted when there is no ambiguity about the identity of the subject or actor. This is also true of subordinate clauses. Consequently an irrealis subordinate clause from which the subordinator has been omitted may have no auxiliary, as in (11.35)c.

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

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

c. manahagi-ŋau gau mane huhuranī
   want-2PLO youPL man PNLOC
   I want you Huhurangi people
   [kaike mai au gudu ade-hi kokota]
   one come exist EXHST here-EMPH PNLOC
   to all come and live together here at Kokota

11.2.2 Constituent order possibilities in relative and complement clauses

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

11.2.2.1 Topicalisation in relative and complement clauses

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 The 2.SBJ preverbal agreement marker is optional and would typically be omitted here.
d. *ara manahagi-ni [ago o mai ade]
   I want-3SGO youSG 2.SBJ come here
   I want that you come here.

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

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

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

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

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

11.2.2.2 Focus in relative and complement clauses

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

(11.38) a. ara n-a fakae-ni ia ġazu
   I RL-1.SBJ see-3SGO theSG wood
   I saw the stick
   [n-o-ke poma-i-o ia mheke ago]
   RL-2.SBJ-PRF hit-3SGO-thatNV theSG dog youSG
   you hit the dog with.

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

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

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

However, relative and complement clause focussing is not limited to actors. In (11.39), for example, an intransitive subject occurs in clause final position, following an oblique:
(11.39)  
*ara manahagi-ni [ta mai ade ago]*  
I want-3SGO SB come here youSG  
I want that you come here.

### 11.2.3 Relative clauses

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

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

#### 11.2.3.1 Main clause arguments modified

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

(11.40)  

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

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

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

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

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

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

*mane [n-e-ke kasu au-de ade]*  
man RL-3.SBJ-PRF be.first exist-theseR here  
the men who lived here first.
11.2.3.2 Relative clause argument roles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11.2.3.4 Relative clause structure

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

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

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

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

\[
c. \quad g-e \quad farogoho \quad fa \quad teo-ri \quad mane
\]
\[NT-3.SBJ smite CS be.not-3PLO man \]
\[\text{He killed the men} \]
\[
\quad [n-e-ke \quad au-ro \quad ka \quad gilu-na \quad tema-na] \quad e-u
\]
\[RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thoseN LOC inside-3SGP hut-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus \]
\[\text{who were inside the small house}\]

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

\[(11.44)\]
\[
ia \quad tafnu \quad [n-e-ke \quad toi-ni \quad maneri \quad ia \quad namhari]
\]
\[theSG oven RL-3.SBJ-PRF cook-3SGO they theSG fish \]
\[\text{The oven they cooked the fish in}\]
\[
n-e \quad dou
\]
\[RL-3.SBJ be.big \]
\[\text{was big.}\]

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

---

3 See Corston 1996 for a lengthy discussion of these tendencies in Roviana.
Like controlled core arguments, controlled relative clause obliques are not overtly realised. When this occurs the entire prepositional phrase has a zero realisation, even if in the main clause the coreferential argument is not also an oblique. In (11.44) a main clause unaccusative subject is modified by a relative clause in which the coreferential participant functions as an instrument. Instruments are normally realised by prepositional obliques with the preposition ka as head (as discussed in 7.7.1.6). However, when a main clause core argument occurs as a controlled relative clause oblique, as in (11.44), no preposition occurs in either clause. This is also illustrated in (11.46), where the main clause object controls a relative clause instrument which would otherwise be realised within a ka prepositional oblique:

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

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

11.2.3.5 Relative clause recursion

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

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

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

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

11.2.3.6 Relative clause demonstrative enclitics

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

(11.48)  a. teo  ꜟ-e  kaike  mane
       be.not NT-3.SBJ one man
       There was not one man
In transitive relative clauses the demonstrative enclitic attaches to the postverbal agreement marker. Where
the controlled argument is the relative clause actor the demonstrative agrees with that argument. This can
be seen in (11.49)a., where the relative clause object is plural and the actor singular. Where the controlled
argument is the object, as in (11.49)b., the postverbal agreement marker and the demonstrative enclitic form
a sequence which agrees with both the person and number of the undergoer, and its demonstrative category.

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

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

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

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

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

11.2.4 Subordinate clauses as arguments

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

11.2.4.1 Subordinate clauses as subjects

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

(11.50) [friihe heta ine] n-e fa babao-nau ara
work be.strong thisR RL-3.SBJ CS be.tired-1SGO I
This working hard is making me tired.
While subject clauses are typically marked with a demonstrative, this is optional:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11.2.4.2 Complement clauses

11.2.4.2.1 Complement clause grammatical relations and interclausal argument coreference

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bivalent clauses</th>
<th>Trivalent clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct object complement clause</td>
<td>Direct object noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>tahe,</td>
<td>event actor tells of s.o. else doing, allows s.o. else to do, stops/blocks s.o. else from doing, or thinks of s.o. else doing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>snakre, lubati, fa noto, fa teo, fa naqr-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>manahagi</td>
<td>event actor wants to do/wants s.o. else to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>ġonu, gato-ġonu, fa nhigo</td>
<td>event actor doesn’t know/has forgotten how to do, or has finished doing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>ooe</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

Group A verbs with indirect object complement clauses require coreference between the main clause undergoer and the complement clause subject/actor. The effect of this is that indirect object complement clauses do not allow an overt subject/actor within the complement clause itself.
With the verbs in group C the complement clause direct object realises an event which the main clause actor performs. The complement clause subject/actor must therefore be coreferential with the main clause actor. As with coreferential main clause nominal direct objects in group A verbs, the coreferential argument may not be overtly realised. Consequently, with group C verbs the complement clause subject/actor may never be overtly realised:

\[(11.57) \text{a. } ara \text{ } \text{g}o\text{-no-} \text{g}u\text{-di} \quad [ta \text{ } \text{tahe}-\text{di}-\text{re} \quad \text{ar}-\text{la}u] \\
I \text{ be.insensible-} \text{GP}-\text{1SGP-} \text{3PLO SB } \text{tell-} \text{3PLO-} \text{thoseN \ thoseN-SPC} \\
I \text{ don't know how to tell those [stories].}^4 \\
\]

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

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

\[(11.58) \text{a. } ara \text{ } \text{manahagi-} \text{n}i \\
I \text{ want-} \text{3SGO} \\
I \text{ want} \\
[da \text{ } \text{friihe}-\text{ni} \quad \text{kaike visi } \text{gi}-\text{alu} \quad \text{n-a-ke-} \text{u-o}] \\
\text{1INC.SBJ work-} \text{3SGO one play weINC-two RL-1.SBJ-PRF-be.thus-thatNV} \\
\text{that we two play a game, as I said.} \\
\]

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

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

\[(11.59) \text{teo } \text{g}e \text{ } \text{manahagi-} \text{n}i-u \quad \text{gai} \quad [\text{ta } \text{hage}-\text{na} \quad \text{ade}] \\
\text{be.not NT want-} \text{3SGO-PRG weEXC SB ascend-} \text{thatN here} \\
\text{We don't want to come up here. [lit. We don't want that [we] come up here.]} \\
\]

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

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

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

---

^4 Note that in this example the verb \textit{gonu} occurs in a reduced form comprising a single word with postverbal aspectual possessor marking. This reduction, discussed in 8.6.1, also commonly occurs with \textit{mhano} 'be afraid'.
main clause direct object. As these two arguments may not be coreferential, it is possible for the complement clause subject/actor to be overtly realised:

\[(11.61)\]  
\[o \text{ la } ooe-ni \text{ zemesi}\]  
2.SBJ go say-3SGO PN  
Go and tell James  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ara} & \text{teo} & \text{ge a\text{\`e}-u} \\
\text{be.not NT} & \text{go-PRG} & \text{CNTX-3SGP RL-1.SBJ be.sick-1SGO} \\
\end{array}
\]
[that] I'm not coming because I'm feeling sick.

11.2.4.2.2 Main clause position of complement clauses

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

11.2.4.3 Nominalised clauses as peripheral arguments

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

\[(11.62)\]  
\[a.\]  
\[o \text{ la } fufunu } [\text{ka } [n-e-ke} \text{ au-o} \text{ rei-palu ade fate}]\]  
2.SBJ go begin LOC RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thatNV they-two here above  
Start [telling the story at the point] where they two stayed on top here.  
\[\text{\textit{ba} [mhoko a\text{\`e}-na-na} \text{ gobilologu]} \text{ nogo}]\]  
LOC sit go-3SGP-thatN PN VOC  
When Gobilologu sat down, man! [lit. At that sitting down of Gobilologu...]

\[\text{\textit{ba} [n-e a\text{\`e} su-gu ia to-toi} n-e-ke-u}\]  
NT-3.SBJ go hiss-PRG theSG RD-cook NT-3.SBJ die-PRG RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus  
the fire went hiss and started to die, it was like that.  
\[c.\]  
\[kulu \text{ zaho } [\text{ka-\textit{ba}} \text{ kokori mau}]\]  
be.first go LOC-theSG dig.taro taro  
First go to the digging of taro  
\[\text{\textit{ba} [mala \text{ pihau ka} \text{ toa},] [fa hage ka} \text{ toa}]]\]  
PURP eat LOC fort CS ascend LOC fort  
to eat in the fort, to take up to the fort.  

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

\[(11.63)\]  
\[o \text{ roh-i-u } [\text{ka-\textit{ba}} \text{ hage-na naprai}]}\]  
2.SBJ scrape-TR-PRG LOC-theSG ascend-3SGP sun  
You scrape it [the tree] where the sun rises. [ie. on the side that the sun rises]  
\[\text{\textit{ba} [ke pulo e-u tana zelu,]}\]  
PRF return 3.SBJ-be.thus then PNLOC  
They went back to Zelu,
In addition to functioning as main clause oblique adjuncts, nominalised clauses occur with a number of other minor functions. This includes as possessor. In (11.64) the purpose of the coming of Gobilologu is the possessor of the road in the main clause:

(11.64)  
\[\text{n-e } \text{g}^\# \text{rui-g}^\# \text{rui la-ni-n} \] 
\text{RL-3.SBJ garden-garden go-3SGO-IMM} 
They brushed 

\[\text{ka } \text{g}^\# \text{uku-na-na } \text{[mala la mai-na } \text{gobilologu]} \] 
\text{LOC road-3SGP-thatN PURP go come-3SGP PN} 
along that road for the coming of Gobilologu. 
[lit...that road belonging to the purpose of the coming of Gobilologu]

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

(11.65)  
\[\ldots \text{g}^\# \text{-e fa-mane-mane-u } \text{[ka } \text{tuku-g}^\# \text{ai-na} \] 
\text{NT-3.SBJ CS-man-man-PRG LOC wait.for-1EXCO-thatN} 
\ldots they are very happy\textsuperscript{5} as they wait [lit. ...at that waiting] 
\text{gai } \text{ira } \text{[ta la zuke-i ia tegeh ka-ia tahi]}] \text{ e-u} 
\text{weEXC thePL SB go seek-3SGO theSG turtle LOC-theSG sea 3.SBJ-be.thus} 
for we the [ones] who go hunting turtles in the sea, like that.

11.2.4.4 Subordinate clause recursion

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

(11.66)  
\[\text{ka } \text{[gato la-i-na } \text{bla ago } \text{[n-e sodu-na]}]] \] 
\text{LOC think go-3SGO-thatN LMT youSG RL-3.SBJ be.long-thatN} 
When you think it [the story] is long, 
\text{fahorogoto la-i } \text{si-ago} 
?? go-3SGO FOC-youSG 
you complete it all.

11.2.5 Adverbial subordination

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

\textsuperscript{5} The verb \text{fa-mane-mane} has the morphological structure indicated by the morpheme gloss, but the lexicalised meaning of 'be very happy'.

298
11.2.5.1 Contextual clauses

11.2.5.1.1 Zero-marked contextual clauses

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

(11.67)  
\[
\text{sit-thatN LOC sun yesterday RL-1.SBJ-PRF GP-1SGP drink I}
\]
Sitting in the sun yesterday, I wanted to drink.

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

(11.68)  
\[
\text{sit-thatN LOC sun tomorrow FUT GP-1SGP drink I}
\]
Sitting in the sun tomorrow, I will want to drink.

Contextual clauses of this type are attested only sentence initially.

11.2.5.1.2 Contextual clauses governed by contextualising nouns

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

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

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

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

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

(11.70) a. ara n-a lao, [gu-na [zemesi n-e-ke tore-nau ara]]
I RL-1.SBJ go CNTX-3SGP PN RL-3.SBJ-PRF ask-1SGO I
I went because James asked me to.
Clauses governed by *gu- and nafu* may also locate an argument in clause final focus position. The focussed argument may be marked with the focal particle *si*, as in main clauses, though the focal particle may also be omitted (as it must be in relative and complement clauses):

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

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

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

Clauses subordinated by *gu- and nafu* may have a non-verbal predicate. In (11.72) an equative clause is governed by *nafu*:
We are finding it hard to stop that way [hunting] of this turtle, because those are our life.

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

(11.73)  ara n-a lao, [gu-di [zemesi n-e-ke tore-nau ara]]
I went because James asked me to

and I wanted to go.

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

11.2.5.2 Temporal adjuncts governed by local nouns

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

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

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

 ġ-o fike-i no-u ġazu-nia ago
NT-2.SBJ cut.firewood-3SGO GP-2SGP wood-IMM youSG
you can make your firewood.

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

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

behind-3SGP exist-3SGP theSG paganism
after the existence of the heathen time.

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

I have many pains

since they were hitting me.

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

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

Start from the peace

[and go ahead until] they come to in the arrival of the badness.

11.2.5.3 Temporal adjuncts governed by ĝilai 'until'

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

a. boro kla au sare nogoi [ĝilai [toke-i-n-e-ke-u

[They] just stay boro there, man!, until comes

[and go ahead until] they come to in the arrival of the badness.

b. lau [ĝilai [toke-i-u ka n-e-ke au-o rei-palu ade]]

Go ahead [with the story] until [you] get to where they two lived here.
In (11.78)a. the main clause event continues until a subsequent event occurs in a sequence of events. In (11.78)b. the main clause event continues until a point in a story at which an event in the story takes place.

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

(11.79) a. \( o\text{-}ti \text{ mai } [g\text{ilai } [e \text{ mai mane}] ] \)
    \( 2.\text{SBJ-NEG come until 3.SBJ come he} \)
    Don't come until he comes.

b. \( te\text{o } \text{g\text{-}e\text{-}ke mai\text{-}u mane}[g\text{ilai } [n\text{-}a\text{-}ke toi]] \)
    be.not NT-3.SBJ-PRF come-PRG he until RL-1.SBJ-PRF cook
    He didn't come until I had cooked.

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

(11.80) \( gu \text{ bla } g\text{-}e \text{ au palu mane-re,} \)
    be.thus LMT NT-3.SBJ exist two man-thoseN
    Like that those two men stayed,
    \[ka [gilai [n\text{-}e\text{-}ge knusu ia papari-na]]]\)
    LOC until RL-3.SBJ-PRS be.broken theSG wood.stack-thatN
    until the wood stack is broken.

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

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

### 11.2.5.4 Affective clauses

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

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

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

### 11.2.6 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses express an event or state which the main clause event is dependent on to occur. These clauses are subordinate to the main clause, and are marked with the conditional marker *la*. The conditional marker occurs immediately after the verb complex of the subordinate clause, following any postverbal agreement enclitic or incorporated undergoer:
(11.82) a. \([ta\ mai\ au\ la\ gai\ ade.]\)
SB come exist CND weEXEC here
If we come and live here,
\[a-ke\ mai\ siko\ ginai\ ka-ira\ ge-di\ no-di\ e-u\]
1.SBJ-PRF come steal todayIRR LOC-thePL CP-3PLP GP-3PLP 3.SBJ-be.thus
later we would come and steal from the food and things of
\[mane\ n-e-ke\ kusu\ au-de\ ade\]
man RL-3.SBJ-PRF be.first exist-theseR here
the men who lived here first.

b. \([ta\ toi\-ni\ la\ ago\ namhari\ ana,]\)
SB cook-3SGO CND youSG fish thatN
If you cook that fish
\[gita\ teo\ ĕ-da\ siri-ni\ gudu\]
weINC be.not NT-1INC.SBJ smell-3SGO EXHST
we won't smell it all.

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

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

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

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

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

(11.84) \([ta\ g-e\ heta\ la\ fũra-n-lau,]\)
SB NT-3.SBJ be.strong CND sick-thatN-SPC
If that sickness is strong,
\[a-ke\ la-di\ ĕazu\ t-au-ro...\]
1.SBJ-PRF go-3PLO wood SB-exist-thoseNV
I give [medicine from] those trees...

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

(11.85) a. are si ara n-a mhagu-mhagu-di-re.
   thoseN FOC I RL-1.SBJ be.afraid-be.afraid-3PLO-thoseN
   Those, I am a bit afraid of those,
   [ŋ-e lao la histiri-de]...
   NT-3.SBJ go CND history-theseR
   if these histories go...

b. nogoi, gita-palu-ña ne au fa-gonu, da la au-gu rhuku
   VOC weINC-two-IMM RL exist CS-be.insensible 1INC.SBJ go exist-PRG landward
   Man, we are living wrong, because we are living landward [ie. in the bush],
   ña [gite-palu ǵe au la ka nasona a-hi ǵerona] keli
   but weINC-two NT exist CND LOC point thisT-EMPH PNLOC be.good
   but if you and I live at the point at Gerona, it would be good.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(11.89) ara teo ǵe bula-nau-gu
   I be.not NT feel.angry-1SGO-PRG
   I wouldn't be angry
   [ta ti-fa-dia-i-la maneir ǵlepo an-lau]
   SB NEG-CS-be.bad-3SGO-CND he thing thatN-SPC
   if he hadn't done that bad thing [lit. ...if he hadn't made that thing bad.]

The conditional marker may mark the existential verb au subordinated by ta to form a single word clause translatable as 'if that is so' or 'since that is so'. This clause refers anaphorically to an event expressed by
the preceding main clause, introducing a main clause coding an event which is dependent on that preceding event:

\[(11.90)\]

\[n-e \text{ la lehe mariñe, ka mane-aro, si-ba no-ḡu kaka.}\]

My grandfather is dead from Maringe, from those men.

\[[[t-au-la] \text{ ke nhogi ia lehe ka suaragi e-u}]\]

Since that is so [we] will payback the death of Suaragi.

11.2.7 Purposive subordinate clauses

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

11.2.7.1 Main clause possibilities of purposive subordinates

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

\[(11.91)\]

\[gāhipa sagetolu ine, hod-i aḡe nai-ni ka suḡa tarai-ne\]

This stone Sagetolu, take it and put it in the church

\[[mala lao ka miziam]\]

PURP go LOC museum

in order to go to a museum.

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

\[(11.92)\]

\[[mala nhigo lao ago] n-e-u palu t-au-re\]

In order for you to finish, those two are like that...

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

\[(11.93)\]

\[e au gēlepo [mala hod-i teḡe ine]\]

There is a thing for taking this turtle.

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

\[(11.94)\]

\[ama belo [mala tarai]\]

ThatN bell PURP pray

That was the bell for prayer.

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

He said that I could keep this shirt.

He told me that I could keep that shirt of his.

We want you all to kill this devil.

...two times I scrape this tree,

Then comes the day to make the food...

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

The absence of auxiliaries in irrealis purposive clauses has a similar motivation. As noted in 8.5.2.5, irrealis auxiliaries are frequently omitted. This is particularly common when mala is present, as the
prototypically habitual or future nature of intended events renders an irrealis auxiliary redundant. However, they do occasionally occur. In subordinate clauses the auxiliary and mala may occur in either order. In the second line of (11.97)a. the auxiliary precedes the purposive marker. In (11.98) it follows it:

(11.98) \[ ...mala e au histri are-lau ka sikolu-ne ka sul-da gita \]

PURP 3.SBJ exist history those-SPC LOC school-this LOC child-1INC weINC
...so those histories can stay in the school for our children.

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

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

\[ [mala n-e-ge au bo turi-di-re] \]
PURP RL-3.SBJ-PRS exist CNT tell-3PLP-thoseN
so that these stories fit [on the tape]
\[ e-u bo bla si-la-re \]
3.SBJ-be.thus CNT LMT FOC-??-thoseN
they're like that.

b. \[ ka-i-au-ana ge tafe ia \]
LOC-SB-exist-thatN SEQ spring.open theSG umbrella
At that sprang open the umbrella

\[ [n-e-ke mala totoku-di-ro ire lili\text{\~g}omo, ire papaza,] \]
RL-3.SBJ-PRF PURP cover-3PLO-thoseNV thePL warning.charm thePL turmeric
that was for covering the warning charm, the turmeric,
\[ [n-e-ke au-ro ka-ia pau-na hinage-na] e-u \]
RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thoseNV LOC-theSG head-3SGP boat-thatN 3.SBJ-be.thus
that were in the front of the canoe.

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

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

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

b. \[ n\text{\~a} e-u la-i bl-ago kaike ta puku-na \]
but 3.SBJ-be.thus go-3SGO LMT-youSG one SB be.short-3SGP
So likewise you give one that's short

\[ [mala ge fafra nhigo bla e-u] \]
PURP PRS be.quick finish LMT 3.SBJ-be.thus
so [we] are finished quickly.
11.2.7.3 Internal structure of purposive subordinates

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Adverbial purposive subordinate clauses may contain an argument which is coreferential with a main clause argument. Where that is so the participant may have any grammatical relation in the subordinate clause.
The relation may be the same in both clauses, however it need not be - in (11.91), for example, the main clause object participant occurs as the subordinate clause subject.

11.3 Recapping

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

11.3.1 Demonstrative recapping

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

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

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

an-lau ge ği-e lao-nā ka-ia suğa
thatN-SPC SEQ NT-3.SBJ go-IMM LOC-theSG house
That, then she will go to the house

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

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

ao ge ği-e hod-i ği-e-u-nā ia sulī
thisT SEQ NT-3.SBJ take-TR NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM theSG child
This, then they take the child.

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

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

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

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

The use of demonstrative recapping is largely limited to exposition.
11.3.2 Oblique demonstrative recapping

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

\[(11.107)\]
\[
\text{\textit{g\#-e la mai-u mane velepuhi, g\#-e au-gu logahaza e-u}} \\
\text{NT-3.SBJ go come-PRG man right.way NT-3.SBJ exist-PRG PNLOC 3.SBJ-be.thus}
\]
\[
\text{A catechist came, he lived at Logahaza.}
\]
\[
\text{...n-e-ke au-re sure logahaza n-e-ke velepuhi-re}
\text{RL-3.SBJ-PRF exist-thoseN thereP PNLOC RL-3.SBJ-PRF right.way-thoseN}
\]
\[
\text{...[he] lived there at Logahaza and was catechist.}
\]
\[
\text{\textit{ka-t-au-ao, hage tarai, gu nogo},}
\text{LOC-SB-exist-thisT ascend pray be.thus VOC}
\]
\[
\text{At this, [they] went up and prayed, like that, man!},
\]
\[
\text{\textit{hage bo e-u mane kokota ide-u}}
\text{ascend CNT 3.SBJ-be.thus man PNLOC theseR-be.thus}
\]
\[
\text{these Kokota people went up.}
\]

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

\[(11.108)\]
\[
\text{\textit{\textquoteleft aria da-ge pato-ri-u\textquoteright g\#-e-u-gu,}}
\text{1INC.IMP 1INC.SBJ-PRS touch-3PLO-PRG NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-PRG}
\]
\[
\text{"Let's go and touch them." They said,}
\]
\[
\text{\textit{la au kuru mai-di-re-n-e-ke-u}}
\text{go exist be.first come-3PLO-thoseN-RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus}
\]
\[
\text{and stopped them from coming.}
\]
\[
\text{\textit{ka-t-au-ana sini-ge, g\#-e tetu-\textit{\textquoteright\textquoteleft n\#a solomoni...}}}
\text{LOC-SB-exist-thisT FOC-SEQ NT-3.SBJ stand-IMM PN}
\]
\[
\text{At that then Solomon stood up...}
\]

Oblique demonstrative recapping is employed commonly in narratives.

11.3.3 Reduced clause recapping

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

\[(11.109)\]
\[
\text{\textit{\textquoteleft g\#-e hod-i-n\#a ia rarau, ziku-ro nogo}}
\text{1INC.IMP 1INC.SBJ-PRS take-TR-IMM theSG arm.ring arm.ring-thoseNV VOC}
\]
\[
\text{He took the arm ring, those arm rings, man!},
\]
\[
\text{\textit{\textquoteleft g\#-e fa hage-u ka kame-na-re n-e-ke-u}}
\text{NT-3.SBJ CS ascend-PRG LOC arm-3SGP-thoseN RL-3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus}
\]
\[
\text{He was putting [them] up on his arms.}
\]
More commonly, the predication is marked with a 'be thus' tag clause (discussed in 11.4):

(11.110) \[n-e \quad \text{toga} \quad \text{a\-\(\text{ge}\)-u} \quad \text{maneri},\]
RL-3.SBJ arrive go-PRG they
They arrived.

\[\text{toga} \quad \text{\(g\)-\(e\)-u} \quad \text{tana} \quad \text{nagoi} \quad \text{lao} \quad \text{hure-i} \quad \text{hinage-na...}\]
arrive NT-3.SBJ-be.thus then VOC go carry-3SGO boat-thatN
They arrived and then went [and] carried that boat...

### 11.3.4 'Completion' clause recapping

The partial repetition described in 11.3.3 occurs infrequently. A more frequently used recapping strategy employs 'completion' clauses. Completion clauses are unusual in structure. The main clause of a completion clause consists of the verb nhigo 'be finished'. The event which is completed is expressed by a subordinated verb complex which cannot be marked with a modal/subject auxiliary. This verb complex is the subject of the main predication n-e nhigo 'it is finished', which it must precede. Thus in (11.114) la rh-i in line 3 and fa blahi in line 4 are the subjects of n-e nhigo in each completion clause. However, what is unusual is that the arguments of the subordinated verb complex coding the completed event typically occur after the main clause predication. Thus in (11.114) line 4, ara 'I' is the subject of the subordinated predication fa blahi. A more literal translation of this completion clause would be something like "I bless is finished...". Arguments occasionally occur immediately following the subordinated verb complex, as shown with the object ia su\(g\)a 'the house' in (11.11) (repeating in part (11.105)):

(11.111) \[\text{ge} \quad \text{kulu} \quad \text{fri\(i\)-\(h\)-ni} \quad \text{fee} \quad \text{ia} \quad \text{su\(g\)a} \]
SEQ be.first work-3SGO INIT theSG house
First [they] make the house.

\[[\text{fri\(i\)-\(h\)-ni} \quad \text{ia} \quad \text{su\(g\)a} \quad n-e \quad \text{nhigo-u}]\]
work-3SGO theSG house RL-3.SBJ be.finished-PRG
Building the house is finished.

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

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

(11.112) a. ...fri\(i\)-\(h\)e ta\(n\)ano, \(k\)e \(l\)a toi mala-\(h\)au \(k\)a-manei \(g\)-\(e\)-\(u\)-\(n\)i...
work food PRF go cook PURP-eat LOC-he NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-3SGO
...make food, cook food for him, they do that...

...\(\text{\(g\)}\)-\(u\)re, foro, \(g\)-\(e\)-\(u\)-\(a\)-\(n\)a... ...\(\text{\(m\)}\)aneri \(\text{\(g\)}h\)aha \(m\)ane \(e\)-\(u\)
nut.paste coconut.paste NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-PRG they five man 3.SBJ-be.thus
...nut paste, coconut paste, that's what they the five men were doing...
Completion clauses occur during the narrative or expositional description of a series of events, recapping the event expressed by the preceding sentence and indicating that that event is completed. These occur in narratives to indicate that one event is carried out to completion before the next event occurs:

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

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

11.4.1 Exclamatory tag clauses

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

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

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

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

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

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

   b. ɣlepo t-au-o si-ge, age ɣ-e mai-ŋa  
   thing SB-exist-thatNV FOC-SEQ SEQ NT-3.SBJ come-IMM  
   That thing then comes

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

   c. mane ińi manhari e-ke-u  
   he FUT eat fish 3.SBJ-PRF-be.thus  
   He will be eating fish, he'll be like that.

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

Realis marked 'be thus' clauses always have a less semantically bleached sense than that of the irrealis tags illustrated in (11.115). While these irrealis tags have a general sense of 'the way things are', realis tags emphasise that the situation expressed by the clause is the way that event or state actually is or was. Realis tags may mark realis or modally neutral clauses (as in (11.117)a.-b.), or clauses with no modal auxiliary
(as in (11.117)c. and the second clause in (11.117)d.). When marking a modally neutral clause or one without an auxiliary they assign realis status to the events coded by the clause:

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

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

c. fa kae aģe n-e-u...
   RL-3.SBJ see go RL-3.SBJ-be.thus be.not NT-3.SBJ see-3SGO-PRG
   He looked [but] he didn't see him...

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

d. n-e rauru maneĩ, pru n-e-u sekun-a hinage-o
   RL-3.SBJ seaward he jumpRL-3.SBJ-be.thus tail-3SGP boat-thatNV
   He went seaward and jumped into the back of the boat.

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

(11.118) a. ka fata rhue-di-ro maneĩ,
   LOC occasion cry-3PLP-thoseNV they
   When everyone cried [lit. At those cryings of theirs]
   ga-gato-ğu-na ara n-e-ge lehe baiu maneĩ n-a-u
   RD-think-1SGP-thatN I RL-3.SBJ-PRS die PSB she RL-1.SBJ-be.thus
   I thought maybe she had died, I was like that. [lit. [in] that thought of mine...]

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

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

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

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

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

c. ka fata kae-ni-n-ara maneĩ,
   LOC occasion see-3SGO-thatN-I he
   When I saw him
As (11.119)b. illustrates, tag clauses may mark verbless predicates as well as verbal clauses.

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

11.4.2 Sentence initial 'be thus' clauses

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

(11.120) a. \textit{e-u bla za-zaho-di-re palu naitu ta-lase-ri-re ara}  \\
\quad 3.SBJ-be.thus LMT RD-go-3PLP-thoseN two devil SB-know-3PLO-thoseN I  \\
So that's the way of the two devils that I know.

b. \textit{n-e-u n-a-ge mai toke a-hi-ն a ara}  \\
\quad RL-3.SBJ-be.thus RL-1.SBJ-PRS come arrive this-EMPH-IMM I  \\
Thus I have come to you now.

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

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

(11.121) a. \textit{e-u bla}  \\
\quad 3.SBJ-be.thus LMT  \\
That's all!

b. \textit{e-u baiu}  \\
\quad 3.SBJ-be.thus PSB  \\
Maybe. [Response to proposition.]

11.4.3 Quotative 'be thus' clauses

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

(11.122) \textit{'ehe, keli-bo'  \textit{g-e-ն řa}  \textit{gobilologu}}  \\
\quad yes be.good-CNT NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM PN  \\
"Yes, good." Said Gobilologu.

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

\footnote{An identical form in Zabana is analysed by Fitzsimons (1989) as a verb 'to say'. His examples suggest it may in fact be limited to a quotative function like that in Kokota.}
With this quotative function only third person agreement occurs, regardless of the person identity of the subject, as (11.123)b. illustrates. With this quotative function it is possible, at least among older speakers, to omit the auxiliary entirely, giving the verb in isolation:

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

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

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

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

Thoughts may also be quoted in the same way:

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

g-e mala tai-ğu ñhenñe’ g-e-u-ña faknoe
NT-3.SBJ PURP RFL-1SGP be.separate NT-3.SBJ-be.thus-IMM PN
so I can be alone?” thought Faknoe.

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

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

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

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

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