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Chapter 1

Introduction

This book provides a detailed grammatical description of an invented language called Okuna (formerly known as Tokana). This language was constructed for personal amusement and edification. It is intended as a purely personal artistic and intellectual exercise, though my hope is that others—those few who appreciate the Secret Vice—will find the results interesting and entertaining. My goal is to construct the outlines of a naturalistic grammar, one which is linguistically plausible, internally consistent, and original in its details. Though not based on any single existing language, Okuna is meant to look and feel ‘realistic’, with all the complexities and (seemingly) arbitrary features which naturally-evolving human languages have. Note that Okuna is an ongoing project, with no fixed endpoint. It has changed substantially over the seventeen or more years that I have worked on it, and will no doubt continue to change as long as I remain interested in it. The description given here is thus not the final word on Okuna, but merely represents the state of the language as it exists now.

It is important to note that this grammar is not intended as a textbook or teach-yourself guide, but as an attempt to lay out the structure of Okuna (for posterity, as it were) in as comprehensive a fashion as possible. Hence the material is organized thematically rather than as a series of lessons. Likewise, I have not shied away from using technical terms in cases where I felt this would make the description more precise (to those unfamiliar with these terms, I apologise in advance). That said, I do not present a formal analysis of the language, but have tried to keep my treatment as descriptive as possible.

The discussion is divided into eleven chapters. Chapter 1 gives a very brief typological overview of the language. Chapter 2 deals with phonology. Chapter 3 covers the basics of argument structure, focusing on the rather complex case system. Chapter 4 discusses pronouns and morphologically related elements, while chapter 5 gives additional information on noun phrase structure. Chapters 6 deals with verb morphology. Chapter 7 discusses minor word classes not covered in the previous chapters, including sentential particles, conjunctions, and adverbs. Chapter 8 deals with word order in basic clauses, along with the formation of questions, commands, and other ‘marked’ sentence types. Chapter 9 discusses subordination, nominalization, and complex sentence structures. Finally, chapter 10 covers miscellaneous topics pertaining to vocabulary, and chapter 11 gives sample texts. An extensive glossary is appended to the grammar.

Okuna words and morphemes appear in italics, with glosses set off by single quotes, e.g., *kotu* ‘house’. Example sentences are normally presented in the following three-line format:

- (1.1) *Lakiakà sihkunoi elohka estyit*
hunter.NOM river.DAT yesterday reach.PV.PL
‘The hunters reached the river yesterday’

The first line of the example gives the Okuna phrase or sentence, while the second line gives word-by-word glosses. If a word is morphologically complex, each morpheme is glossed separately (grammatical morphemes are labelled with abbreviations in SMALL CAPS, morpheme breaks are indicated using periods, and a colon

is used to link two or more units of meaning expressed by a single morpheme). Finally, the third line gives a free English translation of the phrase or sentence set off by single quotes.

To make the example sentences as readable as possible, I have opted not to divide the Okuna words into their component morphemes. Where necessary, I include remarks on the internal structure of certain words in the text accompanying the example. Where the notation $X > Y$ is used in discussions of morphology, X represents the underlying form of a word (with the morphemes separated by periods), while Y gives the form of the word as it is pronounced following any phonological transformations—e.g., $m.siehp.o > ntsiehp.o$ ‘doesn’t write’ illustrates the change whereby, when the negative prefix $m-$ attaches to a verb stem beginning with s , the resulting consonant sequence becomes nts through a process of assimilation.

References to example numbers appear in parentheses, while cross-references to sections and subsections are marked with the symbol §. Below is a list of the abbreviations used in the examples:

1s	1st person singular	IMP	imperative
12/13	1st person plural inclusive/exclusive	INST	instrumental case
2(s/p)	2nd person (singular/plural)	IPV	imperfective aspect
3a(s/p)	3rd person animate (singular/plural)	LOC	locative case
3i(s/p)	3rd person inanimate (singular/plural)	MED	medial
ABL	ablative case	NEG	negative particle/inflection
ACT	active aspect	NOM	nominative case
AINC	atelic inchoative	NPL	nominative plural
ALL	allative case	PF	perfect aspect
ANZR	actor nominalizer	PL	plural (topic)
CNZR	circumstantial nominalizer	POT	potential aspect
COMP	comparative	PROX	proximal
COND	conditional mood	PRG	progressive aspect
CPL	completive aspect	PST	past tense
CV	converb	PT	participle
DAT	(irrealis) dative case	PV	perfective aspect
DEP	dependent form	QU	question particle
DIST	distal	QUOT	quotative particle
DNZR	delimiter nominalizer	RDAT	realis dative case
DPL	dative plural	RECIP	reciprocal
DUR	durative aspect	REL	relative marker
EMPH	emphatic particle	RES	resultative aspect
EPL	ergative plural	SBJ	subjunctive mood
ERG	ergative case	SG	singular
FOC	focus particle	TINC	telic inchoative
GER	gerund	TNZR	theme nominalizer
ICPL	incompletive aspect		

Chapter 2

An Overview of Okuna

2.1 The language and its speakers

Okuna belongs to the Northern branch of the Kman-Tok family of languages. It is spoken as a first language by approximately five thousand people inhabiting two dozen settlements in the Okuna Watershed, including the towns of Tenmotlai, Uiluma, and Kemotlasi. There are three distinct dialects of Okuna: an Interior dialect spoken in and around the three towns, plus Northern and Southern coastal dialects. However, the differences among these dialects are quite small, mostly confined to details of pronunciation and vocabulary. Here I focus on the Interior dialect, which has the largest number of speakers.

Speakers of Okuna generally refer to themselves as *Ehkantlukampa* ‘People of the First Raven’, or as *Mohkiampa* ‘People of the Five Hearths’. However, in dealings with outsiders they tend to identify themselves as *Okuna*, using the name of the region they inhabit as a tribal designation, and also adding it before their clan names as a kind of surname. They have no name for their language, referring to it simply as *isane sul* ‘our language’. Here I use *Okuna* both for the language and for those who speak it.

The Okuna live primarily by fishing, hunting, and gathering wild plants, berries, and shellfish. They also grow maize, beans, and other crops in small garden plots, and raise goats for milk and wool, and *kauen* (an introduced turkeyfowl domesticated) for meat and eggs. Okuna towns and villages consist of between half a dozen and three dozen widely spaced houses built of cedar. Political structure is based on clan membership. The Okuna are matrilocal, and reckon kinship bilineally, with each individual belonging to two exogamous clans, one matrilineal and the other patrilineal. The patrilineal clans, or *otana*, have a largely ceremonial function; while the matrilineal clans, or *mok* ‘hearths’, are responsible for allocating economic resources and duties, and for hosting potlaches (see §11.4.1 for more on Okuna kinship). Each of the five *mok* elects representatives to a council of elders, responsible for settling disputes between clans, as well as negotiating trade relations with other peoples. The Okuna are active members of the Coastal Exchange, a vast trade network extending from Marngalaks in the north all the way to Tibué in the south. Their major exports are wool, timber, and wood products.

The remainder of this chapter gives a selective overview of Okuna grammar, focussing on the typologically distinctive features of the language.

2.2 Phonology

Okuna has a fairly simple phonology. The phoneme inventory consists of eighteen basic sounds, twelve consonants and six vowels. Syllables are maximally CVC (or CCVC word-initially, with strict limits on permissible CC clusters). Stress assignment is based on moraic trochees. Major phonological processes include vowel hiatus resolution (with vowel sequences converted to diphthongs), as well as nasal assimilation, continuancy assimilation, and degemination to resolve illicit consonant clusters.

2.3 Word classes

The major lexical classes in Okuna are noun and verb. These categories are easily distinguished on morpho-syntactic grounds, and there are very few stems in the language which can function either as a noun or as a verb (though there are a number of productive means for deriving noun stems from verb stems). Okuna does not have a distinct class of adjectives. States and properties are instead expressed by verbs, or in a few cases (such as colour terms) by nouns. When used attributively, a stative verb is nominalized (e.g., *pata* ‘be tall’ > *pate* ‘tall one, person/thing which is tall’) and then concatenated with the noun it modifies to form a compound-like structure (*pate palahta* ‘tall tree’).

Nouns belong to one of two genders, animate and inanimate. Without exception, gender is semantically determined: nouns denoting people and (living) animals are treated as animate, while all other nouns are inanimate. Animacy is reflected primarily in the choice of third person pronouns (e.g., *ne pata* ‘he/she is tall’ versus *hi pata* ‘it is tall’). In addition, demonstratives and certain quantifiers, which follow the noun, agree with the noun in gender. Compare animate *pyi* ‘child’ with inanimate *palahta* ‘tree’:

<i>pyi nan</i>	‘that child’	<i>palahta tan</i>	‘that tree’
<i>pyi miò</i>	‘which child?’	<i>palahta mà</i>	‘which tree?’
<i>pyi nket</i>	‘every child’	<i>palahta eket</i>	‘every tree’

The Okuna pronoun system distinguishes three persons and two numbers, with an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural (*kim* ‘we [includes addressee]’ versus *sat* ‘we [excludes addressee]’). Oblique pronouns each have a single form, while non-oblique pronouns (those used to express subject and object relations) have both clitic forms and full forms, where the full forms are used mostly for emphasis, and as demonstratives. Clitic pronouns express person but not number, except in the first person, while full and oblique pronouns have singular and plural forms for all persons.

There is no class of adpositions in Okuna. Spatio-temporal and other relations, which in other languages are expressed using adpositions, are generally expressed in Okuna by means of case endings: e.g., *kotu* ‘house’ + locative *-na* > *kotuna* ‘in the house’. To express certain relations the case ending will attach to an abstract relational noun (such as *kuma* ‘front’) which in turn heads a compound-like structure: e.g., *kotu kumana* ‘in front of the house’ (lit. ‘at the house front’). In addition, Okuna has a large number of motion verbs which encode the path or direction of motion: e.g., *lhyua* ‘enter, go into’, *tlisa* ‘go across/over’, *kloha* ‘go through’. These can combine with verbs expressing manner of motion to form more complex predicates: e.g., *iante lhyua* ‘jump into’ (lit. ‘enter by jumping’).

Closed classes in Okuna include conjunctions, quantifiers, aspectual and temporal adverbs, preverbal particles functioning as focus/predicate operators (with meanings like ‘also’, ‘only’, and ‘not’), and postverbal particles for expressing clause-type, emphasis, and evidentiality.

2.4 Morphology and inflectional categories

Okuna has a good deal of inflectional morphology, especially on verbs. Prefixes, suffixes, and clitics all occur, with some suffixes having infixed allomorphs (e.g., *totsat* ‘table’ plus the dative case marker *-i* > *totsait* ‘to the table’). Some clitics precede their hosts while others follow their hosts. Compounding is also extremely common. Ablaut occurs on a handful of verb stems to express the resultative aspect (e.g., *lima* ‘open’ > *luma* ‘be open’). Noun incorporation also occurs residually as a derivational strategy (e.g., *him* ‘interior’ + *eka* ‘be empty’ > *himeka* ‘be hollow’; *ksas* ‘salt’ + *patla* ‘cover’ > *ksapatla* ‘cover with salt’).

Noun inflection is rather simple, being confined to the marking of case roles (see below). Nouns do not inflect for number in Okuna: for example, *palahta* may mean ‘tree’ or ‘trees’, depending on the context. However, non-clitic pronouns do distinguish singular from plural (e.g., *tan* ‘it/that’ versus *tin* ‘they/those’). These pronouns also function as demonstratives, in which case they follow the noun and express the number of the noun phrase as a whole (*palahta tan* ‘that tree’, *palahta tin* ‘those trees’).

Okuna expresses grammatical relations with a combination of HEAD MARKING and DEPENDENT MARKING. Noun phrases inflect for case, which is indicated by a suffix (or infix) on the rightmost element in the noun

phrase (typically, but not always, the noun itself). In addition, verbs are marked for the number (singular versus plural) of their subjects and objects.

There are seven case roles: nominative (NOM), dative (DAT), ergative (ERG), locative (LOC), ablative (ABL), allative (ALL), and instrumental (INST). Their distribution follows a complex pattern, where the choice of case marking is determined largely by the semantic role of the argument. For example, noun phrases expressing the initiator of the action (agents, actors) normally appear in the ergative case, while noun phrases denoting participants associated with the endpoint or culmination of the action (patients, goals, and experiencers) take the dative case, and other ‘core’ arguments of the verb take the nominative. The following sentences illustrate the system, showing that the cases do not align in a straightforward way with categories like ‘subject’ and ‘object’ in English:

(2.1) *Pyie etskanyi*
child.NOM arrive.PV
‘The child arrived’

(2.2) *Pyima muelhyi*
child.ERG sleep.PV
‘The child slept’

(2.3) *Ihama kahoi iasyi*
woman.ERG fish.DAT eat.PV
‘The woman ate the fish’

(2.4) *Ihama moihai kihune lastyi*
woman.ERG girl.DAT letter.NOM send.PV
‘The woman sent the letter to the girl’

(2.5) *Moihai kihune moityi*
girl.DAT letter.NOM receive.PV
‘The girl received the letter’

(2.6) *Moihai mikale kilyi*
girl.DAT boy.NOM see.PV
‘The girl saw the boy’

In addition to semantic roles, case marking can be affected by the aspect and modality of the verb. For example, the eventive verb *toka* ‘fix’ normally assigns dative case to its patient argument, as shown in the first example below. However, when the verb is inflected for resultative aspect (*toika* ‘be fixed, be in a fixed state’) that argument instead appears in the locative case, as shown in the second example:

(2.7) *Sakialma mutoi tokyi*
Sakial.ERG fence.DAT fix.PV
‘Sakial fixed the fence’

(2.8) *Mutuna takan itoika*
fence.LOC now PRG.fix:RES.IPV
‘The fence is now fixed’

Likewise when the verb *tala* ‘read’ inflects for desiderative modality (*taluha* ‘want to read’), the actor, which normally takes ergative marking, instead appears in the locative case:

(2.9) *Pyima halma atai itala*
child.ERG book that:DAT PRG.read.IPV
‘The child is reading that book’

- (2.10) *Pyima halma atai taluha*
 child.LOC book that:DAT read.want.IPV
 ‘The child wants to read that book’

An unusual property of Okuna is that dative case marking on pronouns and demonstratives comes in two variants: IRREALIS dative and REALIS dative (the latter abbreviated RDATE). As noted above, dative case is typically used to mark the patient or goal of a TELIC event—that is, an event which has an inherent endpoint. Realis dative forms are used when the goal has been reached or realized, or when the patient has been fully affected by the action, at the time when the sentence is uttered; while irrealis dative forms occur elsewhere. The choice between realis and irrealis is influenced by various factors, such as the tense and aspect of the verb. For instance, irrealis dative is required in imperfective sentences, while realis dative tends to be used in perfective sentences. Compare:

- (2.11) *Pyima halma atai itala*
 child.ERG book that:DAT PRG.read.IPV
 ‘The child is reading that book’

- (2.12) *Pyima halma utai talyi*
 child.ERG book that:RDATE read.PV
 ‘The child read that book’

Verb inflection in Okuna is quite complex. Verbs take various combinations of prefixes and suffixes to mark tense, aspect, mood, and negation, and to form various kinds of dependent clauses. The following examples, featuring the verb stem *host-* ‘dance’, give a sense of what this morphology looks like:

<i>hosta</i>	‘dances, will dance’	<i>nkosto</i>	‘doesn’t dance, won’t dance’
<i>hostanka</i>	‘used to dance’	<i>nkostunka</i>	‘didn’t used to dance’
<i>ihosta</i>	‘is dancing’	<i>mehosto</i>	‘is not dancing’
<i>ihostike</i>	‘would be dancing’	<i>mehostoike</i>	‘would not be dancing’
<i>uhostanka</i>	‘had danced’	<i>mohostunka</i>	‘hadn’t danced’
<i>uhostà</i>	‘that (one) has danced’	<i>mohostò</i>	‘that (one) has not danced’
<i>ihoste</i>	‘while dancing’	<i>mehostu</i>	‘without dancing’
<i>uhostai</i>	‘if (one) had danced’	<i>mohostau</i>	‘unless (one) had danced’
<i>hostyi</i>	‘danced’	<i>nkostou</i>	‘didn’t dance’

Verbs also take suffixes to mark the number (singular versus plural) of their nominative, dative, and ergative arguments. This is illustrated by the examples below, featuring the ergative subject *kalma* and the dative object *kauein*. The verb carries the suffix *-t* when the ergative argument is plural, and *-ma* when the dative argument is plural. These suffixes co-occur when both arguments are plural. Notice that plurality is indicated solely by the morphology on the verb, while the nouns themselves remain unchanged.

- (2.13) *Kalma kauein itaha*
 man.ERG turkey:DAT PRG.kill.IPV
 ‘The man is killing the turkey’

- (2.14) *Kalma kauein itahat*
 man.ERG turkey:DAT PRG.kill.IPV.PL
 ‘The men are killing the turkey’

- (2.15) *Kalma kauein itahama*
 man.ERG turkey:DAT PRG.kill.IPV.DPL
 ‘The man is killing the turkeys’

- (2.16) *Kalma kauein itahamat*
 man.ERG turkey:DAT PRG.kill.IPV.DPL.PL
 ‘The men are killing the turkeys’

In addition to the inflectional categories mentioned above, verbs also take suffixes to derive reciprocal forms (e.g., *etsampa* ‘talk’, *etsampauot* ‘talk with each other’), and can include suffixes expressing modality/intensionality, causation, and event type (e.g., *kila* ‘see’, *kiluha* ‘want to see’, *kilihpa* ‘intend to see’, *kiluhka* ‘manage to see’, *kilota* ‘see repeatedly’). Finally, verbs denoting scalar properties take prefixes and suffixes to express equative, comparative, and superlative degrees (e.g., *pata* ‘be tall’, *apata* ‘be so/as tall’, *apatohta* ‘be taller/tallest’, *apatima* ‘grow, get taller’).

With all of these inflectional categories, verbs in Okuna can be quite complex. An extreme example is the verb in (2.17). Here the stem *tal-* ‘read’ carries the negative prefix *m-*, the perfect aspect prefix *o-*, the incomplete suffix *-ahp* ‘try/attempt to’, the inchoative suffix *-et* ‘begin to’, the negative past imperfective suffix *-unka*, and the agreement suffixes *-ma* and *-t*, indicating that the dative and ergative arguments are both plural.

- (2.17) *Sa halma atat eima motalahpetunkamat*
 1exERG book those:DAT still NEG.PF.read.try.begin.IPV:PST:NEG.DPL.PL
 ‘We had not yet begun to try reading those books’

2.5 Constituent order and clause structure

Noun phrases in Okuna are head-final. Possessors and modifiers precede the head noun: e.g., *kotu* ‘house’, *imè kotu* ‘my house’, *imè sane kotu* ‘my red house’. Relative clauses, which take the form of nominalizations, also precede the noun they modify. In the example below, *kauein utahaka iha* ‘woman who had killed the turkey’ consists of the head noun *iha* ‘woman’ combined with the agentive nominal modifier *kauein utahaka*, literally ‘one who has/had killed the turkey’:

- (2.18) *Mo kauein utahaka ihà kilyi*
 1SRDAT turkey:DAT PF.kill.DEP.ANZR woman.NOM see.PV
 ‘I saw the woman who had killed the turkey’

Only a handful of elements, such as quantifiers and demonstratives, follow the head noun: e.g., *kotu hen* ‘two houses’, *kotu emot* ‘all the houses’, *kotu tan* ‘that house’.

In relation-denoting expressions, the element expressing the relation follows its complement. In this sense, Okuna patterns as a ‘postpositional’ rather than ‘prepositional’ language. However, relational elements in Okuna do not belong to a separate category of postpositions, but are instead a type of noun. Notice that in the example below, the relational element *epam* ‘top’ takes the locative case ending *-na*, with *totsat epam* being a type of noun-noun compound (‘top of table’ or ‘table top’).

- (2.19) *totsat epamna*
 table top.LOC
 ‘on top of the table’

Relational nouns also follow their complement when the complement is a clause, as in (2.20). Here *talhkou* ‘because’ (consisting of the noun *talhko* ‘cause/reason’ plus the ablative case ending *-u*) combines with a preceding embedded clause. Inasmuch as the subordinator follows the subordinate clause, Okuna again patterns as a typical head-final language.

- (2.20) *ma elohka halmai atala talhkou*
 1SERG yesterday book:DAT PV.read.DEP cause.ABL
 ‘because I read the book yesterday’
 more lit. ‘from the cause of me having read the book yesterday’

At the clause level, constituent order is somewhat freer than within noun phrases, although there is a definite preference for verb-final ('SOV') order. The prototypical clause consists of a verb preceded by one or more case-marked pronouns or noun phrases. The order of these noun phrases is determined primarily by the discourse context in which the clause is uttered (see below). In this respect, Okuna behaves as a SCRAMBLING language similar to Japanese. This is illustrated by the examples below, showing that when a verb takes an agent noun phrase (marked with ergative case) and a patient noun phrase (marked with dative case), the two arguments may occur in either order:

(2.21) *Sakialma mutoi itoka*
 Sakial.ERG fence.DAT PRG.repair.IPV
 'Sakial is repairing the fence'

(2.22) *Mutoi Sakialma itoka*
 fence.DAT Sakial.ERG PRG.repair.IPV
 'Sakial is repairing the fence'
 or 'The fence is being repaired by Sakial'

In sentences with more than one noun phrase, the order of the noun phrases depends largely on their discourse prominence, with the most topical noun phrase occurring at the left edge of the clause. The TOPIC is the noun phrase which identifies the individual that the clause is about, and is normally interpreted as definite or specific. Of the sentences above, (2.21) might be used to attribute some action to Sakial, while (2.22) would be used to assert a property of the fence. For instance, the former sentence might be given in response to the question 'What is Sakial doing?', while the latter would be more appropriate in answer to the question 'What is happening to the fence?'. (Notice that I give a passive construction as a possible translation for the latter sentence. This is merely a way of indicating that the patient is more topical than the agent; (2.22) does not actually have the structure of a passive.)

In addition to the most topical noun phrase coming at the beginning of the clause, there is a tendency for the most FOCAL noun phrase to immediately precede the verb, where a noun phrase is focal if it expresses foregrounded (new or contrastive) information. Consider the examples below, which differ in the order of the dative-marked indirect object and the nominative-marked direct object. In (2.23) the direct object is more focal; the sentence might be used in answer to the question 'What did you put in the chest?'. In (2.24), by contrast, the indirect object is more focal; this sentence might be used in answer to the question 'Where did you put the book?'. In the former context, the existence and relevance of the chest has already been established, while the book represents salient new information; in the latter context, it is the chest which represents new information while the book is presupposed. (If both the book and the chest are new information, either order is acceptable.)

(2.23) *Ma kohoit halmà elhyi*
 I.ERG chest.DAT book.NOM put:in.PV
 'I put THE BOOK in the chest'

(2.24) *Ma halmà kohoit elhyi*
 I.ERG book.NOM chest.DAT put:in.PV
 'I put the book in THE CHEST'

Pronouns tend to pick out highly topical referents. Hence, if a clause contains one or more pronominal arguments and one or more full noun phrase arguments, the pronoun(s) will almost always precede the full noun phrase(s). This is illustrated in (2.23) and (2.24) above, where the first person singular ergative pronoun *ma* comes at the beginning of the sentence. Nominative, dative, and ergative pronouns all have special clitic forms, which must be clause-initial, and *ma* is an example of such a clitic. Additional examples of clitic pronouns are given below: *na* is the clitic form of the third person animate ergative pronoun (non-clitic form *inà*), while *ti* is the clitic form of the third person inanimate dative pronoun (non-clitic form *atai*). These sentences show the pronominal argument preceding the non-pronominal argument regardless of which one is the subject and which is the object.

(2.25) *Na mutoi itoka*
 3aERG fence.DAT PRG.repair.IPV
 ‘S/he is repairing the fence’

(2.26) *Ti Sakialma itoka*
 3iDAT Sakial.ERG PRG.repair.IPV
 ‘Sakial is repairing it’

When a clause includes two pronominal arguments, both can take the form of clitics in certain cases. When two clitics co-occur as arguments of the same verb, they combine to form a single phonological word, or CLITIC CLUSTER, which appears at the left edge of the clause. The sentences below each begin with a clitic cluster:

(2.27) *Ima kohoit elhyi*
 3iNOM.1sERG chest.DAT insert.PV.EPL
 ‘I put it in the chest’ (lit. ‘It+I in:chest inserted’)

(2.28) *Uma halmà elhyi*
 3iRDAT.1sERG book.NOM insert.PV.EPL
 ‘I put the book there / in it’ (lit. ‘To:it+I book inserted’)

(2.29) *Intso sliachte ukiyima*
 3aERG.13RDAT story tell.PV.DPL
 ‘S/he told us a story’ (lit. ‘S/he+us story told’)

Many clitics change their form when occurring as the first element in a cluster. In (2.27) above, for example, the third person inanimate nominative clitic *hi* becomes *i-* when it combines with the first person exclusive ergative clitic *ma* to give *ima*. Likewise, in (2.29) the third person animate ergative clitic *na* becomes *in-* when combining with the first person realis dative clitic *so* to give *intso*. The order of the clitics in a cluster is fixed by a person hierarchy, which requires that third person clitics precede first and second person clitics.

Although verb-final (SOV) order is normal in Okuna, various elements optionally follow the verb. In particular, embedded clauses, which are formed from main clauses by nominalizing the verb, normally occur to the right of the verb that selects them. This is illustrated below, where *pyie elohfoi nioktatà* ‘the children(’s) returning tomorrow’ is a nominalized clause (marked for nominative case) which functions as the direct object of *etsa* ‘say/tell’:

(2.30) *Ma ihai etsyi pyie elohfoi nioktatà*
 1sERG woman.DAT tell.PV child.NOM tomorrow return.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘I told the woman that the children were returning tomorrow’

Chapter 3

Phonology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of Okuna phonology. In §3.2 I present the phoneme inventory. §3.3 and §3.4 deal with syllable structure, phonotactic constraints, and stress assignment. Finally in §3.5 I summarize the major morpho-phonological processes in the language, which include vowel hiatus resolution, nasal assimilation, and continuancy assimilation.

Okuna is normally written in a syllabary called *ilo*. In this grammar it will be represented in the Latin alphabet using the following letters: *a, e, f, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, s, t, u, y*. Three digraphs are used: *lh, tl*, and *ts*. The letter *y* represents a central or back unrounded vowel, pronounced [ə] in unstressed syllables, and ranging from [i] to [ɤ] to [ʌ] in stressed syllables, depending on dialect. The digraphs *lh* and *tl* represent voiceless postalveolar lateral sounds, and may be roughly transcribed [ɬ] and [tɬ] in IPA (see below for description). All other letters have essentially their IPA values, subject to the allophony discussed below.

3.2 Phoneme inventory

Okuna distinguishes the following eighteen sounds.

3.2.1 Consonants

There are twelve consonant phonemes, with the following places and manners of articulation. Notice that voicing is not contrastive in Okuna.

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	DENTAL/ALVEOLAR	PALATAL (LATERAL)	VELAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	
AFFRICATE			<i>ts</i>	<i>tl</i>		
FRICATIVE		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>lh</i>		<i>h</i>
NASAL	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			
APPROXIMANT			<i>l</i>			

A condensed chart, which groups consonants into phonologically salient categories, is given below. A basic division of consonants into obstruents and sonorants is justified on both phonetic and phonotactic grounds. Sonorants are always voiced while obstruents are usually voiceless. In addition, sonorants are the only consonants which may occur as geminates (*konomme* ‘with a hammer’, *sanna* ‘in the blood’, *nalla* ‘greet’); whereas when two identical obstruents come together at a morpheme boundary, the first one becomes *h*, as discussed in §3.5.1. The division of obstruents into a non-continuant and a continuant series is also justified

on phonotactic grounds. Non-continuants are the only obstruents that are allowed to follow a nasal: any continuant obstruent that comes to follow a nasal changes into the closest corresponding non-continuant ($m + f$ becomes mp , $n + lh$ becomes ntl , etc.), as discussed in §3.5.2.

		LABIAL	CORONAL			VELAR/ GLOTTAL
			PLAIN	GROOVED RELEASE	LATERAL RELEASE	
OBSTRUENT	NON-CONTINUANT	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tl</i>	<i>k</i>
	CONTINUANT	<i>f</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>lh</i>	<i>h</i>
SONORANT		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>l</i>	

Obstruents

The obstruent series consists of three plosives (bilabial p , dental t , and velar k), two affricates (alveolar ts and postalveolar tl), and four fricatives (labiodental f , alveolar s , postalveolar lh , and glottal h). The affricates ts and tl are counted as single segments on distributional grounds, in that they occur freely at the end of a word (*mots* ‘frog’, *hetl* ‘piece’) or adjacent to another consonant (*etskana* ‘arrive’, *luhtsa* ‘smell’, *atlpa* ‘play music’, *hentla* ‘half’). Okuna does not permit consonant clusters word-finally, and allows sequences of at most two consonants word-medially.

By far the most exotic sounds in Okuna are the lateral fricative lh and the corresponding lateral affricate tl , which may be transcribed roughly as [ɬ] and [tɬ], respectively. Note that lh is made without any contact between the tongue body/tip and the roof of the mouth (in this respect it differs from the voiceless lateral sound of Welsh). The primary articulatory difference between lh and the alveolar fricative s is that s is made with the central portion of the tongue depressed (or ‘grooved’), as in English, while lh is made with the central portion of the tongue raised and the sides of the tongue lowered. Also, the narrowest point of constriction in the mouth is somewhat further back for lh than for s . The affricate tl has the same place of articulation as lh , but starts with a period of complete closure before opening into a fricative. (For some speakers, there is almost no frication when tl is released, making it closer to a plosive sound than an affricate.)

Fricatives and affricates are always voiceless. The plosives are always unaspirated, and are generally voiceless as well. However, in the Southern and Interior dialects, the non-coronal plosives p and k become voiced after a word-initial sonorant consonant, between a sonorant consonant and an unstressed vowel, or between two vowels where the second vowel is unstressed:

<i>malka</i>	[ˈmalga]	‘wolf’
<i>nketu</i>	[ˈŋgetu]	‘crab’
<i>mpehkai</i>	[mbɛhˈkai]	‘first’
<i>kiotampa</i>	[kiɔˈtamba]	‘hurry’
<i>lhonko</i>	[ɬɔŋgɔ]	‘loud noise’
<i>naka</i>	[ˈnaga]	‘stone’
<i>otupa</i>	[ɔˈtuba]	‘decide’

The coronal obstruents are noticeably palatalized when followed by an i -glide, though not when followed by a non-glide i vowel. Compare:

<i>tiku</i>	[ˈtigu]	‘spear, harpoon’	<i>tiamε</i>	[ˈci̯amε]	‘grandmother’
<i>sila</i>	[ˈsila]	‘be clear’	<i>siem</i>	[ˈci̯ɛm]	‘sky’

In the Northern dialect, the glottal fricative h is optionally deleted word-internally before an unstressed vowel: e.g., *teha* ‘stay’, which most speakers pronounce [ˈtɛha], is pronounced [ˈtɛa] by many Northern speakers.

Sonorants

The sonorant consonants consist of two nasals (m , n) and one lateral liquid (l). The sonorants are always voiced, and this voicing often carries over to a following p or k , as discussed above. The sonorant m is

bilabial, while *n* and *l* are generally dental or alveolar. However, *n* assimilates in place of articulation to a following obstruent. In addition, *n* is optionally realized as velar word-finally, especially after a non-front vowel or before a word beginning with a velar consonant.

<i>ntlyuo</i>	[nt̪lyuo]	‘not enter’
<i>ntioko</i>	[nt̪iɔgɔ]	‘not die’
<i>tunku</i>	[tɔŋgu]	‘pain’
<i>kian</i>	[k̪ian] or [k̪iaŋ]	‘five’

As with the coronal obstruents, the coronal sonorants *n* and *l* are palatalized before an *i*-glide, though not before a non-glide *i*:

<i>nilu</i>	[nilu]	‘net’	<i>nial</i>	[ɲial]	‘blade’
<i>lima</i>	[lima]	‘open’	<i>lioke</i>	[liɔgɛ]	‘mark, symbol’

3.2.2 Vowels

Okuna has six vowel phonemes:

	FRONT	NON-FRONT	
		UNROUND	ROUND
HIGH	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
	<i>e</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>o</i>
LOW		<i>a</i>	

In all positions, the high vowels *i* and *u*, and the low vowel *a*, are pronounced as in the IPA (except that *i* and *u* are realized as glides when adjacent to another vowel, as discussed below). The mid vowels *e* and *o* may be tense or lax: *e* is tense before an *i* glide and lax in all other positions, while *o* is tense before an *u* glide and lax in other positions. Compare:

<i>tene</i>	[tɛnɛ]	‘hill’	<i>kopo</i>	[kɔbɔ]	‘pot’
<i>tenei</i>	[tɛ'neɪ]	‘hill.DAT’	<i>kopoi</i>	[kɔ'pɔɪ]	‘pot.DAT’
<i>teneu</i>	[tɛ'nɛu]	‘hill.ABL’	<i>kopou</i>	[kɔ'pɔu]	‘pot.ABL’
<i>teneia</i>	[tɛ'neia]	‘hill.ALL’	<i>kopoua</i>	[kɔ'pɔua]	‘pot.ALL’

In stressed syllables, *y* is pronounced as a high central unrounded vowel, or as a mid back unrounded vowel (tense or lax), depending on the dialect. For example, *hyna* ‘move’ is pronounced [hɪna] by Inland speakers, [hina] by Northern coastal speakers, and either [hɪna] or [hina] by Southern coastal speakers. In all varieties, *y* centralizes to schwa in unstressed syllables (e.g., *tynan* [tə'naŋ] ‘dew’).

Vowel length is not contrastive in Okuna. There are pairs of monosyllabic stems which appear to show a length contrast—e.g., the vowel in *sù* ‘rain’ is longer than the vowel in *su* ‘or’. However, the contrast here is primarily one of stress rather than length: *sù* is always stressed, whereas *su* never is (cf. §3.4 below).

The high vowels *i* and *u* are non-syllabic, pronounced as [j] and [ɥ] (phonetically: [j] and [w], respectively), when adjacent to a non-high vowel. In sequences of two high vowels (*iu*, *ui*), the first vowel is non-syllabic. This results in seven falling diphthongs (*ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *yi*; *au*, *eu*, *ou*), ten rising diphthongs (*ia*, *ie*, *io*, *iu*, *iy*; *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, *uo*, *uy*), and fourteen triphthongs (*iai*, *iei*, *ioi*, *iyi*, *iau*, *ieu*, *iou*; *uai*, *uei*, *uoi*, *uyi*, *uau*, *ueu*, *uou*). Note that even when *i* and *u* are pronounced as glides, they are treated as vowels by the morphology. For example, when the negative marker is prefixed to a verb, it takes the form *ma-* before a sonorant consonant (e.g., *mutla* ‘understand’, *mamutlo* ‘doesn’t understand’), and *m-* before a vowel (e.g., *eta* ‘go’, *meto* ‘doesn’t go’). When the negative marker attaches to a verb beginning with a glide, the *m-* form is used (*uihta* ‘sit down’, *muihto* ‘doesn’t sit down’).

Note finally that a glottal stop is never inserted before a word-initial vowel; when two vowels occur adjacent to one another at a word boundary, they are pronounced with a smooth transition: e.g., *me ita* ‘I am going’ is pronounced [mɛ'ita] (not *[mɛ'ʔita]). When a word ending in a vowel comes before a word beginning with the same vowel, and the latter is unstressed, there is a tendency for the two vowels to coalesce phonetically into a single long vowel: e.g., *me etskana* ‘I arrive’ is normally pronounced [mɛ:ts'kana].

3.3 Syllable structure and phonotactics

Except word-initially, the following syllable types are possible: V, CV, VC, CVC, where C represents a single consonant and V represents a simple vowel, diphthong, or triphthong. Division of words into syllables is straightforward: A single intervocalic consonant is always syllabified with the following vowel (*kila* ‘see’ is syllabified as *ki.la*). When two consonants occur together word-internally, the syllable boundary goes between them (*mokta* ‘go home’ is *mok.ta*, *atlapa* ‘make music’ is *atl.pa*). When a high vowel occurs between two non-high vowels, it is syllabified with the following vowel, producing a rising diphthong in the second syllable rather than a falling diphthong in the first syllable (e.g., *paua* ‘wash’ is *pa.ua*, not **pau.a*).

Word-initially, a syllable may begin with a consonant cluster. By far the most common initial clusters consist of a non-continuant obstruent preceded by a homorganic nasal: *mp*, *nt*, *nts*, *ntl*, *nk*. A handful of uninflected stems begin with a nasal-obstruent cluster (e.g., *mpyka* ‘bump against’, *nketu* ‘crab’). In most cases, however, these clusters result from adding the negative prefix *m-* to an obstruent-initial stem, with place and continuancy assimilation (e.g., *m-* ‘NEG’ + *pat-* ‘be tall’ + *-o* ‘NEG’ > *mpato* ‘not be tall’; *m-* ‘NEG’ + *lhyu-* ‘enter’ + *-o* ‘NEG’ > *ntlyuo* ‘not enter’).

Besides the nasal-obstruent clusters, six other initial clusters are found in a handful of words: *kl* (*klaha* ‘go through’), *ks* (*ksohe* ‘darkness’), *sk* (*skoha* ‘steal’), *st* (*stoka* ‘destroy’), *sl* (*sliahte* ‘story’), and *ps* (occurs only in the onomatopoeic *psyta* ‘spit out’).

Beyond these general constraints on syllable structure, the following phonotactic patterns may be noted:

1. Geminate sonorant consonants are possible word-internally (*ikimme* ‘with us’, *inna* ‘eye’, *nalla* ‘greet’), but geminate obstruents are disallowed, due to a historical and synchronic change whereby the first of a pair of identical obstruents becomes *h* (e.g., *t + t* > *ht*).
2. The fricatives *h* and *f* have restricted distributions. The latter never occurs in the coda of a syllable, due to a historical change where *f* merged with *h* in this position. In addition, although syllable-final *h* is allowed word-internally, it never occurs at the end of a word. This is also due to a historical change, following *f* > *h* merger, whereby *h* was lost word-finally (e.g., **ipalah* > *ipalà* ‘herb’). In addition, *h* never occurs after a consonant (recall that the sequence *lh* represents a single sound), or before *l*, *lh*, or itself. All other *h + C* combinations are permitted, and some are common.
3. The vowel *y* is less common than the other five vowels. It occurs most often as part of the diphthong *yi* (generally pronounced [ɣi] or [ʎi]), and never appears at the end of a word. Note that there is no diphthong *yu*, due to a historical change whereby **yu* merged with *ou*. Synchronically, the sequence *yu* only appears when *y* and *u* are separated by a syllable boundary, as in *lhyua* ‘enter’.
4. The rising diphthongs *iu* and *ui* are found in noun and verb roots, but never occur across a morpheme boundary due to the vowel hiatus rules discussed in §3.5.3 below.
5. The affricate *tl* rarely occurs syllable-finally. When *tl* is syllable final but stem-internal, the following syllable always begins with a non-coronal plosive or nasal (e.g., *atlapa* ‘make music’, *nitlka* ‘sting’).
6. Consonant clusters consisting of two fricatives are limited. The combinations *hf* and *hs* are not uncommon (e.g., *muohfa* ‘be heavy/dense’, *tuhsa* ‘winter’). But other fricative clusters are rare or non-existent. Moreover, fricatives never occur after a sonorant, due to a rule which changes the fricative into the corresponding affricate or stop (*n + f* > *mp*, *n + s* > *nts*, *n + lh* > *ntl*, etc.).

3.4 Stress assignment

Okuna words are parsed into moraic trochees, where coda consonants and glides count as moraic. Primary and secondary stress are assigned from the right edge of the word, and stress clashes within a word are not permitted. This translates into the following rules:

1. For words of more than one syllable, the final syllable receives primary stress if it ends in a consonant (*kamal* ‘knife’) or a falling diphthong (*huiloi* ‘window’); otherwise the penultimate syllable receives primary stress. Monosyllabic words are stressed if they end in a consonant (*nalh* ‘arm’) or falling diphthong (*lai* ‘light’); otherwise they are unstressed and form a prosodic unit with an adjacent stress-bearing word, generally the following one.¹
2. For words of four or more syllables, and for three-syllable words ending in a stressed syllable, secondary stress is assigned right-to-left to every other syllable preceding the one with primary stress.

Examples of primary and secondary stress assignment are given below:

<i>tene</i>	[ˈtɛ.nɛ]	‘hill’
<i>mosie</i>	[ˈmɔ.ɕiɛ]	‘shoulders’
<i>hakui</i>	[ˈha.gɥi]	‘bristle’
<i>minap</i>	[mi.ˈnap]	‘marrow’
<i>totsat</i>	[tɔ.ˈtsat]	‘table’
<i>ulau</i>	[u.ˈlaʊ]	‘scrotum’
<i>elohka</i>	[ɛ.ˈlɔh.kɑ]	‘yesterday’
<i>etskana</i>	[ɛts.ˈka.nɑ]	‘arrive’
<i>elohfoi</i>	[ɛ.lɔh.ˈfɔi]	‘tomorrow’
<i>ksohnomats</i>	[ksɔh.nɔ.ˈmats]	‘dusk, twilight’
<i>ih̄taupatam</i>	[ih̄.tau.ba.ˈtam]	‘sixteen’
<i>teiektakunme</i>	[te.ɪɛk.ta.ˈkun.mɛ]	‘forty-nine.INST’

The only apparent exceptions to the above rules consist of a handful of stems and common inflectional forms which end in a non-glide vowel but nevertheless have primary stress on the final syllable. In the orthography used here, these are marked by placing a diacritic over the final vowel:

<i>napè</i>	[na.ˈpɛ̄]	‘daughter’
<i>ipalà</i>	[i.ba.ˈlā]	‘herb, medicinal plant’

The use of this diacritic is crucial, since a change in how a word is stressed often signals the difference between one inflectional form and another. For example, ‘woman’ is *ih̄a* in the unmarked form (with stress on the first syllable) and *ih̄à* in the nominative case (with stress on the last syllable). Note that the same diacritic is also placed over monosyllabic stress-bearing words ending in a non-glide vowel, such as *nà* ‘water’. These words are pronounced with a slightly longer vowel than their unstressed counterparts (e.g., *sù* ‘rain’ has a longer vowel than *su* ‘or’).

Final stressed vowels have two sources in the phonology:

1. In some inflected forms, two adjacent vowels fuse to become a single stressed vowel. For example, when the nominative ending *-e* is added to the stem *ih̄a* ‘woman’, the ending fuses with the final stem vowel to give *ih̄à* (see §3.5.3).
2. Although syllables in Okuna may normally end in the glottal fricative *h* (e.g., the first syllable in *ahte* ‘father’), there is a rule which deletes *h* word-finally (cf. §3.3). However, words with a deleted final *h* behave as if they still ended in a consonant, insofar as primary stress falls on the final syllable. This is the case with *sù* ‘rain’ and *napè* ‘daughter’, for instance, whose stems are *suh-* and *napeh-*, respectively. (Because *h* only deletes in word-final position, it is preserved when a case ending attaches to the stem: e.g., *suhna* ‘rain.LOC’, *napehme* ‘daughter.INST’).

For the most part, word-level stress is insensitive to morphological structure: primary and secondary stress are assigned to fully inflected stems, after all affixes have been added to the stem. Note the stress shift in the following forms (and its effect on the pronunciation of *k*, which is routinely voiced before an unstressed vowel, as noted above):

¹Unstressed particles for marking force and evidentiality, discussed in §8.2.2, are an exception to this: these particles immediately follow the verb and form a prosodic unit with the verb.

<i>muka</i>	[ˈmu.ɡa]	‘close’
<i>mukat</i>	[mu.ˈkat]	‘close.PL’
<i>mukanka</i>	[mu.ˈkaŋ.ɡa]	‘close.IPV:PST’
<i>mukankat</i>	[mu.ɡaŋ.ˈkat]	‘close.IPV:PST.PL’

There is one important exceptions to this, however. The question marker *-n*, which is the contracted form of *ne* used after a vowel, does not affect the stress of the verb to which it attaches. Instead, the verb is stressed as though the *-n* were not present (I assume that *-n* is actually an enclitic rather than a true suffix). Compare the stress placement in the following examples:

<i>na hosta</i>	[na.ˈhɔs.ta]	‘s/he dances’
<i>na hostat</i>	[na.hɔs.ˈtat]	‘they dance’
<i>na hòstan</i>	[na.ˈhɔs.taŋ]	‘does s/he dance?’
<i>na hostat ne</i>	[na.hɔs.ˈtat.nɛ]	‘do they dance?’

Notice that when *-n* attaches to a verb with penultimate stress, penultimate stress is retained even though the verb now ends in a consonant. In such cases the penultimate vowel is marked with a diacritic to show that stress is falling on a syllable other than the expected one, in the same way that idiosyncratic final stress is marked by a diacritic in words like *napè*.

3.5 Common phonological processes

The following are some commonly attested phonological rules. The application of these rules in particular cases is discussed in the sections dealing with noun and verb morphology.

3.5.1 Consonant cluster simplification

Although geminate sonorant consonants (*mm*, *nn*, *ll*) are permitted, geminate obstruents are disallowed. When two identical obstruents come together at a word-internal morpheme boundary, the first one loses its closure and becomes *h*, creating an *hC* cluster. This rule is attested in compounds (e.g., *mok* ‘hearth, maternal lineage’ + *kilu* ‘grandchild’ > *mohkilu* ‘maternal grandchild’). It also applies productively when a verb stem ending in *t* takes the inchoative suffix *-t* (e.g., *pat.t.a* > *pahta* ‘make/become tall’); and when the ordinal suffix *-ka* attaches to a number term ending in *k* (*teiek.ka* > *teiehka* ‘ninth’, *tolok.ka* > *tolohka* ‘ten-thousandth’).

Similarly, sequences consisting of *f* followed by a consonant, or *p* followed by a plosive consonant, are disallowed. When such sequences are created, the labial consonant loses its place features and becomes *h*, again creating an *hC* cluster. This rule applies in compounds (e.g., *minap* ‘bone marrow’ + *kan* ‘worth’ > *minahkan* ‘esteem, high regard’); and when the inchoative suffix *-t* is added to a verb stem ending in *p* or *f* (*elif.t.a* > *elihta* ‘become beautiful, beautify’; *koip.t.a* > *koihta* ‘get to know’).

When the suffix *-t* is added to a stem ending in the affricate *tl*, the *tl* becomes the corresponding fricative *lh* (*mutl.t.a* > *mulhta* ‘realize, come to understand’).

Lastly, word-final *lh* is optionally pronounced as *h* when followed by a word beginning with *l*, *tl*, *s*, or *ts*, especially in rapid speech (this change is not indicated in the spelling). For example, the phrase *olh tlotsaka* ‘that kind’ is normally pronounced [ɔh tʰɔtsaga].

3.5.2 Place and continuancy assimilation

When a morpheme ending in a nasal *N* (either *m* or *n*) is followed by a morpheme beginning with an obstruent, the nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the obstruent. In addition, if the obstruent is a continuant it will change into the closest corresponding non-continuant. The outputs of this rule are listed below:

$N + p$	$>$	mp	$N + f$	$>$	mp
$N + t$	$>$	nt			
$N + ts$	$>$	nts	$N + s$	$>$	nts
$N + tl$	$>$	ntl	$N + lh$	$>$	ntl
$N + k$	$>$	nk	$N + h$	$>$	nk

This rule applies when the negative prefix *m-* attaches to a stem beginning with an obstruent: e.g., *m.pat.o* $>$ *mpato* ‘isn’t tall’; *m.fon.o* $>$ *mpono* ‘doesn’t praise’; *m.sas.o* $>$ *ntsaso* ‘doesn’t meet’; *m.lhil.o* $>$ *ntlilo* ‘doesn’t pull’; *m.hakatl.o* $>$ *nkakatlo* ‘doesn’t laugh’. The rule also applies when a verb stem ending in a nasal combines with the causative/inchoative suffix *-t*, or when a numeral word ending in a nasal combines with the suffix *-ka* (which forms ordinal numbers) or *-tla* (which forms fractions): e.g., *lhum.t.a* $>$ *lhunta* ‘become/make dim’; *tam.ka* $>$ *tanka* ‘tenth’, *tam.tla* $>$ *tantla* ‘one tenth’.

Nasals fail to assimilate before another sonorant: e.g., *kalon.me* $>$ *kalonme* ‘with the young man’.

3.5.3 Vowel hiatus resolution

Sequences of two syllabic (non-glide) vowels are not permitted. Moreover, the sequences *ii* and *uu* are not permitted, and the sequences *iu* and *ui* are allowed only within a stem. When one of these impermissible vowel sequences is created through affixation, regular rules apply to produce an acceptable sequence of non-high vowels and glides.

The following rules apply when a prefix ending a vowel attaches to a stem beginning with a vowel:

1. When a prefix ending in *a* attaches to a stem beginning with *a*, the two vowels fuse into a single vowel. Example: *a.ati.a* $>$ *atia* ‘when (it) got closer’.
2. When a prefix ending in a high vowel (*i* or *u*) attaches to a stem beginning with a non-glide vowel, the prefix vowel is pronounced as a glide. Examples: *i.alh.a* $>$ *ialha* ‘is allowed’, *i.yt.a* $>$ *iyta* ‘is true’, *u.euolht.a* $>$ *ueuolhta* ‘has gone there’. If the stem-initial vowel is also high, then that vowel lowers to become the corresponding mid vowel (*i* becomes *e*, and *u* becomes *o*). Examples: *i.ikl.a* $>$ *iekla* ‘is scratching’, *i.usl.a* $>$ *iosla* ‘is about to end’; *u.ipam.a* $>$ *uepama* ‘has prepared’, *u.ukti.i* $>$ *uoktie* ‘having given’.
3. When a prefix ending in a high vowel attaches to a stem beginning with a glide, the prefix vowel itself lowers to become the corresponding mid vowel. Examples: *i.ias.a* $>$ *eiasa* ‘is eating’, *i.uoht.a* $>$ *euohta* ‘is sitting’; *u.iahkip.a* $>$ *oiahkipa* ‘has struck’, *u.uant.a* $>$ *ouanta* ‘has thrown’.
4. When a prefix ending in a non-high vowel (*a*, *e*, *o*, *y*) is attached to a stem beginning with a non-glide vowel, a glide is inserted between the two vowels. If at least one of the vowels is rounded, then an *u*-glide is inserted; otherwise an *i*-glide is inserted. Examples: *a.elif.oht.a* $>$ *aielifohta* ‘be more beautiful’, *a.ynt.im.a* $>$ *aiyntima* ‘get narrower’; *e.otl.i* $>$ *euotli* ‘to come apart’, *a.oit.oht.a* $>$ *auoitiohta* ‘be more important’. If the initial vowel of the stem is high, then the inserted glide causes it to lower. Examples: *a.ikl.a* $>$ *aiekla* ‘when (s/he) scratched’, *a.ipam.a* $>$ *aiepama* ‘when (s/he) prepared’, *ta.ihtà* $>$ *taiehtà* ‘sixty’; *e.ukti.i* $>$ *euoktie* ‘to give’, *a.uti.oht.a* $>$ *auotiohta* ‘be closer’.

The following rules apply when a suffix beginning with a vowel attaches to a stem ending in a vowel, or when the infix *-i-* (which marks dative case on nouns and resultative aspect on verbs: see §4.2 and §7.5.1, respectively) is inserted immediately after the final vowel in a stem:

1. When the nominative suffix *-e* attaches to a stem ending in a non-high vowel, the two vowels fuse into a single vowel. This vowel attracts word-level stress, and has the quality of the original stem vowel. Examples: *malka.e* $>$ *malkà* ‘wolf.NOM’, *ike.e* $>$ *ikè* ‘dog.NOM’, *talo.e* $>$ *talò* ‘chieftain.NOM’. In all other cases of vowel hiatus, the following rules of vowel lowering and glide formation apply.

2. When a suffix beginning with a high vowel attaches to a stem ending in a glide, the suffix vowel lowers. Examples: *pyi.i* > *pyie* ‘to the child’, *m.taki.unka* > *ntakionka* ‘has not broken’, *u.pau.i.ma* > *upauema* ‘having washed (pl)’, *piau.u* > *piauo* ‘from the top’, *m.o.tsoku.u* > *motsokuo* ‘without having met before’. Likewise, the infix *-i-* undergoes lowering when it is inserted after a glide. Examples: *kaiha* ‘kill, murder’ + *-i-* > *kaieha* ‘be killed, murdered’; *euta* ‘clean’ + *-i-* > *eueta* ‘be clean(ed)’.
3. If a suffix beginning with a high vowel attaches to a stem ending in a vowel, the suffix vowel is pronounced as a glide; if the stem-final vowel is also high, that vowel changes into the corresponding mid vowel. Examples: *tomla.i* > *tomlai* ‘to the mountain’, *lhati.i* > *lhatei* ‘to the children’, *kilu.i* > *kiloi* ‘to the grandchild’; *tlasi.u* > *tlaseu* ‘from the bend in the river’, *kotu.u* > *kotou* ‘from the house’. These same rules also apply when the infix *-i-* is inserted after a non-glide vowel. Examples: *uhin* + *-i-* > *uhein* ‘to a song’; *muk.a* ‘close’ + *-i-* > *moika* ‘be closed’.
4. When a suffix beginning with a non-high vowel is added to a vowel-final stem, a glide is inserted in between them (except in cases where the vowel fusion rule in (1) above takes precedence). An *u*-glide is inserted if at least one of the vowels is rounded; otherwise an *i*-glide is inserted. If the stem-final vowel is high, glide insertion causes it to lower. Examples: *iase.a* > *iaseia* ‘for food’, *lhati.a* > *lhateia* ‘for the children’; *talo.a* > *taloua* ‘for the chieftain’, *sikhunu.a* > *sikhunoua* ‘towards the river’.

Chapter 4

Case and Argument Structure

4.1 Introduction

Okuna is a case-marking language, where grammatical roles (subject, object, etc.) are encoded primarily by morphology on pronouns and noun phrases. In this chapter I discuss the Okuna case system in detail. This system is complicated by the existence of different verb classes which show distinct case marking patterns, and by the ways in which case marking interacts with aspect, negation, and other factors.

Noun phrases may appear in their unmarked form, or inflected for one of the following seven case roles: nominative (NOM), dative (DAT), ergative (ERG), locative (LOC), allative (ALL), ablative (ABL), or instrumental (INST). The nominative, dative, and ergative may be classified as the CORE cases, while the locative, allative, ablative, and instrumental are the OBLIQUE cases. This division into core and oblique cases is justified on distributional grounds. In particular, noun phrases in the core cases agree in number with the verb (see §7.2), whereas oblique noun phrases do not. Moreover, pronouns have special clitic forms for the core cases, but not for the oblique cases (see chapter 5).

I begin by reviewing the morphology for marking case on nouns in §4.2 (case marking on pronouns is dealt with in the next chapter). I then turn to the functions of the various case roles. In §4.3 I review the functions of the core cases, while §4.4 gives examples of the various verb classes in Okuna. §4.5 deals with the functions of the oblique cases. Finally, in §4.6 I discuss the distribution of noun phrases which are unmarked for case.

4.2 Noun case morphology

A noun phrase may occur in its bare form, or in combination with one of seven case markers. The basic forms of the case markers are given in the following table:

nominative (NOM)	<i>-e</i>
dative (DAT)	<i>-i</i>
ergative (ERG)	<i>-ma</i>
locative (LOC)	<i>-na</i>
allative (ALL)	<i>-a</i>
ablative (ABL)	<i>-u</i>
instrumental (INST)	<i>-me</i>

The case marker attaches to the final word in the noun phrase. Since Okuna is a head-final language, the final word in the noun phrase will usually be the noun itself. However, demonstratives and quantifiers (including numerals) follow the noun, so when a noun phrase contains one of these, it is the quantifier or demonstrative which carries the case marker while the noun itself remains unmarked. When the noun phrase

includes both a quantifier and a demonstrative, the demonstrative follows the quantifier and takes the case marker. Compare the following noun phrases, illustrating the position of the locative case marker *-na*:

<i>kotuna</i>	(house.LOC)	‘in the house’
<i>kulhe kotuna</i>	(green house.LOC)	‘in the green house’
<i>kulhe kotu henna</i>	(green house two.LOC)	‘in (the) two green houses’
<i>kulhe kotu itena</i>	(green house these.LOC)	‘in these green houses’
<i>kulhe kotu hen itena</i>	(green house two these.LOC)	‘in these two green houses’

In addition, when two or more noun phrases are combined into a larger noun phrase using a conjunction such as *ka* ‘and’ (see §8.3.1), only the rightmost conjunct is marked for case. Consider the following example, in which the instrumental case marker *-me* attaches to *no ame* ‘his mother’, while *Sakial* is unmarked:

- (4.1) *Sakial ka no ameme*
 Sakial and 3ARDAT mother.INST
 ‘with Sakial and his mother’

There is an added complication involving the nominative case ending *-e*: this ending attaches to the noun phrase only when the noun itself is the final element. If a noun phrase in the nominative case role ends in a numeral, quantifier, or related element, the *-e* ending is not used (making the nominative form homophonous with the unmarked form). For example, *kamal* ‘knife’ is *kamalme* in the instrumental and *kamale* in the nominative; by contrast, *kamal hen* ‘two knives’ takes the form *kamal henme* in the instrumental, but simply *kamal hen* (with no ending) in the nominative.

The fact that they attach to the noun phrase as a whole suggests that the case markers are clitics. Phonologically, however, they behave in a way that is more characteristic of true suffixes than of clitics. For example, they can cause stress to shift rightward (e.g., *kótu* ‘house’ versus *kotúna* ‘in the house’), and, in the case of the dative, the ending can actually be infixd within the word it attaches to. In order to side-step the question of whether they should be treated as affixes or clitics, I will refer to these morphemes simply as CASE ENDINGS.

All nouns inflect using the same set of case endings. However, there is a good deal of phonologically-conditioned allomorphy: the vowel-initial case endings all vary in form depending on the final sound(s) of the stem they attach to, and adding these endings to a noun can also cause changes to the stem. The attested patterns are explained and illustrated below.

Consonant-final stems

1. When the stem ends in a consonant preceded by a glide, the case endings given in the table above are added without any changes. This is illustrated in the table below with the declension for the noun *koin* ‘person’.
2. When the stem ends in a consonant other than *h*, and that consonant is preceded by a syllabic (non-glide) vowel, the dative case is marked by infixing an *i*-glide before the final consonant. All other case endings are as expected. This is illustrated below for *tlukan* ‘raven’. When the vowel preceding the infixd glide is high, that vowel lowers in accordance with the vowel lowering rule discussed in §3.5.3 (*i* > *e*, *u* > *o*). This pattern is illustrated for *his* ‘star’ and *kihul* ‘islet’.
3. Stems whose final consonant is *h* inflect the same way as above, except that the *h* disappears in the unmarked form and after the infixd *-i* of the dative. This is due to a regular phonological rule which deletes word-final *h* (see §3.3). Because the *h* is dropped, the noun ends in a stressed vowel in the unmarked form and a diphthong in the dative. This is illustrated below for *napeh-* (*nape*) ‘daughter’ and *suh-* (*sú*) ‘rain’.

	<i>koin</i>	<i>tlukan</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>kihul</i>	<i>napè</i>	<i>sù</i>
NOM	<i>koine</i>	<i>tlukane</i>	<i>hise</i>	<i>kihule</i>	<i>napehe</i>	<i>suhe</i>
DAT	<i>koini</i>	<i>tlukain</i>	<i>heis</i>	<i>kihoil</i>	<i>napei</i>	<i>soi</i>
ERG	<i>koinma</i>	<i>tlukanma</i>	<i>hisma</i>	<i>kihulma</i>	<i>napehma</i>	<i>suhma</i>
LOC	<i>koinna</i>	<i>tlukanna</i>	<i>hisna</i>	<i>kihulna</i>	<i>napehna</i>	<i>suhna</i>
ALL	<i>koina</i>	<i>tlukana</i>	<i>hisa</i>	<i>kihula</i>	<i>napeha</i>	<i>suha</i>
ABL	<i>koinu</i>	<i>tlukanu</i>	<i>hisu</i>	<i>kihulu</i>	<i>napehu</i>	<i>suhu</i>
INST	<i>koinme</i>	<i>tlukanme</i>	<i>hisme</i>	<i>kihulme</i>	<i>napehme</i>	<i>suhme</i>

Vowel-final stems

1. When the stem ends in a glide vowel, the dative ending *-i* lowers to become *-e* (making the dative and nominative forms homophonous). Likewise, the ablative ending *-u* lowers to become *-o*. All other endings remain unchanged. This is illustrated in the table below for *pyi* ‘child’.
2. When the stem ends in the vowel *a*, that vowel merges with the nominative ending *-e* to form a single stressed *a* vowel, while a *u*-glide is inserted before the allative ending *-a*. These changes are illustrated below in the declension for *malka* ‘wolf’.
3. When the noun stem ends in *e*, the stem-final vowel fuses with the nominative ending *-e* to form a single stressed *e* vowel, and an *i*-glide is inserted before the allative ending *-a*. This is shown for *ilme* ‘moon’. These same changes happen when the noun stem ends in (non-glide) *i*, and in addition, stem-final *i* lowers to *e* before a glide and in the nominative. This is illustrated for *lhati* ‘children’.
4. Finally, when the noun stem ends in *o*, that vowel fuses with the nominative ending *-e* to form a stressed *o* vowel, while an *u*-glide is inserted before allative *-a*, as shown for *talo* ‘chieftain’. These same changes occur for nouns ending in (non-glide) *u*, such as *uosu* ‘smooth round stone’, but in addition the stem-final *u* lowers to become *o* before a glide and in the nominative.

	<i>pyi</i>	<i>malka</i>	<i>ilme</i>	<i>lhati</i>	<i>talo</i>	<i>uosu</i>
NOM	<i>pyie</i>	<i>malkà</i>	<i>ilmè</i>	<i>lhatè</i>	<i>talò</i>	<i>uosò</i>
DAT	<i>pyie</i>	<i>malkai</i>	<i>ilmei</i>	<i>lhatei</i>	<i>taloi</i>	<i>uosoi</i>
ERG	<i>pyima</i>	<i>malkama</i>	<i>ilmema</i>	<i>lhatima</i>	<i>taloma</i>	<i>uosuma</i>
LOC	<i>pyina</i>	<i>malkana</i>	<i>ilmena</i>	<i>lhatina</i>	<i>talona</i>	<i>uosuna</i>
ALL	<i>pyia</i>	<i>malkaua</i>	<i>ilmeia</i>	<i>lhateia</i>	<i>taloua</i>	<i>uosoua</i>
ABL	<i>pyio</i>	<i>malkau</i>	<i>ilmeu</i>	<i>lhateu</i>	<i>talou</i>	<i>uosou</i>
INST	<i>pyime</i>	<i>malkame</i>	<i>ilmeme</i>	<i>lhatime</i>	<i>talome</i>	<i>uosume</i>

Pronouns and certain other elements (such as the quantifiers *-mot* ‘all’ and *-ket* ‘every’) inflect for case according to a different pattern, as discussed in chapter 5. The functions of the cases are reviewed below in §4.3 and §4.5.

4.3 The core cases

The three core cases are nominative, ergative, and dative. (Pronouns distinguish two forms for the dative, realis and irrealis; however, I postpone discussion of this distinction until §5.3.3.) The distribution of these cases is somewhat complex. Okuna exhibits a typologically unusual ACTIVE case marking system, where core case roles do not map in a straightforward way onto familiar grammatical relations like SUBJECT and OBJECT. Instead, case is determined in large part by the event structure of the predicate. From the perspective of an English speaker, Okuna case marking can seem idiosyncratic, which is why the glossary accompanying this grammar lists case assignment information for many verbs.

Most verbs in Okuna can be assigned to one of three classes according to the maximum number and kind of core arguments they take. For simplicity I refer to these simply as CLASS I, CLASS II, and CLASS III. A

detailed discussion of these classes, with examples of each, is given in §4.4 below. I begin with a preliminary overview of the core case roles. §4.3.1 summarizes the functions of the nominative and ergative cases, while in §4.3.2 I consider the functions of the dative case in some detail.

4.3.1 Nominative and ergative case

Ergative (ERG) case is marked by adding the ending *-ma* to the final word in the noun phrase. To mark the nominative (NOM), the ending *-e* is typically attached to the noun if it is the final element in the noun phrase; otherwise the nominative is unmarked (e.g., quantifiers and correlatives are unmarked in the nominative; see §6.7 and §6.8). Note that nominative marking is subject to a high degree of allomorphy, as summarized in §4.2 above. This section gives an overview of the functions of the nominative and ergative cases. For more extensive discussion and illustration of nominative and ergative case assignment with respect to the different verb classes, see §4.4.

Ergative case is used to mark noun phrases that denote ACTORS. The actor is that participant in the event (if any) who initiates or carries out the action denoted by the verb, often causing a change in some other participant. When a clause denotes an open-ended activity, the individual(s) engaged in that activity may be referred to by a noun phrase in the ergative case, as in (4.2) and (4.3). When a clause denotes an activity resulting in a change of state or location, an ergative noun phrase is used to indicate the individual (if any) who is responsible for bringing about the change, as in (4.4) and (4.5).

- (4.2) *Lhatima yhmana ilaliat*
 children.ERG outside.LOC PRG.play.IPV.PL
 ‘The children are playing outside’

- (4.3) *Sakialma halma itala*
 Sakial.ERG book PRG.read.IPV
 ‘Sakial is reading a book’

- (4.4) *Ihama hutà kotoi lhyuyiat*
 woman.ERG basket.NOM house.DAT enter.PV.NPL.PL
 ‘The women took/brought the baskets into the house’

- (4.5) *Ikei sisliankama kilhtyi*
 dog.DAT rattlesnake.ERG bite.PV
 ‘The dog was bitten by a rattlesnake’

The actor is typically an animate participant who acts consciously and deliberately to bring about the event denoted by the verb. However, this is not a necessary property of actors. In the examples below, ergative case marks an inanimate noun as the initiator of the action:

- (4.6) *Kas ahoma isè ikista*
 already sun.ERG snow.NOM PRG.melt.IPV
 ‘The sun is already melting the snow’

- (4.7) *Sukuma olh palahta emot lhope tiausyia*
 wind.ERG DIST tree all.NOM blow.CV fall.PV.NPL
 ‘The wind blew all those trees over’

- (4.8) *Mo somoityi ne hintsypalma atiokà*
 1sRDAT hear:news.PV 3aNOM pneumonia.ERG PV.die.DEP.NOM
 ‘I heard that he died of pneumonia’ (more lit. ‘that pneumonia caused him to die’)

Nominative case is assigned to noun phrases which bear the THEME role. Such noun phrases typically denote a participant that occupies a location or position, or undergoes a change of location or position, whether spontaneously or as the result of being manipulated by an actor. Examples of nominative marking on themes are given below:

- (4.9) *Kamale totsatna itima*
 knife.NOM table.LOC PRG.lie.IPV
 ‘The knife is lying on the table’
- (4.10) *Kamale totsat epamu tiausyi*
 knife.NOM table top.ABL fall.PV
 ‘The knife fell off the table’
- (4.11) *Ma kihune kohoit elhyia*
 1SERG letter.NOM chest.DAT put:in.PV.NPL
 ‘I put the letters in the chest’
- (4.12) *Ikema sekite kiompyi*
 dog.ERG rat.NOM chase.PV
 ‘The dog chased the rat’
- (4.13) *Ihama kamale ikpa*
 woman.ERG knife.NOM PRG.hold/carry.IPV
 ‘The woman is holding/carrying a knife’
- (4.14) *Hitole mukyi*
 door.NOM close.PV
 ‘The door (was) closed’
- (4.15) *Sakialma hitole mukyi*
 Sakial.ERG door.NOM close.PV
 ‘Sakial closed the door’

When the clause expresses a state or property, the nominative-marked theme argument denotes the entity to which that state or property is attributed, as in (4.16) and (4.17). In addition, with certain verbs expressing entry into a state, the noun phrase which names the individual that enters into that state is marked with nominative case, as in (4.18)–(4.20).

- (4.16) *Sakiale teusu pata*
 Sakial.NOM very tall.PV
 ‘Sakial is very tall’
- (4.17) *Mule ihalhka*
 cloth.NOM PRG.dry.IPV
 ‘The cloth is dry’
- (4.18) *Mule halhketyi*
 cloth.NOM dry.TINC.PV
 ‘The cloth dried (out)’
- (4.19) *Ma mule halhketyi*
 1SERG cloth.NOM dry.TINC.PV
 ‘I dried (out) the cloth’

- (4.20) *Luhme kale tiokyi*
 old:one man.NOM die.PV
 ‘The old man died’

Nominative case also marks the subject of a non-verbal predicate, as in the examples below (as discussed in §9.3.1, Okuna predicates need not include an overt copular verb). In (4.21) and (4.22), the nominative-marked noun phrase is the subject of a predicate nominal, unmarked for case. In (4.23), the nominative noun phrase is the subject of a relational predicate in the locative case (cf. §6.5):

- (4.21) *Mule sane*
 cloth.NOM red:one
 ‘The cloth is red’

- (4.22) *Sakiale no ahte*
 Sakial.NOM 3aRDAT father
 ‘Sakial is her father’

- (4.23) *Tenmotlai tiesate ekau heutna*
 Tenmotlai town.NOM here:ABL north.LOC
 ‘The town of Tenmotlai is north of here’

4.3.2 Dative case and the delimiter role

On regular noun phrases, dative case is typically marked by adding the ending *-i* to the final element in the noun phrase. As discussed in §4.2, this ending often infixes before the final consonant in the noun stem: e.g., *totsat* ‘table’ + *-i* > *totsait*. Pronouns and related elements distinguish two forms of the dative, called REALIS and IRREALIS. The difference between realis dative and irrealis dative is discussed in §5.3.3.

Dative case is typically assigned to a noun phrase which denotes the DELIMITER of a TELIC event. A telic event is any event which reaches a natural (non-arbitrary) culmination point, beyond which it cannot continue. For example, the sentence ‘The girl ate the fish’ denotes a telic event, since the action described by this sentence necessarily ends once the fish has been completely consumed. Compare this with ‘The girl ate fish’, which denotes an ATELIC or open-ended event: since no particular quantity of fish is specified, the action of eating does not culminate and can go on indefinitely. Likewise, ‘The boy pushed the cart’ is atelic, since the event lacks a natural endpoint: in principle the boy could go on pushing the cart indefinitely. By contrast, ‘The boy pushed the cart into the ditch’ is telic, since the event necessarily ends once the cart is in the ditch.¹

In clauses denoting telic events, the dative-marked delimiter argument is that noun phrase in the sentence (if any) which identifies or is associated with the culmination point of the event. The exact role which the delimiter noun phrase plays depends on the type of event. For example, with events of motion, where an object undergoes a change of location from one place to another, the verb can take a dative argument expressing the GOAL to which the object moves—provided the event necessarily ends once that goal is reached. Examples are given below. In (4.26), for instance, the dropping event ends as soon as the stone is in the hole; hence the hole can be thought of as delimiting the event.

- (4.24) *Sa tiesait etyit*
 13NOM town.DAT go.PV.PL
 ‘We went to the town’

- (4.25) *Ma kamale totsait teunyi*
 1sERG knife.NOM table.DAT put.PV
 ‘I put the knife on the table’

¹The boy might continue to push the cart after that point, but he can no longer be described as *pushing the cart into the ditch* once it is actually in the ditch.

- (4.26) *Mikalma nakà otoi tiausyi*
 boy.ERG stone.NOM hole.DAT drop.PV
 ‘The boy dropped the stone into the hole’

Like the goal in a motion event, the recipient functions as the delimiter in an event of transmission. The recipient is that individual who, as a result of the transmission event, comes to possess an object or (as in the case of verbs like *etsa* ‘tell’) a piece of information.

- (4.27) *Motlai kytu moityi*
 Motla.DAT present receive.PV
 ‘Motla received a present’

- (4.28) *Ma halmà Sakiail uktiyyia*
 1SERG book.NOM Sakial.DAT give.PV.NPL
 ‘I gave the books to Sakial’

- (4.29) *Ko suhpaì etsyin sati ituosà?*
 2ERG brother.DAT tell.PV.QU dinner PRG.ready.DEP.NOM
 ‘Have you told (your) brother that it’s time for dinner?’

With certain perception verbs such as *kila* ‘see/show’ and *ola* ‘hear’, the experiencer participant counts as the delimiter. To account for this, we might conceive of perception events as involving the transmission of a sensation, which ends/culminates once the sensation has ‘reached’ the perceiver.

- (4.30) *Elim lhonko olyi*
 Elim.DAT loud:noise hear.PV
 ‘Elim heard a loud noise’

- (4.31) *Motlai kietame kilyi*
 Motla.DAT picture.NOM see.PV
 ‘Motla saw the picture’

- (4.32) *Elimma Motlai kietame kilyi*
 Elim.ERG Motla.DAT picture.NOM see.PV
 ‘Elim showed Motla the picture’ (more lit. ‘caused Motla to see the picture’)

Verbs like *kahta* ‘hit’, *patla* ‘cover’, and *peha* ‘kiss’ describe events where an actor manipulates an object or a part of his/her body, bringing it into physical contact with some other entity. The latter entity is typically expressed by a noun phrase in the dative case:

- (4.33) *Ma Sakiail kahtyi*
 1SERG Sakial.DAT hit.PV
 ‘I hit Sakial’

- (4.34) *Ma totsait mul patlyi*
 1SERG table.DAT cloth cover.PV
 ‘I covered the table with a cloth’

- (4.35) *Elimma kohmei ipeha*
 Elim.ERG romantic:partner.DAT PRG.kiss.IPV
 ‘Elim is kissing (his) partner’

In all of the above examples, the dative-marked delimiter can be said to indicate the endpoint of a (literal or figurative) motion event. With other verbs expressing telic events, the delimiter argument denotes an entity whose condition is thought of as ‘measuring out’ (i.e., identifying the degree of completion of) the event. Consider, for example, events where one of the participants, the PATIENT, undergoes a gradual change culminating in an end state. Verbs expressing events of this sort include *iasa* ‘eat’, *siehpá* ‘write’, and *tiespa* ‘build’. With such verbs, the delimiter is the noun phrase which names the patient of the action, since the event necessarily ends once the patient has been completely affected (i.e., completely created, destroyed, consumed, or otherwise altered) by the action:

(4.36) *Ounama kahoí iasyi*
 bear.ERG fish.DAT eat.PV
 ‘The bear ate the fish’

(4.37) *Kalma kahoín siehpyi*
 man.ERG letter.DAT write.PV
 ‘The man wrote the letter’

(4.38) *Sukakama kotoi tiespyit*
 worker.ERG house.DAT build.PV.PL
 ‘The workers built a house’

In the examples above, the eating event ends as soon as the fish has been thoroughly consumed, the writing event ends once the letter is finished, and the building event ends when the house is complete. It is in this sense that the patient argument identifies the culmination point of the event. In each case, the progress of the event may be tracked by observing incremental changes in the state of the patient.

A clause denoting an atelic activity (containing a Class II verb) may be covertly into one denoting a telic activity by adding a delimiting measure phrase in the dative case. This measure phrase expresses the duration of the action, the distance traversed by an object in motion, or some other quantity which can be used to assign an endpoint or ‘upper limit’ to the event. When used in this sense, the dative phrase is often followed by the particle *sikà*, meaning roughly ‘all the way’ or ‘until’:

(4.39) *Na luom hein muelhyi*
 3aERG hour two.DAT sleep.PV
 ‘She slept for two hours’

(4.40) *Sukakama nakà katlam kiaín tlynkyit*
 worker.ERG stone.NOM cubit five.DAT push.PV.PL
 ‘The workers pushed the stone five cubits’ (and then stopped)

(4.41) *Sa huta huoi sikà ipoi titiyit*
 13ERG basket twelve.DAT until blackberry gather.PV.PL
 ‘We gathered twelve baskets of blackberries’

Consider example (4.39). Although sleeping is an open-ended activity, sleeping for two hours is not: once the two-hour mark is reached, it is no longer possible to continue sleeping for two hours. It is in this sense that the measure phrase *luom hen* ‘two hours’ delimits the event, and thus appears in the dative case. To make sense of (4.41), we might translate this sentence more literally as ‘We gathered blackberries until (we reached a total of) twelve baskets’.

Notice, incidentally, that even though these measure phrases are plural and appear in one of the core cases, they do not trigger plural marking on the verb (see §7.2 on number agreement). Although absence of agreement is the usual rule, it is possible for a measure phrase to optionally trigger dative plural agreement when it is interpreted as definite. Compare (4.41) with (4.42) below, where *huta huoi* ‘twelve baskets’ is replaced with the definite noun phrase *olh huta huoi utat* ‘those twelve baskets’, and the verb carries the dative plural suffix *-ma* in agreement with this argument.

- (4.42) *Sa olh huta huoi utat ipoi titiyimat*
 13ERG DIST basket twelve those:RDAT blackberry gather.PV.DPL.PL
 ‘We gathered those twelve baskets of blackberries’
 or ‘We gathered blackberries until we filled those twelve baskets’

A noun phrase or dependent clause may also function as a dative-marked delimiter if it indicates an event which marks the temporal ‘cut-off point’ for the event denoted by the clause, or the state resulting from an activity denoted by the clause. Here, dative case is equivalent to ‘up to’ or ‘until’ in English. As above, the dative phrase is often followed by the particle *sikà*.

- (4.43) *Na kahpahoì lakiyit*
 3aERG sunset.DAT hunt.PV.PL
 ‘They hunted until sunset’
- (4.44) *Kim kauotat lhatè nioktataì sikà*
 12NOM be:here.DUR.IPV.PL children.NOM return.DEP.PL.DAT until
 ‘We will stay here until the children return’
- (4.45) *Inan ekonampyi atiokaì*
 3aLOC hungry.ACT.PV PV.die.DEP.DAT
 ‘He was starved to death’ (lit. ‘He was made hungry until [he] died’)

Note that when a resultative expression of this sort occurs in the same clause as a patient argument, the resultative ‘usurps’ the role of delimiter from the patient, forcing the latter into the nominative case. Consider the examples below. In (4.46) the patient *tsike* ‘fly’ takes dative marking; whereas in (4.47) this ending appears on the dependent verb *atioka* ‘that [it] died’, and *tsike* is marked for nominative case instead. This illustrates a general principle of case assignment in Okuna, namely that a telic clause can have no more than one delimiter, and hence no more than one dative-marked noun phrase.

- (4.46) *Usoitma tsikeì nitlkyi*
 spider.ERG fly.DAT sting.PV
 ‘The spider stung the fly’
- (4.47) *Usoitma tsikè nitlkyi nan atiokaì*
 spider.ERG fly.NOM sting.PV 3aNOM PV.die.DEP.DAT
 ‘The spider stung the fly until it died’

Compare also the following examples. In (4.48) and (4.49), the event of writing ends once the letter is finished; hence *kihun* ‘letter’ is the delimiter, and takes the dative case. Example (4.49) also includes a non-case-marked noun phrase, *es luom* ‘an hour’, which measures the amount of time from the beginning of the event to the endpoint. In (4.50), the temporal measure phrase itself delimits the event: that is, the event is over once one hour has elapsed, not once the letter is finished. Since the measure phrase identifies the endpoint, it appears in the dative case, while *kihun*, no longer construed as a delimiter, is treated as the theme argument and takes the nominative instead.

- (4.48) *Sakialma kihoin siehpyi*
 Sakial.ERG letter.DAT write.PV
 ‘Sakial wrote the letter’
- (4.49) *Sakialma kihoin es luom siehpyi*
 Sakial.ERG letter.DAT one hour write.PV
 ‘Sakial wrote the letter in an hour’

- (4.50) *Sakialma kihune es luoi^m siehpyi*
 Sakial.ERG letter.NOM one hour.DAT write.PV
 ‘Sakial worked on the letter for an hour’

A minor exception to the restriction against multiple delimiters comes from iterative clauses, which are formed by suffixing the durative aspectual marker *-ot* to an eventive verb stem (e.g., *tlynka* ‘push’ > *tlynkota* ‘push repeatedly’; see §7.5.4). As the following examples show, iterative clauses are able to take two dative phrases, typically a goal or patient plus a measure phrase. This is because iteratives have a complex event structure: they consist of a ‘macro-event’ composed of more-or-less identical ‘micro-events’, where the macro-event and micro-events may each be delimited separately. In (4.54), the goal *lahi* ‘ditch’ delimits the micro-events (each individual pushing event ends once the stone is in the ditch), while the measure phrase *luom hen* ‘two hours’ delimits the macro-event (the activity of repeatedly pushing concludes once two hours have elapsed).

- (4.51) *Mikalma nakà tlynkyi*
 boy.ERG stone.NOM push.PV
 ‘The boy pushed the stone’

- (4.52) *Mikalma nakà lahei tlynkyi*
 boy.ERG stone.NOM ditch.DAT push.PV
 ‘The boy pushed the stone into the ditch’

- (4.53) *Mikalma nakà lahei tlynkotyi*
 boy.ERG stone.NOM ditch.DAT push.DUR.PV
 ‘The boy pushed the stone repeatedly into the ditch’

- (4.54) *Mikalma nakà lahei luom hen tlynkotyi*
 boy.ERG stone.NOM ditch.DAT hour two.DAT push.DUR.PV
 ‘The boy pushed the stone repeatedly into the ditch for two hours’

4.4 Verb classes

All verbs in Okuna may be assigned to one of three classes according to the number of core arguments which they take and how those arguments are marked for case. I will refer to these simply as CLASS I, CLASS II, and CLASS III:

1. CLASS I verbs take a single core argument (the theme) marked with nominative case. Verbs in this class tend to express states and relations.
2. CLASS II verbs take up to two core arguments: a nominative noun phrase (the theme) and an ergative noun phrase (the actor). Verbs in this class tend to express atelic (open-ended) events carried out by the actor, or telic events involving the (near-)instantaneous entry of the theme into a state.
3. CLASS III verbs take up to three core arguments: a nominative noun phrase (the theme), an ergative noun phrase (the actor), and a dative noun phrase (the delimiter). Verbs in this class express telic events which culminate in a non-arbitrary endpoint, where that endpoint is identified by, or associated with, the delimiter argument.

Crucially, class membership is based on the maximum number of core arguments which a verb can take. A verb may appear with fewer than the maximum number of core arguments, since (as discussed in §9.4.1) arguments are freely omitted from the clause if they lack a referent, or if the referent is unknown or unimportant. For example, a large number of Class II and Class III verbs may occur either with or without an ergative-marked actor. When the actor is not expressed, the sentence may denote a spontaneous event, which comes about without being initiated by an external participant; or it may denote an event initiated

by a participant whose identity is unknown or unimportant to the context. In the latter case, the sentence may usually be translated using a passive construction. Consider the following examples, featuring the Class II verb *muka* ‘close’ and the Class III verb *uihta* ‘sit/set down’:

(4.55) *Ihama hitole mukyi*
 woman.ERG door.NOM close.PV
 ‘The woman closed the door’

(4.56) *Hitole mukyi*
 door.NOM close.PV
 ‘The door (was) closed’

(4.57) *Ihama pyie keuli uihtyi*
 woman.ERG child.NOM chair.DAT sit:down.PV
 ‘The woman set/sat the child down in the chair’

(4.58) *Pyie keuli uihtyi*
 child.NOM chair.DAT sit:down.PV
 ‘The child sat down in the chair’ or ‘The child was set down on the chair’

A small number of verbs commonly appear without any core arguments at all. These include verbs which express emotions or physical sensations internal to one’s body—e.g., *kesta* ‘be happy’, *ekona* ‘be hungry’, *muelhona* ‘be drowsy, feel like sleeping’. Verbs of this type typically occur with a single noun phrase in the locative case, denoting the individual who experiences the emotion or sensation:

(4.59) *Iman kestanka*
 1sLOC happy.IPV:PST
 ‘I was happy’

(4.60) *Sakialna teusu iekona*
 Sakial.LOC very PRG.hungry.IPV
 ‘Sakial is very hungry’

However, these verbs can nevertheless be assigned to Class I, since they occasionally take a nominative-marked theme argument denoting the object or occasion which inspires the emotion in question. Notice that in (4.63), the nominative argument is the postposed dependent clause *ku uketà* (lit. ‘you having come here’).

(4.61) *Iman ikou satè iekona*
 1sLOC 2ABL food.NOM PRG.hungry.IPV
 ‘I’m hungry for your food’ (i.e., your food is the source of my hunger)

(4.62) *Mehkanen tan nkestunka iahok*
 occasion that:NOM NEG.happy.IPV:PST:NEG at:all
 ‘That occasion was not a happy one’ (i.e., not a source of happiness)

(4.63) *Iman kesta ku uketà*
 1sLOC happy.IPV 2NOM PF.come:here.DEP.NOM
 ‘I’m happy that you came’ (more lit. ‘You having come is a source of happiness in me’)

Likewise, verbs denoting the emission of bodily substances (e.g., *salhka* ‘bleed’, *hiunuka* ‘cry, weep, shed tears’) typically appear with just a noun phrase in the ablative case, denoting the individual from whose body the substance is emitted, as in (4.64). However, these verbs occasionally take a core argument in the ergative case, denoting an individual who intentionally initiates the action, as in (4.65), showing that they belong to Class II:

(4.64) *Sakialu isalhka*
 Sakial.ABL PRG.bleed.IPV
 ‘Sakial is bleeding’ (i.e., shedding blood)

(4.65) *Sakialma tsan isalhka*
 Sakial.ERG self PRG.bleed.IPV
 ‘Sakial is bleeding himself’ (i.e., releasing his blood)

In the following subsections I consider the three verb classes in detail, providing examples of each and illustrating their argument structures. I focus my discussion on how the core case roles (nominative, dative, ergative) are mapped to participant roles according to the kind of event that the verb denotes. However, I also comment on the oblique roles (see §4.5) which certain types of verbs routinely occur with.

4.4.1 Class I verbs

A large number of verbs in Okuna take at most a single core argument, always in the nominative case. This argument may be identified with the semantic role THEME. For expository purposes, Class I verbs may be divided into various semantic subclasses.

Stative verbs

Class I includes the majority of verbs denoting states or properties. With verbs of this type, the nominative argument indicates the individual to which the state or property is attributed. Stative Class I verbs include:

<i>fha</i>	‘be young’
<i>hakta</i>	‘be tired’
<i>kiha</i>	‘be small’
<i>kiota</i>	‘be fast, be quick’
<i>laina</i>	‘shine, be bright’
<i>liuna</i>	‘be old’
<i>mila</i>	‘be beautiful, be pretty’
<i>muha</i>	‘suffice, be enough’
<i>ohlla</i>	‘resemble, be similar’
<i>oita</i>	‘be important, matter’
<i>pata</i>	‘be tall’
<i>toha</i>	‘be big’

Examples of sentences featuring Class I stative verbs:

(4.66) *Pyie fha*
 child.NOM young.IPV
 ‘The child is young’

(4.67) *Oh tomla tin teusu patat*
 DIST mountain those:NOM very tall.IPV.PL
 ‘Those mountains are very tall’

(4.68) *Elime kotsimna ihaktanka le*
 Elim.NOM morning.LOC PRG.tired.IPV:PST it:seems
 ‘Elim seems to have been tired this morning’

Some stative verbs may occur without an overt nominative argument when predicated of general conditions, as when expressing the state of the weather:

- (4.69) *Teusu inuha hialò*
 very PRG.cold.IPV today
 ‘It’s very cold today’

Positional and experiencer verbs

Class I also includes a number of verbs which, in addition to a nominative core argument, routinely take an argument in one of the oblique cases (locative, allative, ablative, instrumental). Verbs denoting the position, posture/stance, or orientation of an object belong to this class, for instance. These include:

<i>kanta</i>	‘stand, be vertical/upright’
<i>kumuta</i>	‘face, be oriented (towards)’
<i>sailha</i>	‘lie, be lying/horizontal’
<i>suná</i>	‘hang’
<i>teha</i>	‘stay, remain (behind)’
<i>tima</i>	‘lie (on the ground); be located/situated’
<i>toilha</i>	‘stand’
<i>uohta</i>	‘sit, be seated’

With verbs of this type, nominative case is assigned to the argument whose position/posture/orientation is being specified. The place where the nominative argument is located may be specified by a noun phrase in the locative case. With verbs such as *kumuta*, an object, location, or direction towards which the nominative argument is oriented is indicated by a noun phrase in the allative case. Examples:

- (4.70) *Sakiale keulna euohta*
 Sakial.NOM chair.LOC PRG.sit:RES.IPV
 ‘Sakial is sitting on a chair’
- (4.71) *Ntse kise mian itimo yhmana*
 NEG ice much:NOM PRG.lie.IPV:NEG outside.LOC
 ‘There isn’t much ice (lying) on the ground outside’
- (4.72) *Palò síhkunu utena tima*
 village.NOM river near.LOC lie.IPV
 ‘The village lies near a river’
- (4.73) *Kotu emot síhkunoua kumutat*
 house all:NOM river.ALL face.IPV.PL
 ‘The houses all face (towards) the river’

A number of Class I verbs, such as those listed below, denote mental states or processes. For verbs of this type, the nominative argument indicates the theme or subject matter of the mental state/process, while the experiencer argument appears in the locative or allative case. Of the verbs listed below, *henka*, *huata*, and *ohka* take allative case-marked experiencers, while the remainder all take locative case-marked experiencers.

<i>ampa</i>	‘think, have the opinion that’
<i>falha</i>	‘wish (for), hope (for)’
<i>henka</i>	‘like, enjoy’
<i>huata</i>	‘like, appreciate’
<i>iona</i>	‘know [a fact]’
<i>koipa</i>	‘know [a person or thing], be acquainted with’
<i>ksafa</i>	‘hope (for), want’
<i>mutla</i>	‘understand’
<i>niokona</i>	‘remember, recall’
<i>ohka</i>	‘love; be dear, cherished’

okfa ‘want, desire, wish (for)’
opa ‘think, believe, speculate’

Examples:

(4.74) *Me Sakiala huata*
 1SNOM Sakial.ALL like.IPV
 ‘Sakial likes me’

(4.75) *Iseña Sakiale koipa*
 13LOC Sakial.NOM know.IPV
 ‘We know Sakial’

(4.76) *Nesap tan mamutlo iman*
 question that:NOM NEG.understand.IPV:NEG 1SLOC
 ‘I don’t understand that question’

Verbs of possession

Finally, verbs that express relations of possession or inclusion belong to Class I. The principal verbs in this sub-class are *efa* ‘have, own, possess’, *iala* ‘have, be responsible for’, and *yla* ‘have, contain, include, be equipped with’. These verbs express distinct types of relations. *Efa* expresses alienable possession—that is, ownership of personal property which may be transferred from one individual to another. With this verb the nominative argument denotes the thing being possessed, while the possessor noun phrase appears in the instrumental case:

(4.77) *Motlame halma ante efa*
 Motla.INST book many:NOM have.IPV
 ‘Motla has/owns many books’

Iala denotes possession by virtue of familial relationship, birthright, custom, or stewardship. It is generally used when the possessee is a person, domestic animal, cultivatable land, hunting or fishing rights, or other entity or property to which the possessor can be said to have a social obligation or responsibility. *Iala* can also be used for possession of physical features or abstract attributes such as age, wisdom, etc. With *iala*, the possessor appears in the ablative case, while the possessee is again in the nominative.

(4.78) *Sakialu lihpa hen iala*
 Sakial.ABL sister two:NOM have.IPV
 ‘Sakial has two sisters’

(4.79) *Inò ulhmo takun iala*
 3aABL year forty:NOM have.IPV
 ‘He is forty years old’ (lit. ‘He has forty years’)

Finally, *yla* expresses a part-whole relation, and is commonly used when the possessee is a part of the body. With this verb, the noun phrase expressing the whole takes the nominative case while the noun phrase expressing the part appears in the instrumental:

(4.80) *Kotu tan halu ehteme yla*
 house this:NOM room three.INST have.IPV
 ‘This house has three rooms’

(4.81) *Ikè atak kunme yla*
 dog.NOM limb four.INST have.IPV
 ‘Dogs have four legs’

- (4.82) *Ne lohne inieme yla*
 3aNOM brown eyes.INST have.IPV
 ‘She has brown eyes’

Verbs of possession do not usually agree with their plural nominative arguments (see §7.2 on plural agreement). The possessee triggers agreement only if it is definite and functions as the topic of the clause. Compare the following examples. In (4.84), the nominative argument *ke halma emot* ‘all these books’ is the topic, and the verb carries the plural suffix *-t*; whereas in (4.83), the nominative argument *halma ante* ‘many books’ is an indefinite non-topic (expressing new information), and the plural suffix is absent. As these examples show, *efa* is translated as ‘have’ when the possessor is the topic, and as ‘belong to’ when the possessee is the topic.

- (4.83) *Motlame halma ante efa*
 Motla.INST book many:NOM have.IPV
 ‘Motla has many books’
- (4.84) *Ke halma emot Motlame efat*
 MED book all:NOM Motla.INST have.IPV.PL
 ‘These books all belong to Motla’

4.4.2 Class II verbs

Verbs belonging to Class II take a maximum of two core arguments, an actor marked with ergative case and a theme marked with nominative case. Dative-marked delimiter arguments do not occur with verbs of this class, except under the special circumstances discussed in §4.3.2. Class II verbs are typically atelic—that is, they denote open-ended events, which lack an inherent endpoint and can in principle continue indefinitely. However, a handful of Class II verbs denote telic events (usually involving a change of state or location) for which no delimiter can be specified.

Atelic activity verbs

Most Class II verbs denote atelic activities or processes. Informally, atelic Class II verbs may be further divided into two subclasses: those which are generally used ‘transitively’, taking both an actor and a theme, and those which are generally used ‘intransitively’, taking just an actor argument. This transitive-intransitive distinction is largely a matter of semantics, depending on whether the verb names an activity that is normally understood to involve two participants or just a single participant. An example of an ‘intransitive’ Class II verb is *hosta* ‘dance’, illustrated in (4.85) below; while *ksona* ‘look at’ in (4.86) is an example of a ‘transitive’ Class II verb.

- (4.85) *Lhatima ihostat*
 children.ERG PRG.dance.IPV.PL
 ‘The children are dancing’
- (4.86) *Ikema pilà iksonaua*
 dog.ERG bird.NOM PRG.look:at.IPV.NPL
 ‘The dog is looking at the/some birds’

The distinction between verbs like *hosta* and verbs like *ksona* is not absolute, however. In principle, any Class II verb may be used either transitively or intransitively. Compare the following pairs of examples, illustrating the Class II verbs *uhna* ‘sing’, *kiompa* ‘run, chase, move quickly’, and *attpa* ‘play, perform music’. In the first sentence of each pair, the verb takes just an actor argument, while in the second sentence it takes both an actor and a theme argument. When the theme argument is absent, the actor is understood to be acting upon him/herself, and/or upon some unspecified object, depending on the meaning of the verb.

- (4.87) *Sakialma iohna*
 Sakial.ERG PRG.sing.IPV
 ‘Sakial is singing’
- (4.88) *Sakialma elife uhine iohna*
 Sakial.ERG beautiful.TNZR song.NOM PRG.sing.IPV
 ‘Sakial is singing a beautiful song’
- (4.89) *Lakiakama kiompyit*
 hunter.ERG run.PV.PL
 ‘The hunters ran’
- (4.90) *Lakiakama hastine kiompyit*
 hunter.ERG deer.NOM run.PV.PL
 ‘The hunters chased the deer’ (i.e., made the deer run)
- (4.91) *Na lempekme iatlpanka*
 3aERG lempek.INST PRG.play.IPV:PST
 ‘He was playing the lempek’ [a stringed instrument]
- (4.92) *Na huiome lempekme iatlpanka*
 3aERG music.NOM lempek.INST PRG.play.IPV:PST
 ‘He was playing the music on the lempek’

Examples of Class II activity verbs which routinely take a nominative argument are listed below:

<i>ekpa</i>	‘carry, hold, bring/take, wear’
<i>heulhta</i>	‘pull, drag’
<i>ksona</i>	‘look at’
<i>kuola</i>	‘meet [by arrangement], rendezvous with’
<i>loita</i>	‘watch, observe, look at’
<i>mina</i>	‘think [a thought]’
<i>nakpa</i>	‘carry/hold in one’s hands’
<i>nyipa</i>	‘use, make use of’
<i>teula</i>	‘listen to’
<i>titia</i>	‘collect, gather’
<i>tiyisa</i>	‘lift, pick up’
<i>tlynka</i>	‘push’
<i>tsula</i>	‘see, visit, spend time with’
<i>uila</i>	‘love, cherish’
<i>untsapa</i>	‘wonder (about), ask oneself’

For Class II verbs used transitively, the ergative argument denotes the participant who carries out the action, while the nominative argument denotes the participant being manipulated, or towards which the action is directed. Examples:

- (4.93) *Ihama kopò ikpa*
 woman.ERG pot.NOM PRG.carry/hold.IPV
 ‘The woman is carrying/holding a pot’
- (4.94) *Sakialma lhatè iloitanka*
 Sakial.ERG children.NOM PRG.watch.IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial was watching the children’

(4.95) *Sa Motlà tsulyit*
 13ERG Motla.NOM visit.PV.PL
 ‘We visited Motla’

(4.96) *Motlama otanaimite wilaua*
 Motla.ERG children.NOM love.IPV.NPL
 ‘Motla loves (his) children’

In some cases the nominative-marked argument will take the form of a dependent clause. In (4.97), the theme role is filled by the dependent clause *lhatima ilaliata* ‘(that) the children (are/were) playing’; while in (4.98) the *aun* clause acts as the theme argument of *untsapa*:

(4.97) *Sakialma iloitanka lhatima ilaliatà*
 Sakial.ERG PRG.watch.IPV:PST children.ERG PRG.play.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘Sakial was watching the children playing’

(4.98) *Ma untsapa Elimma halmai uta tale uosla aun*
 1sERG wonder.IPV Elim.ERG book.DAT already read.CV PF.finish.DEP if
 ‘I wonder if Elim has finished reading the book yet’

The following Class II activity verbs regularly appear with just an ergative-marked actor argument:

atpa ‘play, perform [music]’
ekpiha ‘search, look around’
hosta ‘dance’
koma ‘speak, understand, know [a language]’
muelha ‘sleep’
peuta ‘wait’
tsuhpa ‘live, dwell, reside’
uhna ‘sing’

Sample sentences containing these verbs are given below. Notice that in addition to an actor core argument, many of these verbs regularly take an oblique noun phrase denoting some other conventional participant in the event. For example, *tsuhpa* ‘live, reside’ takes a locative noun phrase to express the location where the actor resides; *koma* ‘speak, understand, know’ takes an instrumental phrase denoting the language or means of communication; while *ekpiha* ‘search, look around’ and *peuta* ‘wait’ may take an allative noun phrase to denote the objective or goal (in which case they are translated ‘look for’ and ‘wait for’, respectively).

(4.99) *Kimima imuelha*
 baby.ERG PRG.sleep.IPV
 ‘The baby is sleeping’

(4.100) *Elimma Tenmotlaina tsuhpa*
 Elim.ERG Tenmotlai.LOC live.IPV
 ‘Elim lives in Tenmotlai’

(4.101) *Na Okuna sulme nkomo iahok*
 3aERG Okuna language.INST NEG.speak.IPV:NEG at:all
 ‘She doesn’t speak any Okuna’

(4.102) *Ma imè kamala ikpihanka*
 1sERG 1sALL knife.ALL PRG.search.IPV:PST
 ‘I was looking for my knife’

- (4.103) *Kima Motlaua peutat nem nkihata kamna*
 12ERG Motla.ALL wait.PL IMP leave.DEP.PL before.LOC
 ‘Let’s wait for Motla before we go’

Verbs denoting the production of sound (many of them onomatopoeitic) typically belong to the single-argument subclass of Class II. Examples include:

<i>aila</i>	‘cry, bawl, wail’
<i>hakatla</i>	‘laugh’
<i>laka</i>	‘bark, bay’
<i>miauha</i>	‘mew, meow’
<i>myhuna</i>	‘purrr’
<i>niuka</i>	‘grunt, snort’
<i>syma</i>	‘mutter, mumble, murmur’
<i>tsana</i>	‘make a noise, make a sound’
<i>tseuika</i>	‘stir, make a soft sound’
<i>ytypa</i>	‘rumble, rattle’

With verbs of this type, the entity that produces the sound is expressed by an argument in the ergative case:

- (4.104) *Ikema laka le miuama miauha*
 dog.ERG bark.IPV but cat.ERG meow.IPV
 ‘Dogs bark and cats meow’

Class II also includes a large number of verbs denoting bodily functions and the emission of bodily substances, along with other activities usually performed on or with a part of one’s body. These verbs include:

<i>ahinka</i>	‘breathe out, exhale, sigh’
<i>haukia</i>	‘cough’
<i>hehta</i>	‘move, stir, change position’
<i>hektuta</i>	‘hiccough’
<i>hisa</i>	‘cry, weep’
<i>hiunuka</i>	‘cry, weep, shed tears’
<i>imla</i>	‘smile’
<i>ksiama</i>	‘sneeze’
<i>misalhka</i>	‘menstruate’
<i>salhka</i>	‘bleed, shed blood’
<i>siehka</i>	‘shit, defecate’
<i>tsinuka</i>	‘ejaculate; release seeds’
<i>uahka</i>	‘piss, urinate’
<i>utsaska</i>	‘sweat, perspire’

Note that with verbs denoting bodily emissions, the participant from whose body the substance is emitted can be expressed by a noun phrase in the ablative case rather than the ergative case. The choice depends largely on whether the event is viewed as being under the control of the individual or not. Compare the sentences below, for example: (4.105) would be used if the child acted deliberately or by exerting him/herself, while (4.106) would be used if the event is thought of as being beyond the child’s control:

- (4.105) *Pyima hiunukyi*
 child.ERG weep.PV
 ‘The child cried/wept’
- (4.106) *Pyio hiunukyi*
 child.ABL weep.PV
 ‘The child shed tears (involuntarily)’

Note that verbs formed by adding the active aspectual suffix *-amp* to a stative stem all belong to Class II. Compare the following sentences, where the Class I verb *sita* ‘be quiet’ denotes a property or propensity, while its Class II counterpart *sitampa* ‘act quietly’ denotes an activity (see §7.5.2 for more on *-amp*):

(4.107) *Sakiale isita*
 Sakial.NOM PRG.quiet.IPV
 ‘Sakial is quiet (now)’

(4.108) *Sakialma isitampa*
 Sakial.ERG PRG.quiet.ACT.IPV
 ‘Sakial is being quiet’ or ‘Sakial is doing things quietly’

Manner-of-motion verbs

An important group of atelic Class II verbs are those which express manner of motion (see §11.4.3). These include:

<i>hiela</i>	‘take, travel in, ride in (a vehicle)’
<i>ianta</i>	‘jump, leap’
<i>kaklala</i>	‘scurry, scamper, move quickly on small legs’
<i>kiompa</i>	‘run, chase, move quickly’
<i>lhopa</i>	‘flow; blow’ [fluid, wind]
<i>mimilha</i>	‘move in a serpentine fashion’
<i>paka</i>	‘step, take a step’
<i>piyla</i>	‘slither, crawl on one’s belly’
<i>puita</i>	‘ride’
<i>salia</i>	‘wave, flap, flutter; gesticulate’
<i>sihpa</i>	‘swim’
<i>talha</i>	‘climb’ [a sloping surface]
<i>tupa</i>	‘walk, go on foot’
<i>uasta</i>	‘fly’
<i>yisa</i>	‘climb’ [a sheer/vertical surface]

For example:

(4.109) *Kahuma sihpa, le pilama uasta*
 fish.ERG swim.IPV while bird.ERG fly.IPV
 ‘Fish swim, and birds fly’

(4.110) *Ikema palahtame myiso*
 dog.ERG tree.INST NEG.climb.IPV:NEG
 ‘Dogs don’t climb trees’

With manner of motion verbs, the ergative argument denotes the individual who brings about the motion event. When that individual also undergoes the motion event, typically there is no nominative argument present. However, when the actor induces motion in a particular part of his/her body, or in some separate object, the latter may be expressed as a noun phrase in the nominative or unmarked form. Compare:

(4.111) *Na saliyi*
 3aERG wave.PV
 ‘He waved/gesticulated’

(4.112) *Na temie saliyi*
 3aERG hands wave.PV
 ‘He waved his hands (around)’

- (4.113) *Na kiompyi*
 3aERG run.PV
 ‘She ran’
- (4.114) *Na kihunme inie kiompyi*
 3aERG letter.INST eyes run.PV
 ‘She ran her eyes quickly over the letter’
- (4.115) *Na sihafauta hielyit*
 3aERG downstream.ALL go:by:vehicle.PV.PL
 ‘They paddled/boated downstream’
- (4.116) *Na puole sihafauta hielyit*
 3aERG canoe.NOM downstream.ALL go:by:vehicle.PV.PL
 ‘They paddled/propelled the canoe downstream’

Manner-of-motion verbs often occur as converbs modifying another motion verb (see §10.4 and §11.4.3). In such cases, the modified verb determines the verb class (usually Class III) for the construction as a whole. Compare the examples below. The verb *ianta* ‘jump’ belongs to Class II; whereas *iante lhyua* ‘jump into’ (lit. ‘enter jumping’) patterns with Class III, since *lhyua* ‘enter’ is a Class III verb. Hence, *Sakial* takes the ergative case in (4.117), but the nominative case in (4.118). Notice also that *otù* ‘hole’ denotes a location in the first sentence, and is marked with locative case; whereas in the second sentence it functions as a goal (delimiter), and is thus marked with dative case. (Compare the latter sentence with *Sakiale otoi lhyuyi* ‘Sakial went into the hole’, where the manner of motion is left unspecified.)

- (4.117) *Sakialma otuhna iantyi*
 Sakial.ERG hole.LOC jump.PV
 ‘Sakial jumped (around) in the hole’
- (4.118) *Sakiale otoi iante lhyuyi*
 Sakial.NOM hole.DAT jump.CV enter.PV
 ‘Sakial jumped into the hole’ (lit. ‘entered the hole [by] jumping’)

Compare also the sentences below. These show that whereas *uasta* ‘fly’ is a Class II verb, and encodes the participant in motion as an actor argument; *uaste suha* ‘fly out of, exit by flying’ is assigned to Class III, and encodes the participant in motion as a theme. This is why *pila* ‘bird’ is marked with ergative case in the first example and nominative case in the second example:

- (4.119) *Mo kilyi pilama euastà*
 1sRDAT see.PV bird.ERG PRG.fly.DEP.NOM
 ‘I saw a bird flying (around)’
- (4.120) *Mo kilyi pilà palahtau uaste suhà*
 1sRDAT see.PV bird.NOM tree.ABL fly.CV go:out.DEP.NOM
 ‘I saw a bird flying out of the tree’

Change of state verbs

A handful of Class II verbs are telic, and denote an event whereby the theme (marked with nominative case) comes to be in a new state or location. These verbs include:

- atia* ‘approach, get closer; bring/take closer’
lima ‘open; begin, start; ignite’
lyua ‘wake up; awaken’
muka ‘close, shut; finish; extinguish’

<i>otla</i>	‘come/take apart, separate’
<i>peta</i>	‘take, get, grasp/grab’
<i>tioka</i>	‘die; kill, cause to die’
<i>uata</i>	‘stop, break off, interrupt’
<i>usla</i>	‘end, conclude’

Examples of these verbs are given below. Notice that they can occur either with or without an overt ergative argument. When the ergative argument is present, the clause denotes an event whereby an actor brings about a change in the theme. The ergative argument is left out when the identity of the actor is unknown or unimportant to the context, or when the clause denotes a spontaneous change in the state or location of the theme.

(4.121) *Huiloie limyia*
 window.NOM open.PV.NPL
 ‘The windows (were) opened’

(4.122) *Motlama huiloie limyia*
 Motla.ERG window.NOM open.PV.NPL
 ‘Motla opened the windows’

(4.123) *Sakiale tiokyi*
 Sakial.NOM die.PV
 ‘Sakial died’

(4.124) *Sakiale hintsypalma tiokyi*
 Sakial.NOM pneumonia.ERG die.PV
 ‘Sakial died of pneumonia’ or ‘Sakial was killed by pneumonia’

Stative Class I verbs may be converted into telic Class II verbs by adding the inchoative aspectual suffix *-(e)t* (discussed in §7.5.3). Compare:

(4.125) *Mule itasla*
 cloth.NOM PRG.wet.IPV
 ‘The cloth is wet’

(4.126) *Mule tasletyi*
 cloth.NOM wet.TINC.PV
 ‘The cloth got wet’

(4.127) *Sakialma mule tasletyi*
 Sakial.ERG cloth.NOM wet.TINC.PV
 ‘Sakial wetted the cloth’ or ‘Sakial got the cloth wet’

4.4.3 Class III verbs

The majority of telic verbs in Okuna (that is, verbs denoting events which have an inherent endpoint; cf. §4.3 above) are capable in principle of taking up to three core arguments, an actor, a theme, and a delimiter, and thus belong to Class III. The actor is marked with ergative case, the delimiter (typically a goal, recipient, or patient) is marked with dative case, and the theme is marked with nominative case:

(4.128) *Motlama ikei iasè uktiyi*
 Motla.ERG dog.DAT food.NOM give.PV
 ‘Motla gave the food to the dog’

In order to explain how the core arguments of Class III verbs are interpreted, it is useful to divide these verbs into particular subgroups based on their semantics.

Change-of-location verbs

Class III includes a large number of verbs expressing a change of location, or the transference of an object from one person or place to another. These include:

<i>elha</i>	‘put in, insert’
<i>esta</i>	‘reach, get to; manage to’
<i>eta</i>	‘go, come, move; bring, take’
<i>etskana</i>	‘arrive, appear; bring’
<i>hista</i>	‘lead, take, escort’
<i>lasta</i>	‘send’
<i>lhyua</i>	‘enter, go in; bring/take in’
<i>milhta</i>	‘turn; become’
<i>nata</i>	‘hand, pass’
<i>niokta</i>	‘return, go/come back; bring/take back’
<i>nkilha</i>	‘leave, go away, disappear; take away, remove’
<i>nufa</i>	‘take out, remove (from inside), extract’
<i>suha</i>	‘go/come out, exit, leave; bring/take out’
<i>teuna</i>	‘put, place, lay’
<i>tifa</i>	‘remove, take off’
<i>uktia</i>	‘give’

For verbs of this type, the ergative argument encodes the agent of transmission (if any), while the dative argument encodes the goal or endpoint of transmission, and the nominative argument encodes the object undergoing motion or being transmitted. Examples:

(4.129) *Ne Elima kotoi ita*
 3aNOM Elim.ALL house.DAT PRG.go.IPV
 ‘She is going to Elim’s house’

(4.130) *Ihà sihkunoi estyit*
 woman.NOM river.DAT reach.PV.PL
 ‘The women reached the river’

(4.131) *Na tsokoimpai es kytò uktiamat*
 3aERG stranger.DAT one gift.NOM give.IPV.DPL.PL
 ‘They will give a gift to the strangers’

(4.132) *Sakialma kopò totsat epaim teunyia*
 Sakial.ERG pot.NOM table top.DAT put.PV.NPL
 ‘Sakial placed the pots on the table’

Most change-of-location verbs can be used to describe either an event of spontaneous motion, where the moving object propels itself, or an event of directed motion, where the moving object is propelled or conveyed by an external agent or force. For example, *lhyua* can be used to mean ‘enter, go in’, where the motion is self-directed, or ‘move/bring/take in’, where the motion is caused by an external agent. In the latter case, an ergative argument is added to the clause to express the causer of the motion event. (Change-of-location verbs are discussed further in §11.4.3.)

(4.133) *Sakiale kotoi lhyuyi*
 Sakial.NOM house.DAT enter.PV
 ‘Sakial went into the house’

- (4.134) *Elimma keule kotoi lhyuyi*
 Elim.ERG chair.NOM house.DAT enter.PV
 ‘Elim took/brought the chair into the house’

With the verbs *nufa* ‘take out, extract, remove [from inside something]’ and *tifa* ‘take off, strip, remove [from the outside of something]’, the dative argument expresses the source from which something is removed, rather than the goal:

- (4.135) *Na kahoi nek emot tifyimat*
 3aERG fish.DAT scale all:NOM remove.PV.DPL.PL
 ‘They removed all the scales from the fish’

- (4.136) *Ma kopoi nahe tiause nufa*
 1sERG pot.DAT water.NOM pour.CV take:out.IPV
 ‘I will pour the water out of the pot’

Many change-of-location verbs can also be used metaphorically to describe non-motion events. For example, like its English counterpart, *uktia* ‘give’ can denote a change of possession, without implying any actual change of location. Another example is *milhta* ‘turn’: in addition to its literal meaning, *milhta* can be used in the sense of ‘become’ or ‘be transformed (into)’, where the dative noun phrase expresses the end state of the transformation, as shown below. *Milhta* also occurs in a handful of expressions with a dependent verb in the dative case (cf. §10.2.1), where it means ‘begin to’ or ‘enter into [a state]’: e.g., *muelha* ‘sleep’ > *muelhai milhta* ‘go to sleep’; *isuta* ‘be alive’ > *isutai milhta* ‘come to life’; *okla* ‘hide’ > *oklai milhta* ‘go into hiding’.

- (4.137) *Lyihpiylakà sileip umilhta*
 caterpillar.NOM butterfly.DAT PF.turn.IPV
 ‘The caterpillar (has) turned into a butterfly’

- (4.138) *Me sati kihisna muelhai milhtyi*
 1sNOM dinner right:after.LOC sleep.DEP.DAT turn.PV
 ‘I went to sleep right after dinner’

The verb *esta* ‘reach, make it (to)’ can also be used with a dative dependent clause, in which case it means ‘succeed, manage to’:

- (4.139) *Me niloi namuohtai estyi*
 1sNOM net.DAT repair.DEP.DAT reach.PV
 ‘I succeeded in fixing the net’ (lit. ‘I reached [the] fixing [of] the net’)

Verbs of communication—e.g., *etsa* ‘say, tell’; *nesapa* ‘ask’; *tafa* ‘show, demonstrate, teach’; *ukia* ‘tell, recite, perform’—might also be regarded as metaphorical change-of-location verbs. Here the nominative argument, which may be a noun phrase or a dependent clause, expresses the information being transmitted, while the dative argument identifies the recipient of the information:

- (4.140) *Luhme kalma lhatei sliahtè ukiyi*
 old:one man.ERG children.DAT story.NOM tell.PV
 ‘The old man told the children the story’

- (4.141) *Inmo etsyi na ahtei kihune ulastà*
 3aERG.1sRDAT tell.PV 3aERG father.DAT letter.NOM PF.send.DEP.NOM
 ‘He told me that he had sent the letter to (his) father’

Change-of-state verbs

Another large group of Class III verbs are those which denote an agentive change-of-state event—that is, an event involving an agent and a patient, where the agent creates, destroys, consumes, or otherwise brings about a (typically incremental) change of state in the patient, and where the event necessarily ends once the patient has been completely created, destroyed/consumed, or otherwise changed. Examples of verbs of this type include:

<i>hana</i>	‘cut (into), make an incision in’
<i>iasa</i>	‘eat’
<i>kahta</i>	‘hit, strike’
<i>kaiha</i>	‘kill, murder’
<i>lhka</i>	‘cut [into pieces], sever’
<i>lohka</i>	‘bring about, cause to happen’
<i>mupatla</i>	‘clothe, drape, dress’
<i>patla</i>	‘cover’
<i>pusuka</i>	‘make, create’
<i>sepa</i>	‘drink; inhale’
<i>siehpa</i>	‘write’
<i>stoka</i>	‘destroy’
<i>taha</i>	‘kill [an animal for food]’
<i>takia</i>	‘break, snap (in half)’ [something long and thin]
<i>tieka</i>	‘chop, cut up’
<i>tiespa</i>	‘build, construct, put together’
<i>toka</i>	‘fix, repair, mend’
<i>tsitspa</i>	‘break, shatter, smash’ [something brittle]
<i>uosta</i>	‘shape, give shape to, create, make’

With change-of-state verbs, the ergative argument denotes the agent of the event (if any) and the dative argument denotes the patient, where the latter ‘measures out’ (or identifies the endpoint for) the event:

(4.142) *Ounama kahoi eiasama*
 bear.ERG fish.DAT PRG.eat.IPV.DPL
 ‘The bear is eating the/some fish’

(4.143) *Mikalma kopoi tsitspyi*
 boy.ERG pot.DAT break.PV
 ‘The boy broke a/the pot’

The ergative and dative noun phrases are both optional, in keeping with the general optionality of arguments in Okuna. The dative argument may be omitted if the clause describes a general activity and the patient is either unknown or unimportant. Likewise, the ergative argument may be omitted if the agent is unknown or unimportant. Compare the sentences below with (4.142) above.

(4.144) *Ounama eiasa*
 bear.ERG PRG.eat.IPV
 ‘The bear is eating (something)’

(4.145) *Kahoi eiasat*
 fish.DAT PRG.eat.IPV.PL
 ‘The fish are being eaten’

The actor argument is also omitted when the clause describes a spontaneous event, one where the change of state in the patient is not (conceived of as being) initiated by any agent:

- (4.146) *Kopoi tsitspyi*
 pot.DAT break.PV
 ‘The pot broke’ or ‘The pot got broken’

In addition to an actor and a delimiter, change-of-state verbs sometimes take a nominative-marked theme argument as well, which is why they are assigned to Class III. The theme argument has a number of semantic functions. Most commonly it indicates an instrument—that is, an object which is manipulated by the agent in order to bring about a change of state in the patient, as illustrated below. Note that instruments typically appear in the instrumental case, or as unmarked noun phrases (as discussed in §4.5.4 and §4.6.3, respectively). Nominative marking typically implies that the instrument undergoes a change of location, literally or figuratively transferring force from the agent to the patient, and may itself be affected by the action as a result of coming into contact with the patient.

- (4.147) *Ihama lotsain kamale hanyi*
 woman.ERG wood.DAT knife.NOM cut.PV
 ‘The woman cut (into) the wood with the knife’
 or ‘The woman used the knife to make an incision in the wood’

- (4.148) *Na palahtai nakà kahtyi*
 3aERG tree.DAT rock.NOM hit.PV
 ‘He hit the tree with the rock’

- (4.149) *Elimma totsait es sane mule patlyi*
 Elim.ERG table.DAT one red cloth.NOM cover.PV
 ‘Elim covered the table with a red cloth’

The examples below also include a nominative-marked theme, but here the ergative-marked actor is omitted:

- (4.150) *Nakà palahtai kahtyi*
 rock.NOM tree.DAT hit.PV
 ‘The rock hit the tree’ (e.g., after being thrown)

- (4.151) *Totsait es sane mule patlyi*
 table.DAT one red cloth.NOM cover.PV
 ‘The table was covered with a red cloth’

In some cases, the performer of the action may be expressed either as an actor or as a theme. The choice between these options is determined by whether that participant is acting volitionally or not, and by whether that participant is directly affected by the action. Compare the examples below, both corresponding to ‘The man hit the tree’ in English. In (4.152), where *kal* ‘man’ is an ergative-marked actor, the sentence describes an event where the man brings some instrument or part of his body into forceful contact with the tree; in (4.153), where *kal* is a nominative-marked theme, the sentence describes an event where the man’s body comes into forceful contact with the tree.

- (4.152) *Kalma palahtai kahtyi*
 man.ERG tree.DAT hit.PV
 ‘The man hit the tree’ (i.e., used something to strike the tree)

- (4.153) *Kale palahtai kahtyi*
 man.NOM tree.DAT hit.PV
 ‘The man hit the tree’ (i.e., collided with the tree)

With verbs of creation or material transformation, the nominative argument may express the substance being transformed, while the dative argument denotes the object or material being created, as illustrated below (the ablative case can also be used to mark the substance from which something is made, as discussed in §4.5.3):

(4.154) *Kalma sutè kopoi euosta*
 man.ERG clay.NOM pot.DAT PRG.shape.IPV
 ‘The man is shaping the clay into a pot’

(4.155) *Kalma kopoi sutè euosta*
 man.ERG pot.DAT clay.NOM PRG.shape.IPV
 ‘The man is making/fashioning the pot out of (the) clay’

(4.156) *Motlama tsimoke sofoi tlulyi*
 Motla.ERG corn.NOM flour.DAT grind.PV
 ‘Motla ground the corn into flour’

Experiencer/recipient verbs

The last major subclass of the Class III verbs consists of verbs of perception, along with other verbs which express events whereby an individual receives an object, sensation, experience, or idea from some external source. These verbs include:

<i>etskopa</i>	‘realize, come to understand’
<i>kila</i>	‘see, notice; show’
<i>luhtsa</i>	‘smell’
<i>mahtla</i>	‘taste’
<i>mehka</i>	‘happen, transpire, come/bring about; happen to, affect; cause’
<i>moita</i>	‘get, receive, acquire, attain’
<i>naklana</i>	‘happen/affect inadvertently, be unexpected’
<i>ola</i>	‘hear’
<i>sasa</i>	‘find, run across, happen upon, meet (by accident)’
<i>sefa</i>	‘feel [with one’s fingers/skin]’
<i>tlelha</i>	‘find, locate’
<i>tsokua</i>	‘meet [for the first time], encounter, become acquainted with’
<i>tsuhka</i>	‘happen badly, go wrong; befall, affect negatively; cause [something bad]’
<i>uota</i>	‘feel, perceive, sense’

With these verbs, the nominative argument denotes the object/idea/sensation/etc. being received, while the dative expresses the receiver or experiencer:

(4.157) *Mo utsape halmà tlelhyi*
 1sRDAT PF.become:lost.TNZR book.NOM find.PV
 ‘I’ve found the book that had been lost’

(4.158) *Kaloin es lhonkò olyi*
 boy.DAT one loud:noise.NOM hear.PV
 ‘The boy heard a loud noise’

(4.159) *Sakiaail efose etskopyi*
 Sakial.DAT problem.NOM realize.PV
 ‘Sakial realized the problem’

- (4.160) *Kuo mà umèhkan?*
 2RDAT what:NOM PF.happen.IPV.QU
 ‘What happened to you?’

Like ‘get’ in English, *moita* can mean either ‘acquire, receive [an object or property]’ or ‘have the opportunity to’. In the latter case the theme argument is a clause headed by a verb in the dependent form (e.g., *halmai talutà* ‘reading the book’; cf. §10.2):

- (4.161) *Moihai tlok tsaniè moityi*
 girl.DAT shoe pair.NOM get.PV
 ‘The girl got a pair of shoes’
- (4.162) *Si mamoitout halmai etalità*
 13DAT NEG.get.PV:NEG.PL book.DAT SBJ.read.DEP:SBJ.PL.NOM
 ‘We didn’t get to read the book’

Other experiencer/recipient verbs can also take dependent clauses as their nominative arguments, including *mehka* ‘happen’, *naklana* ‘happen unexpectedly’, and *tsuhka* ‘befall, happen/affect badly’, as well as perception verbs such as *kila* ‘see’. Examples are given below. Notice that in this construction, *mehka* and *tsuhka* can be translated using ‘have’ in English, while *naklana* corresponds roughly to ‘come to be’ or ‘find oneself [in a given situation]’.

- (4.163) *Motlai utsuhka kotoi kioskà*
 Motla.DAT PF.befall.IPV house.DAT burn.DEP.NOM
 ‘Motla had his house burn down’
 more lit. ‘(It) happened to Motla that (his) house burned down’
- (4.164) *Elimè ulyue, no naklanyi tsulna isailhà*
 Elim.NOM PF.wake:up.PT 3ARDAT unexpected.PV bed.LOC PRG.lie.DEP.NOM
 ‘When Elim woke up, he found himself lying in bed’
 more lit. ‘Elim having woken up, (it) happened to him unexpectedly that (he) was lying in bed’
- (4.165) *Mo kilyi Sakialma halma italà*
 1sRDAT see.PV Sakial.ERG book PRG.read.DEP.NOM
 ‘I saw (that) Sakial (was) reading a book’

As the examples above illustrate, experiencer/recipient verbs typically denote spontaneous actions, and appear without an ergative-marked actor argument. When an actor is present it denotes an agent or stimulus that causes the dative participant to receive the object/idea/sensation/etc. Compare the following examples. These show that *kila*, normally translated as ‘see’, corresponds to ‘show’ (i.e., cause to see) when it selects an ergative argument.

- (4.166) *Pyie kyuaitanene kilyi*
 child.DAT carving.NOM see.PV
 ‘The child saw/noticed the carving’
- (4.167) *Elimma pyie kyuaitanene kilyi*
 Elim.ERG child.DAT carving.NOM see.PV
 ‘Elim showed the child the carving’

Additional examples are given below. Here *tsuhka* means either ‘happen to [someone]’ or ‘cause [something] to happen to [someone]’, depending on the presence or absence of an actor; while *etskopa* means either ‘occur to [someone]’ or ‘cause [something] to occur to [someone]’. (Note that in the second pair, the nominative role is filled by the free relative construction *kima mà esukita aun* ‘what we should do’; see §10.2.3 for discussion of this construction.)

- (4.168) *Mo tiaumilhe tsuhkyi*
 1sRDAT accident.NOM happen.PV
 ‘I had an accident’ (lit. ‘An accident happened to me’)
- (4.169) *Mo Elimma tiaumilhe tsuhkyi*
 1sRDAT Elim.ERG accident.NOM happen.PV
 ‘Elim caused me to have an accident’
- (4.170) *Mo etskopyi kima mà esukita aun*
 1sRDAT realize.PV 12ERG what SBJ.do.DEP:SBJ.PL if
 ‘It occurred to me what we should do’ or ‘I realized what we should do’
- (4.171) *Mehkanen ità umai etskopyi kima mà esukita aun*
 experience that:ERG 1sRDAT realize.PV 12ERG what SBJ.do.DEP:SBJ.PL if
 ‘That experience made me realize what we should do’

Note that not all verbs of perception belong to Class III. Consider the following pairs, where the verb on the left belongs to Class III while its counterpart on the right belongs to Class II:

<i>kila</i>	‘see’	<i>ksona</i>	‘look at’
<i>ola</i>	‘hear’	<i>teula</i>	‘listen to’
<i>luhtsa</i>	‘smell’	<i>teluhtsa</i>	‘smell, sniff’
<i>mahtla</i>	‘taste’	<i>temahtla</i>	‘taste, try, sample’
<i>sefa</i>	‘feel’	<i>lala</i>	‘feel, touch’

As noted above, the Class III perception verbs assign dative case to the noun phrase denoting the perceiver. By contrast, Class II perception verbs take an ergative noun phrase to denote the perceiver. Both types assign nominative case to the object or event being perceived. Compare:

- (4.172) *Motlai mo lohane olyi*
 Motla.DAT 1sRDAT voice.NOM hear.PV
 ‘Motla heard my voice’
- (4.173) *Motlama mo lohane teulyi*
 Motla.ERG 1sRDAT voice.NOM listen:to.PV
 ‘Motla listened to my voice’

As the glosses in the above table indicate, the Class III perception verbs denote spontaneous (non-agentive) events, while their Class II counterparts denote directed (agentive) events. This distinction is not always easy to render in English. For example, both *mahtla* and *temahtla* translate English ‘taste’, but *mahtla* is used to mean ‘detect the flavour of’ while *temahtla* means ‘take a taste of’ or ‘sample the flavour of’. The following example illustrates the contrast between these two verbs (note the dative versus ergative case forms of the first person clitic in the two clauses):

- (4.174) *Ma mase temahtlyi le mi itan ntse ksas mahtlou*
 1sERG soup.ERG taste.PV but 1sDAT 3isLOC NEG salt taste.PV:NEG
 ‘I tasted the soup, but I didn’t/couldn’t taste (the) salt in it’

4.5 The oblique cases

There are four oblique cases in Okuna: locative, allative, ablative, and instrumental. Each case has a number of different functions, as discussed in the following subsections. (Here I focus on how the oblique cases are used at the sentence level to mark dependents of the verb; for their use in marking the possessor in a noun phrase, see the discussion in §6.6.1.)

4.5.1 Locative

The locative (LOC) case is marked by attaching the suffix *-na* to the final word in the noun phrase. As the name of this case indicates, noun phrases in the locative typically indicate the spatial or temporal location of an object or event. Noun phrases in the locative case often correspond to prepositional phrases with ‘at’, ‘in’, ‘on’, etc., in English:

- (4.175) *Sakialma Tenmotlaina tsuhpa*
 Sakial.ERG Tenmotlai.LOC live.IPV
 ‘Sakial lives in Tenmotlai’
- (4.176) *Mikalma temiēna kopo ikpa*
 boy.ERG hands.LOC pot PRG.carry.IPV
 ‘The boy is carrying a pot in his hands’
- (4.177) *Se tuhsana nioktat*
 13NOM winter.LOC return.IPV.PL
 ‘We will return in the winter’
- (4.178) *Puniakakai sikhkununa sasyit*
 traveller.DAT river.LOC meet.PV.PL
 ‘The travellers met at the river’

To express finer spatio-temporal distinctions—e.g., to distinguish ‘at’ from ‘in’ from ‘on’ in cases of potential ambiguity—the locative case may be used in combination with a relational noun such as *him* ‘interior’ or *epam* ‘top, horizontal surface’ (see §6.5). Compare the following sets of sentences:

- (4.179) *Moihà totsatna euohta*
 girl.NOM table.LOC PRG.sit.IPV
 ‘The girl is sitting at the table’
- (4.180) *Moihà totsat epamna euohta*
 girl.NOM table top.LOC PRG.sit.IPV
 ‘The girl is sitting on (top of) the table’
- (4.181) *Halmà kohotna hit*
 book.NOM chest.LOC be:IPV.PL
 ‘The books are in/at/by the chest’
- (4.182) *Halmà kohot himna hit*
 book.NOM chest interior.LOC be:IPV.PL
 ‘The books are in(side) the chest’
- (4.183) *Halmà kohot utēna hit*
 book.NOM chest near.LOC be:IPV.PL
 ‘The books are by/beside/near the chest’

With verbs of motion, locative case may be used for noun phrases denoting the means of transportation:

- (4.184) *Kim puolna euolhtat*
 13NOM boat.LOC go:there.IPV.PL
 ‘We will go there by boat’

Animate noun phrases in the locative case frequently occur with verbs denoting an emotional state, or a sensation internal to one's body. Such verbs include *kesta* 'be happy', *ohiyina* 'be sad', *hotsma* 'be angry', *muelhona* 'be drowsy, feel like sleeping', and *tunkona* 'hurt, ache, be in pain'. With verbs of this type, the locative noun phrase indicates the individual who experiences the feeling or sensation. Similarly, verbs of cognition—e.g., *iona* 'know (a fact)', *koipa* 'know (a person/thing), be familiar with', *mutla* 'understand', and *niokona* 'remember', and verbs formed with the modal suffix *-ihp* 'intend to'—take a locative noun phrase to denote the individual possessing the knowledge, memory, intention, etc. Examples:

(4.185) *Ihana* *ihotsma*
 woman.LOC PRG.angry.IPV
 'The woman is angry'

(4.186) *Ikò* *utsè* *mamutlo* *iman*
 2sERG PF.say.TNZR.NOM NEG.understand.IPV:NEG 1sLOC
 'I don't understand what you were saying'

(4.187) *Ne* *Sakialna* *kòipan?*
 3aNOM Sakial.LOC know.IPV.QU
 'Does Sakial know her?'

(4.188) *Elimna* *iona* *puniakakà* *palo* *elohfoi* *nioktatà*
 Elim.LOC know.IPV traveller.NOM village.DAT tomorrow return.DEP.PL.NOM
 'Elim knows that the travellers will return to the village tomorrow'

(4.189) *Inena* *kotoi* *elohfoi* *nepatliha*
 3aLOC house.DAT tomorrow paint.intend.IPV
 'They intend to paint the house tomorrow'

In a somewhat related function, when a verb is marked with the modal suffix *-yip* 'can, able (to)', the noun phrase denoting the individual who possesses the ability is marked with locative case. Likewise, when the verb carries the modal suffix *-uh* 'want to', the individual possessing the desire is expressed by a noun phrase in the locative case. When the locative noun phrase is coreferential with one of the core arguments in the clause, especially the ergative argument, the latter is normally omitted. (For more on modal suffixes, see §7.7.1.) Compare:

(4.190) *Motlama* *halmai* *itala*
 Motla.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.IPV
 'Motla is reading the book'

(4.191) *Motlana* *halmai* *talyipa*
 Motla.LOC book.DAT read.able.IPV
 'Motla can read the book'
 more lit. 'In Motla is the ability to read the book'

(4.192) *Motlana* *halmai* *taluha*
 Motla.LOC book.DAT read.want.IPV
 'Motla wants to read the book'
 more lit. 'In Motla is the desire to read the book'

(4.193) *Motlana* *Elimma* *halmai* *taluha*
 Motla.LOC Elim.ERG book.DAT read.want.IPV
 'Motla wants Elim to read the book'

When a stative Class I verb is derived from a telic Class III verb using infixal resultative aspect morphology (e.g., *siehpä* ‘write’ > *sieihpä* ‘be written/complete’; *takia* ‘break’ > *takeia* ‘be broken’), the argument which was the delimiter of the Class III verb (marked with dative case) appears instead in the locative. Compare these pairs of sentences:

(4.194) *Motlama kihoin siehpyi*
 Motla.ERG letter.DAT write.PV
 ‘Motla wrote the letter’

(4.195) *Kihunna isieihpä*
 letter.LOC PRG.write:RES.IPV
 ‘The letter is (already) written’

(4.196) *Pyie nalh takiyi*
 child.DAT arm break.PV
 ‘The child broke her arm’

(4.197) *Pyina nalh itakeia*
 child.LOC arm PRG.break:RES.IPV
 ‘The child has a broken arm’

To make sense of the case marking in (4.196) and (4.197) above, we might render the former more literally as ‘The child received an arm-breaking’, or ‘An event of arm-breaking came to the child’, while the latter could be paraphrased as ‘A state of being arm-broken is in the child’.

Finally, locative case marking may be added to a clause headed by a verb in the dependent form (cf. §10.2). The interpretation of a locative-marked clause depends on whether the clause is in the indicative or subjunctive mood. An indicative dependent clause in the locative expresses the time at which the event denoted by the main clause takes place, and is equivalent to an English subordinate clause with ‘when’, ‘while’, ‘as’. A subjunctive dependent clause in the locative expresses a condition, and is equivalent to an ‘if/when(ever)’ clause. (For other ways of forming temporal and conditional clauses, see §10.2.3 and §10.3.2.)

(4.198) *Ne ma imuelhana nkilhyit*
 3aNOM 1SERG PRG.sleep:DEP.LOC leave.PV.PL
 ‘They left while I was sleeping’ (lit. ‘at my sleeping’)

(4.199) *Sa akut aleut uktiamat elyihpina*
 13ERG 2pDAT help give.IPV.DPL.PL SBJ.possible:DEP:SBJ.LOC
 ‘We will help you (pl) if possible’

4.5.2 Allative

Allative case (glossed ALL in the examples) is usually expressed by attaching the ending *-a* to the final word in the noun phrase. In its spatial function, the allative case marks noun phrases which indicate the direction in which an individual is headed, or the object or location towards which something is oriented or aimed. In this usage allative case is roughly equivalent to English ‘to’ or ‘towards’:

(4.200) *Ne heuta etyit*
 3aNOM north.ALL go.PV.PL
 ‘They went (towards the) north’

(4.201) *Ne ekliona milhtyi*
 3aNOM left.ALL turn.PV
 ‘She turned (to the) left’

- (4.202) *Palu itan kotu emot sihkunoua kumutat*
 village this:LOC house 3i:all:NOM river.ALL face.IPV.PL
 ‘All the houses in this village face (towards) the river’

The function of the allative is similar to that of the dative, in that both cases can indicate a goal of motion. However, the two cases are not synonymous. Compare the following sentences: In (4.203), where *kotu* ‘house’ is marked with the dative case, it is understood that the children reached the house. In (4.204), where *kotu* is in the allative case, the house identifies the direction in which the children went; they may not have actually reached the house, or even intended to do so.

- (4.203) *Lhatè kotoi etyit*
 children.NOM house.DAT go.PV.PL
 ‘The children went to the house’
- (4.204) *Lhatè kotoua etyit*
 children.NOM house.ALL go.PV.PL
 ‘The children went towards the house’

The allative case also expresses various abstract relations. For example, it is used to indicate the beneficiary, purpose, or objective of an event. In this function, the allative corresponds closely to English ‘for’, as shown below:

- (4.205) *Amema pyia homai ipusuka*
 mother.ERG child.ALL bread.DAT PRG.make.IPV
 ‘The mother is making bread for the child’
- (4.206) *Amema esimoitatsa homai ipusuka*
 mother.ERG naming:ceremony.ALL bread.DAT PRG.make.IPV
 ‘The mother is making bread for the naming ceremony’
- (4.207) *Kale kahoua sihityit*
 man.NOM fish.ALL go:to:river.PV.PL
 ‘The men went to the river for fish’ (i.e., to get fish)
- (4.208) *Houna inie, hesa atak*
 owl.ALL eyes rabbit.ALL leg
 ‘Eyes for the owl, legs for the rabbit’²

In a clause which attributes a state or property to some entity, an allative noun phrase can indicate the individual who is the source of the attribution, or with respect to whom the state or property holds:

- (4.209) *Mase tsuo iakaila Sakiala*
 soup.NOM too PRG.REL.hot.IPV Sakial.ALL
 ‘The soup is too hot for Sakial’ or ‘Sakial finds the soup too hot’
- (4.210) *Pyi inà lhinta imè*
 child that:ERG clever.IPV 1sALL
 ‘I consider that child clever’ or ‘In my opinion, that child is clever’
 lit. ‘For me, that child is clever’

²An Okuna proverb, meaning roughly ‘Each according to his abilities’ or ‘Everyone has his/her own talents’.

Note that this is how ‘like’ or ‘love’ are expressed in Okuna: an allative-marked noun phrase combines with a verb such as *ohka* ‘be dear, beloved’, *huata* ‘be appreciated, agreeable’, or *henka* ‘be enjoyable’, with the object of affection expressed by a noun phrase in the nominative:³

- (4.211) *Imè Sakiale ohka*
 1sALL Sakial.NOM dear.IPV
 ‘I love Sakial’ (lit. ‘Sakial is dear to me’)
- (4.212) *Me Sakiala huata*
 1sNOM Sakial.ALL agreeable.IPV
 ‘Sakial likes me’ (lit. ‘I am agreeable to/for Sakial’)
- (4.213) *Sakiala kahò nkenko iahok*
 Sakial.ALL fish.NOM NEG.enjoyable.IPV:NEG at:all
 ‘Sakial doesn’t like fish’ (lit. ‘For Sakial, fish is not enjoyable at all’)

Similarly, perceptual states like ‘see’ and ‘hear’ may be expressed by adding an allative-marked noun phrase to a clause containing the stative verbs *kula* ‘be visible, be in sight’, *ula* ‘be audible’, etc.; here the allative noun phrase encodes the experiencer (see §7.5.1 for more discussion of perception verbs):

- (4.214) *Imè palahtà kulat ekau*
 1sALL tree.NOM visible.IPV.PL here.ABL
 ‘I (can) see the trees from here’ (lit. ‘To/for me, the trees are visible from here’)
- (4.215) *Isane lhonko iolanka*
 13ALL loud:noise PRG.audible.IPV:PST
 ‘We heard a loud noise’ or ‘We could hear a loud noise’

With verbs of thinking, saying, writing, etc., allative case indicates the subject matter, and corresponds to ‘about, concerning’ in English. Note also the verb *ohvla* ‘resemble, be like’, which takes an allative-marked noun phrase to express the object with which a comparison is being made. This verb can combine with various unmarked nouns expressing properties: e.g., *akiel ohvla* ‘look like’ (lit. ‘resemble in appearance’), *amahle ohvla* ‘taste like’ (lit. ‘resemble in flavour’). With *ohvla*, the individual bearing the resemblance is expressed by a noun phrase in the nominative case.

- (4.216) *Luihama Ehkaiona sliachte iokianka*
 old:woman.ERG Ehkaion.ALL story PRG.tell.IPV:PST
 ‘An old woman was telling a story about Ehkaion’
- (4.217) *Ma lyihpe iosok tosepyia umikyitsa*
 1sERG possible.TNZR solution several.ALL PF.think:about.IPV
 ‘I’ve thought of several possible solutions’
- (4.218) *Sakiale ameia ohvla*
 Sakial.NOM mother.ALL resemble.IPV
 ‘Sakial resembles his mother’ or ‘Sakial is like his mother’
- (4.219) *Sakiale ameia akiel ohvla*
 Sakial.NOM mother.ALL appearance resemble.IPV
 ‘Sakial looks like his mother’

Finally, in noun phrases, alienable possessors (which precede the possessed noun) are usually marked with allative case: e.g., *Sakiala halma* ‘Sakial’s book’, *mo ameia kotu* ‘my mother’s house’.

³The Class II verb *uila* ‘love, cherish’ patterns differently, in that the individual who experiences the emotion is encoded by a noun phrase in the ergative case: e.g., *Ma Sakiale uila* ‘I love Sakial’.

4.5.3 Ablative

Ablative case (glossed ABL) is usually marked by adding the ending *-u* to the right edge of the noun phrase. The ablative case is typically used with verbs of motion to indicate the source or starting point of movement. In this function, ablative noun phrases correspond to English prepositional phrases with ‘from’, ‘out of’, ‘off of’, etc. Ablative case is also used with noun phrases denoting time periods to indicate the beginning point of some event or state of affairs, in which case it corresponds to English ‘since’.

(4.220) *Se laisne Uilumau uketat*
 13NOM just Uiluma.ABL PF.come:here.IPV.PL
 ‘We have just arrived here from Uiluma’

(4.221) *Moihà halou suhyi*
 girl.NOM room.ABL go:out.PV
 ‘The girl came/went out of the room’

(4.222) *Me tuhsau ikauota*
 1sNOM winter.ABL PRG.be:here.DUR.IPV
 ‘I have been staying here since the winter’

When used to express a source or beginning point, the ablative noun phrase is sometimes followed by the emphatic element *su* (glossed ‘even’). Ablative case combined with *su* corresponds roughly to English ‘ever since’ or ‘all the way from’: e.g., *sihkunou su* ‘all the way from the river’, *tuhsau su* ‘ever since the winter’. This element is especially common in the construction *X su Y sikà*, meaning ‘from X (all the way) to Y’ or ‘between X and Y’, with X a noun phrase in the ablative and Y a noun phrase in the dative:

(4.223) *Sihkunu tan tomlau su moini sikà lhopa*
 river this:NOM mountain.ABL even ocean.DAT until flow.IPV
 ‘This river flows from the mountains (all the way) to the ocean’

(4.224) *Hostakama tatanyit paluna, kotou su kotoi sikà itit*
 dancer.ERG wander.PV.PL village.LOC house.ABL even house.DAT until PRG.go.PT.PL
 ‘The dancers wandered around the village, going from house to house’

Besides expressing a source or beginning point with verbs of motion, ablative noun phrases are used with verbs of creation to indicate the material from which something is made:

(4.225) *Okuna koinma lotsanu kotu tiespat*
 Okuna person.ERG wood.ABL house build.IPV.PL
 ‘The Okuna build (their) houses out of wood’

In quantified noun phrases, the ablative case marks the superset in a partitive relation. Likewise, in noun phrases containing a measure noun, the substance being measured out is usually marked as ablative. In these uses, ablative case corresponds to the preposition ‘of’ in English. Similarly, verbs like *tsatsa* ‘be full’, *eka* ‘be empty’, *paitle* ‘be covered (with)’, and *tsihfa* ‘be bare, lack’ can take partitive complements in the ablative.

(4.226) *mikalu ehte*
 boy.ABL three
 ‘three of the boys’

(4.227) *meunu es nauot*
 milk.ABL one cup
 ‘a cup of milk’

(4.228) *Kopò meunu itsatsa*
 jug.NOM milk.ABL PRG.full.IPV
 ‘The jug is full of milk’

(4.229) *Kopò meunu ieka*
 jug.NOM milk.ABL PRG.empty.IPV
 ‘The jug has no milk in it’ (lit. ‘The jug is empty of milk’)

(4.230) *Kimè eima luanu tsihfa*
 baby.NOM still hair.ABL bare.IPV
 ‘The baby doesn’t have any hair yet’ (lit. ‘The baby is still bare of hair’)

Ablative case is also used in various constructions to indicate a reference point or object of comparison. For instance, ablative case can be used to mark the possessor in a kinship or other social relationship—i.e., the individual with respect to whom the relationship holds: e.g., *Sakialu ame* ‘Sakial’s mother’, *imò es kuna* ‘a friend of mine’. In addition, ablative case can be used to mark a spatial reference—that is, an object or location with respect to which a positional or directional relationship is established. Here, as in partitive constructions, ablative case typically corresponds to English ‘of’:

(4.231) *Na lokau heutna tsuhpat*
 3aERG forest.ABL north.LOC live.IPV.PL
 ‘They live north of the forest’

In equative and comparative constructions, ablative case is used to mark the standard of comparison (expressed in English with ‘as’ or ‘than’). The verb *sukuma* ‘be different’ also takes an ablative noun phrase to indicate the standard of comparison.

(4.232) *Kotò palahtau apata*
 house.NOM tree.ABL REL.tall.IPV
 ‘The house is as tall as the tree’

(4.233) *Kotò palahtau apatohta*
 house.NOM tree.ABL REL.tall.COMP.IPV
 ‘The house is taller than the tree’

(4.234) *Sakiale ahteu akiel sukuma*
 Sakial.NOM father.ABL appearance different.IPV
 ‘Sakial doesn’t look like his father’ (lit. ‘differs [in] appearance from [his] father’)

The ablative case is also used with the verb *iala* ‘have’. When *iala* takes a noun phrase complement (in the nominative case or the unmarked form), as in (4.235), it expresses non-transferable possession or responsibility (e.g., possession of kin, land, animals, hunting and fishing rights, personal attributes, and other people or resources for which one has a social obligation). When *iala* takes a dependent subjunctive clause complement, as in (4.236), it means ‘know how to’. In sentences with *iala*, an ablative noun phrase expresses the individual possessing knowledge or responsibility.

(4.235) *Elimu lihpa hen iala*
 Elim.ABL sister two:NOM have.IPV
 ‘Elim has two sisters’

(4.236) *Elimu esihpi iala*
 Elim.ABL SBJ.swim.DEP:SBJ have.IPV
 ‘Elim knows how to swim’

Finally, nominalized clauses headed by a verb in the dependent form can take ablative case marking, as illustrated below. Like ‘since’ clauses in English, dependent clauses in the ablative can express either the reason or the beginning point of an event, according to context.

(4.237) *Olh tomla tin kantat iome alimau*
 DIST mountain those:NOM stand.IPV.PL world.NOM PV.begin.DEP.ABL
 ‘Those mountains have been standing since the world began’

(4.238) *Elimma pyie meun uktyi inan halhkonau*
 Elim.ERG child.DAT milk give.PV 3asLOC thirsty.DEP.ABL
 ‘Elim gave the child some milk because she was thirsty’

4.5.4 Instrumental

Instrumental (INST) case is marked by adding the ending *-me* to the rightmost element in the noun phrase. As its name indicates, the instrumental case is used when the noun phrase expresses the instrument or means by which an action is carried out:

(4.239) *Mikalma kopoi konomme tsitspyi*
 boy.ERG pot.DAT hammer.INST smash.PV
 ‘The boy smashed the pot with a/the hammer’

(4.240) *Ma kahu mais tausme eiasa*
 1sNOM fish soup:DAT spoon.INST PRG.eat.IPV
 ‘I am eating the fish soup with a spoon’

As discussed in §4.4.3, the instrument can also be expressed by a noun phrase in the nominative (if the clause does not already contain a nominative case-marked theme argument), or by an unmarked noun phrase if the instrument is non-referential. Hence, (4.239) can be paraphrased as below, with ‘hammer’ in the nominative or unmarked form:

(4.241) *Mikalma kopoi konome tsitspyi*
 boy.ERG pot.DAT hammer.NOM smash.PV
 ‘The boy smashed the pot with a/the hammer’

(4.242) *Mikalma kopoi konom tsitspyi*
 boy.ERG pot.DAT hammer smash.PV
 ‘The boy smashed the pot with a hammer’ (more lit. ‘hammer-smashed the pot’)

However, in order for these alternative constructions to be available, the instrument must be construed as the immediate causer of the event. In example (4.239) the boy manipulates the hammer, and it is the hammer which actually brings about the change of state (the sentence thus entails ‘The hammer smashed the pot’). Compare this with (4.240), where the spoon plays a more peripheral role (the spoon is not eating the soup, but merely enabling the boy to eat the soup). Since the spoon does not cause the eating event, (4.240) cannot be paraphrased with *taus* ‘spoon’ in the nominative or unmarked form: the instrumental is the only option here.

A noun phrase in the instrumental can also express the manner in which an action is carried out, as illustrated below. Notice that in (4.244) and (4.245) the instrumental ending attaches to a dependent verb or clause. In (4.244) instrumental case is added to the dependent form of the stative verb *usuta* ‘be slow’: *usutame* (lit. ‘by/with being slow’) is functionally equivalent to a manner adverb in English. In (4.245) the instrumental-marked clause expresses an event, and corresponds roughly to a participial clause with ‘by’ or ‘by means of’.

- (4.243) *Na tan hostats muoheme tlynkyi*
 3aERG 3isNOM power whole.INST push:on.PV
 ‘He pushed on it with all (his) might’
- (4.244) *Na usutame inie limyi*
 3aERG slow.DEP.INST eyes open.PV
 ‘She slowly opened her eyes’
- (4.245) *Elimma nasats tafyi olh naka tan tiyisame*
 Elim.NOM strength show.PV DIST rock that:NOM lift.DEP.INST
 ‘Elim demonstrated his strength by lifting that rock’

With verbs of communication such as *koma* ‘speak/understand/know’, *siehpa* ‘write’, etc., a noun phrase which denotes the language or other means of communication being used appears in the instrumental case:

- (4.246) *Okuna sulme kòman?*
 Okuna language.INST speak.IPV.QU
 ‘Do (you) speak Okuna?’

Like English ‘with’, the instrumental case can also be used to express a comitative (accompaniment) relation:

- (4.247) *Sakial ka imem iafùhan?*
 Sakial and 1sINST PRG.come:along.want.IPV.QU
 ‘Do (you) want to come with Sakial and me?’
- (4.248) *Me lihpage sihityi ekahunieia*
 1sNOM sister.INST go:to:river.PV SBJ.catch:fish.DEP:SBJ.ALL
 ‘I went down to the river with (my) sister to catch fish’

The instrumental case is also used with the copula *he* to indicate immediate possession—that is, possession of something in one’s immediate control. The possessive verbs *efa* ‘have, own’ and *yla* ‘have, include, be endowed with’ also take an instrumental noun phrase. In clauses with *efa*, which expresses transferable possession (e.g., ownership of personal property), the instrumental case marks the possessor, while the possessee is in the nominative case. In clauses with *yla*, which expresses possession of a body part or physical attribute, the case roles are reversed: instrumental case marks the possessee while the possessor appears in the nominative.

- (4.249) *Sakialme es halma he*
 Sakial.INST one book be:IPV
 ‘Sakial has a book (with him)’ (lit. ‘There is a book with Sakial’)
- (4.250) *Sakialme halma ante efa*
 Sakial.INST book many possess.IPV
 ‘Sakial owns many books’
- (4.251) *Elimme kulhe inieme yla*
 Elim.NOM green eyes.INST have.IPV
 ‘Elim has green eyes’

The instrumental case can also encode a spatial or temporal relation. In combination with motion verbs such as *hepa* ‘go along’, *hyla* ‘pass by’, *kloha* ‘go through’, *tlisa* ‘cross, go over’, etc., a noun phrase in the instrumental indicates the path traversed by the entity in motion, or some object which lies along or near that path. When used in this way, instrumental noun phrases correspond to English prepositional phrases with ‘by (way of)’, ‘across’, ‘through’, ‘along’, ‘over’, ‘via’, etc., depending on the noun and the type of motion involved.

- (4.252) *Me kuma hitolme lhyuyi*
 1sNOM front door.INST enter.PV
 ‘I came in (through) the front door’
- (4.253) *Kalma losake sihilame paloi ekpe inioktat*
 man.ERG wood.NOM riverbank.INST village.DAT carry.CV PRG.return.IPV.PL
 ‘The men are taking the firewood back to the village along the riverbank’
- (4.254) *Pyie siyhume kiompe itlise, ne tiausyi*
 child.NOM field.INST run.CV PRG.cross.PT 3aNOM fall:down.PV
 ‘As the child was running across the field, s/he fell down’
- (4.255) *Es hastine mutume iante tlisyi*
 one deer.NOM fence.INST jump.CV go:over.PV
 ‘A deer jumped (over) the fence’
- (4.256) *Pilà palahta ypiahme uaste tlisyi*
 bird.NOM tree above.INST fly.CV go:over.PV
 ‘The bird flew over the tree’

In example (4.256), the noun phrase *palahta ypià* means ‘area above the tree’. The fact that this noun phrase is marked with instrumental case indicates that the flight path of the bird included this area, but neither began nor ended there.

When added to a noun phrase denoting a temporal measurement, instrumental case indicates a span of time, and corresponds roughly to ‘during’, ‘for’, or ‘over the course of’ in English, as in (4.257). Dative case can also be used to form temporal ‘for’ expressions, as in (4.258) (see §4.3.2). The difference between these sentences is quite subtle: (4.258) implies that we slept at Sakial’s house for exactly three nights—i.e., only three nights passed between the beginning of the event and the end. (4.257), by contrast, does not have this implication: it is possible that the event began earlier or ended later, but for some reason the speaker is choosing to focus on three particular nights.

- (4.257) *Sa Sakiala kotuna hun ehteme muelhyit*
 13ERG Sakial.ALL house.LOC night three.INST sleep.PV.PL
 ‘We slept at Sakial’s house over the course of three nights’
- (4.258) *Sa Sakiala kotuna hun ehtei muelhyit*
 13ERG Sakial.ALL house.LOC night three.DAT sleep.PV.PL
 ‘We slept at Sakial’s house for three nights’

An instrumental noun phrase can also be used to indicate a measure of distance or other dimension, or to express the degree/extent to which an entity possesses a scalar property. In comparative constructions, such as (4.261), the instrumental case is used with measure phrases to indicate the degree of difference between the objects being compared.

- (4.259) *Kotò katlam huoiame apata*
 house.NOM cubit twelve.INST REL.tall.IPV
 ‘The house is twelve cubits tall’
- (4.260) *Sa lò ehtsan puniakatsme ekau tsuhpat*
 13ERG day one journey.INST here.ABL live.IPV.PL
 ‘We live a day’s journey from here’

- (4.261) *Mo suhpà ulhmo henme afihohta imò*
 1sRDAT brother.NOM year two.INST REL.young.COMP.IPV 1sABL
 ‘My brother is two years younger than me’ (lit. ‘younger than me by/with two years’)

Note the following constructions, where the adverbials *ihka* ‘before now, earlier, ago’, *efoi* ‘after now, later’, *tahka* ‘before then, earlier, previously’, and *tahoi* ‘after then, later, subsequently’ select a temporal measure phrase in the instrumental case. In (4.262) below, a temporal measure phrase in the instrumental modifies a ‘before’ clause.

- ulhmo henme ihka* ‘two years ago’
ulhmo henme efoi ‘in two years, two years from now’
lò tosepyime tahka ‘several days earlier, several days before (that)’
lò tosepyime tahoi ‘several days later, several days after (that)’
- (4.262) *Hi mehkyi mo amè tiokau lò henme kamna*
 3iNOM happen.PV 1sRDAT mother.NOM die.DEP.ABL day two.INST before.NOM
 ‘It happened two days before my mother died’

A number of adverbial expressions are formed using the instrumental case, including:

<i>ela henme</i>	(each:time two.INST)	‘two by two, two at a time’
<i>haklame</i>	(go:straight.DEP.INST)	‘straight, directly, as the crow flies’
<i>kaiehteme</i>	(threesome.INST)	‘three times, threefold, by a factor of three’
<i>kunahatsme</i>	(friendship.INST)	‘as a friend, in friendship’
<i>lohanme</i>	(voice.INST)	‘aloud, out loud’
<i>nakapme</i>	(accident.INST)	‘by accident’
<i>pakotame</i>	(take:steps.DEP.INST)	‘step by step, incrementally’
<i>tupuatsme</i>	(pulse.INST)	‘momentarily, for just a moment’

Finally, one way of forming a conditional clause in Okuna—equivalent to an ‘if’ clause or ‘unless’ clause in English—is to attach the instrumental case ending to a clause headed by a verb in the dependent subjunctive form (see §10.2). (Other ways of forming conditional clauses are discussed in §10.2.3 and §10.3.2.)

- (4.263) *Ma aleut uktia etiuhime*
 1SERG help give.IPV SBJ.needed.DEP:SBJ.INST
 ‘I’ll lend a hand if needed/necessary’
- (4.264) *Pyie ntse tehefoi eketoitame, ma inane ekpihi*
 child.NOM NEG soon SBJ.come.DEP:SBJ:NEG.PL.INST 1SERG 3apALL SBJ.seek.DEP:SBJ
tiuha
 must.IPV
 ‘If the children don’t get here soon, I’ll have to go look for them’
 or ‘Unless the children get here soon...’

While the comitative relation (‘with’) is consistently expressed using instrumental case, Okuna has various ways to express a privative relation (‘without’). First, instrumental case may be added to a negated noun phrase of the form *ntse X mà* or *ntse X miò* ‘no X, not any X’: e.g., *ntse kamal mahme* ‘without a knife’ (lit. ‘not with any knife’ or ‘with no knife’). Alternatively, ‘without’ may be expressed using a negated participial clause, or a negated dependent clause marked for instrumental case. Finally, the verb *eka* ‘be empty’ or *tsihfa* ‘be bare’ may be used, together with a noun phrase in the unmarked or ablative form, to convey the sense of English ‘lack, be without’. Examples:

- (4.265) *Pyie ketyi amè miafu*
 child.NOM come.PV mother.NOM NEG.PRG.accompany.NEG:PT
 ‘The child came without her mother’ (lit. ‘[her] mother not accompanying [her]’)
- (4.266) *Na itatananka ntse tlok ikpu*
 3aERG PRG.go:around.IPV:PST NEG shoe PRG.wear.NEG:PT
 ‘He was walking around without shoes (on)’ (lit. ‘not wearing shoes’)
- (4.267) *Imè ntse taus nyipume iasoksanka*
 1sALL NEG spoon use.DEP:NEG.INST eat.must.IPV:PST
 ‘I had to eat without a spoon’ (lit. ‘by not using a spoon’)
- (4.268) *ntse pyi hunen kotu*
 NEG child be:NEG.CNZR house
 ‘a house without children’ or ‘a house where there aren’t any children’
- (4.269) *luan tsihfe kimi*
 hair bare.TNZR baby
 ‘a baby without hair’ (lit. ‘a baby bare [of] hair’)

4.6 The unmarked form

Having reviewed the functions of the various cases in previous sections, I now turn to those situations where a noun or noun phrase fails to take any case marking and occurs instead in its unsuffixed or ‘bare’ form. I refer to this as the UNMARKED form.

4.6.1 Unmarked nouns within the noun phrase

As mentioned in §4.2, case endings attach to the final element in a noun phrase; hence the noun itself will be unmarked for case if some other element within the noun phrase follows it. Such elements include demonstratives and quantifiers, along with a handful of other modifiers discussed in §6.8.5 and §6.9 (e.g., *mpehkai* ‘the first one’, *ufatl* ‘the wrong one’). Consider the placement of the locative case ending *-na* in the following noun phrases:

<i>halmana</i>	‘in a/the book’
<i>es halmana</i>	‘in a book’
<i>halma ehtsanna</i>	‘in (just) one book’
<i>ke halma itena</i>	‘in these books’
<i>halma ikina</i>	‘in every book’
<i>halma mpehkaina</i>	‘in the first book’
<i>halma ufatlna</i>	‘in the wrong book’

Likewise, in noun compounds, discussed in §6.4, the head noun is marked for case (provided it comes at the right edge of the noun phrase), while the modifying noun appears in the unmarked form:

- (4.270) *ilme laina*
 moon light.LOC
 ‘in the moonlight’

When a noun phrase consists of two or more smaller noun phrases conjoined with *ka* ‘and’, *husu* ‘and also’, or *ohkina* ‘as well as’ (see §8.3.1), it is the rightmost conjunct which carries the case ending, while previous conjuncts are unmarked for case:

(4.271) *Sakial ka Elimme*
 Sakial and Elim.INST
 ‘with Sakial and Elim’

(4.272) *mo napè husu no kunaua*
 1SRDAT daughter and:also 3aRDAT friend.ALL
 ‘for my daughter and her friends’

In certain contexts, a noun phrase will lack case marking altogether. For instance, noun phrases are unmarked for case when they function as (part of) the predicate of a clause. In addition, a noun phrase may be unmarked for case when it is non-referential—i.e., when it does not pick out a particular entity or set of entities, but functions more like a modifier or pseudo-argument. I review the distribution of unmarked noun phrases in the following subsections.

4.6.2 Unmarked noun phrases as non-arguments

If a noun phrase does not function as an argument or other dependent of a verb, and thus is not assigned a case role, it will appear in the unmarked form. For example, noun phrases occur without case marking when they act as predicates. This is illustrated in (4.273) below, where *mo ahte* ‘my father’ is a predicate nominal rather than an argument (note the absence of a copula here; see §9.3.1 for more on copular sentences). The unmarked form also occurs in existential and possessive constructions, where the verb *he* ‘be, exist’ takes an unmarked noun phrase as its complement. This is illustrated in (4.274) and (4.275), where *es kamal* ‘a knife’ is in the unmarked form.

(4.273) *Sakiale mo ahte*
 Sakial.NOM 1SRDAT father
 ‘Sakial is my father’

(4.274) *Totsatna es kamal he*
 table.LOC one knife exist:IPV
 ‘There is a knife on the table’

(4.275) *Sakialme es kamal he*
 Sakial.INST one knife be:IPV
 ‘Sakial has a knife’ (lit. ‘There is a knife with Sakial’)

Likewise the noun phrase is typically unmarked in PRESENTATIONAL sentences, where it denotes an entity whose existence or presence is being asserted or denied. Compare the examples below, where *imè kamal* ‘my knife’ is in the nominative case in the first sentence and in the unmarked form in the second sentence. (4.276) is a normal predicational sentence, with a nominative argument bearing the theme role. This sentence would be used if the knife were already a topic of discussion and the speaker were reporting on its location. Example (4.277), by contrast, is a presentational sentence, used to draw the listener’s attention to the presence of the knife.

(4.276) *Imè kamale itsà*
 1sALL knife.NOM PRG.be:here.IPV
 ‘My knife is here’

(4.277) *Imè kamal itsà*
 1sALL knife PRG.be:here.IPV
 ‘Here’s my knife’ or ‘This is my knife’

The examples below show the same contrast, this time with the locational verb *euolha* ‘be (over) there’ and the motion verb *keta* ‘come here’. Note that in (4.279) the fact that the sentence is presentational is further indicated by the focus particle *te*. In (4.281), the particle *iam* marks the sentence as expressing new information which the speaker has just become aware of.

(4.278) *Hastine ieuolha*
 deer.NOM PRG.be:there.IPV
 ‘The deer is over there’

(4.279) *Te es hastin ieuolha*
 FOC one deer PRG.be:there.IPV
 ‘Over there is a deer’ or ‘There’s a deer over there’

(4.280) *Sakiale iketa*
 Sakial.NOM PRG.come:here.IPV
 ‘Sakial is coming here’

(4.281) *Sakial iketa iam*
 Sakial PRG.come:here.IPV it:turns:out
 ‘Look, here comes Sakial’

Finally, compare the examples below, showing two different ways of asking a ‘where’ question. The first construction, where *imè kamal* is marked for nominative case, would be used if the speaker’s knife were already the topic of discussion (‘Speaking of my knife, where is it?’). The second construction, with *imè kamal* unmarked for case and immediately preceding the copula, would be used if this speaker is mentioning his/her knife for the first time.

(4.282) *Imè kamale miena hin?*
 1sALL knife.NOM where.LOC be:IPV.QU
 ‘Where IS my knife?’

(4.283) *Miena imè kamal hin?*
 where.LOC 1sALL knife be:IPV.QU
 ‘Where’s my KNIFE?’

A noun phrase will also appear in the unmarked form when it functions as a contrastive or switch-reference topic, followed by the element *aunme* (see §9.2.2, §10.2.3). In the example below the unmarked noun *kahu* ‘fish’ establishes the general domain of objects under consideration, while *kono* ‘salmon’, marked for nominative case, functions as the argument of predication in the sentence.

(4.284) *Kahu aunme, konò ahenkohta imè*
 fish if.INST salmon.NOM REL.enjoyable.COMP.IPV 1sALL
 ‘As for fish, I like salmon best’ (lit. ‘If fish, [then] salmon is most enjoyable to me’)

Finally, proper names, kinship terms, and other noun phrases are unmarked for case when used in addressing an individual—that is, as vocatives. Such noun phrases are optionally preceded by the quotative particle *ia* (glossed QUOT), especially when used to attract the attention of the person being addressed:

(4.285) *Ia Sakial, aktape eskuke*
 QUOT Sakial help.CV please
 ‘Sakial, please help (me)’

Proper names are also unmarked for case when they precede another noun phrase to which they stand in apposition. For instance, *Tenmotlai*, *Okuna*, and *Sakial* are all unmarked in the following examples:

- (4.286) *Tenmotlai tiesate Okuna sikhunu ilalna tima*
 Tenmotlai town.NOM Okuna river shore.LOC lie.IPV
 ‘The town of Tenmotlai lies on the shore of the Okuna river’
- (4.287) *Sakial mo kasuhpà itskana etsuleia elohfoi*
 Sakial 1sRDAT cousin.NOM PRG.arrive.IPV SBJ.visit.DEP:SBJ.ALL tomorrow
 ‘My cousin Sakial is coming to visit tomorrow’

4.6.3 Pseudo-incorporated arguments

We say that a noun phrase is NON-REFERENTIAL (or NON-INDIVIDUATED) if its function is to identify some general class of entities rather than any specific entity or group of entities. In Okuna, if a core argument of a verb is non-referential, it will often be unmarked for case.

Compare the examples below. In (4.288) and (4.289), the patient argument *halma* ‘book’ delimits the event denoted by the verb, and is expressed by a noun phrase in the dative case. This noun phrase is interpreted as indefinite in (4.289) due to the presence of *es* ‘one’, while in (4.288) it can be construed as either definite or indefinite, depending on the context in which the sentence occurs. In both sentences, the speaker has a particular book in mind. Contrast these sentences with (4.290), where *halma* appears without any case marking: here, its function is to represent a type of object, and not to pick out any specific book (see below for more discussion of this).

- (4.288) *Na halmai itala*
 3aERG book.DAT PRG.read.IPV
 ‘He is reading a/the book’
- (4.289) *Na es halmai itala*
 3aERG one book.DAT PRG.read.IPV
 ‘He is reading a (certain) book’
- (4.290) *Na halma itala*
 3aERG book PRG.read.IPV
 ‘He is reading a book’ or ‘He is reading books’

Unlike case-marked arguments, which can occupy various positions in the clause, unmarked arguments must immediately precede the verb which selects them, suggesting that they have undergone PSEUDO-INCORPORATION into the verb. In (4.290) above, for example, *halma itala* behaves as a kind of syntactic unit, suggesting a literal translation along the lines of ‘He is book-reading’. As evidence for this adjacency requirement, note that adverbials like *eima* ‘still’ can come between the verb and its object if the latter is case-marked, but must precede the object if it is unmarked for case:

- (4.291) *Na halmai eima itala*
 3aERG book.DAT still PRG.read.IPV
 ‘He is still reading the book’
- (4.292) *Na eima halma itala*
 3aERG still book PRG.read.IPV
 ‘He is still reading a book’ (‘He is still book-reading’)

Note also the examples below, where the clause has been negated. As discussed in §7.3, the negative scope marker tends to attach to the right edge of the verb as a prefix: *m(a)-*. However, when the verb is preceded by an unmarked noun phrase, which must be adjacent to the verb, the negative scope marker is blocked from attaching to the verb and instead surfaces in its free form, *ntse*, preceding the unmarked noun phrase.

(4.293) *Na halmai metalo*
 3aERG book.DAT NEG.PRG.read.IPV:NEG
 ‘He isn’t reading the book’

(4.294) *Na ntse halma italo*
 3aERG NEG book PRG.read.IPV:NEG
 ‘He isn’t reading (any) books’

As discussed in §4.3.2, dative case marks the delimiter of a telic action—e.g., the patient in a cumulative change-of-state event. Non-referential patients, however, fail to act as delimiters, and so dative case marking is unavailable. Consider the following examples. (4.295) denotes a particular event of eating: a specific portion of meat is being referred to, and the eating event culminates once it has been completely consumed. Hence, *maka* ‘meat’ delimits the eating event and appears in the dative case (whether *makai* is definite or indefinite, whether it means ‘the meat’ or ‘some meat’, must be determined from the context). (4.296), by contrast, refers to the general activity of meat-eating; while (4.297) expresses the characteristic of being a meat-eater, the propensity of a particular dog (or dogs in general) to eat meat. In neither of these sentences does the speaker have a particular portion of meat in mind. Generic activities and properties are inherently open-ended: they have no natural endpoint, and hence cannot be delimited by the patient. This is why in these sentences *maka* appears in the unmarked form rather than the dative.

(4.295) *Ikema makai eiasanka*
 dog.ERG meat.DAT PRG.eat.IPV:PST
 ‘The dog was eating the/some meat’

(4.296) *Ikema maka eiasanka*
 dog.ERG meat PRG.eat.IPV:PST
 ‘The dog was eating meat’ (i.e., was engaged in meat-eating)

(4.297) *Ikema maka iasa*
 dog.ERG meat eat.IPV
 ‘The dog eats meat’ or ‘Dogs eat meat’

The examples below show a similar contrast. The sentence in (4.298) denotes a telic event, and *kahu* ‘fish’ (marked for dative case) is understood to be referential. The speaker implies the existence of some finite (though not necessarily identifiable) quantity of fish, such that the event necessarily ends once all of the fish have been caught. By contrast, (4.299) denotes an atelic activity. Here, *kahu*, unmarked for case, indicates the type of thing being caught: no particular quantity of fish is implied, meaning that the activity can go on indefinitely. Finally, (4.300) attributes a general property to Sakial, and is likewise atelic, with *kahu* again in its bare form.

(4.298) *Sakialma kahoī palyima*
 Sakial.ERG fish.DAT catch.PV.DPL
 ‘Sakial caught the/some fish’

(4.299) *Sakialma kahu palyi*
 Sakial.ERG fish catch.PV
 ‘Sakial caught fish’ or ‘Sakial went fishing’

(4.300) *Sakialma kahu pala*
 Sakial.ERG fish catch.IPV
 ‘Sakial catches fish’ (‘Sakial is a fisherman’)

Notice that *kahoi* triggers the dative plural agreement suffix *-ma* on the verb in the first sentence, whereas its unmarked counterpart in the other two sentences does not trigger plural agreement, even though the context makes it clear that more than one fish is likely being caught. Unmarked noun phrases never trigger number agreement.

When a non-referential patient argument appears in the unmarked form, this ‘frees up’ the dative case, which can then appear on another constituent to delimit the event. For instance, a dative phrase expressing a measure can be added to a clause containing an unmarked patient, as illustrated below. In (4.301), where *ueho* ‘wine’ takes dative marking, the event is delimited by the wine: some specific quantity of wine is implied, which defines the endpoint for the drinking event. In (4.302) the patient appears in the unmarked form and hence does not delimit: the sentence refers to wine-drinking as a general activity. In (4.303) the patient is again unmarked, but this time the event is delimited by the measure phrase *es nauot* ‘one cup’: the wine-drinking activity ends once one cup worth of wine has been consumed.

(4.301) *Ma ueho sepyi*
 1sERG wine.DAT drink.PV
 ‘I drank (up) the/some wine’

(4.302) *Ma ueho sepyi*
 1sERG wine drink.PV
 ‘I drank wine’

(4.303) *Ma es nauoit ueho sepyi*
 1sERG one cup.DAT wine drink.PV
 ‘I drank a cup of wine’ (lit. ‘I wine-drank [to] one cup’)

Unmarked noun phrases appear in many weather predicates. These generally take the form of a motion verb (belonging to Class II or Class III) used in combination with the unmarked theme argument denoting the relevant meteorological phenomenon. Examples:

<i>aho ilaina</i>	‘it’s sunny’	(lit. ‘sun is shining’)
<i>esie ikahpa</i>	‘it’s misty/sprinkling’	(lit. ‘mist is falling’)
<i>ilme ilaina</i>	‘the moon is out’	(lit. ‘moon is shining’)
<i>ise ikahpa</i>	‘it’s snowing’	(lit. ‘snow is falling’)
<i>ise itima</i>	‘there’s snow on the ground’	(lit. ‘snow is lying’)
<i>kise itima</i>	‘it’s icy, there’s ice on the ground’	(lit. ‘ice is lying’)
<i>mohi ikahpa</i>	‘it’s foggy’	(lit. ‘cloud is falling’)
<i>mohisiem ilaina</i>	‘it’s (partly) cloudy’	(lit. ‘cloudy sky is shining’)
<i>muohfe sù ikahpa</i>	‘it’s raining hard, it’s pouring’	(lit. ‘thick rain is falling’)
<i>pahiem ilaina</i>	‘it’s overcast’	(lit. ‘overcast sky is shining’)
<i>sù ikahpa</i>	‘it’s raining’	(lit. ‘rain is falling’)
<i>suku ilhopa</i>	‘it’s windy’	(lit. ‘wind is flowing’)

Other examples:

(4.304) *Elohka ise ukahpoksà*
 yesterday snow PF.descend.must.IPV
 ‘It must have snowed yesterday’

(4.305) *Tehefoi mohi ikelha*
 presently cloud PRG.lift.IPV
 ‘The fog is going to lift soon’

(4.306) *Tosuku ilhopa ha yhmana*
 great:wind PRG.blow.IPV in:fact outside.LOC
 ‘It’s very windy outside’ (lit. ‘A great wind is blowing outside’)

In the examples above, the unmarked (pseudo-incorporated) noun phrase expresses the patient or theme of an action, and as such, replaces a noun phrase in the dative or nominative case. This is the most common role for unmarked arguments. However, it is also possible for the unmarked noun phrase to express a non-referential actor. Consider the examples below. In (4.307) *Elima ike* ‘Elim’s dog’ functions as the delimiter, marked with dative case, while in (4.308) it functions as an experiencer argument marked with locative case. In both sentences, the unmarked noun phrase *lianka* ‘snake’ is interpreted as a non-referential actor, indicating the type of entity which initiates or triggers the event (if the speaker had a particular snake in mind, *lianka* would have been marked with ergative case):

(4.307) *Elima ikei lianka unitlka*
 Elim.ALL dog.DAT snake PF.bite.IPV
 ‘Elim’s dog was bitten by a snake’ (‘Elim’s dog was snake-bitten’)

(4.308) *Elima ikena lianka huetlampa*
 Elim.ALL dog.LOC snake afraid.ACT.IPV
 ‘Elim’s dog is frightened of snakes’ (lit. ‘made afraid by snakes’)

Additional examples are given below, in which the unmarked nouns (*ipaimanen* ‘medicine’, *suku* ‘wind’, *tohauat* ‘fire’) specify the kinds of substance responsible for bringing about the event. Here it is perhaps unclear whether the unmarked noun should be characterized as an actor or an instrument.

(4.309) *Sakiale ipaimanen hualtyi*
 Sakial.NOM medicine healthy.TINC.PV
 ‘Sakial was cured by/with medicine’ (‘Sakial was medicine-cured’)

(4.310) *Palahtà suku tiausyi*
 tree.NOM wind fall.PV
 ‘The tree fell over in the wind’ (‘The tree was wind-felled’)

(4.311) *Kotu utai tohauat ustoka*
 house that:RDAT fire PF.destroy.IPV
 ‘That house was destroyed in/by a fire’ (‘That house was fire-destroyed’)

Note finally that a core argument will sometimes appear without any case marking when it refers to an entity that is incidental to the discourse, even if the speaker has a specific referent in mind. In the sentence below, for example, the unmarked argument *hitol* may be referring to a particular door, identifiable by both the speaker and the addressee. However, this door plays only a peripheral role in the events being narrated: it is the act of door-opening, rather than the identity of the door being opened, which is important here.

(4.312) *Ihama umupatle hitol limyi yhmai suhyi*
 woman.ERG PF.dress.PT door open.PV outside.DAT go:out.PV
 ‘The woman having dressed, (she) opened the door (and) went outside’

Similarly, in the following example, *aho* ‘sun’ is semantically definite, and would thus (as the theme argument of *kahpa* ‘go down’) be expected to appear in the nominative case. However, it appears in the unmarked form instead. This is because the sun is only acting as an incidental ‘character’ in the narrative: the setting of the sun is a background event, serving merely to establish the time of the hunters’ return.

(4.313) *Uta aho ukahpanka lakiakamite paloi anioktit*
 already sun PF.descend.IPV:PST hunting:party.NOM village.DAT PV.return.PT.PL
 ‘The sun had already set when the hunting party returned to the village’

When the clause denotes an event where an agent manipulates a part of his/her own body, the body part term normally occurs in the unmarked form. This is illustrated below. Notice also that, unlike in English, the body part term does not take a possessive pronoun; sentence (4.314), for example, is literally ‘Elim closed eyes’ (or ‘Elim eye-closed’).

(4.314) *Elimma inie mukyi*
 Elim.ERG eyes close.PV
 ‘Elim closed his eyes’

(4.315) *Ma nalh kelhyi*
 1sERG arm raise.PV
 ‘I raised my arm’

In the following examples, the case-marked noun takes the dative rather than the ergative, and denotes an individual undergoing a change of state. The unmarked noun here denotes the particular part of the individual’s body affected by the event.

(4.316) *Sakial nalh takiyi*
 Sakial.DAT arm break.PV
 ‘Sakial broke his arm’ or ‘Sakial got his arm broken’

(4.317) *Sakial tem hanyi*
 Sakial.DAT hand cut.PV
 ‘Sakial cut his hand’ or ‘Sakial got a cut on his hand’

The absence of case marking in these constructions suggests that the body part is not treated as an individual ‘participant’ in the event, but is instead conceptualized as a component of the action (arm-lifting, hand-cutting, etc.). Normally the body part term will appear in the dative or nominative case only if the agent is manipulating a part of somebody else’s body. Compare *Elimma inie mukyi* ‘Elim closed (his own) eyes’ with the following example, where *inie* ‘eyes’ receives nominative marking:

(4.318) *Elimma tioike kalna iniè mukyi*
 Elim.ERG dead.TNZR man.LOC eyes.NOM close.PV
 ‘Elim closed the dead man’s eyes’

4.6.4 Other unmarked noun phrases with Class III verbs

In the examples discussed in the previous section, the unmarked noun phrase replaces a case-marked subject or object. It is also possible for an unmarked noun phrase to co-occur with an overt subject and object, especially with Class III verbs expressing a change of state (see §4.4.3). This extra noun phrase has a number of functions. Most commonly, it indicates the kind of instrument—a tool, body part, or other object—used by the agent to bring about a change of state in the patient:

(4.319) *Mikalma kopoi konom tsitspyi*
 boy.ERG pot.DAT hammer smash.PV
 ‘The boy smashed the pot with a hammer’

(4.320) *Ihama kahoi tiku tahyima*
 woman.ERG fish.DAT harpoon kill.PV.DPL
 ‘The woman killed the fish with a harpoon’ or ‘The woman harpooned the fish’

(4.321) *Elimma totsait sane mul patlyi*
 Elim.ERG table.DAT red cloth cover.PV
 ‘Elim covered the table with a red cloth’

- (4.322) *Inmo moikenau kahtoty*
 3aERG.1sRDAT fist hit.DUR.PV
 ‘He punched me’ or ‘He hit me with (his) fists’

Like other unmarked arguments, unmarked instruments are inherently non-specific or lacking in discourse salience. For instance, (4.319), featuring the unmarked instrument *konom* ‘hammer’, would be used only if the speaker doesn’t know (or considers it irrelevant) which particular hammer was used to smash the pot, and wishes merely to convey that a hammer is the type of object used. If the instrument were definite/specific, and of continuing relevance to the conversation, *konom* would instead appear in the instrumental or nominative case (see §4.4.3, §4.5.4).

With Class III verbs of creation or physical transformation, an unmarked noun phrase may be added to express the material being transformed, while the delimiter argument (if present) represents the object or substance being created, as illustrated below (the ablative case can also be used to mark the material from which something is made, as discussed in §4.5.3):

- (4.323) *Ihama kopoi sute euosta*
 woman.ERG pot.DAT clay PRG.shape.IPV
 ‘The woman is shaping a pot out of clay’

- (4.324) *Na kotoi lotsan utiespat*
 3aERG house.DAT wood PF.build.IPV.PL
 ‘They built the house out of wood’

Finally, Class III verbs can take an unmarked noun phrase denoting the amount of time required for the endpoint to be reached—that is, the amount of time necessary to completely create, destroy, or change the state of the patient (this construction is somewhat rare; normally the temporal measure phrase will appear in the instrumental case):

- (4.325) *Na kotoi ilme kun utiespat*
 3aERG house.DAT month four PF.build.IPV.PL
 ‘They built the house in four months’ or ‘They took four months to build the house’

4.6.5 Unmarked noun phrases with Class I verbs

As discussed in §4.4.1, stative verbs belonging to Class I take a nominative (theme) argument referring to the individual who possesses the property or attribute denoted by the verb. Sometimes these verbs also take an unmarked noun phrase, which names a component or aspect of the theme with respect to which the property or attribute holds. To illustrate this, consider first the sentences below, containing the Class I verb *henka* ‘be enjoyable’, predicated of the nominative-marked theme *iase* ‘the food’, with an optional experiencer argument in the allative case (see §4.4.1, §4.5.2):

- (4.326) *Iasè henka*
 food.NOM enjoyable.IPV
 ‘The food is enjoyable’

- (4.327) *Iasè henka imè*
 food.NOM enjoyable.IPV 1sALL
 ‘I like the food’ (lit. ‘The food is enjoyable to me’)

If one wishes to specify the particular aspect of the food which is enjoyable, an unmarked noun phrase denoting an abstract property may be added to the sentence:

(4.328) *Iasè amahtle henka*
 food.NOM flavor enjoyable.IPV
 ‘The food is delicious’ (lit. ‘The food is enjoyable [in] flavour’)

(4.329) *Iasè aluhtse henka*
 food.NOM aroma enjoyable.IPV
 ‘The food smells good’ (lit. ‘The food is enjoyable [in] aroma’)

(4.330) *Iasè akiel henka*
 food.NOM appearance enjoyable.IPV
 ‘The food looks good’ (lit. ‘The food is enjoyable [in] appearance’)

Adding an experiencer to these sentences, we get the following: (4.331) is literally ‘the food is enjoyable [in] flavour to me’, and likewise for the other examples.

(4.331) *Iasè amahtle henka imè*
 food.NOM flavour enjoyable.IPV 1sALL
 ‘I like the taste of the food’

(4.332) *Iasè aluhtse henka imè*
 food.NOM aroma enjoyable.IPV 1sALL
 ‘The food smells good to me’ or ‘I like the smell of the food’

(4.333) *Iasè akiel henka imè*
 food.NOM appearance enjoyable.IPV 1sALL
 ‘The food looks good to me’ or ‘I like the look of the food’

Note also the following examples, which show the same structure but with different stative verbs:

(4.334) *Ohuè amahtle seima*
 fruit.NOM flavour sweet.IPV
 ‘The fruit tastes sweet’ (lit. ‘is sweet [in] flavour’)

(4.335) *Elimè akiel ihakta hialò*
 Elim.NOM appearance PRG.tired.IPV today
 ‘Elim is looking tired today’ (lit. ‘Elim is tired [in] appearance today’)

(4.336) *Sakialna aule ikesta*
 Sakial.LOC sound PRG.happy.IPV
 ‘Sakial sounds happy’ (lit. ‘Sakial is happy [in] sound’)

The verbs *ohvla* ‘resemble, be similar’ and *sukuma* ‘differ, be different’ commonly take an unmarked noun phrase denoting the quality with respect to which the resemblance holds or fails to hold: e.g., *akiel ohvla* ‘look like’ (lit. ‘resemble [in] appearance’), *amahtle ohvla* ‘taste like’ (‘resemble [in] flavour’), *aule sukuma* ‘sound different’ (‘differ [in] sound’) and so on. The individual who bears the resemblance or difference is expressed by a noun phrase in the nominative, while the standard of comparison is expressed by a noun phrase in the allative (for *ohvla*) or the ablative (for *sukuma*):

(4.337) *Sakiale ahteia akiel ohvla*
 Sakial.NOM father.ALL appearance resemble.IPV
 ‘Sakial looks like his father’

(4.338) *Sakiale ahteia aule ohtla*
 Sakial.NOM father.ALL sound resemble.IPV
 ‘Sakial sounds like his father’

(4.339) *Sakiale ahteu akiel sukuma*
 Sakial.NOM father.ABL appearance different.IPV
 ‘Sakial looks different from his father’

The verbs *eka* ‘be empty’, *tsatsa* ‘be full’, *paitla* ‘be covered’, and *tsihfa* ‘be bare, free’ may combine with an unmarked noun phrase expressing the type of entity or substance (e.g., *nà* ‘water’, *aki* ‘flea’) with respect to which the property holds:

Nauote nà itsatsa ‘The cup is full of water’
Nauote nà ieka ‘The cup is empty of water / has no water in it’
Ikè aki ipaitla ‘The dog is covered with fleas’
Ikè aki itsihfa ‘The dog is free of fleas / has no fleas’

Consider also the construction illustrated below. Here the unmarked noun denotes a body part while the nominative argument identifies the possessor of the body part (we may think of the first sentence as meaning something like ‘Elim is long with respect to [his] legs’). The third example includes the resultative Class I verb *takeia* ‘be broken’, which takes a locative case-marked patient (see §7.5.1). The fourth example shows the Class I verb *nuha* ‘be cold’, which here takes a locative case-marked experiencer, denoting the individual who feels cold, and an unmarked body part noun denoting the locus of the cold feeling.

(4.340) *Elime kalial liakna*
 Elim.NOM legs long.IPV
 ‘Elim has long legs’ or ‘Elim is long-legged’

(4.341) *No ahtè nalhal nasa*
 3aRDAT father.NOM arms strong.IPV
 ‘His father has strong arms’

(4.342) *Sakialna kus itakeia*
 Sakial.LOC foot PRG.break:RES.IPV
 ‘Sakial has a broken foot’

(4.343) *Iman temie inuha*
 1sLOC hands PRG.cold.IPV
 ‘My hands are/feel cold’ or ‘I have cold hands’

Finally, when the stative verb carries the relative prefix *a-* (see §7.6), the class of objects denoted by the unmarked noun phrase provides a standard against which the theme is compared: e.g., *toha* ‘be big’; *atoha* ‘be so/as big, have a certain size’; *kotu atoha* ‘be as big as a house, be the size of a house’; *atohohta* ‘be bigger (than)’; *kotu atohohta* ‘be bigger than a house’. Additional examples are given below. Note that in the third and fourth examples, the unmarked noun phrase combines with a predicate formed by attaching the relative prefix *a-* to a perception verb in the resultative aspect (§7.5.1). Predicates formed in this way (equivalent to English ‘look/appear’, ‘sound’, ‘taste’, ‘smell’, etc.) denote the possession of a property which can be perceived through the senses, with the unmarked noun phrase expresses the substance or entity which is the source of that property.

(4.344) *Ne hani alhinta*
 3aNOM fox REL.clever.IPV
 ‘She’s as clever as a fox’

(4.345) *Tonaka tan koin apatohta*
 rock that:NOM person REL.tall.COMP.IPV
 ‘That rock is taller than a person’

(4.346) *Mase ksas amaihtla*
 soup.NOM salt REL.taste:RES.IPV
 ‘The soup tastes of salt’ or ‘The soup tastes salty’

(4.347) *Halò esip ialoihtsanka*
 room.NOM flower PRG.REL.smell:RES.IPV:PST
 ‘The room smelled of flowers’ or ‘The room had the smell of flowers’

As in other cases, the unmarked noun phrase in this construction is interpreted as non-referential. When a particular entity is being presented as the standard of comparison, the noun phrase referring to that entity must be marked with ablative case: e.g., *kotou atohohta* ‘bigger than the house’.

4.6.6 Fixed expressions

A large number of idioms and other fixed expressions in Okuna take the form of a verb preceded by a pseudo-incorporated unmarked noun. Some of these are listed below. English equivalents for these expressions are given first, followed by a literal translation in parentheses.

<i>ahim tsimuka</i>	‘gasp’	(‘quickly close breath’)
<i>aleut uktia</i>	‘help, assist’	(‘give help’)
<i>ampe alhta</i>	‘change one’s mind/opinion’	(‘invert opinion’)
<i>efos ekpa</i>	‘have a problem’	(‘hold/carry problem’)
<i>efos suka</i>	‘make trouble, cause problems’	(‘do problem’)
<i>eihte etsa</i>	‘be right, say the correct thing’	(‘say right’)
<i>eske untsuka</i>	‘be well-behaved, obedient’	(‘enact request’)
<i>euti tika</i>	‘lay an egg’	(‘release/emit egg’)
<i>fasoun ekpa</i>	‘be proud’	(‘hold/carry pride’)
<i>hawk elha</i>	‘smoke [meat/fish]’	(‘put smoke in’)
<i>iase tsatsta</i>	‘eat one’s fill’	(‘fill [with] food’)
<i>itlas kyitsa</i>	‘take note of, remark/comment on’	(‘say observation about’)
<i>inie kelha</i>	‘look up at’	(‘raise eyes’)
<i>inie kloha</i>	‘look through’	(‘put eyes through’)
<i>inie lhinta</i>	‘be alert, watchful, on guard’	(‘be clever-eyed’)
<i>inie peuta</i>	‘watch for, keep an eye out for’	(‘wait [with] eyes’)
<i>kan ekpa</i>	‘have worth, be worthy’	(‘hold/carry worth’)
<i>kanu etsa</i>	‘lie, tell lies’	(‘say lie(s)’)
<i>kaume suka</i>	‘make war’	(‘do war’)
<i>kefis etsa</i>	‘threaten’	(‘say threat’)
<i>kihaule hehta</i>	‘make a quiet noise’	(‘move small noise’)
<i>ksetli uanta</i>	‘gamble’	(‘cast dice’)
<i>kuhinie eta</i>	‘scowl, grimace’	(‘put dirty look’)
<i>kuma kahpa</i>	‘face down’	(‘descend face’)
<i>lai iahkipa</i>	‘blind (temporarily)’	(‘strike [with] light’)
<i>lhan ekpa</i>	‘be resolved, determined’	(‘hold/carry will’)
<i>lhan laha</i>	‘give up’	(‘release will’)
<i>lhes uktia</i>	‘sharpen, hone’	(‘give blade’)
<i>lhonko hana</i>	‘be loud, make a lot of noise’	(‘cut noise’)
<i>lohan tunka</i>	‘speak on behalf of, represent’	(‘act [with] voice’)
<i>luan tsihfa</i>	‘be bald’	(‘be bare [of] head hair’)
<i>masiò ekpa</i>	‘be sad, sorrowful’	(‘hold/carry sorrow’)
<i>mehu ekpa</i>	‘be ashamed’	(‘hold/carry shame’)
<i>mehu skala</i>	‘forgive’	(‘remove shame’)
<i>muohsot etsa</i>	‘apologize’	(‘say apology’)
<i>nalei muohfa</i>	‘be brightly coloured’	(‘be dense-coloured’)
<i>naua taula</i>	‘cup one’s hands’	(‘bend up palm’)
<i>niokaule hana</i>	‘echo, resound’	(‘cut echo’)
<i>nolal peuta</i>	‘listen for’	(‘wait [with] ears’)
<i>ope alhta</i>	‘change one’s mind’	(‘invert belief’)
<i>pahti muohfeta</i>	‘blush’	(‘thicken [in] complexion’)
<i>silh teuna</i>	‘touch, put one’s finger(s) on’	(‘put finger’)

<i>sò hota</i>	‘tie (up)’	(‘attach rope’)
<i>sot esta</i>	‘get through to, make understand’	(‘reach [with] words’)
<i>sot teuna</i>	‘claim, make a claim on’	(‘put word(s)’)
<i>statl teuna</i>	‘set a trap’	(‘put trap’)
<i>suk imla</i>	‘grin’	(‘smile [with] teeth’)
<i>tsimu ekpa</i>	‘be compassionate’	(‘hold/carry compassion’)
<i>ufatl opa</i>	‘be wrong, get it wrong’	(‘believe wrong’)
<i>ufatl suka</i>	‘make a mistake, do the wrong thing’	(‘do wrong’)
<i>ulhmo moita</i>	‘get a year older’	(‘acquire year’)
<i>uske etsa</i>	‘deceive, lie, mislead’	(‘say deception’)
<i>yte etsa</i>	‘tell the truth’	(‘say truth’)

Chapter 5

Pronouns

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss pronouns and morphologically related elements. As in English, a pronoun may be used in place of a full noun phrase when the referent of that noun phrase is known or can be determined from context. Compare the examples below, where the third person singular inanimate pronoun *itè* ‘towards it/that’ in (5.2) plays the same grammatical role as the full noun phrase *kulhe kotoua* ‘towards the green house’ in (5.1). Like full noun phrases, pronouns inflect for case: e.g., *itè* in the example below is the allative case form of the pronoun.

(5.1) *Elime kulhe kotoua ita*
Elim.NOM green house.ALL PRG.go.IPV
‘Elim is going towards the green house’

(5.2) *Elime itè ita*
Elim.NOM 3isALL PRG.go.IPV
‘Elim is going towards it/that’

Pronouns in Okuna have both FULL forms and CLITIC forms. For example, in the nominative case, the second person pronoun ‘you’ has the clitic form *ku* and the full form *koi* (in the singular). The clitic forms are normally used when the pronoun identifies the topic of the clause, while the full forms are used elsewhere, such as when the pronoun is being contrastively focussed. Compare:

(5.3) *Ku ohka Sakiala*
2NOM love.IPV Sakial.ALL
‘Sakial loves you’

(5.4) *Koi ohka Sakiala*
2sNOM love.IPV Sakial.ALL
‘Sakial loves YOU’ or ‘You’re the one that Sakial loves’

I begin the discussion in §5.2 by introducing the featural distinctions marked on pronouns in Okuna, including person, number, animacy, and inclusive versus exclusive. In §5.3 I present the case declensions for the full pronouns, and discuss their use as demonstratives. I also discuss the two forms of the dative case, REALIS and IRREALIS, which are distinguished only on pronouns and related elements. Then in §5.4 I turn to clitics and clitic clusters, and compare the distribution of clitics with that of full pronouns. §5.5 deals with situations in which a pronominal argument may be omitted from the clause. Finally, in §5.6 I discuss the universal quantifiers, equivalent to ‘every’ and ‘all’, which pattern with the full pronouns both in terms of their distribution and in terms of how they inflect for case.

5.2 The personal pronouns

Pronouns in Okuna encode the person and animacy of their referents. In addition, full pronouns (as opposed to clitics, see §5.4) make a number distinction between singular and plural. There are a total of nine personal pronouns, given in the table below. The abbreviations used in this grammar for the personal pronouns are shown in parentheses after their glosses. Note that, like noun phrases, pronouns inflect for case. Here I list the nominative pronouns, which may be regarded as the default forms (the full case paradigms are given in §5.3.1 below).

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
1st person (exclusive)	<i>man</i>	‘I/me’	(1s)	<i>sat</i>	‘we/us’	(13)
1st person inclusive				<i>kim</i>	‘we/us’	(12)
2nd person	<i>koi</i>	‘you’	(2s)	<i>kut</i>	‘you’	(2p)
3rd person animate	<i>nan</i>	‘he/him, she/her’	(3as)	<i>nin</i>	‘they/them’	(3ap)
3rd person inanimate	<i>tan</i>	‘it, that’	(3is)	<i>tin</i>	‘they/them, those’	(3ip)

Notice that there are two first person plural pronouns: the first person EXCLUSIVE pronoun *sat* refers to a group which includes the speaker but not the addressee, while the first person INCLUSIVE pronoun *kim* picks out to a group which includes both the speaker and the addressee.

Sat itat ‘We are going’ (I and others, but not you)

Kim itat ‘We are going’ (you and I, and possibly others)

Unlike in English, no gender distinction is made in the third person: *nan* may be translated by ‘he/him’ or ‘she/her’, according to context. However, Okuna does have separate third person pronouns (both singular and plural) for animate and inanimate referents. Animacy in Okuna is semantically based rather than lexically based, meaning that the choice of pronoun is determined straightforwardly by the perceived animacy of the referent. The third person ANIMATE (3a) pronouns are used to refer to people and animals, as well as spirits and personified objects or forces; while the third person INANIMATE (3i) pronouns are used for all other referents, including plants, non-living entities, tools and other artifacts, places, events, and abstract concepts or ideas.

Some entities can be referenced by either an animate or an inanimate pronoun, depending on the context. For example, *kahu* ‘fish’ is treated as animate when referring to a living animal, and as inanimate when referring to an item of food. This is illustrated in the examples below: in (5.5) *kahu* combines with the animate pronoun *nin* (used here as a demonstrative, equivalent to ‘those’: see §5.3.2) while in (5.6) it combines with the inanimate pronoun *tin*. (Note that humans and animals not considered as food are always classified as animate, even when the referent is not currently alive.)

(5.5) *Kahu nin iante ifuiat*
 fish 3apNOM jump.CV PRG.emerge:from:water.IPV.PL
 ‘Those fish are jumping out of the water’

(5.6) *Kahu tin halhkahainna isunat*
 fish 3ipNOM drying:rack.LOC PRG.hang:RES.IPV.PL
 ‘Those fish are hanging on the drying rack’

The animate-inanimate distinction manifests itself in other ways in Okuna grammar besides the choice of pronoun. For example, certain quantifiers have separate animate and inanimate forms: e.g., *iha nemot* ‘all the women’ versus *kotu emot* ‘all the houses’. These are discussed in §5.6 below.

In addition, there are certain pairs of stative verbs which express essentially the same meaning, but differ in that one of the verbs usually takes an animate argument while its counterpart requires an inanimate argument. Some of these are listed below:¹

¹*Fiha* and *liuna* can actually be used with either animate or inanimate referents. However, *hafa* and *nakluha* are used exclusively with inanimate referents. *Hafa* means ‘new’ in the sense of ‘fresh, newly created’, while *nakluha* means ‘old’ in the sense of ‘used, worn (out)’.

ANIMATE	INANIMATE	
<i>fiha</i>	<i>hafa</i>	‘be new, young’
<i>liuna</i>	<i>nakluha</i>	‘be old’
<i>mila</i>	<i>elifa</i>	‘be beautiful, handsome’
<i>sailha</i>	<i>tima</i>	‘lie, be prone/horizontal’
<i>titoilha</i>	<i>tikanta</i>	‘be short’ (opposite of tall)
<i>toilha</i>	<i>kanta</i>	‘stand, be upright/vertical’
<i>uohta</i>	<i>tima</i>	‘sit, be sitting/seated’

Examples:

<i>Iha nan mila</i>	‘That woman is beautiful’
<i>Palahta tan elifa</i>	‘That tree is beautiful’
<i>Iha nan titoilha</i>	‘That woman is short’
<i>Palahta tan tikanta</i>	‘That tree is short’

- (5.7) *Yhkunà tsulna isailhanka*
 guest.NOM bed.LOC PRG.lie:RES.IPV.PST
 ‘The guest was lying on the bed’

- (5.8) *Halmà tsulna itimanka*
 book.NOM bed.LOC PRG.lie.IPV.PST
 ‘The book was lying on the bed’

As mentioned above, pronouns have both full forms and clitic forms. I begin by discussing full pronouns in §5.3 before turning to clitic pronouns in §5.4.

5.3 Full pronouns

Full pronouns are so called because they tend to be phonologically ‘heavier’ than clitic pronouns. For example, full pronouns may receive independent stress and are treated as separate prosodic words, rather than combining into clitic clusters or forming part of a stress group with the following word. Also, full pronouns have essentially the same distribution as non-pronominal noun phrases, whereas clitics have a much more restricted distribution, as discussed in §5.4.

In addition to functioning as noun phrase arguments by themselves, full pronouns in the third person can combine with a preceding noun (and its modifiers, if any) to form a complex noun phrase. Here the pronoun functions much like a demonstrative determiner, equivalent to English ‘this/that’ or ‘these/those’. Note that when the pronoun is used as a demonstrative, it must agree in animacy with the noun: *nan* and *nin* are used with nouns denoting human beings, (living) animals, and personified forces; while *tan* and *tin* are used with inanimate and abstract nouns. In addition to marking the animacy of the noun phrase, the pronoun indicates whether the noun phrase is singular or plural (the noun itself does not inflect for number).

<i>moiha nan</i>	‘this/that girl’	<i>kotu tan</i>	‘this/that house’
<i>moiha nin</i>	‘these/those girls’	<i>kotu tin</i>	‘these/those houses’
<i>ike nan</i>	‘this/that dog’	<i>uhin tan</i>	‘this/that song’
<i>ike nin</i>	‘these/those dogs’	<i>uhin tin</i>	‘these/those songs’

The use of pronouns as demonstratives is discussed further in §5.3.2. First, however, I discuss case inflection on full pronouns, which is morphologically quite different from case inflection on nouns.

5.3.1 Case marking on full pronouns

The declensions for the full pronouns are given in the following table (the columns are labeled with the abbreviations given in the table in §5.2 above). Notice that dative pronouns make a morphological distinction not found on nouns, between IRREALIS DATIVE (DAT) and REALIS DATIVE (RDAT) forms. This distinction is discussed in §5.3.3 below. Notice also that the case morphology on pronouns is quite different from that found on nouns: the ergative and oblique pronouns all incorporate the prefix *i-*, while the dative pronouns include the prefix *a-* in the irrealis and *u-* in the realis. In addition, the case endings tend to fuse with the pronominal root, and many of the endings are different from those found on nouns.

	1s		2s	3as	3is
NOM	<i>man</i>		<i>koi</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>tan</i>
DAT	<i>amai</i>		<i>akoi</i>	<i>anai</i>	<i>atai</i>
RDAT	<i>umai</i>		<i>ukoi</i>	<i>unai</i>	<i>utai</i>
ERG	<i>imà</i>		<i>ikò</i>	<i>inà</i>	<i>ità</i>
LOC	<i>iman</i>		<i>ikun</i>	<i>iman</i>	<i>itan</i>
ALL	<i>imè</i>		<i>ikoi</i>	<i>inè</i>	<i>ità</i>
ABL	<i>imò</i>		<i>ikou</i>	<i>imò</i>	<i>itò</i>
INST	<i>imem</i>		<i>ikom</i>	<i>imem</i>	<i>item</i>
	13	12	2p	3ap	3ip
NOM	<i>sat</i>	<i>kim</i>	<i>kut</i>	<i>nin</i>	<i>tin</i>
DAT	<i>asat</i>	<i>akime</i>	<i>akut</i>	<i>anat</i>	<i>atat</i>
RDAT	<i>usat</i>	<i>ukime</i>	<i>ukut</i>	<i>unat</i>	<i>utat</i>
ERG	<i>isat</i>	<i>ikima</i>	<i>ikut</i>	<i>imat</i>	<i>itat</i>
LOC	<i>isena</i>	<i>ikimna</i>	<i>ikuna</i>	<i>imena</i>	<i>itena</i>
ALL	<i>isane</i>	<i>ikime</i>	<i>ikune</i>	<i>imane</i>	<i>itane</i>
ABL	<i>iseu</i>	<i>ikimu</i>	<i>ikunu</i>	<i>imeu</i>	<i>iteu</i>
INST	<i>isime</i>	<i>ikimme</i>	<i>ikume</i>	<i>inime</i>	<i>itime</i>

The functions of the different case forms are the same for pronouns as for nouns (see §4.3–§4.5 for discussion). The only significant difference is that pronouns lack a bare (non-case-marked) form. In contexts where a noun phrase would appear without any case marking (see §4.6), the nominative form of the pronoun is used. For example, pronouns take the nominative form when they are preposed in the contrastive topic construction (discussed in §9.2.2). Compare:

- (5.9) *Elim aunme, nami ntsemi utsokuo*
 Elim if.INST 3aNOM.1SDAT never PF.meet.IPV:NEG
 ‘As for Elim, I’ve never met him’

- (5.10) *Nan aunme, nami ntsemi utsokuo*
 3asNOM if.INST 3aNOM.1SDAT never PF.meet.IPV:NEG
 ‘As for him, I’ve never met him’ or ‘As for that one...’

For more on full pronouns, see §5.4.2 below, where their distribution is compared with that of clitic pronouns. In the following section, I discuss the use of full pronouns as demonstrative-like elements, and introduce the related issue of spatial deixis (i.e., the expression of spatial relations with reference to the discourse context).

5.3.2 Demonstrative constructions and spatial deixis

As mentioned above, full pronouns can combine with a preceding noun (and its modifiers) to form a noun phrase. When used in this way, the pronouns are roughly equivalent to the English demonstratives ‘this/that’ and ‘these/those’. I will thus refer to them as DEMONSTRATIVES when they carry this function, and gloss

them using English demonstratives in the example sentences, even though they are formally indistinguishable from full pronouns used without a preceding noun.

The demonstrative comes at the right edge of the noun phrase, following the noun itself as well as any postnominal dependents (e.g., quantifiers such as *ehte* ‘three’). As shown below, the demonstrative agrees with the noun in animacy, and expresses the number (singular versus plural) of the noun phrase as a whole. Notice that the noun itself is not marked for number.

<i>nan</i>	‘she/he; this/that one’	<i>mikal nan</i>	‘this/that boy’
<i>tan</i>	‘it; this/that one’	<i>naka tan</i>	‘this/that rock’
<i>nin</i>	‘they; these/those’	<i>mikal ehte nin</i>	‘these/those three boys’
<i>tin</i>	‘they; these/those’	<i>naka ehte tin</i>	‘these/those three rocks’

Although third person pronouns are the ones most commonly used as demonstratives, first and second person pronouns also combine with a preceding noun or quantifier in certain cases:

<i>lhati kut</i>	‘you children’
<i>ispaka kim</i>	‘we students’
<i>ehte kim</i>	‘we three, the three of us’

Because it comes at the end of the noun phrase, the demonstrative carries the case marking for the noun phrase as a whole, while the preceding noun occurs in the unmarked form—e.g., ‘this/that dog’ is *ike nan* in the nominative, *ike anai* in the irrealis dative, *ike inem* in the instrumental, and so on, with the form of the noun being invariant. The following examples show ‘that dog’ and ‘those dogs’ in the ergative and allative case roles, respectively:

(5.11) *No ike inà ehenna ukilhta*
 3aRDAT dog that:ERG twice PF.bite
 ‘He’s been bitten twice by that dog’

(5.12) *Ma ike inane ikpiha*
 1SERG dog those:ALL PRG.look:for.IPV
 ‘I’m looking for those dogs’

Noun phrases containing demonstratives may be used ANAPHORICALLY, to refer back to a referent introduced earlier in the discourse. For instance, *ike nan* may mean ‘that dog’ in sense of ‘the dog which we were just talking about’. Noun phrases with demonstratives can also be used PRESENTATIONALLY, to identify or call attention to a particular entity. When used presentationally, the noun phrase normally occurs adjacent to the verb, with contrastive stress on the demonstrative, and may be preceded by the identificational focus particle *te*:

(5.13) *Ma te itan tsuhpa*
 1SERG FOC that:LOC live.IPV
 ‘That’s where I live’ (lit. ‘I live in THAT’)

(5.14) *Ma te kotu itan tsuhpa*
 1SERG FOC house that:LOC live.IPV
 ‘That’s the house that I live in’ (lit. ‘I live in THAT house’)

Finally, noun phrases containing a demonstrative can have DEICTIC force. That is, a demonstrative can be used when the noun phrase picks out a referent which had not been previously mentioned in the discourse, but which is identifiable to the speaker and hearer based on the context in which the sentence is uttered. The following sentence, for example, might be used when pointing to a flock of birds flying overhead, in a situation where the birds had not been discussed earlier:

- (5.15) *Pila nin ksonaua na!*
 bird those:NOM look:at.IPV.NPL IMP
 ‘Look at those birds!’

Unlike their English counterparts, demonstratives in Okuna do not distinguish relative distance from the speaker. For instance, *palahta tin* can be translated either ‘these trees’ or ‘those trees’, depending on context. If one wishes to specify relative distance, one of three spatial deictic particles, *tsi*, *ke*, or *olh*, may be added to the noun phrase containing the demonstrative:

1. The proximal particle *tsi* (glossed PROX in the examples) is used for objects which are perceived to be close to the speaker, but not the addressee.
2. The medial particle *ke* (MED) is used for objects perceived to be close to the addressee but not the speaker, and for objects which are in the immediate domain of both speaker and addressee.
3. The distal particle *olh* (DIST) is used for objects which are distant from both speaker and addressee.

The proximal, medial, and distal particles combine with a demonstrative, and can be used whether the demonstrative appears by itself or is part of a larger noun phrase:

<i>tsi nan</i>	‘this one’	(near me but not you)
<i>ke nan</i>	‘this/that one’	(near us, OR near you)
<i>olh nan</i>	‘that one (over there)’	(not near us)
<i>tsi palahta tin</i>	‘these trees (over here)’	(near me but not you)
<i>ke palahta tin</i>	‘these/those trees’	(near us, OR near you)
<i>olh palahta tin</i>	‘those trees (over there)’	(not near us)

These particles can also combine with other demonstrative elements capable of being used deictically, such as *tlante* ‘this/that many’ and *tlotsaka* ‘this/that kind (of)’, discussed in §6.7.2—e.g., *tsi halma tlante* ‘this many books’ (pointing to a stack of books close to the speaker); *olh tlotsaka kotu* ‘that kind of house’ (pointing to a house far from speaker and addressee). In addition, the deictic particles can combine with the universal quantifiers discussed in §5.6, which are mutually exclusive with the demonstratives—e.g., *ke halma emot* ‘all these books’, *olh halma emot* ‘all those books’; *ke pyi nket* ‘each of these children’, *olh pyi nket* ‘each of those children’.

As the examples above illustrate, the deictic particle comes before the demonstrative and the preceding noun, if any. More precisely, the particle precedes the noun and any simple non-case-marked modifiers (such as *luhme* ‘old one’), and follows oblique case-marked modifiers and relative clauses:

- (5.16) *tenena olh luhme kotu itan*
 hill.LOC DIST old house that:LOC
 ‘in that old house on the hill’

- (5.17) *isat pyimitme tsuhsaninen ke kotu itan*
 13ERG children.INST live.EPL.CNZR MED house that:LOC
 ‘in this house where we live with our children’

Although the primary function of the deictic particles is to locate an object in space relative to the speaker and hearer, they can also be used metaphorically to identify points in the discourse. For instance, the distal particle is occasionally used when referring back to something mentioned earlier in the discourse: e.g., *olh ike nan* ‘that dog’ (like *ike nan*, with no deictic particle) can refer to a previously-mentioned dog, as well as to a dog visible in the distance at the moment of speaking. Likewise, the proximal particle can be used when introducing a new entity or topic of discussion (cf. ‘this’ or ‘the following’ in English), and the medial particle can be used to refer to something just mentioned by the addressee, or to a current topic of discussion:

- (5.18) *Mo tsi sliachte tan laisne olyi*
 1SRDAT PROX story this:NOM just hear.PV
 ‘I just heard this story/the following story’ or ‘Here’s a story I just heard’

- (5.19) *Ke nesap tan esoniokti teusu koluma*
 MED question that:NOM SBJ.answer.DEP:SBJ very difficult.IPV
 ‘That question (of yours) is very difficult to answer’
 or ‘That’s a very difficult question to answer’ (e.g., in response to a question just asked)

This three-way spatial distinction is also found with other elements. For instance, Okuna has three spatial deictic adverbials which are clearly related to the particles discussed above: proximal *etsi* ‘here, over here’ (near me), medial *eka* ‘here/there’ (near you/us), and distal *euolh* ‘there, over there, yonder’ (not near us). These adverbials pattern morphologically as nouns, inflecting for case (somewhat irregularly in the case of *etsi* and *eka*):

NOM	<i>etsi</i>	<i>eka</i>	<i>euolh</i>
DAT	<i>etsei</i>	<i>ekai</i>	<i>euoilh</i>
LOC	<i>etsin</i>	<i>ekan</i>	<i>euolhna</i>
ALL	<i>etseia</i>	<i>ekaua</i>	<i>euolha</i>
ABL	<i>etseu</i>	<i>ekau</i>	<i>euolhu</i>
INST	<i>etsim</i>	<i>ekam</i>	<i>euolhme</i>

Spatial deictic adverbials occur most often in one of the four oblique cases. They have no ergative forms, and the dative forms are rarely used (see below). The nominative forms are only used in combination with a relational noun, which carries the dative or oblique case ending (see §6.5): e.g., *eka himna* ‘in here’, *euolh ihfona* ‘back/behind there’, *eka ka euolh kufuna* ‘between here and there’. Examples of sentences with deictic adverbials:

- (5.20) *Ma ekan tsuhpanka*
 1SERG here:LOC live.IPV:PST
 ‘I used to live here’
- (5.21) *Ne euolhu etskanyit*
 3aNOM over:there.ABL arrive.PV.PL
 ‘They came from over there’
- (5.22) *Kotu emot etseia kumutat*
 house all:NOM here.ALL face.PV.PL
 ‘The houses all face this way’

When inflected for ablative case, the deictic adverbials may indicate a location which lies at a specified distance from some other location relative to the speaker and/or addressee. In this function they are always accompanied by a measure phrase in the instrumental case, indicating the degree of distance:

- (5.23) *Sa lò ehtsan puniakatsme ekau tsuhpat*
 13ERG day one journey.INST here.ABL live.IPV.PL
 ‘We live a day’s journey from here’

In addition to the deictic adverbials, Okuna also has four sets of deictic verbs expressing motion and position, listed below. Like the adverbials, these verbs are derived from the deictic particles, and express the same three-way spatial distinction. (Note that *tsà* and *kà* have irregular conjugations, given in §7.4.1 for main clauses, §10.2 for dependent clauses, and §10.3 for participial clauses.)

<i>tsà</i>	‘be over here; here is...’ [near me]
<i>kà</i>	‘be (t)here; (t)here is...’ [near you/us]
<i>euolha</i>	‘be over there; there is...’ [away from us]
<i>tsita</i>	‘come over here (to where I am)’
<i>keta</i>	‘come here (to where we are); go there (to where you are)’
<i>euolhta</i>	‘go over there (away from us), go away’
<i>tseuta</i>	‘go away from here/me’
<i>kauta</i>	‘go away from here/us, go away from there/you’
<i>olhuta</i>	‘go/come away from over there (not near us)’
<i>tsimpa</i>	‘go this way, pass by here’ [near me]
<i>kampa</i>	‘go this/that way, pass by (t)here’ [near you/us]
<i>olhempa</i>	‘go that way, pass by there’ [away from us]

The verbs in the first set belong to Class I (cf. §4.4.1). They may be used either to specify the location of some already-mentioned entity, or to introduce a new entity into the discourse in a presentational construction. In the former function they take a noun phrase argument in the nominative, while in the latter function they combine with an unmarked noun phrase:

(5.24) *Tiesate euolha*
 town.NOM be:there.IPV
 ‘The town is over there’

(5.25) *Kietam itsà*
 picture PRG.be:here.IPV
 ‘Here/this is a picture’

(5.26) *Halma sepyi ikà*
 book some PRG.be:here.IPV
 ‘Here are some books’ or ‘There are some books here’

The remaining verbs all belong to Class III (see §4.4.3). The verbs in the second set convey motion terminating at a deictically determined point, and are used much more frequently to express this notion than a deictic adverbial in the dative. Often the deictic motion verbs are modified by a converb expressing the manner of motion (see §10.4 and §11.4.3 for discussion):

(5.27) *Ne ketyit*
 3aNOM come:here.PV.PL
 ‘They came here’

(5.28) *Ne tupe ketyit*
 3aNOM walk.CV come:here.PV.PL
 ‘They walked here’ (lit. ‘They came here by walking’)

(5.29) *Na halmà laste ketyiat*
 3AERG book.NOM send.CV come:here.PV.NPL.PL
 ‘They sent the books here’ (lit. ‘made the books come here by sending’)

(5.30) *Ne kiompe olhempyit*
 3aNOM run.CV go:that:way.PV.PL
 ‘They ran that way’ (lit. ‘They went via there by running’)

5.3.3 Realis versus irrealis dative

When a pronoun is marked for dative case, it may appear in one of two forms, called the REALIS DATIVE and IRREALIS DATIVE. For instance, the first person singular dative pronoun is *amai* in the irrealis and *umai* in the realis, as illustrated below. Throughout this grammar, the realis dative forms are glossed RDAT in the examples, while the irrealis dative forms are glossed simply DAT (the latter abbreviation is also used for the dative case ending on nouns, which fail to make a realis/irrealis distinction).

(5.31) *Ku amai kila*
 2NOM 1sDAT see.IPV
 ‘I (will) see you’

(5.32) *Ku umai kilyi*
 2NOM 1sRDAT see.PV
 ‘I saw you’

Both full and clitic pronouns make a distinction between realis and irrealis dative, as do other elements which pattern morphologically with pronouns. In this section, I will illustrate the distinction using full pronouns functioning as demonstratives (cf. §5.3.2).

As discussed in §4.3.2, dative case marks the DELIMITER of a telic event—that is, the noun phrase which identifies the goal of a motion event, or the patient of a change-of-state event when that patient ‘measures out’ the progress towards the endpoint of the event. When the delimiter is a pronoun, the realis dative is used when the event is viewed as complete(d), meaning that the endpoint is fully realized or attained at the point in time when the sentence is uttered. When the event is not viewed as complete(d), the irrealis dative is used. If the delimiter denotes a patient, using the realis dative indicates that that patient is viewed as having been completely affected by the action. If the delimiter denotes a goal or measurement, using the realis dative indicates that the goal/measurement is viewed as having been reached.

The choice between realis and irrealis dative marking is sensitive to the aspect and polarity of the clause (see §7.3–§7.5). For instance, a dative pronoun will always appear in the irrealis form when the verb is in the imperfect or progressive aspect (regardless of tense), or in the conditional mood. The following examples illustrate this:

(5.33) *Nilu atai toka na*
 net that:DAT fix.IPV IMP
 ‘Fix that net!’

(5.34) *Ma nilu atai toka*
 1sERG net that:DAT fix.IPV
 ‘I (will) fix that net’

(5.35) *Ma nilu atai itoka*
 1sERG net that:DAT PRG.fix.IPV
 ‘I am fixing that net’

(5.36) *Ma nilu atai itokanka*
 1sERG net that:DAT PRG.fix.IPV:PST
 ‘I was fixing that net’

(5.37) *Ma nilu atai tokike*
 1sERG net that:DAT fix.COND
 ‘I would fix that net’

Note also the examples below, where the verb takes one of the modal suffixes (see §7.7.1) and the delimiter is again in the irrealis dative:

(5.38) *Iman nilu atai tokyipa*
 1sLOC net that:DAT fix.able.IPV
 ‘I can fix that net’

(5.39) *Iman nilu atai tokihpanka*
 1sLOC net that:DAT fix.intend.IPV:PST
 ‘I intended to fix that net’

On the other hand, when the verb appears in the perfect (indicative) aspect, or the perfective aspect, the realis dative form is generally required. In the examples below, realis dative *utai* is used in place of irrealis dative *atai*:

(5.40) *Ma nilu utai utoka*
 1sERG net that:RDAT PF.fix.IPV
 ‘I have fixed that net’

(5.41) *Ma nilu utai tokyi*
 1sERG net that:RDAT fix.PV
 ‘I fixed that net’

Although this is the basic pattern, there are certain conditions under which a dative pronoun will take the irrealis form even when the verb is in the perfect or perfective aspect. For example, the irrealis dative is required when the verb takes the incompletive suffix *-ahp* (§7.5.5) or the telic inchoative suffix *-(e)t* (§7.5.3), regardless of the aspect of the verb. This is because incompletive and telic inchoative verbs focus attention on the beginning point of the event, and a clause containing such a verb does not entail that the delimiter is completely affected.

(5.42) *Ma nilu atai tokahpyi*
 1sERG net that:DAT fix.ICPL.PV
 ‘I attempted to fix that net’ or ‘I set out to fix that net’

(5.43) *Ma nilu atai toktyi*
 1sERG net that:DAT fix.TINC.PV
 ‘I started fixing that net’

In addition, the irrealis form is usually required if the clause is negated—again, regardless of the aspect of the verb. The one exception to this is when the negative marker *ntse* takes narrow scope over a contrastively focused constituent and the dative pronoun is outside that scopal domain (see §7.3 on scope of negation). Consider the examples below. The sentence in (5.44), with ordinary sentential negation, entails that the nets did not get repaired—i.e., the endpoint of the event was not reached—and so *nilu* ‘net’ combines with the irrealis dative pronoun even though the verb is in the perfective. The same applies to (5.45), where negation takes narrow scope over the noun phrase containing the dative pronoun. Compare these with (5.46). In this example, negation scopes over the ergative noun phrase: the sentence entails that the nets were indeed repaired, just not by the women. Here it is understood that the endpoint of the event has been reached, and so a realis dative pronoun is used.

(5.44) *Ihama nilu atat ntokoumat*
 woman.ERG net those:DAT NEG.fix.PV:NEG.DPL.PL
 ‘The women didn’t fix those nets’

(5.45) *Ihama ntse nilu atat tokoumat*
 woman.ERG NEG net those:DAT fix.PV:NEG.DPL.PL
 ‘It isn’t those nets that the women fixed (but something else)’

- (5.46) *Nilu utat ntse ihama tokounit*
 net those:RDAT NEG woman.ERG fix.PV:NEG.EPL.PL
 ‘It wasn’t (the) women who fixed those nets (but someone else)’

Moreover, there are many Class III change-of-state verbs for which realis and irrealis dative can both occur in perfect and perfective clauses, depending on whether or not the patient is viewed as having been completely affected by the action. Consider the sentences below, where the verb *kiospa* ‘burn’ occurs in the perfective. When the verb is used in the sense of ‘burn up’, the patient ‘that cloth’ appears in the realis dative, since the burning event necessarily ends once the cloth has been completely consumed. On the other hand, when *kiospa* is used in the sense of ‘make/receive a burn’, ‘that cloth’ appears in the irrealis dative: here the cloth is merely damaged by the fire, not destroyed by it.

- (5.47) *Mul utai kiospyi*
 cloth that:RDAT burn.PV
 ‘That cloth burned up’

- (5.48) *Mul atai kiospyi*
 cloth that:DAT burn.PV
 ‘That cloth (got) burned’

Similarly, there are two ways to express ‘The girl read that book’, depending on the aspectual interpretation of the clause. The patient ‘that book’ appears in the realis dative if the girl read the book through from beginning to end, such that the reading event culminated once the book had been completely ‘consumed’. By contrast, ‘that book’ appears in the irrealis dative if the girl merely read a portion of the book, with no intention of finishing it.

- (5.49) *Moihama halma utai talyi*
 girl.ERG book that:RDAT read.PV
 ‘The girl read that book (through)’

- (5.50) *Moihama halma atai talyi*
 girl.ERG book that:DAT read.PV
 ‘The girl read (some of) that book’

Outside of main clauses, irrealis dative marking occurs in subjunctive dependent and participial clauses (§10.2, §10.3). These include counterfactual conditionals (§10.2.3, §10.3.2), embedded yes/no questions (§9.3.2), and restructuring complements (§10.2.4). Irrealis dative is required even when the subjunctive verb is marked for perfect aspect.

- (5.51) *Itiuha Sakialma nilu atai etokè*
 PRG.necessary.IPV Sakial.ERG net that:DAT SBJ.fix.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘It is necessary for Sakial to fix that net’

- (5.52) *Sakialma nilu atai utokai, kima ukahuniyipikit*
 Sakial.NOM net that:DAT PF.fix.PT:SBJ 12ERG PF.fish.able.COND.PL
 ‘If Sakial had fixed that net, we would have been able to go fishing’

- (5.53) *Ma untsapa Sakialma nilu atai uta iotoki aun*
 1SERG wonder.IPV Sakial.ERG net that:DAT already SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ if
 ‘I wonder if Sakial has fixed that net yet’

- (5.54) *Sakiala nilu atai etoki lehua*
 Sakial.ALL net that:DAT SBJ.fix.DEP:SBJ should.IPV
 ‘Sakial should fix that net’

- (5.55) *Sakialma nilu **atai** kas iotoki tounpa*
 Sakial.ERG net that:DAT by:now SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ must.IPV
 ‘Sakial must have fixed that net by now’

Realis dative, by contrast, may occur in indicative dependent and participial clauses. In order for realis dative to be possible here, the event denoted by the nominalized clause must have already been completed, with the endpoint having been reached during, or prior to, the time frame established by the main clause. Examples are given below:

- (5.56) *Iman iona Sakialma nilu **utai** utokà*
 1sLOC know.IPV Sakial.ERG net that:RDAT PF.fix.DEP.NOM
 ‘I know that Sakial fixed that net’

- (5.57) *Mo kilyi Sakialma nilu **utai** utokà*
 1sRDAT see.PV Sakial.ERG net that:RDAT PF.fix.DEP.NOM
 ‘I saw that Sakial (had) fixed that net’

- (5.58) *Mo kilyi Sakialma nilu **utai** tokà*
 1sRDAT see.PV Sakial.ERG net that:RDAT fix.DEP.NOM
 ‘I saw Sakial fix that net’

Note that in (5.58), the speaker must have witnessed the entire fixing event from beginning to end. To express a situation where the speaker saw some subpart of the fixing event, not necessarily including the endpoint, the dependent verb takes progressive aspect inflection, with ‘that net’ in the irrealis dative (*Mo kilyi Sakialma nilu **atai** itokà* ‘I saw Sakial fixing that net’).

5.4 Clitic pronouns

Nominative, irrealis dative, realis dative, and ergative pronouns each have two distinct forms, a FULL form and a CLITIC form. The clitic forms are so called because they occupy a fixed position in the clause, and are phonologically ‘lighter’ than their full counterparts (for instance, monosyllabic clitics lack inherent stress and generally form a prosodic unit with the following word). The clitic forms are listed in the table below:

	NOM	DAT	RDAT	ERG
1s	<i>me</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>ma</i>
13	<i>se</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>sa</i>
12	<i>kim</i>	<i>kime</i>	<i>kimo</i>	<i>kima</i>
2	<i>ku</i>	<i>kue</i>	<i>kuo</i>	<i>ko</i>
3a	<i>ne</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>na</i>
3i	<i>hi</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ta</i>

As this table shows, clitics, unlike full pronouns, do not make a number distinction, but only a person distinction. The third person animate nominative clitic *ne*, for example, is used regardless of whether the referent is singular (‘he/she’) or plural (‘they’). To determine if *ne* has a singular or plural referent, one must look at the form of the verb: when *ne* has a plural referent, the verb carries the appropriate plural agreement suffix, and when *ne* has a singular referent, the plural agreement suffix is absent. Likewise for the second person clitic *ku* and the third person inanimate clitic *hi*. See §7.2 for more on plural agreement.²

²Notice that in the first person there are separate singular, exclusive, and inclusive clitics. Here the presence or absence of plural agreement on the verb redundantly marks the number of the first person referent. However, I regard the distinction between these clitics as being fundamentally one of person rather than number: the first person exclusive is basically a combination of first and third person (speaker plus others), while the first person inclusive is a combination of first and second person (speaker plus addressee, and possibly others).

The following paradigms illustrate the clitic pronouns. The first paradigm shows the nominative clitics in combination with the verb *toha* ‘be big’, while the second paradigm shows the ergative clitics in combination with the verb *muelha* ‘sleep’:

<i>me toha</i>	‘I am big’	<i>se tohat</i>	‘we are big’ [exclusive]
		<i>kim tohat</i>	‘we are big’ [inclusive]
<i>ku toha</i>	‘you (sg) are big’	<i>ku tohat</i>	‘you (pl) are big’
<i>ne toha</i>	‘s/he is big’	<i>ne tohat</i>	‘they are big’ [animate]
<i>hi toha</i>	‘it is big’	<i>hi tohat</i>	‘they are big’ [inanimate]
<i>ma muelha</i>	‘I sleep’	<i>sa muelhat</i>	‘we sleep’ [exclusive]
		<i>kima muelhat</i>	‘we sleep’ [inclusive]
<i>ko muelha</i>	‘you sleep’	<i>ko muelhat</i>	‘you (pl) sleep’
<i>na muelha</i>	‘s/he sleeps’	<i>na muelhat</i>	‘they sleep’ [animate]
<i>ta muelha</i>	‘it sleeps’	<i>ta muelhat</i>	‘they sleep’ [inanimate]

The clitic form is typically used when the pronoun functions as the topic of a clause. Clitic pronouns occur in a fixed position, at the left edge of the CLAUSAL NUCLEUS, following any preposed constituents (see §9.2.2 for discussion). In the first example below, the first person singular realis dative clitic *mo* is sentence-initial. In the second example, a preposed temporal adverbial, *elohka* ‘yesterday’, precedes the clitic.

(5.59) *Mo Sakialma kietame tafyi*
 1SRDAT Sakial.ERG picture.NOM show.PV
 ‘Sakial showed me the picture’

(5.60) *Elohka mo Sakialma kietame tafyi*
 yesterday 1SRDAT Sakial.ERG picture.NOM show.PV
 ‘Yesterday, Sakial showed me the picture’

For certain pronoun combinations, a clause may contain two clitics, which merge to form a single phonological unit called a CLITIC CLUSTER. Clitic clusters occur in the same position as single clitics, at the left edge of the clausal nucleus. In the example below, the third person animate ergative clitic combines with the first person singular realis dative clitic. Notice that the ergative clitic takes a different form when it occurs as the first element in a cluster: *in-* instead of *na*. The full set of clitic clusters is given in §5.4.1.

(5.61) *Inmo kietame tafyi*
 3aERG.1SRDAT picture.NOM show.PV
 ‘He showed me the picture’ (lit. ‘he+me picture showed’)

Within the clausal nucleus, full noun phrases and other dependents always occur in between the clitic (cluster) and the verb. Hence, when a verb takes two arguments, one of which is a clitic and the other a non-clitic, the clitic will always precede the non-clitic, regardless of the semantic roles they play in the clause. Compare the examples below:

(5.62) *Ma Sakiail kahtyi*
 1SERG Sakial.DAT hit.PV
 ‘I hit Sakial’

(5.63) *Mo Sakialma kahtyi*
 1SRDAT Sakial.ERG hit.PV
 ‘Sakial hit me’ (or ‘I was hit by Sakial’)

In these sentences, the order of the clitic and the non-clitic arguments is fixed. To determine who hit whom, one must look at the case marking. In (5.62), the clitic denotes the agent and takes the ergative form, while

the non-clitic denotes the patient and appears in the dative. In (5.63) the semantic roles are reversed, and so the realis dative clitic is used while the non-clitic appears in the ergative.

Since pronouns tend to be highly topical, and since topic pronouns generally take the form of clitics, it is usual for pronominal arguments to precede full noun phrases. Within a clause, a pronoun can follow a noun phrase only if the pronoun is a non-topic, typically a contrastively focussed element. In that case, however, the full form of the pronoun must be used rather than the clitic form (e.g., ergative *imà* instead of *ma*, and realis dative *umai* instead of *mo*):

(5.64) *Sakiaal imà kahtyi*
 Sakial.DAT 1SERG hit.PV
 ‘I’m the one who hit Sakial’

(5.65) *Sakialma umai kahtyi*
 Sakial.ERG 1SRDAT hit.PV
 ‘Sakial hit ME’ (not somebody else)

A clitic pronoun may follow a full noun phrase only if the latter is preposed out of the clausal nucleus and functions as a contrastive topic (see §9.2.2). But in that case the noun phrase itself will generally be coindexed by a resumptive clitic, with the two clitics forming a cluster. Compare the following sentences: In (5.66) the subject *Sakial* is inside the clausal nucleus (and takes the ergative case ending *-ma*), and so it must follow the first person clitic. In (5.67) *Sakial* (unmarked for case) is a preposed topic, and thus precedes the first person clitic. But in the latter case, *Sakial* licenses the resumptive clitic *in-*, which forms a cluster with the first person clitic.

(5.66) *Mo Sakialma kahtyi*
 1SRDAT Sakial.ERG hit.PV
 ‘Sakial hit me’ (or ‘I was hit by Sakial’)

(5.67) *Sakial aunme, inmo kahtyi*
 Sakial if.INST 3aERG.1SRDAT hit.PV
 ‘As for Sakial, he hit me’

Note finally that, besides marking topicalized arguments of clauses, realis dative clitics can occur within a noun phrase to mark the possessor relation. Examples are given below. A pronominal possessor can take the form of a realis dative clitic only in cases of body part and kinship possession (see §6.6 for more discussion).

<i>mo temie</i>	‘my hands’	<i>mo ahte</i>	‘my father’
<i>so temie</i>	‘our hands’	<i>so ahte</i>	‘our father(s)’
<i>kimo temie</i>	‘our hands’	<i>kimo ahte</i>	‘our father(s)’
<i>kuo temie</i>	‘your hands’	<i>kuo ahte</i>	‘your father(s)’
<i>no temie</i>	‘his/her/their hands’	<i>no ahte</i>	‘his/her father, their father(s)’

5.4.1 Clitic clusters

Certain combinations of pronominal arguments can take the form of a pair of clitics, which combine together into a single phonological word called a clitic cluster. Like single clitics, clitic clusters always occur at the left edge of the clausal nucleus, preceding all elements in the sentence except preposed constituents. Examples of clitic clusters are given in the sentences below. As these examples show, the first clitic has a distinct form when it occurs in a cluster. For instance, the third person inanimate nominative clitic is *hi* in isolation but *i-* in clusters: e.g., *ima* and *ikue* in the examples below. (In certain cases the second clitic also changes its form; for instance, the first person inclusive dative clitic *kime* takes the form *-kme* when combined with *i-*.)

- (5.68) *Ima ikpa*
 3iNOM.1sERG PRG.carry.IPV
 ‘I’m carrying it’ (lit. ‘it+I am.carrying’)
- (5.69) *Use elohka etyia*
 3iRDAT.13NOM yesterday go.PV.NPL
 ‘We went there yesterday’ or ‘We went to it yesterday’ (lit. ‘to.it+we yesterday went’)
- (5.70) *Ikue totsat lulna tleha*
 3iNOM.2sDAT table under.LOC find.IPV
 ‘You’ll find it under the table’ (lit. ‘it+you table under find’)
- (5.71) *Inkimo halmà uktiyimat*
 3aERG.12RDAT book.NOM give.PV.DPL.PL
 ‘They gave us the book(s)’ (lit. ‘they+us book gave’)

Only a subset of logically possible pronoun combinations can be expressed as a clitic cluster. Clusters are subject to the following constraints: (1) at most two clitics may combine to form a cluster; (2) the first clitic in the cluster must express a third person argument; and (3) the second clitic in the cluster must express a first or second person argument. Hence, only the person/animacy combinations listed below are permissible in clitic clusters. In all other cases where a clause contains two or more pronominal arguments, at most one of those arguments may take the form of a clitic while the remaining pronouns must be in their full forms (see below for examples and discussion).

3a+1s 3i+1s
 3a+13 3i+13
 3a+12 3i+12
 3a+2 3i+2

The following table gives the full inventory of clitic clusters. These are grouped into columns according to the person/animacy of the clitics, and into rows according to their respective case roles (e.g., the cluster *nami* consists of the third person animate nominative clitic combined with the first person singular dative clitic, and thus appears in the column marked ‘3a+1s’ and the row marked ‘NOM-DAT’).

	3a+1s	3a+13	3a+12	3a+2	3i+1s	3i+13	3i+12	3i+2
NOM-DAT	<i>nami</i>	<i>ntsi</i>	<i>nkime</i>	<i>nkue</i>	<i>imi</i>	<i>isi</i>	<i>ikme</i>	<i>ikue</i>
NOM-RDAT	<i>namo</i>	<i>ntso</i>	<i>nkimo</i>	<i>nkuo</i>	<i>imo</i>	<i>iso</i>	<i>ikmo</i>	<i>ikuo</i>
NOM-ERG	<i>nima</i>	<i>ntsa</i>	<i>nkima</i>	<i>nko</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>ikma</i>	<i>iko</i>
DAT-NOM	<i>anme</i>	<i>antse</i>	<i>ankim</i>	<i>anu</i>	<i>ame</i>	<i>ase</i>	<i>akme</i>	<i>aku</i>
DAT-ERG	<i>anma</i>	<i>antsa</i>	<i>ankima</i>	<i>ano</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>asa</i>	<i>akma</i>	<i>ako</i>
RDAT-NOM	<i>unme</i>	<i>untse</i>	<i>unkim</i>	<i>unu</i>	<i>ume</i>	<i>use</i>	<i>ukme</i>	<i>uku</i>
RDAT-ERG	<i>unma</i>	<i>untsa</i>	<i>unkima</i>	<i>uno</i>	<i>uma</i>	<i>usa</i>	<i>ukma</i>	<i>uko</i>
ERG-NOM	<i>inme</i>	<i>intse</i>	<i>inkim</i>	<i>inu</i>	<i>eme</i>	<i>ese</i>	<i>ekme</i>	<i>eku</i>
ERG-DAT	<i>inmi</i>	<i>intsi</i>	<i>inkime</i>	<i>inue</i>	<i>emi</i>	<i>esi</i>	<i>ekme</i>	<i>ekue</i>
ERG-RDAT	<i>inmo</i>	<i>intso</i>	<i>inkimo</i>	<i>inuo</i>	<i>emo</i>	<i>eso</i>	<i>ekmo</i>	<i>ekuo</i>

By way of illustration, the clusters from the NOM-DAT and DAT-NOM series are shown in the following paradigm, in combination with the Class III verb *kila* ‘see’, in the imperfective. Here the nominative clitic denotes the theme of the event, while the dative clitic denotes the experiencer. Recall that plurality is marked by affixes on the verb (see §7.2 for discussion): when the first clitic in the cluster denotes a plural referent, the suffix *-t* is added to the verb; when the second clitic denotes a dative plural referent, the suffix *-ma* is added; and when the second clitic denotes a nominative plural referent, the suffix *-ua* is added.

<i>nami kila</i>	‘I see him/her’	<i>nami kilat</i>	‘I see them’
<i>ntsi kilama</i>	‘we (excl) see him/her’	<i>ntsi kilamat</i>	‘we (excl) see them’
<i>nkime kilama</i>	‘we (incl) see him/her’	<i>nkime kilamat</i>	‘we (incl) see them’
<i>nkue kila</i>	‘you (sg) see him/her’	<i>nkue kilat</i>	‘you (sg) see them’
<i>nkue kilama</i>	‘you (pl) see him/her’	<i>nkue kilamat</i>	‘you (pl) see them’
<i>imi kila</i>	‘I see it’	<i>imi kilat</i>	‘I see them’
<i>isi kilama</i>	‘we (excl) see it’	<i>isi kilamat</i>	‘we (excl) see them’
<i>ikme kilama</i>	‘we (incl) see it’	<i>ikme kilamat</i>	‘we (incl) see them’
<i>ikue kila</i>	‘you (sg) see it’	<i>ikue kilat</i>	‘you (sg) see them’
<i>ikue kilama</i>	‘you (pl) see it’	<i>ikue kilamat</i>	‘you (pl) see them’
<i>anme kila</i>	‘s/he sees me’	<i>anme kilat</i>	‘they see me’
<i>antse kilaua</i>	‘s/he sees us (excl)’	<i>antse kilauat</i>	‘they see us (excl)’
<i>ankim kilaua</i>	‘s/he sees us (incl)’	<i>ankim kilauat</i>	‘they see us (incl)’
<i>anu kila</i>	‘s/he sees you (sg)’	<i>anu kilat</i>	‘they see you (sg)’
<i>anu kilaua</i>	‘s/he sees you (pl)’	<i>anu kilauat</i>	‘they see you (pl)’
<i>ame kila</i>	‘it sees me’	<i>ame kilat</i>	‘they see me’
<i>ase kilaua</i>	‘it sees us (excl)’	<i>ase kilauat</i>	‘they see us (excl)’
<i>akme kilaua</i>	‘it sees us (incl)’	<i>akme kilauat</i>	‘they see us (incl)’
<i>aku kila</i>	‘it sees you (sg)’	<i>aku kilat</i>	‘they see you (sg)’
<i>aku kilaua</i>	‘it sees you (pl)’	<i>aku kilauat</i>	‘they see you (pl)’

As further illustration, the clusters from the ERG-RDAT and RDAT-ERG series are given below in combination with the Class III verb *kahta* ‘hit’ (in the perfective aspect). When a ERG-RDAT cluster is used, the first clitic represents the actor while the second clitic represents the patient; and when a RDAT-ERG cluster is used, the first clitic represents the patient and the second clitic represents the actor. As above, plurality is marked on the verb: when the first clitic denotes a plural referent, the suffix *-t* is added; when the second clitic denotes a plural referent, the suffix *-ma* is added if the second clitic is dative, while *-ne/-ni* is added if the second clitic is ergative.

<i>inmo kahtyi</i>	‘s/he hit me’	<i>inmo kahtyit</i>	‘they hit me’
<i>intso kahtyima</i>	‘s/he hit us (excl)’	<i>intso kahtyimat</i>	‘they hit us (excl)’
<i>inkimo kahtyima</i>	‘s/he hit us (incl)’	<i>inkimo kahtyimat</i>	‘they hit us (incl)’
<i>inuo kahtyi</i>	‘s/he hit you (sg)’	<i>inuo kahtyit</i>	‘they hit you (sg)’
<i>inuo kahtyima</i>	‘s/he hit you (pl)’	<i>inuo kahtyimat</i>	‘they hit you (pl)’
<i>emo kahtyi</i>	‘it hit me’	<i>emo kahtyit</i>	‘they hit me’
<i>eso kahtyima</i>	‘it hit us (excl)’	<i>eso kahtyimat</i>	‘they hit us (excl)’
<i>ekmo kahtyima</i>	‘it hit us (incl)’	<i>ekmo kahtyimat</i>	‘they hit us (incl)’
<i>ekuo kahtyi</i>	‘it hit you (sg)’	<i>ekuo kahtyit</i>	‘they hit you (sg)’
<i>ekuo kahtyima</i>	‘it hit you (pl)’	<i>ekuo kahtyimat</i>	‘they hit you (pl)’
<i>unma kahtyi</i>	‘I hit him/her’	<i>unma kahtyit</i>	‘I hit them’
<i>untsa kahtyine</i>	‘we (excl) hit him/her’	<i>untsa kahtyinit</i>	‘we (excl) hit them’
<i>unkima kahtyine</i>	‘we (incl) hit him/her’	<i>unkima kahtyinit</i>	‘we (incl) hit them’
<i>uno kahtyi</i>	‘you (sg) hit him/her’	<i>uno kahtyit</i>	‘you (sg) hit them’
<i>uno kahtyine</i>	‘you (pl) hit him/her’	<i>uno kahtyinit</i>	‘you (pl) hit them’
<i>uma kahtyi</i>	‘I hit it’	<i>uma kahtyit</i>	‘I hit them’
<i>usa kahtyine</i>	‘we (excl) hit it’	<i>use kahtyinit</i>	‘we (excl) hit them’
<i>ukma kahtyine</i>	‘we (incl) hit it’	<i>ukma kahtyinit</i>	‘we (incl) hit them’

<i>uko kahtyi</i>	‘you (sg) hit it’	<i>uko kahtyit</i>	‘you (sg) hit them’
<i>uko kahtyine</i>	‘you (pl) hit it’	<i>uko kahtyinit</i>	‘you (pl) hit them’

What about pronoun combinations for which there is no clitic cluster? To begin with, certain clusters are ruled out simply because the relevant pronouns are prohibited from co-occurring as arguments of the same verb. For example, a verb cannot take two pronominal arguments if they are both first person, or both second person (‘I hit me’, ‘I hit us’, ‘you hit you’, etc.). Moreover, a first person inclusive argument may not co-occur with a second person argument (‘you hit us [including you]’). Instead, these meanings must be expressed in other ways. To express reflexive relations, for example, a single pronoun is used in combination with the reflexive nominal element *tsan* ‘self’ (see §9.4.3):

<i>ma tsan kahtyi</i>	‘I hit myself’	<i>sa tsan kahtyit</i>	‘we hit ourselves’
<i>ko tsan kahtyi</i>	‘you hit yourself’	<i>ko tsan kahtyit</i>	‘you hit yourselves’
<i>na tsan kahtyi</i>	‘s/he hit him/herself’	<i>na tsan kahtyit</i>	‘they hit themselves’

In other cases where no clitic cluster exists, the relevant pronoun combination may be expressed, but only by using full pronouns instead of (or in combination with) clitic pronouns. For example, consider the verb *tiyisa* ‘pick up’, which selects an actor argument and a theme argument. ‘I picked it up’ may be expressed using a clitic cluster, because one of the verb’s arguments is first person while the other is third person. This is shown in (5.72) below, where the cluster *ima* consists of the 3iNOM clitic *i-* (*hi* outside of clusters) combined with the 1sERG clitic *ma*. However, a clitic cluster may be used to express ‘I picked it up’ only if the third person argument ‘it’ is the topic of the clause. If instead the first person argument is the topic, then the third person argument must take the form of a full pronoun, as in (5.73).

- (5.72) ***Ima*** *tiyisyi*
 3iNOM.1sERG pick:up.PV
 ‘I picked it up’ (or ‘It was picked up by me’)

- (5.73) ***Ma tan*** *tiyisyi*
 1sERG 3isNOM pick:up.PV
 ‘I picked it/that up’

If we wish to express ‘she picked it up’, we cannot use a clitic cluster at all, regardless of which argument is the topic, since in this case the actor and theme are both third person. In order to convey this meaning, either the theme (‘it’) or the actor (‘she’) must take the form a full pronoun:

- (5.74) ***Na tan*** *tiyisyi*
 3aERG 3isNOM pick:up.PV
 ‘She picked it/that up’

- (5.75) ***Hi inà*** *tiyisyi*
 3iNOM 3asERG pick:up.PV
 ‘She picked it up’ or ‘It was picked up by her / by that one’

The choice between these two ways of saying ‘she picked it up’ depends on which of the arguments is construed as the topic of the clause. The clitic pronoun functions as the topic while the full pronoun functions as a non-topic (or less-topical) argument. In practice, full pronouns tend to be used to refer back to participants recently introduced by a noun phrase, while clitics tend to be used for participants introduced earlier in the discourse. Compare the following examples:

- (5.76) *Moihà lhyuyi; no halmà laisne ukile, na tan tiyisyi*
 girl.NOM enter.PV 3aRDAT book.NOM just PF.see.PT 3aERG 3isNOM pick:up.PV
 ‘The girl came in; as soon as she saw the book, she picked it up’

- (5.77) *Halmà utsupanka, le temai hi moihai tlelhyi hi inà tiyisyi*
 book.NOM PF.lost.IPV:PST but then 3iNOM girl.DAT find.PV 3iNOM 3asERG pick:up.PV
 ‘The book had been lost, but then the girl found it and she picked it up’

In these examples two participants are being discussed, the girl and the book. In (5.76), the girl is introduced in the first clause, and subsequent clauses provide additional information about the girl by describing her actions. Here the girl is a more topical participant than the book, and so *na tan tiyisyi* (with the clitic *na* referring to the girl) is used to translate ‘she picked it up’. In (5.77), on the other hand, the book is introduced first, and subsequent clauses describe what happened to it. Here the book is the more topical participant, so in this case *hi inà tiyisyi* (with the clitic *hi* referring to the book) is the preferred way of saying ‘she picked it up’. Notice that in each example, the full pronoun refers back to the newly introduced participant, while the clitic pronoun refers to the same participant as the topic of the previous clause.

Another situation in which a full pronoun is required is illustrated below. Recall that at most two clitic pronouns can combine to form a cluster. Thus, if a verb has three pronominal core arguments, at least one of those arguments must take the form of a full pronoun. In the following examples, two of the verb’s arguments take the form of clitics, which combine to form a cluster, while the third argument is expressed using a full pronoun:

- (5.78) *Iko umai uta uktiyine*
 3iNOM.2ERG 1sRDAT already give.PV.EPL
 ‘You (pl) already gave it to me’ (lit. ‘It+you to.me already gave’)
- (5.79) *Intso tan uta uktiyimat*
 3aERG.13RDAT 3isNOM already give.PV.DPL.PL
 ‘They already gave it/that to us’ (lit. ‘They+us it/that already gave’)
- (5.80) *Me ihka sihkunoi ute, ama kut histaua*
 1sNOM before river.DAT PF.go.PT 3iDAT.1sERG 2pNOM lead.IPV.NPL
 ‘(Since) I’ve been to the river before, I will lead you there’ (lit. ‘... to.it+I you will.lead’)

5.4.2 Clitic versus non-clitic pronouns

In the oblique cases the pronouns have only full forms, whereas in the core cases (nominative, realis and irrealis dative, ergative) the full forms alternate with clitic forms, as discussed above. All else being equal, the clitic forms are generally preferred for core arguments. However, in §5.4.1 I noted that full pronouns are used when a sentence contains two or more pronouns as core arguments but a clitic cluster is disallowed. Other situations where a full pronoun is required in place of (or in combination with) a clitic pronoun are summarized below.

As in other languages, clitics and clitic clusters in Okuna cannot receive sentence-level stress. Hence the full forms must be used when the pronoun is being emphasized. Compare the examples below. In (5.81) the first person pronoun functions as the topic of the clause, and appears in the clitic form. In (5.82), by contrast, the pronominal argument is being focused in a contrastive construction. Since focused noun phrases represent new information, they cannot be topics; hence the full form of the pronoun is required.

- (5.81) *Me Sakialma wila*
 1sNOM Sakial.ERG love.IPV
 ‘Sakial loves me’
- (5.82) *Sakialma tiefu man wila, ntse Elime*
 Sakial.ERG only 1sNOM love.IPV NEG Elim.NOM
 ‘Sakial only loves ME, not Elim’

The full form is also required when the pronoun is dislocated from the main clause and functions as a ‘switch-reference’ topic—that is, a topic which is being newly (re)introduced into the discourse. Compare the sentences below. Note that the switch-reference topic pronoun appears in the nominative case (the default form for pronouns), and is ‘doubled’ by a resumptive clitic which agrees with it in person/animacy.

(5.83) *Ma imuelhanka pyie amoktit*
 1SERG PRG.sleep.IPV:PST child.NOM PV.come:home.PT.PL
 ‘I was asleep when the children got home’

(5.84) *Man aunme, ma imuelhanka pyie amoktit*
 1SNOM if.INST 1SERG PRG.sleep.IPV:PST child.NOM PV.come:home.PT.NPL
 ‘As for me, I was asleep when the children got home’

Similarly, full pronouns are used in place of clitics in clauses where the verb has been deleted by virtue of being recoverable from context, as in the contrastive constructions below (notice that the case of the pronoun matches the case of the noun phrase in the earlier clause that it is being contrasted with). Likewise, the full form is used when the pronoun appears as an utterance by itself—e.g., in answer to the question *Kopoi miohma tsitspyin?* ‘Who broke the pot?’, one can answer simply *Imà* ‘I (did)’.

(5.85) *Na Motlei kytu uktiyit, ntse amai*
 3aERG Motla.DAT present give.PV NEG 1SDAT
 ‘They gave presents to Motla, not to me’

(5.86) *Kopoi ntse Motlama tsitspou, le thuosna imà*
 pot.DAT NEG Motla.ERG break.PV:NEG but instead 1SERG
 ‘It wasn’t Motla who broke the pot, but me’

In addition, clitic pronouns cannot be coordinated, so full pronouns are required in coordinated noun phrases, as in the following examples. In (5.87) and (5.88), ‘Sakial and I’ functions as the ergative argument of the clause; while in (5.89), ‘you and me’ carries instrumental case marking. As these examples show, when a pronoun is coordinated with a non-pronominal noun phrase, the pronoun occurs second and carries the case marking for the expression as a whole, while the non-pronominal appears in its unmarked form. When two pronouns are coordinated, the second one again carries the case marking, while the first one appears in the nominative (e.g., *koi* in (5.89)), which is the default form for pronouns. Notice that coordinated noun phrases trigger plural agreement on the verb.

(5.87) *Sakial ka imà so napehe tsulyit*
 Sakial and 1SERG 13RDAT daughter.NOM visit.PV.PL
 ‘Sakial and I visited our daughter’

(5.88) *Ne Sakial ka imà tsulyine*
 3aNOM Sakial and 1SERG visit.PV.EPL
 ‘Sakial and I visited her’

(5.89) *Sakialna koi ka imem etsampuhike*
 Sakial.LOC 2SNOM and 1sINST speak.want.COND
 ‘Sakial would like to speak with you and me’

In the examples below, a coordinated noun phrase is dislocated: it functions as a preposed switch-reference topic in the first sentence and as a postposed argument (added as an afterthought) in the second sentence. Here, all conjoined pronouns take the nominative form, while full noun phrases again occur in their unmarked form. Notice how the coordinated noun phrase is doubled by a first person exclusive resumptive clitic in the first example, and by a first person inclusive resumptive clitic in the second example.

- (5.90) *Sakial ka man aunme, sa napehe tsulat*
 Sakial and 1sNOM if.INST 13ERG daughter.NOM visit.IPV.PL
 ‘(As for) Sakial and I, we will visit our daughter’
- (5.91) *Nkima kotsim elohfoi etsuli lehuane, koi ka man*
 3aNOM.12ERG morning tomorrow SBJ.visit.DEP:SBJ should.IPV.EPL 2sNOM and 1sNOM
 ‘We should visit her tomorrow morning, you and I’

In complex sentences, the full form of a third person pronoun is sometimes used to emphasize that its referent is distinct from the topic of the preceding clause. Compare the examples below. Like its English counterpart, (5.92) is ambiguous: the embedded clitic *na* could refer to Sakial, or it could refer to some other individual not mentioned in the sentence (the first reading being the preferred one). By contrast, (5.93), where *na* has been replaced by the full form *inà*, strongly favours the reading where Sakial believes that somebody other than himself will succeed.

- (5.92) *Sakialna opa na oke està*
 Sakial.LOC believe.IPV 3aERG going:to succeed.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial believes that he will succeed’
- (5.93) *Sakialna opa inà oke està*
 Sakial.LOC believe.IPV 3asERG going:to succeed.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial believes that he/she will succeed’ or ‘... that that person will succeed’

The examples below show a similar contrast, but with the pronouns appearing inside a larger noun phrase to mark the possessor. In the first sentence, where the possessive pronoun takes the form of a (realis dative) clitic, it is understood that Sakial believes that his own father will kill the goat; while in the second sentence, where the possessor is a full pronoun (in the ablative case), it is understood that Sakial believes that the father of some other individual, not mentioned in the sentence, will kill the goat.

- (5.94) *Sakialna opa no ahtema tiakoi oke tahà*
 Sakial.LOC believe.IPV 3aRDAT father.ERG goat.DAT going:to kill.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial believes that his (own) father will kill the goat’
- (5.95) *Sakialna opa inò ahtema tiakoi oke tahà*
 Sakial.LOC believe.IPV 3asABL father.ERG goat.DAT going:to kill.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial believes that his/her father will kill the goat’
 or ‘Sakial believes that that person’s father will kill the goat’

Finally, note that clitic pronouns may not occur as arguments of a participant nominal (see §10.6 for discussion). This is because clitics and clitic clusters must appear in the topic position of the clause, and participant nominal phrases lack such a position. Compare the examples below. The first example is a main clause in which the first person singular actor is expressed by the ergative clitic *ma*. The second is a noun phrase consisting of the participant nominal phrase *imà aiasal* ‘(thing) which I ate; (thing) eaten by me’, which modifies the head noun *homa* ‘bread’. In the latter case the actor must take the form of the non-clitic pronoun form *imà*, even when it is not interpreted as contrastively focused.

- (5.96) *Ma homai iasyi*
 1sERG bread.DAT eat.PV
 ‘I ate the bread’
- (5.97) *imà aiasal homa*
 1sERG PV.eat.DEP.DNZR bread
 ‘the bread that I ate’ or ‘the bread eaten by me’

5.5 Omission of pronouns

Pronouns in Okuna always have specific referents: there are no pronoun forms corresponding to English ‘one’ or impersonal ‘you’. To express an indeterminate or generic referent, the pronoun is simply omitted. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

- (5.98) *Me Tenmotlaie mieme etikin?*
 1sNOM Tenmotlai.DAT where.INST go.COND.QU
 ‘How do I get to Tenmotlai?’
- (5.99) *Tenmotlaie mieme etikin?*
 Tenmotlai.DAT where.INST go.COND.QU
 ‘How does one get to Tenmotlai?’
- (5.100) *Isena teusu iona Sakialna lianka huetlà*
 13LOC very:much know.IPV Sakial.LOC snake fear.DEP.NOM
 ‘We know very well that Sakial is afraid of snakes’
- (5.101) *Teusu iona Sakialna lianka huetlà*
 very:much know.IPV Sakial.LOC snake fear.DEP.NOM
 ‘One knows very well that Sakial is afraid of snakes’ or ‘It is well known that...’

In complex sentences, it is also possible to omit a third person clitic pronoun if it refers back to the topic of the immediately preceding clause. For example, the sentences below are both grammatical under a reading where Sakial said that he himself would fix the roof.

- (5.102) *Sakialma etsyi na satlai tokà*
 Sakial.ERG say.PV 3aERG roof.DAT fix.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial said that he would fix the roof’
- (5.103) *Sakialma etsyi satlai tokà*
 Sakial.ERG say.PV roof.DAT fix.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial said that (he) would fix the roof’

Sentence (5.103), where *ne* has been omitted, can also be construed to mean ‘Sakial said that someone would fix the roof’ or ‘Sakial said that the roof would be fixed’, where the identity of the one doing the fixing is simply left unspecified. The correct interpretation must be inferred from the context. To make the latter meaning explicit, however, an indefinite actor may be added to the embedded clause:

- (5.104) *Sakialma etsyi satlai miohma tokà*
 Sakial.ERG say.PV roof.DAT someone.ERG fix.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial said that someone (or other) would fix the roof’

Note that although a clitic pronoun may be left out under coreference with the topic of a preceding clause, the number agreement on the verb may not be omitted. Consider the sentences below. In (5.105), the embedded verb *toka* ‘fix’ carries plural inflection, in agreement with the clitic *na*, which bears the actor role and refers back to the plural noun phrase *Sakial ka Elimma* in the previous clause. In (5.105), the verb retains its plural inflection even though *na* has been omitted:

- (5.105) *Sakial ka Elimma etsyit na satlai tokatà*
 Sakial and Elim.ERG say.PV.PL 3aERG roof.DAT fix.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘Sakial and Elim said that they would fix the roof’

- (5.106) *Sakial ka Elimma etsyit satlai tokatà*
 Sakial and Elim.ERG say.PV.PL roof.DAT fix.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘Sakial and Elim said that (they) would fix the roof’

First and second person pronouns (both clitic and non-clitic) can also be left out when the fact that the speaker or addressee is being referred to can be inferred from context. For example, whereas English speakers would say ‘I don’t know’ in answer to a question, Okuna speakers will normally just say *Miono* (lit. ‘not know’), rather than including the first person pronoun: *Iman miono*. Likewise, when asked *Kuo mà tsuhkyin?* ‘What happened to you?’, an Okuna speaker might answer *Sakialma kahtyi* (lit. ‘was hit by Sakial’), rather than *Mo Sakialma kahtyi* (‘I was hit by Sakial’). The first person topic can be omitted here since the context provided by the question makes it clear that the speaker is talking about him/herself being hit.

One particularly common pattern is for second person clitics to be omitted in questions and commands:

- (5.107) *Huiloie muke eskukeua*
 window.NOM close.CV please.NPL
 ‘Please close the windows’

- (5.108) *Mà isùkan?*
 what PRG.do.IPV.QU
 ‘What are you doing?’ (lit. ‘What doing?’)

As in other situations where a pronominal topic is dropped, the verb retains its plural agreement. As the examples below show, a second person plural topic will trigger the plural agreement suffix *-t* on the verb even when the pronoun itself is omitted:

- (5.109) *Huiloie muke eskukeuat*
 window.NOM close.CV please.NPL.PL
 ‘Please close the windows’ (said to more than one person)

- (5.110) *Mà isukat ne?*
 what PRG.do.IPV.PL QU
 ‘What are you (pl) doing?’

Omitting first and second person pronouns is always optional. The following sentences with overt pronouns are also grammatical:

- (5.111) **Ko** *huiloie muke eskukeua*
 2ERG window.NOM close.CV please.NPL
 ‘Please close the windows’

- (5.112) **Ko** *mà isukat ne?*
 2ERG what PRG.do.IPV.PL QU
 ‘What are you (pl) doing?’

Finally, in cases of inalienable possession (e.g., body part possession or kinship relations), the noun phrase headed by the body part or kin term may include a pronoun denoting the possessor (which typically takes the form of a realis dative clitic). However, this pronoun is typically omitted when it corefers with the topic of the clause. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

- (5.113) *Mikalma mo ameme etsampyi*
 boy.ERG 1SRDAT mother.INST speak.ACT.PV
 ‘The boy spoke to my mother’

- (5.114) *Mikalma ameme etsampyi*
 boy.ERG mother.INST speak.ACT.PV
 ‘The boy spoke to his (own) mother’ (lit. ‘The boy spoke to the mother’)
- (5.115) *Mikalma mo nalhe lalyi*
 boy.ERG 1SRDAT arm.NOM touch.PV
 ‘The boy touched my arm’
- (5.116) *Mikalma nalh lalyi*
 boy.ERG arm touch.PV
 ‘The boy touched his (own) arm’

5.6 Universal quantifiers

In this section I discuss the universal quantifiers, which resemble (non-clitic) personal pronouns with regard to how they inflect for case. Universal quantifiers are used to form noun phrases expressing the totality of some contextually determined set of entities. There are two sets of universal quantifiers: the COLLECTIVE quantifiers, built from the root *-mot*, are usually translated ‘all’; while the DISTRIBUTIVE quantifiers, built from the root *-ket*, correspond to ‘each’ or ‘every’.

The universal quantifiers do not inflect for case like regular nouns (or other quantifiers), but are instead morphologically related to the plural pronouns. Also like pronouns, they express the person and animacy features of the noun phrase. The different person/animacy forms are given below (in the nominative case):

13	<i>samot</i>	‘all of us’	<i>saket</i>	‘each of us’	[exclusive]
12	<i>kimot</i>	‘all of us’	<i>kiket</i>	‘each of us’	[inclusive]
2	<i>kumot</i>	‘all of you’	<i>kuket</i>	‘each of you’	
3a	<i>nemot</i>	‘all of them; all of the...’	<i>nket</i>	‘each of them; each of the...’	[animate]
3i	<i>emot</i>	‘all of them; all of the...’	<i>eket</i>	‘each of them; each of the...’	[inanimate]

These elements can occur as quantifier phrases by themselves, or they may be preceded by a quantified noun or noun phrase in the unmarked form. When a third person quantifier takes a quantified noun, the two must agree in animacy. Examples:

<i>emot</i>	‘all, everything; all of them/those’
<i>nket</i>	‘everyone; each person; each of them’
<i>ispaka nket</i>	‘each/every student, each of the students’
<i>mo suhpa nket</i>	‘each of my brothers’
<i>ispaka samot</i>	‘all of us students’
<i>palahta eket</i>	‘each/every tree, each of the trees’
<i>sane kotu emot</i>	‘all (of) the red houses’

The universal quantifiers are always the final element in the noun phrase. They occupy the same position as the demonstratives discussed in §5.3.2, and are in fact mutually exclusive with them. Like the demonstratives, the universal quantifiers can co-occur with the deictic particles mentioned in §5.3.2. These particles precede the quantified noun, if any: e.g., *tsi emot* ‘all of these (things)’, *ke halma eket* ‘each of these books’, *olh palahta emot* ‘all of those trees (over there)’.

As the rightmost element in the noun phrase, it is the universal quantifier which carries the case marking for that phrase (cf. §4.2). The following tables give the case declensions for the collective and distributive quantifiers. Notice that, like pronouns, the universal quantifiers distinguish two forms of the dative, realis and irrealis (see §5.3.3).

	13	12	2	3a	3i
NOM	<i>samot</i>	<i>kimot</i>	<i>kumot</i>	<i>nemot</i>	<i>emot</i>
DAT	<i>asmot</i>	<i>akimot</i>	<i>akumot</i>	<i>anmot</i>	<i>amot</i>
RDAT	<i>usmot</i>	<i>ukimot</i>	<i>ukumot</i>	<i>unmot</i>	<i>umot</i>
ERG	<i>ismot</i>	<i>ikimot</i>	<i>ikumot</i>	<i>inmot</i>	<i>imot</i>
LOC	<i>ismuna</i>	<i>ikimuna</i>	<i>ikumuna</i>	<i>inmuna</i>	<i>imuna</i>
ALL	<i>ismone</i>	<i>ikimone</i>	<i>ikumone</i>	<i>inmone</i>	<i>imone</i>
ABL	<i>ismou</i>	<i>ikimou</i>	<i>ikumou</i>	<i>inmou</i>	<i>imou</i>
INST	<i>ismume</i>	<i>ikimume</i>	<i>ikumume</i>	<i>inmume</i>	<i>imume</i>

	13	12	2	3a	3i
NOM	<i>saket</i>	<i>kiket</i>	<i>kuket</i>	<i>nket</i>	<i>eket</i>
DAT	<i>asket</i>	<i>akiket</i>	<i>akuket</i>	<i>anket</i>	<i>aket</i>
RDAT	<i>usket</i>	<i>ukiket</i>	<i>ukuket</i>	<i>unket</i>	<i>uket</i>
ERG	<i>isket</i>	<i>ikiket</i>	<i>ikuket</i>	<i>inket</i>	<i>iket</i>
LOC	<i>iskina</i>	<i>ikikina</i>	<i>ikukina</i>	<i>inkina</i>	<i>ikina</i>
ALL	<i>iskene</i>	<i>ikikene</i>	<i>ikukene</i>	<i>inkene</i>	<i>ikene</i>
ABL	<i>iskeu</i>	<i>ikikeu</i>	<i>ikukeu</i>	<i>inkeu</i>	<i>ikeu</i>
INST	<i>iskyime</i>	<i>ikikyime</i>	<i>ikukyime</i>	<i>inkyime</i>	<i>ikyime</i>

Phrases headed by the universal quantifiers are grammatically plural. As the following examples show, they trigger plural agreement on the verb when functioning as core arguments (nominative, dative, or ergative):

- (5.117) *Nemot etskanyit*
 3a:all:NOM arrive.PV.PL
 ‘They all arrived’ or ‘All of them arrived’

- (5.118) *Na olh halma uket utalama*
 3aERG DIST book 3i:each:RDAT PF.read.IPV.DPL
 ‘She has read each of those books’

The collective quantifiers (with *-mot*) tend to be used when the noun phrase refers to a group of individuals taken together as a unit; otherwise, the distributive quantifiers (with *-ket*) are used. For example, *Iha nemot etskanyit* ‘All the women arrived’ strongly implies that the women arrived together, at the same time, whereas *Iha nket etskanyit* ‘Each woman arrived’ tends to imply that the women arrived separately. Consider also the following examples: (5.119) entails that Sakial saw the houses all at once, that they all came into view at more or less the same time; whereas (5.120) could be used if Sakial saw the houses one by one, each in a different place and at a different time.

- (5.119) *Sakiail kotu emot kilyia*
 Sakial.DAT house 3i:all:NOM see.PV.NPL
 ‘Sakial saw all the houses’

- (5.120) *Sakiail kotu eket kilyia*
 Sakial.DAT house 3i:each:NOM see.PV.NPL
 ‘Sakial saw each house’ or ‘Sakial saw each of the houses’

The difference between the distributive and collective forms is brought out when the universal quantifier scopes over another quantified noun phrase. Compare:

- (5.121) *Olh kotu ikina koin ihtahma tsuhpane*
 DIST house 3i:each:LOC person six.ERG live.IPV.EPL
 ‘Each of those houses has six people living in it’ (i.e., there are six people in each house)

- (5.122) *Olh kotu imuna koin ihtahma tsuhpane*
 DIST house 3i:each:LOC person six.ERG live.IPV.EPL
 ‘In all those houses there are six people living’ (i.e., there are a total of six people)

The distributive quantifiers are sometimes accompanied by the particle *la* ‘in turn, apiece, separately, individually’. This particle precedes the verb, or a numeral within the scope of the quantifier, and further emphasizes the distributivity of the event. Likewise, the collective quantifiers may co-occur with the particle *kele* ‘together, a total of’.

- (5.123) *Pyi nket la etskanyit*
 child 3a:each:NOM in:turn arrive.PV.PL
 ‘The children each arrived in turn’

- (5.124) *Pyi nemot kele etskanyit*
 child 3a:all:NOM together arrive.PV.PL
 ‘The children all arrived together’

- (5.125) *Pyi inket halma la kiain utalamat*
 child 3a:each:ERG book apiece five.DAT PF.read.DPL.PL
 ‘The children each read five books’ or ‘The children read five books each/apiece’

- (5.126) *Pyi inmot halma kele kiain utalamat*
 child 3a:all:ERG book all:together five.DAT PF.read.DPL.PL
 ‘The children read five books all together’ or ‘The children (together) read a total of five books’

Note that Okuna does not have a dual quantifier equivalent to English ‘both’. Instead, a universal quantifier is used in combination with *hen* ‘two’ (e.g., *hen kimot* ‘both of us, the two of us together’). Alternatively, ‘both’ may be expressed with the emphatic word *tsanie* (lit. ‘couple, pair’), but only for objects which naturally go together as a pair, such as body parts (e.g., *kus tsanie* ‘both feet, both of one’s feet’). Additional examples:

- (5.127) *Iha hen nemot afyit*
 woman two 3a:all:NOM take:part.PV.PL
 ‘Both (of the) women took part’ (lit. ‘All two women...’)

- (5.128) *Na kopò etiyiseia tem tsanie nyipoksanka*
 3aERG pot.NOM SBJ.lift.DEP:SBJ.ALL hand pair use.must.IPV:PST
 ‘He had to use both hands to lift the pot’
 more lit. ‘For him to lift the pot, a pair of hands needed to be used’

Besides the forms listed above, the element *-mot* occurs in the modifier *tsakamot* ‘all kinds (of)’ (e.g., *tsakamot iase* ‘all kinds of food’). The *-ket* and *-mot* elements also form the basis for the adverbials listed below: those formed with *e-* quantify over separate events or situations, while those formed with *ka-* quantify over iterations of a single event.

- ekina* ‘each time, in every case, on every occasion’
emuna ‘always, in all cases, on all occasions’
kakyime ‘each time, at each repetition’
kamume ‘invariably, consistently, with every repetition’

Adverbials formed with *e-* can combine with a noun denoting the period of time being quantified over: e.g., *kotsim ekina* ‘every morning’, *kotsim emuna* ‘always in the morning’.

Chapter 6

The Noun Phrase

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 4 I discussed the structure and distribution of noun phrases with regard to case marking and argument structure, while in chapter 5 I considered a particular subclass of noun phrases, namely pronouns. In this chapter, turn to other aspects of the structure of noun phrases.

I begin in §6.2 and §6.3 by considering how number and definiteness are expressed in Okuna, since these features are associated with noun phrases in many languages. Then in §6.4 I discuss the formation of noun compounds. §6.5 deals with a special class of compounds, headed by so-called RELATIONAL NOUNS, which correspond in certain respects to prepositions and postpositions in other languages. In §6.6 I show how possession is marked in noun phrases. §6.7 deals with a particular class of quantificational and demonstrative elements called CORRELATIVES. Quantification is discussed further in §6.8. Finally, in §6.9 I give an overview of word order within noun phrases.

6.2 Expressing number features

As noted elsewhere, nouns in Okuna do not inflect for singular or plural: *pyi* means either ‘child’ or ‘children’, and *kotu* means either ‘house’ or ‘houses’, depending on the situation in which it is used. Nevertheless, there are various grammatical means whereby the number features of a noun are expressed indirectly. I review some of these below.

In some cases the noun will co-occur with some other element in the noun phrase which specifies its number, such as a quantifier: e.g., *es kotu* ‘a house, one house’, *kotu ehte* ‘three houses’, *kotu emot* ‘all the houses’. Also, as discussed in §5.3.2, a noun may be followed by a third person pronoun which agrees with it in gender (animate vs. inanimate) and functions much like a demonstrative determiner. Since (non-clitic) pronouns have distinct singular and plural forms, the choice of pronoun will specify whether the noun phrase as a whole is singular or plural, even though the noun itself is not marked for number. Number marking also appears on a handful of other modifiers, discussed in §6.8.5, when they occur at the right edge of the noun phrase; these include the words for ‘other’ or ‘else’ (singular *iap*, plural *iahte*) and ‘specific’ or ‘particular’ (singular *koipe*, plural *koihte*):

<i>ike nan</i>	‘that dog’	<i>kotu itan</i>	‘in that house’
<i>ike nin</i>	‘those dogs’	<i>kotu itena</i>	‘in those houses’
<i>kotu iap</i>	‘the other house’	<i>kotu iahte</i>	‘(the) other houses’
<i>es kotu iap</i>	‘another house’	<i>kotu mian iahte</i>	‘some other houses’
<i>es kotu koipe</i>	‘a particular house’	<i>kotu koihte</i>	‘particular houses’

When the noun phrase does not contain one of these number-specifying elements, and appears in one of the oblique cases (locative, allative, ablative, instrumental) or is unmarked for case, its number must usually be inferred from context. Consider the nouns *halma* and *kamala* in the following examples:

(6.1) *Ma halma itala*
 1sERG book PRG.read.IPV
 ‘I am reading a book’ or ‘I am reading books’

(6.2) *Ma kamala ikpiha*
 1sERG knife.ALL PRG.look:for.IPV
 ‘I am looking for a knife’ or ‘I am looking for (some) knives’

If it is necessary to disambiguate number in these contexts, a quantifier such as *es* ‘one’, *mianta* ‘a number of’, *ante* ‘many’, or *sepyi* ‘some, a few’ may be added to an oblique noun phrase, as shown below (this cannot be done with unmarked noun phrases, which express non-referential or unquantified arguments):

(6.3) *Ma es kamala ikpiha*
 1sERG one knife.ALL PRG.look:for.IPV
 ‘I am looking for a knife’

(6.4) *Ma kamal sepyia ikpiha*
 1sERG knife some.ALL PRG.look:for.IPV
 ‘I am looking for some knives’

When a noun phrase functions as a core argument of a verb (nominative, dative, or ergative), whether it is singular or plural can usually be determined by looking at the form of the verb. If the argument is singular the verb is unmarked, and if it is plural the verb carries the appropriate plural agreement suffix. This is illustrated below, where the nominative plural suffix *-a* in (6.6) indicates that *kotò* has a plural referent, while the absence of an agreement suffix indicates that *kotò* is singular. Plural agreement is discussed in detail in §7.2.

(6.5) *Mo kotò kilyi*
 1sRDAT house.NOM see.PV
 ‘I saw a/the house’

(6.6) *Mo kotò kilyia*
 1sRDAT house.NOM see.PV.NPL
 ‘I saw (the) houses’

Although plurality is not marked on nouns in Okuna, there is morphology for forming COLLECTIVE nouns, used to refer to a collection of similar individuals taken together. Most collective nouns are formed by adding the suffix *-mit*, discussed in §11.2.2 (e.g., *iha* ‘woman’ > *ihamit* ‘group of women’). There are also two underived collective nouns: *tenù* ‘group of people’ and *lhati* ‘group of children’ (notice these are morphologically unrelated to the corresponding non-collective nouns, *koin* ‘person, human being’ and *pyi* ‘child’, which can be interpreted as either singular or plural). Note that, although collective nouns are not genuine plurals, collective nouns referring to people, such as *tenù* and *lhati*, take the plural form of the demonstrative: e.g., *koin nan* ‘that person’ versus *tenù nin* ‘those people, that group of people’. Human-denoting collective nouns also trigger plural agreement on verbs. Compare:

(6.7) *Pyie etskanyi*
 child.NOM arrive.PV
 ‘The child arrived’

(6.8) *Pyie etskanyit*
 child.NOM arrive.PV.PL
 ‘The children arrived’

(6.9) *Lhatè etskanyit*
 children.NOM arrive.PV.PL
 ‘The children arrived (together)’ or ‘The group of children arrived’

A limited number of nouns (mostly denoting body parts) also have DUAL collective forms, used to indicate a pair of objects taken together. These dual forms, listed below, are characterized by the endings *-(i)al* and *-ie*. The latter ending also occurs on the nouns *mosie* ‘shoulders, upper back’ and *kamie* ‘parents, mother and father’, which lack a corresponding non-dual form.

<i>ahkame</i>	‘sibling’	<i>ahkamie</i>	‘pair of twins’
<i>hunka</i>	‘lung’	<i>hunkie</i>	‘pair of lungs’
<i>inna</i>	‘eye’	<i>inie</i>	‘pair of eyes’
<i>kala</i>	‘leg’	<i>kalial</i>	‘pair of legs’
<i>kus</i>	‘foot’	<i>kustial</i>	‘pair of feet’
<i>monen</i>	‘wing; fin’	<i>monie</i>	‘pair of wings/fins’
<i>nalh</i>	‘arm’	<i>nalhal</i>	‘pair of arms’
<i>nol</i>	‘ear’	<i>nolal</i>	‘pair of ears’
<i>sial</i>	‘breast’	<i>sialie</i>	‘pair of breasts’
<i>tem</i>	‘hand’	<i>temie</i>	‘pair of hands’
<i>tsan</i>	‘body, object’	<i>tsanie</i>	‘pair, couple, twosome’

Dual collective nouns trigger singular agreement when referring to a single pair of objects, and plural agreement when referring to more than one pair: e.g., *tlok tsanie tan* ‘that pair of shoes’ versus *tlok tsanie tin* ‘those pairs of shoes’. (The exceptions to this rule are the animate nouns *ahkamie* and *kamie*, which trigger plural agreement whether they refer to one set of twins/parents, or more than one.) Compare the examples below, showing that *no inie* triggers singular agreement on the verb when it refers to the eyes of a single individual (‘his/her eyes’), and plural agreement when it refers to the eyes of two or more individuals (‘their eyes’).

(6.10) *Ma no inie ksonyi*
 1SERG 3aRDAT eyes.NOM look:at.PV
 ‘I looked into his/her eyes’

(6.11) *Ma no inie ksonyia*
 1SERG 3aRDAT eyes.NOM look:at.PV.NPL
 ‘I looked into their eyes’

The dual collective form *tsanie* is generally used in combination with a preceding noun. Normally it corresponds to English ‘pair’ or ‘couple’, as in *tlok tsanie* ‘a pair of shoes’. However, when it is used with a non-dual noun which has a dual collective counterpart (i.e., one of the nouns from the first column in the table above), it has the sense of English ‘both’: e.g., *tem tsanie* ‘both hands’, *kus tsanie* ‘both feet’.

A final note on number: In English, generic expressions typically take the form of a bare plural. In Okuna, by contrast, generics are grammatically singular. This is shown in the example below by the fact that the generic noun phrase *ike* ‘dog’ fails to trigger agreement on the verb (the singular form *iasa* is used instead of the plural form *iasat*).

(6.12) *Ikema maka iasa*
 dog.ERG meat eat.IPV
 ‘Dogs eat meat’

6.3 Expressing definiteness and specificity

There are no definite or indefinite articles in Okuna, or any other obligatory means for marking the definiteness or specificity of a noun phrase: *tohmi kotu* may mean ‘a big house’ or ‘the big house’ (or ‘big houses’, or ‘the big houses’), depending on context. Nevertheless, as with singular versus plural, the definiteness of the noun phrase is often indicated in other ways. For example, certain elements may occur within the noun phrase which force a definite or indefinite interpretation—e.g., a noun phrase ending in a demonstrative (cf. §5.3.2) or a universal quantifier (§5.6) will always be definite, while a noun phrase containing the numeral *es* ‘one’ is necessarily indefinite. Compare:

<i>kotu</i>	‘a house, houses, the house(s)’	[definite or indefinite]
<i>es kotu</i>	‘a house, one house’	[indefinite only]
<i>kotu tan</i>	‘this/that house’	[definite only]
<i>kotu eket</i>	‘every house’	[definite only]

In addition, the definiteness/specificity of a noun phrase is often reflected through word order and case marking. Noun phrases interpreted as indefinite tend to be adjacent to the verb, while those interpreted as definite can scramble away from the verb. Moreover, as discussed in §4.6, a noun phrase denoting the patient or theme of an event is normally marked for case only if it is referential; otherwise it appears in the unmarked form.

For instance, compare the examples below with regard to the interpretation of the noun *iase* ‘food’. In (6.13) *iase* is marked for nominative case and is not adjacent to the verb. Here it is likely to refer to some previously-mentioned quantity of food, identifiable by the addressee. In (6.14) *iase* is again case-marked, but occurs in immediate preverbal position. The most likely interpretation here is that it refers to a specific quantity of food which has not been mentioned previously, but likely to be salient in the following discourse. Finally, in (6.15) *iase* appears without any case marking. Here, either the speaker does not have any particular food in mind, or the identity of the food is not important in the given context.

(6.13) *Na iasè ikei uktiŷi*
 3aERG food.NOM dog.DAT give.PV
 ‘She gave the food to a/the dog’

(6.14) *Na ikei iasè uktiŷi*
 3aERG dog.DAT food.NOM give.PV
 ‘She gave the dog some food’

(6.15) *Na ikei iase uktiŷi*
 3aERG dog.DAT food give.PV
 ‘She gave the dog food’ or ‘She fed the dog’

Finally, note that even if an argument refers to a specific, known or identifiable entity, it will sometimes be coded as non-specific—i.e., it will fail to trigger agreement or take case marking when functioning as a core argument. For example, when an agent acts on a part of his/her own body, the body part term will normally appear as an unmarked noun phrase, even though a particular body part is being referred to (see §4.6 for discussion):

(6.16) *Sakialma inie mukŷi*
 Sakial.ERG eyes close.PV
 ‘Sakial closed his eyes’ (lit. ‘Sakial closed eyes’)

In addition, a participant which is incidental to the discourse will often be encoded by an unmarked noun phrase even if that participant is readily identifiable. In the example below, *aho* ‘sun’ is semantically definite/specific (the sun is a unique entity, known to both the speaker and the addressee) but nevertheless

grammatically non-specific (it functions as a core argument but does not take case marking). This is because the entity named by the noun plays only a peripheral role in the event being described: the setting of the sun provides a reference time for the action, but the sun, as an entity, is not otherwise important to the narrative.

- (6.17) *Uta aho ikahpanka se paloi anioktit*
 already sun PRG.go:down.IPV:PST 13NOM village.DAT PV.return.PT.PL
 ‘The sun was already setting by the time we returned to the village’

6.4 Compounding and modification

Okuna has productive noun compounding. Subject to semantic appropriateness, any two or more nouns may be concatenated to form a single complex noun. As in English, compounds in Okuna are head-final: the modifying noun precedes the noun it modifies. Examples: *ilme lai* ‘moonlight’ (< *ilme* ‘moon’ + *lai* ‘light’); *tilas huiloi* ‘glass window’, *huiloi tilas* ‘window glass, windowpane’ (< *tilas* ‘glass’ + *huiloi* ‘window’). Notice that the elements of the compound are written as separate words, indicating that they behave independently of one another with regard to stress assignment (§3.4). Compounds can contain more than two nouns as well:

- (6.18) *tuhsa mohkauat uhin*
 winter hearth:fire song
 ‘winter hearth song’

When a noun compound is inflected for case, the case ending appears on the head, while the modifying noun occurs in the unmarked form:

- (6.19) *ilme laina*
 moon light.LOC
 ‘in the moonlight’

Compounding is one of the principal means of modifying a noun in Okuna, which lacks a morpho-syntactically distinct class of adjectives. States and properties are instead expressed using verbs (e.g., *pata* ‘be tall’, *eka* ‘be empty’). Such verbs may be converted into nouns, which can then enter into compounds as modifiers of other nouns. For example, the verb *pata* ‘be tall’ can be converted into the noun *pate*, meaning ‘tall one’ or ‘thing which is tall’. This nominal can then be placed in front of another noun to modify it: e.g., *pate kotu* ‘tall house’. For more discussion on the formation of nouns from verbs, and the use of deverbal nouns to modify other nouns, see §10.6 on participant nominalization.

A handful of elements routinely occur as the modifier in a noun compound. These include colour terms such as *sane* ‘red, red thing’ (*sane esip* ‘red flower’); as well as modifiers formed with *tsaka* ‘kind, type, sort’—e.g., *mitsaka* ‘what kind of, some kind of’, *tlotsaka* ‘that kind of, such a’, *antsaka* ‘many kinds of, various’, and *tsakamot* ‘all kinds of’:

- mitsaka tlama* ‘what kind of animal?’, ‘some kind of animal’
tlotsaka tlama ‘that kind of animal, such an animal, an animal like that’
antsaka tlama ‘various animals, many kinds of animals’
tsakamot tlama ‘all kinds of animals, animals of every sort’

Compounds involving relational nouns are discussed in the following section.

6.5 Relational nouns

In English, spatial and temporal relationships between objects or events are generally encoded by prepositions. In Okuna, these same relationships are expressed by case endings, by motion verbs (§11.4.3), or by

one or both of these in combination with a class of elements called RELATIONAL NOUNS. Relational nouns indicate a location, direction, or position, and combine with a preceding noun or noun phrase (the COMPLEMENT) to form a kind of compound. Relational nouns normally inflect for dative case or one of the oblique cases. For example, equivalents of English ‘in(to) the room’, ‘out of the room’, and ‘through the room’ may all be conveyed by the expression *halu him*, literally ‘room interior’, with the relational noun *him* ‘interior’ carrying the appropriate case ending:

<i>halu heim</i>	(room interior.DAT)	‘into the room’
<i>halu himna</i>	(room interior.LOC)	‘in the room’
<i>halu himu</i>	(room interior.ABL)	‘out of the room, from inside the room’
<i>halu himme</i>	(room interior.INST)	‘through the room’

Concerning the last form: as discussed in §4.5.4, instrumental case is used to mark noun phrases denoting an object or location which lies along a path. Hence *halu himme* might be translated more literally as ‘via the inside of the room’ or ‘by way of the room’s interior’.

Compare also the following four sentences, featuring the relational expression *imè kotu lul* ‘under my house’ in various case forms. Here the relational noun is *lul* ‘underside, space beneath’, which takes *imè kotu* ‘my house’ as its complement.

(6.20) *Ikema imè kotu lulna imuelha*
 dog.ERG 1sALL house under.LOC PRG.sleep.IPV
 ‘The dog is sleeping under my house’ (lit. ‘at my house underside’)

(6.21) *Ikè imè kotu loil etyi*
 dog.NOM 1sALL house under.DAT go.PV
 ‘The dog went under my house’ [and stayed there] (lit. ‘to my house underside’)

(6.22) *Ikè imè kotu lulme klohyi*
 dog.NOM 1sALL house under.INST go:through.PV
 ‘The dog went under my house’ [and came out the other side] (lit. ‘through my house underside’)

(6.23) *Ikè imè kotu lulu sehtyi*
 dog.NOM 1sALL house under.ABL emerge.PV
 ‘The dog came out from under my house’ (lit. ‘from my house underside’)

In the examples above, the complement (e.g., *halu, imè kotu*) appears in the unmarked form. This is the usual pattern, although it is also possible for the complement to be marked for ablative case. Ablative case marking is required when the complement does not have an unmarked case form—i.e., when it is a pronoun, a noun phrase ending in a pronoun used as a demonstrative (see §5.3.2), or a noun phrase ending in a universal quantifier (§5.6).

<i>halou himna</i>	(room.ABL interior.LOC)	‘inside (of) the room’
<i>halu imou himna</i>	(room all.ABL interior.LOC)	‘inside all the rooms’
<i>halu itò himna</i>	(room that:ABL interior.LOC)	‘inside that room’
<i>itò himna</i>	(it:ABL interior.LOC)	‘inside it/that, in there’

Some common relational nouns are listed below:

<i>ampio</i>	‘area around/surrounding, perimeter’
<i>elhko</i>	‘purpose, benefit’
<i>epam</i>	‘horizontal surface, top’ [non-permeable]
<i>heku</i>	‘cause, account’
<i>hilul</i>	‘bottom [of an enclosed space], floor, bed’
<i>him</i>	‘inside, interior; indoors’
<i>himpia</i>	‘top [of an enclosed space], ceiling, roof’
<i>ihfo</i>	‘other side, area behind/obscured by’

<i>iontsu</i>	‘centre, middle, midst’
<i>is</i>	‘time/place after, time/place following’
<i>kam</i>	‘time/place before, time/place preceding’
<i>kasu</i>	‘side, vertical or sloping surface; area beside’
<i>kufu</i>	‘area between/among, midst’
<i>kuma</i>	‘front, area in front’
<i>kumuten</i>	‘opposite side, area facing, area across (from)’
<i>kus</i>	‘foot, base, bottom’
<i>kutsmu</i>	‘back, area behind’
<i>lama</i>	‘area far away, (at a) distance’
<i>lul</i>	‘area below/under’
<i>minap</i>	‘deep interior, centre, midst [of an enclosed space]’
<i>nyhui</i>	‘horizontal surface’ [permeable, as of a body of water]
<i>ohpe</i>	‘cause, reason’
<i>pahai</i>	‘area beyond’
<i>palul</i>	‘underside, bottom [exterior]’
<i>piau</i>	‘top, summit, pinnacle, zenith, highest point’
<i>talhko</i>	‘cause, reason’
<i>tiumen</i>	‘bottom, depths, nadir, lowest point’
<i>us</i>	‘place, seat, stead’
<i>uslaut</i>	‘edge, boundary, horizon, starting or ending point’
<i>ute</i>	‘area nearby/close, vicinity, immediate environs’
<i>yhma</i>	‘outside, exterior; outdoors’
<i>ynal</i>	‘area in front of, this side of’
<i>ypià</i>	‘area above/over’

Some relational nouns also denote parts of the body: e.g., *kuma* ‘face’, *kus* ‘foot’, *kutsmu* ‘back, spine’, *minap* ‘bone marrow’. Whether these nouns are being used literally, as body part terms, or figuratively, as relational nouns, can usually be determined by the form of the complement. When a body part noun takes a pronominal possessor, the latter normally takes the form of a realis dative clitic; by contrast, the pronominal complement of a relational noun must be in the ablative case (cf. *mo kumana* ‘on my face’ versus *imò kumana* ‘in front of me’). When a body part noun takes a non-pronominal possessor, the possessor appears in the locative case, whereas non-pronominal complements of relational nouns are normally unmarked for case (*Sakialna kutsmuna* ‘on Sakial’s back/spine’ versus *Sakial kutsmuna* ‘behind Sakial’).

Additional examples of noun phrases containing relational nouns are given below (note also the expression *nyhui lulna* ‘under water, under the surface’, where the relational noun *lul* ‘area underneath’ takes another relational noun *nyhui* ‘surface [of a body of water]’ as its complement):

<i>ikimu kumana</i>	‘in front of us’
<i>imò kasuna</i>	‘next to me, at my side’
<i>kotu kutsmou</i>	‘from behind the house’
<i>kotu yhmau</i>	‘from outside the house’
<i>loka minapa</i>	‘towards the heart of the forest’
<i>mo huan himpiahna</i>	‘on the roof of my mouth’
<i>moin tiumenna</i>	‘in the depths of the ocean’
<i>mok lamana</i>	‘far from home’
<i>olh tonaka itò utena</i>	‘near that boulder’
<i>palu iontsuna</i>	‘in the middle of the village’
<i>tokunu nyhuina</i>	‘on the surface of the lake’
<i>tokunu nyhueia</i>	‘towards the surface of the lake’

Relational nouns are further illustrated in the following sentences:

- (6.24) *Halma tin totsat epamna itimat*
 book those:NOM table top.LOC PRG.lie.IPV.PL
 ‘Those books are lying on (top of) the table’
- (6.25) *Mo kilyi es hanima palahta kusna imuelhà*
 1sRDAT see.PV one fox.ERG tree foot.LOC PRG.sleep.DEP.NOM
 ‘I saw a fox sleeping at the foot of the tree’
- (6.26) *Palu ampiona siyhu ante he*
 village around.LOC field many be:IPV
 ‘There are many fields surrounding the village’
- (6.27) *Isane palò tene ka sihkunu kufuna tima*
 13ALL village.NOM hill and river between.LOC lie.IPV
 ‘Our village lies between the hills and the river’
- (6.28) *Ne loka pahaie puite etyit*
 3aNOM forest beyond.DAT ride.CV go.PV.PL
 ‘They rode beyond the forest’
- (6.29) *Pilà palahta ypiahme uaste tliysi*
 bird.NOM tree above.INST fly.CV traverse.PV
 ‘The bird flew over the tree’ (lit. ‘via the area above the tree’)

Note that in addition to expressing a relation of spatial inclusion, *him* ‘interior’ can take a complement denoting a period of time to express a relation of temporal inclusion (‘while, during’): e.g., *tuhsa himna* ‘during the winter’. When denoting a temporal relation, *him* can also take as its complement a dependent clause denoting an event (see §10.2 on dependent verbs):

- (6.30) *Sakialma imuelha himna*
 Sakial.ERG PRG.sleep.DEP inside.LOC
 ‘while Sakial is/was sleeping’

Although most relational nouns express spatial or temporal relations, a few express more abstract relations. The noun *elhko* ‘purpose, benefit’ can take allative case marking to express ‘for the benefit/purpose of’. Both *ohpe* and *talhko*, meaning ‘cause’ or ‘reason’, take ablative case inflection to express ‘because of, on account of’. *Heku* takes locative case to express ‘given’ or ‘on account of’. Finally, *us* ‘place, seat, stead’ inflects for locative case to express ‘instead of’.

- (6.31) *Na tiefu imò elhkoua sukya*
 3aERG only 1sABL benefit.ALL do.PV
 ‘He did (it) just for me’ (lit. ‘only for my benefit’)
- (6.32) *Me mokna muohfe sù hekuna tehya*
 1sNOM home.LOC heavy.TNZR rain account.LOC stay.PV
 ‘I stayed home on account of the heavy rain’
- (6.33) *Ikimme Sakiale iafo Elim usna*
 12INST Sakial.NOM PRG.come:along.IPV Elim stead.LOC
 ‘Sakial will be coming with us instead of Elim’

Note also *pahai* ‘area beyond’, which, when inflected for locative case, can either express a spatial relation (e.g., *tomla pahaina* ‘beyond the mountains’) or be used in a more abstract sense, equivalent to ‘besides, apart from, other than, except for’:

(6.34) *Sakial pahaina ntsemiò afou*
 Sakial beyond.LOC nobody:NOM come:along.PV:NEG
 ‘Nobody except Sakial came along’

(6.35) *Sakial pahaina las hen afyia*
 Sakial beyond.LOC only two:NOM come:along.PV.NPL
 ‘Besides Sakial, only two (people) came along’

Elhkoua, *ohpeu*, *talhkou*, *hekuna*, *usna*, and *pahaina* can also take dependent clause complements (§10.2). *Elhkoua* and *usna* take subjunctive dependent clauses as their complements, while *ohpeu*, *talhkou*, and *hekuna* normally take indicative complements. *Pahaina* can take either an indicative or a subjunctive complement. Note that in combination with a dependent clause complement, *hekuna* expresses a presupposed event: this event can provide a temporal reference point for some other event, in which case *hekuna* is equivalent to ‘when’; or it can provide the cause or rationale for another event, in which case *hekuna* corresponds to ‘since, given that, inasmuch as, on account of the fact that’.

(6.36) *imi etlelhi elhkoua*
 3iNOM.1sDAT SBJ.find.DEP:SBJ purpose.ALL
 ‘in order for me to find it’

(6.37) *me hialò suke tsuo amouta talhkou*
 1sNOM today work.CV too REL.sick.DEP cause.ABL
 ‘because I’m too sick to work today’

(6.38) *sù ikahpa hekuna*
 rain PRG.fall.DEP account.LOC
 ‘on account of the fact that it’s raining’ or ‘when it’s raining’

(6.39) *satlai etoki usna*
 roof.DAT SBJ.fix.DEP:SBJ stead.LOC
 ‘instead of fixing the roof’

(6.40) *Sakialma satlai etoki usna, na lakiyi*
 Sakial.ERG roof.DAT SBJ.fix.DEP:SBJ stead.LOC 3aERG hunt.PV
 ‘Instead of fixing the roof, Sakial went hunting’
 more lit. ‘Instead of Sakial fixing the roof, he went hunting’

(6.41) *Sakialma satlai toka pahaina, na lakiyi*
 Sakial.ERG roof.DAT fix.DEP beyond.LOC 3aERG hunt.PV
 ‘Besides fixing the roof, Sakial went hunting’

Also included among the relational nouns are the terms for the cardinal directions, and sets of terms denoting directions relative to some deictic reference point (viz., the speaker, or some prominent topographical feature near the speaker):¹

<i>heut</i>	‘north’		<i>eklion</i>	‘left’
<i>iseut</i>	‘northeast’	(lit. ‘snow direction’)	<i>etlen</i>	‘right’
<i>kotsimot</i>	‘east / southeast’	(lit. ‘morning direction’)		
<i>ahopiaut</i>	‘south’	(lit. ‘sun zenith direction’)		
<i>kosetot</i>	‘west / southwest’	(lit. ‘evening direction’)		
<i>sukuot</i>	‘northwest’	(lit. ‘wind direction’)		

¹Notice that the Okuna recognize six cardinal directions, rather than the four familiar from our compass. The English equivalents given for *iseut*, *kotsimot*, *kosetot*, and *sukuot* are only approximate.

<i>sihafaut</i>	‘upstream’
<i>sihkasout</i>	‘downstream’
<i>sihitaut</i>	‘towards the river’
<i>usihot</i>	‘away from the river’
<i>ilalot</i>	‘towards the shore’
<i>uelalot</i>	‘away from shore’

Examples:

(6.42) *Sa tiesatu heuta puniakyt*
 13ERG town.ABL north.ALL travel.PV.PL
 ‘We travelled north from the village’

(6.43) *Na tene kosetotna ekau sihkasoutna tsuhpat*
 3aERG hill west.LOC here.ABL upstream.LOC live.IPV.PL
 ‘They live to the west of the hills (and) upstream from here’

To indicate spatio-temporal proximity or immediacy (corresponding to English ‘right, just, directly, immediately’), the diminutive prefix *ki-* (or *kih-* before a vowel) may be added to the relational noun:

<i>iseu kihypiahna</i>	‘right above us’
<i>kotu kikasuna</i>	‘right next to the house’
<i>hitol kiheklionna</i>	‘just to the left of the door’
<i>tuhsa kikamna</i>	‘immediately before winter’
<i>na uslata kihisna</i>	‘just after they finish(ed)’

Likewise, to indicate spatio-temporal distance, the relational noun may carry the augmentative prefix *toh-* (before a vowel):

<i>iseu tohypiahna</i>	‘far above us’
<i>ekau tolamana</i>	‘very far away from here’
<i>tuhsa tokamna</i>	‘long before winter’
<i>ne nkilha tohisna</i>	‘long after she left’

Note finally that relational nouns sometimes occur alone, without a noun phrase complement. For instance, *himna* and *yhmana* may be used by themselves to mean ‘inside, indoors’ and ‘outside, outdoors’, respectively. Without a complement, *kufuna* ‘between/among’ has the sense of ‘all over the place’ or ‘here and there’:

(6.44) *Kufuna toilhe koin ante ikanka*
 among.LOC stand:RES.TNZR person many PRG.be:here.IPV:PST
 ‘There were a lot of people here standing all around’

The following fixed expressions feature repetition of a relational noun, with the second copy marked for case:

<i>heku hekuna</i>	‘from time to time, now and then’
<i>kasu kasume</i>	‘side by side, abreast, in tandem’
<i>kufu kufuna</i>	‘all around, here and there’
<i>kuma kumana</i>	‘face to face, facing one another’

Notes on certain relational noun contrasts

There are two pairs of relational nouns in Okuna which correspond to English ‘top’ and ‘bottom’. The nouns *epam* ‘top’ and *palul* ‘bottom, underside’ are used to refer to the exterior surfaces of an object, while *himpia* ‘top, ceiling’ and *hilul* ‘bottom, floor’ refer to the inside surfaces of an object or areas of an enclosed space (such as a room or cave). Note the following contrast:

<i>akot lulna</i>	‘under the box’
<i>akot palulna</i>	‘on the bottom/underside of the box’
<i>akot hilulna</i>	‘in/at the bottom of the box’

Note also that there are three pairs of relational nouns which correspond to English ‘before’ and ‘after’, or ‘in front (of)’ and ‘behind’, each with a slightly different sense. First, the terms *kuma* and *kutsmu* are used when the complement is an object with an inherent front and back, such as a person or a house: *kumana* indicates a position facing towards the front of the object, and *kutsmuna* indicates a position at the back of the object: e.g., *talo kumana* ‘in front of the chief, before the chief, in the chief’s presence’, versus *talo kutsmuna* ‘behind the chief, in back of the chief’.

The terms *kam* and *is* may also be used of an object that has an identifiable front and back: *kamna* indicates a position in front of and facing away from the object, while *isna* indicates a position behind (and usually facing in the same direction as) the object, as when two or more objects are arranged in a line, all facing the same direction: e.g., *iha kamna* ‘in front of [and facing away from] the woman’, *iha isna* ‘behind/after the woman’. More often, *kamna* and *isna* are used of objects, time periods, or events occurring in a sequence to indicate relative positions in that sequence: e.g., *halai kamna* ‘before the summer’, *halai isna* ‘after the summer’. Additional examples are given below (note the use of *kamna* and *isna* with dependent clauses denoting events; cf. §10.2):

(6.45) *Kale imò kamna etskanyi*
 man.NOM 1sABL before.LOC arrive.PV
 ‘The man arrived before me’

(6.46) *Kale etskanyi me ankilha kamna*
 man.NOM arrive.PV 1sNOM PV.leave.DEP before.LOC
 ‘The man arrived before I left’

(6.47) *Kale etskanyi me laisne unkilha isna*
 man.NOM arrive.PV 1sNOM just PF.leave.DEP after.LOC
 ‘The man arrived just after I had left’

Lastly, the terms *ynal* and *ihfo* are used of objects, such as trees and rocks, which do not have an identifiable front and back: *ynalna* means ‘before, in front of’ in the sense of ‘on the same side as’ (occluding), while *ihfona* means ‘behind’ in the sense of ‘on the other side of’ (occluded by): e.g., *tonaka ynalna* ‘in front of the boulder’, *tonaka ihfona* ‘behind the boulder’.

(6.48) *Ne olh palahta iteu ihfou sehtyi*
 3aNOM DIST tree those:ABL behind.ABL emerge.PV
 ‘She came out from behind those trees’

6.6 Possessive constructions

A noun phrase denoting some entity can contain within it a smaller noun phrase which identifies the possessor of that entity. I will refer to this smaller noun phrase as a POSSESSIVE noun phrase. As in most head-final languages, the possessive noun phrase precedes the possessed noun: e.g., *suhpa* ‘brother’, *mo suhpa* ‘my brother’, *Sakialu suhpa* ‘Sakial’s brother’. In §6.6.1 I discuss how the possessive noun phrase is case-marked, while §6.6.2 includes some remarks on the distribution of possessive pronouns.

6.6.1 Case marking the possessor

In certain situations, a possessive pronoun may take the form of a realis dative clitic (see §5.4). Elsewhere, possessive noun phrases are marked with one of the oblique cases (locative, allative, ablative, or instrumental), according to the type of possession relation involved.

Realis dative clitics are used to express inalienable possession. In particular, they are used when the possessed noun denotes a part of the body (*kuma* ‘face’, *kala* ‘leg’, *tsanmok* ‘heart’, etc.), an inherent aspect or characteristic of the possessor (*esian* ‘name’, *hasu* ‘life’, *alioin* ‘age’, etc.), or a kinship or other a personal relationship (*ahte* ‘father’, *pyi* ‘child’, *lihpa* ‘sister’, *kuna* ‘friend’, *ahkunan* ‘companion, comrade’, etc.). Sample paradigms are given below. As discussed in §5.4, clitic pronouns distinguish person but not number; hence the second and third person clitic possessors may be interpreted as singular (e.g., ‘his/her’) or plural (e.g., ‘their’), depending on context.

<i>mo inie</i>	‘my eyes’	<i>mo ame</i>	‘my mother’
<i>so inie</i>	‘our (excl) eyes’	<i>so ame</i>	‘our (excl) mother(s)’
<i>kimo inie</i>	‘our (incl) eyes’	<i>kimo ame</i>	‘our (incl) mother(s)’
<i>kuo inie</i>	‘your eyes’	<i>kuo ame</i>	‘your mother(s)’
<i>no inie</i>	‘his/her/their eyes’	<i>no ame</i>	‘his/her mother; their mothers’

When the possessor takes the form of a stressed (non-clitic) pronoun or a non-pronominal noun phrase, it appears in one of the oblique cases, where the choice of case depends on the nature of the relationship between the possessor and the possessed noun. When the possessed noun is a kinship term or other term denoting a personal relationship, the possessive noun phrase appears in the ablative case:

<i>imò ame</i>	(1sABL mother)	‘MY mother’ (as opposed to someone else’s)
<i>iseu es ahkunan</i>	(12ABL one companion)	‘a companion of ours’
<i>Sakialu hotu</i>	(Sakial.ABL maternal:uncle)	‘Sakial’s maternal uncle’

Ablative case is also used when the possessee is a depictive noun like *kietam* ‘picture’ and the possessive noun phrase denotes the individual or object being depicted. In addition, ablative case is used when the possessed noun names a scalar property (e.g., *atoihe* ‘size’, *alhoit* ‘weight’, *akuiset* ‘length of time, duration’, etc.) and the possessive noun phrase denotes the object possessing that property.

<i>talou kietam</i>	(chief.ABL picture)	‘the picture of the chief’
<i>kotou atoihe</i>	(house.ABL size)	‘the size of the house’
<i>hynukialu akuiset</i>	(play.ABL duration)	‘the duration of the play’

Ablative case may also be used when the possessive noun phrase denotes the creator of the object expressed by the possessed noun, or the initiator of the action expressed by the possessed noun, as illustrated below. Note that *Sakialu sliachte* specifically denotes a story invented or told by Sakial; to refer to a story about Sakial or otherwise associated with him, the allative case would be used in place of the ablative (*Sakiala sliachte*). Likewise, *ihau kytu* refers to a gift given by the woman; allative case would be used if the woman was the (intended) recipient of the gift (*ihaua kytu*).

<i>Elimu suklut</i>	(Elim.ABL work)	‘Elim’s work’
<i>lhateu aleut</i>	(children.ABL help)	‘the help of/from the children’
<i>Sakialu sliachte</i>	(Sakial.ABL story)	‘Sakial’s story’
<i>ihau kytu</i>	(woman.ABL gift)	‘the woman’s gift’

Finally, the possessor takes the ablative case in PARTITIVE constructions—that is, when the ‘possessed’ noun is a quantifier or an expression denoting a subpart of an individual, a subset of a set of individuals, or a portion or measurement of some substance:

(6.49) *Amai ueho itò es nauot hite eskuke*
 1sDAT wine that:ABL one cup bring:here.CV please
 ‘Please bring me a cup of that wine’

(6.50) *Mo kunau ante afyia*
 1sRDAT friend.ABL many come:along.PV.NPL
 ‘Many of my friends joined (me)’

In the case of body part possession, as well as for other instances where the possessed noun represents an inseparable subpart or an inherent property or characteristic, a stressed pronoun or noun phrase possessor appears in the locative case.

<i>Sakialna inie</i>	(Sakial.LOC eyes)	‘Sakial’s eyes’
<i>Sakialna es kala</i>	(Sakial.LOC one leg)	‘one of Sakial’s legs’
<i>Motlana hasou muohe</i>	(Motla.LOC life.ABL whole)	‘Motla’s entire life’
<i>ihana esian</i>	(woman.LOC name)	‘the woman’s name’

Similarly, locative case is used to express part-whole relations with an inanimate possessor. The possessive noun phrase also takes the locative when it denotes an experiencer and the possessed noun expresses an emotion or mental state:

<i>paluna kotu</i>	(village.LOC house)	‘the houses of/in the village’
<i>kotuna satla</i>	(house.LOC roof)	‘the roof of the house’
<i>Sakialna hotsem</i>	(Sakial.LOC anger)	‘Sakial’s anger’

When the possessed noun denotes an object being carried by the possessor, or otherwise accompanying the possessor or in his/her immediate control, the instrumental case may be used, e.g., *ihame halma* (woman.INST book) ‘the woman’s book’. This may be used to refer to the book which the woman has with her, whether or not it belongs to her.

For all types of possession not covered above, the possessive noun phrase appears in the allative case. This is the case typically used when the possessed noun denotes (transferable) personal property, a domestic animal, or some other entity with which the possessor is associated. Examples:

<i>inè iase</i>	(3asALL food)	‘his/her food’
<i>mikala ike</i>	(boy.ALL dog)	‘the boy’s dog’
<i>Elima palu</i>	(Elim.ALL village)	‘Elim’s village’

- (6.51) *Se Sakiala kotoi etyit*
 13NOM Sakial.ALL house.DAT go.PV.PL
 ‘We went to Sakial’s house’

6.6.2 Expressing possession

The overt marking of inalienable possession is not as pervasive in Okuna as it is in English. In particular, a realis dative clitic possessor is often omitted from the noun phrase in situations where the corresponding English sentence would require an overt possessor. Examples of this are given below.

Recall that a realis dative clitic may be used to mark the possessor in a kinship relation. However, the possessor may be left out when its referent can be inferred from context, especially when it corefers with the topic of the clause in which the kinship term occurs. Consider the sentences in (6.52) and (6.53) below: In (6.52), where *ahte* ‘father’ takes the ablative pronominal possessor *inò*, it is understood that Elim is visiting the father of some individual not mentioned in the sentence; whereas in (6.53), where the possessor is expressed by a realis dative clitic, it is understood that Elim is visiting his own father. In the latter case, it is more common to simply leave out the pronoun, yielding the sentence in (6.54) (literally ‘Elim is visiting the father’).

- (6.52) *Elimma inò ahtè itsula*
 Elim.ERG 3aABL father.NOM PRG.visit.IPV
 ‘Elim is visiting his/her father’

- (6.53) *Elimma no ahtè itsula*
 Elim.ERG 3aRDAT father.NOM PRG.visit.IPV
 ‘Elim is visiting his (own) father’

- (6.54) *Elimma ahtè itsula*
 Elim.ERG father.NOM PRG.visit.IPV
 ‘Elim is visiting his (own) father’

Overt clitic possessors are even less common when the possessed noun is a body part. Okuna seems to favour constructions in which the possessor of the body part is implicit, or realized externally to the noun phrase that contains the body part term. For example, to express an event whereby an agent manipulates a part of his or her own body, the body part term will generally appear as an unmarked argument of the verb, interpreted either as a patient or as an instrument (see §4.6.4). As shown below, this unmarked argument does not include a possessor, it being understood that the body part belongs to the participant carrying out the action: (6.55) might be more literally translated ‘Motla opened eyes’ (or ‘Motla eye-opened’); likewise (6.56) is literally ‘The children touched fingers to the tree bark’ (or ‘The children finger-touched the tree bark’).

- (6.55) *Motlama inie limyi*
 Motla.ERG eyes open.PV
 ‘Motla opened his eyes’

- (6.56) *Lhatima palahta semò silh lalyit*
 children.ERG tree skin.NOM finger touch.PV.PL
 ‘The children touched the bark of the tree with their fingers’

If an overt possessive pronoun is included with the body part term, it is normally understood that the actor is manipulating someone else’s body, not his/her own. Compare the following sentences: in the first example it is understood that Sakial lifted his own arm, while in the second example he lifted the arm of someone else not mentioned in the sentence.²

- (6.57) *Sakialma nalh kelhyi*
 Sakial.ERG arm lift.PV
 ‘Sakial lifted his arm’

- (6.58) *Sakialma iman nalhe tiyisyi*
 Sakial.ERG 3sLOC arm.NOM lift.PV
 ‘Sakial lifted his/her arm’

A similar construction is used when attributing a property to a part of someone’s body. In the examples below, a stative verb takes an unmarked noun phrase denoting the body part and a nominative, dative, or locative noun phrase denoting the possessor of the body part.

- (6.59) *Sakiale kalial liakna*
 Sakial.NOM legs long.IPV
 ‘Sakial has long legs’ or ‘Sakial is long-legged’
- (6.60) *Sakiail nalh takiyi*
 Sakial.DAT arm break.PV
 ‘Sakial’s arm got broken’ or ‘Sakial broke his arm’
- (6.61) *Sakialna nalh itakeia*
 Sakial.LOC arm PRG.break:RES.IPV
 ‘Sakial’s arm is broken’ or ‘Sakial has a broken arm’
- (6.62) *Iman temie inuha*
 1sLOC hands PRG.cold.IPV
 ‘My hands are cold’ (more lit. ‘I feel hands-cold’)

²Note also that a different verb is used for ‘lift’ in the two examples: *kelha* (lit. ‘go up, ascend’) is generally used when an entity raises all or part of itself under its own power, while *tiyisa* is used otherwise.

6.7 Correlatives

Okuna has two parallel sets of pronominal and adverbial elements which I refer to as CORRELATIVES. The first set of correlatives function either as interrogative operators (equivalent to ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘where’, ‘how much’, etc.) or as indefinite quantifiers (‘someone’, ‘something’, ‘somewhere’, ‘some amount of’, etc.). They can also combine with the negative marker *ntse* to function as negative quantifiers (‘no-one’, ‘nothing’, ‘nowhere’, ‘no amount of’, etc.). The second set of correlatives act as demonstratives (‘there’, ‘then’, ‘that amount of’, etc.), and are also used in forming exclamatives (‘such a’, ‘so much’, etc.).

The correlatives are so called because they occur in corresponding pairs in correlative constructions (see §10.2.3 for discussion). In the example below, for instance, the indefinite/interrogative correlative *miè* ‘where, somewhere’ is paired with the demonstrative correlative *tiè* ‘there’:

- (6.63) *Ku miei eti aunme, tiei husu man eta*
 2NOM where.DAT SBJ.go.DEP:SBJ if.INST there.DAT also 1sNOM go.IPV
 ‘Wherever you go, I will go too’ or ‘If you go somewhere, I will go there too’

I present the correlatives and discuss their basic distribution in §6.7.1 and §6.7.2, while §6.7.3 includes some remarks on the functions of particular correlative elements.

6.7.1 Indefinite/interrogative correlatives

The indefinite/interrogative correlatives are listed below, along with their closest English equivalents. Notice that these elements all contain the formative *mi-* (or *ma-*).

	INTERROGATIVE	INDEFINITE
<i>mà</i>	‘what, which’	‘some, something’ [inanimate]
<i>miò</i>	‘who, which’	‘some, someone’ [animate]
<i>miè</i>	‘where’	‘somewhere’
<i>mitsaka</i>	‘what kind of’	‘some kind of’
<i>emalh</i>	‘when, what time’	‘sometime, some point’
<i>mian</i>	‘how much’	‘some, a certain amount (of)’
<i>mianta</i>	‘how many’	‘some, a certain number (of)’
<i>emi</i>	‘when, at what time’	‘sometime, at some point, ever’
<i>emihka</i>	‘when’ [in the past]	‘at some point, ever’ [in the past]
<i>emifoi</i>	‘when’ [in the future]	‘at some point, ever’ [in the future]
<i>ymiohpa</i>	‘why, how come, for what reason’	‘for some reason’
<i>milhkoua</i>	‘why, what for, for what purpose’	‘for some purpose’
<i>mitunke</i>	‘how, in what way’	‘somehow, in some way’
<i>emiantena</i>	‘how often’	‘in certain cases/situations’
<i>kamianteme</i>	‘how many times’	‘a certain number of times’ [in succession]
<i>miai, miampi</i>	‘how, to what degree’	‘somehow; somewhat, to some degree’
<i>emiampi</i>	‘(for) how long’	‘for a certain length of time’
<i>lau miampi</i>	‘how far, to what extent’	‘a certain amount, some way, to some extent’

I have presented the correlatives in two sets. Those in the first set are nouns which inflect for case, while those in the second set (some of them derived from nouns in the first group through the addition of case endings and other affixes) are adverbials, and thus do not carry (additional) case inflection. The declensions for *mà*, *miò*, and *miè*, which are slightly irregular, are given below. As this table shows, the stems for these nouns are *mah-*, *mioh-* and *mie-*, respectively. They inflect like regular nouns, except that they do not take the ending *-e* in the nominative (*miè*, since it refers to a place, never occurs in the ergative, and rarely appears in the nominative):

NOM	<i>mà</i>	<i>miò</i>	<i>miè</i>
DAT	<i>mai</i>	<i>mioi</i>	<i>miei</i>
ERG	<i>mahma</i>	<i>miohma</i>	—
LOC	<i>mahna</i>	<i>miohna</i>	<i>miena</i>
ALL	<i>maha</i>	<i>mioha</i>	<i>mieia</i>
ABL	<i>mahu</i>	<i>miohu</i>	<i>mieu</i>
INST	<i>mahme</i>	<i>miohme</i>	<i>mieme</i>

The correlatives listed above have two major functions: as indefinite quantifiers in statements and commands, and as interrogative operators in questions. I discuss these functions in turn.

Correlatives as indefinites

In statements and commands, the correlatives listed above act as indefinite quantifiers and quantificational adverbs. They can usually be translated using English expressions containing ‘some’ or ‘(a) certain’. To emphasize a singular indefinite reading, the correlative is sometimes preceded by the numeral *es* ‘one’: e.g., *es miò* ‘someone’, *es halma mà* ‘some book, a certain book’. Example sentences:

- (6.64) *Sakiaìl mà tlelhyi*
 Sakial.DAT something:NOM find.PV
 ‘Sakial found something’
- (6.65) *Na es halma mai itala*
 3aERG one book some.DAT PRG.read.IPV
 ‘She is reading a certain book’
- (6.66) *Imè talake miohma uskohat*
 1sALL coin.NOM someone.ERG PF.steal.IPV.PL
 ‘Someone stole my money’
- (6.67) *Iha nin miei itat*
 woman those:NOM somewhere.DAT PRG.go.IPV.PL
 ‘Those women are going somewhere’
- (6.68) *Ne emifoi nkilha*
 3aNOM sometime:FUT leave.IPV
 ‘She will leave at some point’

Indefinite correlatives can also occur in negated clauses, appearing between the negative marker *ntse* and the verb. The combination of *ntse* plus an indefinite correlative often corresponds to English ‘no’ or ‘not much (many, etc.)’: e.g., *ntse halma mà* ‘no book(s)’, *ntse pyi miò* ‘no child(ren)’, *ntse kuna mianta* ‘not many friends’, *ntse ueho mian* ‘not much wine’. In other cases, an indefinite correlative in the scope of negation is most naturally translated using an expression with ‘any’ or ‘(very) much (many, etc.)’:

- (6.69) *Imè ntse pyi miò ikulo*
 1sALL NEG child some:NOM PRG.see:RES.IPV:NEG
 ‘I don’t see any children’
- (6.70) *Imò ntse kuna mianta ialo*
 1sABL NEG friend many:NOM have.IPV:NEG
 ‘I don’t have (very) many friends’
- (6.71) *Me Tenmotlaie ntse emiantena eto iahok*
 1sNOM Tenmotlai.DAT NEG often go.IPV:NEG at:all
 ‘I don’t often go to Tenmotlai’ or ‘It’s not often that I go to Tenmotlai’

When *ntse* immediately precedes certain indefinite correlatives, the two fuse into a single word, equivalent to a negative or other downwardly entailing quantifier in English. These negated correlatives are listed below:

<i>ntsamà</i>	‘none, not any, nothing’ [inanimate]
<i>ntsemiò</i>	‘none, not any, no-one’ [animate]
<i>ntsemiè</i>	‘nowhere’
<i>ntsamalh</i>	‘no time, no point, never’
<i>ntsemi</i>	‘never, at no time’
<i>ntsemihka</i>	‘never (before)’ [in the past]
<i>ntsemifoi</i>	‘never (again)’ [in the future]
<i>ntsymbiohpa</i>	‘for no reason’ (‘there’s no reason why...’)
<i>ntsemilhkoua</i>	‘for no purpose, to no avail’ (‘there’s no purpose for...’)
<i>ntsemitunke</i>	‘nohow, in no way’ (‘there’s no way to...’)
<i>ntsemiai</i>	‘not so, not very; nohow’

Negated correlatives tend to occupy the focus position in the clause, immediately preceding the verb (and any unmarked noun phrases in the clause). Like *ntse*, a negated correlative triggers negative inflection on the verb (see §7.3, §7.4). Examples:

- (6.72) *Ntsemiò etskanou*
 no-one:NOM arrive.PV:NEG
 ‘No-one showed up’
- (6.73) *Na ntsamà etsou*
 3aERG nothing:NOM say.PV:NEG
 ‘She didn’t say anything’ or ‘She said nothing’
- (6.74) *Imè halmà ntsemièna itleilho*
 1sALL book.NOM nowhere.LOC PRG.find:RES.IPV:NEG
 ‘My book is nowhere to be found’ (lit. ‘My book is found nowhere’)
- (6.75) *Na ntsemi maka iaso*
 3aERG never meat eat.IPV:NEG
 ‘He never eats meat’
- (6.76) *Ti ntsemitunke tokyipo*
 3iDAT in:no:way fix.able.IPV:NEG
 ‘There’s no way to fix it’ (lit. ‘It is in no way fixable’)
- (6.77) *Ti ntsemilhkoua tokoike*
 3iDAT for:no:purpose fix.COND:NEG
 ‘There’s no point in fixing it’ (lit. ‘For no purpose would it be fixed’)

When a negated correlative takes another indefinite correlative in its scope, the latter is usually translated using ‘any’ rather than ‘some’. When the indefinite correlative occurs in a yes/no question, both translations are possible. Compare how *mà* is translated in the following examples ((6.81) can also be interpreted to mean ‘What did Sakial say?’, depending on the context in which the question is uttered; see below for discussion):

- (6.78) *Sakialma mà etsyi*
 Sakial.ERG something:NOM say.PV
 ‘Sakial said something’
- (6.79) *Sakialma ntsemi mà utso*
 Sakial.ERG never something:NOM PF.say.IPV:NEG
 ‘Sakial never said anything’

(6.80) *Ntsemiohma mà etsou*
 nobody.ERG something:NOM say.PV:NEG
 ‘Nobody said anything’

(6.81) *Sakialma mà etsyin?*
 Sakial.ERG something:NOM say.PV:QU
 ‘Did Sakial say something/anything?’

To express so-called FREE CHOICE ‘ANY’—i.e., ‘any’ in the sense of ‘it doesn’t matter what’—the indefinite correlative is preceded by the adverbial *ela* ‘in each/any case, anyhow, anyway’. The verb is typically in the conditional mood.

(6.82) *Ma ela mà sukike ikoi*
 1SERG anyhow something:NOM do.COND 2SALL
 ‘I would do anything for you’

(6.83) *Efos tan ela miohna lahyipike*
 problem that:NOM anyhow someone.LOC solve.able.COND
 ‘Anyone could solve that problem’

Correlatives as interrogatives

In questions, indefinite correlatives normally function as interrogative operators, corresponding to WH-expressions in English (‘who’, ‘what’, ‘where’, etc.). As discussed in §9.3.2, main clause questions are formed by placing the particle *ne* immediately after the verb (*ne* contracts to *-n* and attaches to the verb when the latter ends in a vowel; however, attaching *-n* does not affect stress placement on the verb). Unlike WH-expressions in English, the interrogative correlatives do not move to the front of the clause, but instead appear in the same positions as the corresponding indefinite phrases. Consider the following examples:

(6.84) *Sakiail mà tlelhyin?*
 Sakial.DAT what:NOM find.PV:QU
 ‘What did Sakial find?’

(6.85) *Na halma mai itàlan?*
 3aERG book what.DAT PRG.read.IPV:QU
 ‘Which book(s) is she reading?’

(6.86) *Imè talake miohna uskohat ne?*
 1SALL coin.NOM who.ERG PF.steal.IPV:PL QU
 ‘Who stole my money?’

(6.87) *Iha nin miei itat ne?*
 woman those:NOM where.DAT PRG.go.IPV:PL QU
 ‘Where are those women going?’

(6.88) *Ne emifoi nkilhan?*
 3aNOM when:FUT leave.IPV:QU
 ‘When will she leave?’

When interpreted as interrogative operators, correlatives almost always appear in the focus position in the clause, preceding the verb but following any definite (non-contrastive) noun phrases (see §9.2.1 and §8.2.1 for more on constituent focus). Usually the interrogative comes immediately before the verb, unless the verb is preceded by a non-case-marked noun phrase, in which case the interrogative precedes that noun phrase.

Compare the word order in the following examples. In (6.89) the theme argument *kytu* ‘present’ is marked for nominative case and interpreted as definite, and the interrogative delimiter *mioi* ‘to whom?’ follows it. In (6.90) *kytu* is indefinite and non-referential, occurring in the bare form, and *mioi* precedes it.

(6.89) *Na kytò mioi uktiyin?*
 3aERG present.NOM who.DAT give.PV.QU
 ‘Who did she give the present to?’

(6.90) *Na mioi kytu uktiyin?*
 3aERG who.DAT present give.PV.QU
 ‘Who did she give presents to?’

Note that questions containing correlatives are potentially ambiguous, at least in writing. A sentence like (6.86) could be construed as a constituent question with the correlative functioning as a WH-element (‘Who stole my money?’), or as a yes/no question with the correlative interpreted as an indefinite quantifier (‘Did someone steal my money?’). Note that the postverbal particle does not distinguish these interpretations: the presence of *ne* merely indicates that the sentence is a question, without specifying whether it is a yes/no question or a constituent question. However, in speech these two interpretations are distinguished through intonation, with regard to the pitch following the final stressed syllable in the sentence: yes/no questions end with a level or slightly rising pitch, while constituent questions end in a falling pitch. Moreover, the correct interpretation can usually be inferred from context: ‘Who stole my money?’ presupposes that the speaker’s money was stolen, while ‘Did someone steal my money?’ does not. Hence, if (6.86) is uttered in a context where it is already known (or can reasonably be inferred) that the speaker’s money was definitely stolen, then the addressee will know that the speaker is asking for the identity of the thief, and will interpret the sentence as a constituent question.

The indefinite/interrogative correlatives also occur in indirect (i.e. embedded) questions. As discussed in §9.3.2, indirect questions are formed using the clause-final particle *aun* (usually glossed ‘if’), preceded by a verb in the dependent form (§10.2):

(6.91) *Ma untsapa imè talake miohma uskohata aun*
 1SERG wonder.IPV 1sALL coin.NOM who.ERG PF.steal.DEP.PL if
 ‘I wonder who stole my money’

Consider also the following pairs of examples, where the second example in each pair contains an indirect question corresponding to the direct question in the first example:

(6.92) *Elime mieu ehkànan?*
 Elim.NOM where.ABL originate.IPV.QU
 ‘Where does Elim come from?’

(6.93) *Unma nesapyit Elimie mieu ehkana aun*
 3aRDAT.1SERG ask.PV.PL Elim.NOM where.ABL originate.DEP if
 ‘I asked them where Elim comes from’

(6.94) *Na imò aleute ymiohpa ukysùlhtan?*
 3aERG 1sABL help.NOM why PF.refuse.IPV.QU
 ‘Why has he refused my help?’

(6.95) *Iman miono na imò aleute ymiohpa ukysulhta aun*
 1sLOC NEG.know.IPV:NEG 3aERG 1sABL help.NOM why PF.refuse.DEP if
 ‘I don’t know why he refused my help’

Unlike direct questions, indirect questions are not ambiguous between a constituent question reading and a yes/no question reading. In indirect constituent questions, the verb appears in the dependent indicative form, while in indirect yes/no questions, it appears in the dependent subjunctive. (Dependent indicative clauses presuppose the event that they refer to, while dependent subjunctive clauses do not.) This contrast is illustrated by the following pair of examples:

(6.96) *Ma untsapa imè talake miohma uskohata aun*
 1SERG wonder.IPV 1sALL coin.NOM who.ERG PF.steal.DEP.PL if
 ‘I wonder who stole my money’

(6.97) *Ma untsapa imè talake miohma ioskohita aun*
 1SERG wonder.IPV 1sALL coin.NOM who.ERG SBJ:PF.steal.DEP:SBJ.PL if
 ‘I wonder if/whether someone stole my money’

6.7.2 Demonstrative correlatives

Many of the indefinite/interrogative correlatives discussed above have a demonstrative counterpart. These are listed in the table below, and glossed with their closest English equivalents. The correlatives in the first group are nouns, which inflect for case, while those in the second group are non-inflecting adverbial elements. Notice that most of the demonstrative correlatives begin with the formative *ta-* or *tl(o)-*.

	DEMONSTRATIVE	EXCLAMATIVE
<i>tiè (tie-)</i>	‘there, that place’ (‘that’s where...’)	
<i>tlotsaka</i>	‘that kind of, of that sort; like that’	
<i>talh</i>	‘then, at that time’ (‘that’s when...’)	
<i>tlan</i>	‘that much’ (‘that’s how much...’)	‘so/how much’
<i>tlante</i>	‘that many’ (‘that’s how many...’)	‘so/how many’
<i>tlohpa</i>	‘therefore, for that reason’ (‘that’s why...’)	
<i>tlotunke</i>	‘thus, in that way’ (‘that’s how...’)	
<i>etlantena</i>	‘that often’ (‘that’s how often...’)	‘so/how often’
<i>katlanteme</i>	‘that many times’	‘so many times’ [in succession]
<i>tlai, tlampi</i>	‘thus, that much, to that degree’ (‘that’s how...’)	‘so, such; how’
<i>etlampi</i>	‘(for) that long’ (‘that’s how long...’)	‘for so long’
<i>lau tlampi</i>	‘that far, to that extent’ (‘that’s how far...’)	‘so/how far, such a long way’

These elements can function either deictically or anaphorically. That is, they indicate a place, time, reason, manner, etc., which was either referred to earlier in the discourse, or which is identifiable from the discourse context. Consider the following sample dialogue:

(6.98) *Ku Tenmotlaie ùtan?*
 2NOM Tenmotlai.DAT PF.go.IPV.QU
 ‘Have you (ever) been to Tenmotlai?’

(6.99) *Hiò, ma tiena tsuhpanka ha*
 yes 1SERG there.LOC live.IPV:PST in:fact
 ‘Yes, in fact I used to live there’

In the second sentence, *tiè* ‘there’ refers back to the place mentioned in the previous sentence. Additional examples are given below. Note that when the demonstrative correlative is (part of) a focused phrase, it serves to draw attention to a particular referent. Sentences with focused demonstrative correlatives are usually translated as ‘That’s where...’, ‘That’s when...’, ‘That’s how...’, etc.

- (6.100) *Iase tlain iasuha kalh?*
 food that:much.DAT eat.want.IPV EMPH:QU
 ‘Do you really want to eat that much food?’
- (6.101) *Sakiale tlai apata*
 Sakial.NOM that:much REL.tall.IPV
 ‘Sakial is that tall’ or ‘That’s how tall Sakial is’
- (6.102) *Ku tlohpa tlampi auohka imè*
 2NOM for:that:reason to:that:extent REL.loved.IPV 1SALL
 ‘That’s why I love you so much’

When used deictically, the demonstrative correlatives can combine with the particles *tsi*, *ke* and *olh*, as appropriate, in order to indicate discourse status and/or relative distance from the speaker and addressee (see §5.3.2 for discussion of these particles):

<i>tsi tlotsaka koin</i>	‘this kind of person, a person like this’	[near me]
<i>ke tlotsaka koin</i>	‘this/that kind of person, a person like this/that’	[near you/us]
<i>olh tlotsaka koin</i>	‘that kind of person, a person like that’	[away from us]
<i>tsi iase tlan</i>	‘this much food’	[newly mentioned]
<i>ke iase tlan</i>	‘this/that much food’	[under discussion]
<i>olh iase tlan</i>	‘that much food’	[mentioned earlier]

Demonstrative correlatives can also be preceded by the emphatic reflexive element *tsan*. The resulting expressions are variously translated ‘that very...’, ‘the/that same...’, or ‘just that...’. E.g.:

<i>tsan tlai</i>	‘just so, just as’
<i>tsan tlotunke</i>	‘in just that way, in that very way’
<i>tsan tlohpa</i>	‘for that very reason, for just that reason’
<i>tsan tlotsaka koin</i>	‘just that kind of person, the same kind of person’.

Demonstrative correlatives commonly occur in appositive relatives. Appositive relatives take the form of a participial clause (§10.3) introduced by the coordinator *ka*, and are used to provide additional information about a previously mentioned referent or event:

- (6.103) *Me Uilumai etyi, ka tiena ahtema kas ulhmo antei tsuhpe*
 1SNOM Uiluma.DAT go.PV and there.LOC father.ERG so:far year many.DAT live.PT
 ‘I went to Uiluma, where my father have been living for many years’
 more lit. ‘I went to Uiluma, and there (my) father (have been) living for many years’
- (6.104) *Sakiale lamuta uhualta, ka tlohpa tulats han uoite iman*
 Sakial.NOM finally PF.well.TINC.IPV and for:that:reason kindness much feel.PT 1SLOC
 ‘Sakial has finally recovered, for which (reason) I’m very grateful’

Finally, demonstrative correlatives can have exclamatory force, in which case they are often translated using ‘so’ or ‘how’. Exclamatory clauses typically include the particle *hok*, which immediately follows the verb:

- (6.105) *Tomla tin tlai apatat hok!*
 mountain those:NOM that:much REL.tall.IPV.PL EXCL
 ‘Those mountains are so tall!’ or ‘(Look) how tall those mountains are!’
- (6.106) *Koin tlante ikà hok!*
 person that:many PRG.be:here.IPV EXCL
 ‘There are so many people here!’ or ‘Look how many people are here!’

6.7.3 Remarks on the functions of correlatives

The correlatives *mà* ‘what’ and *miò* ‘who’ function as indefinite/interrogative counterparts to the third person pronouns. Like the personal pronouns, they can occur as noun phrases by themselves, or as determiners within a larger noun phrase, in which case they follow the head noun. When combined with a noun, *mà* and *miò* are equivalent to English ‘which’ or ‘some’ (or, in combination with the negative particle *ntse*, ‘no’ or ‘not any’). *Mà* is used with inanimate nouns: e.g., *halma mà* ‘which book(s)?’, *ntse halma mà* ‘no book(s)’. *Miò* is used with animate nouns: e.g., *pyi miò* ‘which child(ren)?’, *ntse pyi miò* ‘no child(ren)’; *ike miò* ‘which dog(s)?’, *ntse ike miò* ‘no dog(s)’.

Correlative time adverbials (equivalent to ‘when/sometime’, ‘never’, and ‘then’) make a threefold tense distinction: *Emihka*, *ntsemihka*, and *tahka* indicate times in the past; and *emifoi*, *ntsemifoi*, and *tahoi* indicate times in the future; while *emi*, *ntsemi*, and *tai* are neutral as to tense. Compare the sentences below. Note that the use of the tense-marked forms is optional: it is always grammatical to substitute the neutral forms, e.g., using *emi* in place of *emihka* or *emifoi*.

(6.107) *Emi iàsan?*
 when eat.IPV.QU
 ‘When do/will you eat?’

(6.108) *Emifoi iàsan?*
 when:FUT eat.IPV.QU
 ‘When will you eat?’

(6.109) *Emihka iasyin?*
 when:PST eat.PV.QU
 ‘When did you eat?’

Besides *emi*, there is another word for ‘when/sometime’, namely *emalh*. Note that *emalh* patterns as a noun, and thus inflects for case, while *emi* is an adverbial and has an invariant form. Normally *emalh* will appear with the locative case ending *-na*: e.g., *Emalhna iasyin?* ‘When did you eat?’. However, it can also inflect for dative, ablative, or instrumental case, or appear in the unmarked form in combination with a case-marked relational noun such as *kamna* ‘before’, as shown below. The same holds for the negative correlative *ntsemalh* ‘never’ and the demonstrative correlative *talh* ‘then’.

emailh sikà ‘until when?, for how long?’
emalhu su ‘since when?, for how long?’
emalh kamna ‘before when?’

The correlatives *mitsaka* ‘what kind, some kind’ (*ntse mitsaka* ‘no kind’) and *tlotsaka* ‘that kind’ almost always occur in combination with a noun denoting the kind in question. The correlative precedes the noun: e.g., *tlotsaka palahta* ‘that kind of tree, a tree like that, such a tree’. Additional examples:

(6.110) *Mitsaka iase hènkan?*
 what:kind food enjoyable.IPV.QU
 ‘What kind of food do you like?’

(6.111) *Imè tlotsaka iase henka*
 1sALL that:kind food enjoyable.IPV
 ‘I like that kind of food’ or ‘That’s the kind of food I like’

The indefinite correlatives *mitunke*, *miai*, and *miampi*, when used as interrogatives, all translate English ‘how’. *Mitunke* means ‘how’ in the sense of ‘in what way, in what manner, by what means’. By contrast, *miai* and *miampi* (which can be used more or less interchangeably) mean ‘how’ in the sense of ‘how much’ or ‘to what degree/extent’.

(6.112) *Efos tan mitunke ulàhan?*
 problem that:NOM how PF.solve.IPV.QU
 ‘How did (you) solve that problem?’

(6.113) *Kotò miai apàtan?*
 house.NOM how REL.tall.IPV.QU
 ‘How tall is the house?’

When ‘how’ has the sense of ‘by what route’, it is translated using *miè* ‘where’ in the instrumental case, as in (6.114). In addition, *emalh* ‘when’ inflected for instrumental case can denote ‘how’ in the sense of ‘under what circumstances’, as in (6.115). The latter can also be used to mean ‘for how long’ (referring to an approximate duration) or ‘during what period of time’, as in (6.116).

(6.114) *Tiesat auotiohtei mieme etikin?*
 town REL.near.COMP.TNZR.DAT where.INST go.COND.QU
 ‘How would one get to the nearest town?’

(6.115) *Hen kuo emalhme tsokuyiot ne?*
 two 2RDAT when.INST first:meet.RECIP.PV.PL QU
 ‘How did you two meet for the first time?’

(6.116) *Ne emalhme Tenmotlaina tehyin?*
 3aNOM when.INST Tenmotlai.LOC stay.PV.QU
 ‘How long did she stay in Tenmotlai?’

Paralleling the distinction between *mitunke* and *miai/miampi*, the negative correlative *ntsemitunke* means ‘there’s no way’, while *ntsemiai* and *ntse miampi* mean ‘not so’ or ‘not at all’. Likewise, demonstrative *tlotunke* mean ‘that’s how’ in the sense of ‘thus, in that way’, while *tlai* and *tlampi* mean ‘that much’, ‘so’, or ‘to that degree/extent’:

(6.117) *Efos tan ntsemitunke lahyipo*
 problem that:NOM in:no:way solve.able.IPV:NEG
 ‘There’s no way to solve that problem’

(6.118) *Ma efos tan tlotunke lahyi*
 1sERG problem that:NOM in:that:way solve.PV
 ‘That’s how I solved that problem’

(6.119) *Kotò ntsemiai apato*
 house.NOM not:so REL.tall.IPV:NEG
 ‘The house isn’t so tall’

(6.120) *Kotò tlai apata*
 house.NOM that/so REL.tall.IPV
 ‘The house is that/so tall’ or ‘That’s how tall the house is’

Miai, *ntsemiai*, and *tlai* are also be used with the verb *taksa* ‘be called’ to ask about or refer to a name:

(6.121) *Miai tàksan?*
 how be:called.IPV.QU
 ‘What is your name?’ or ‘What are you called?’

(6.122) *Me tlai ntakso iahok*
 1sNOM that/so NEG.be:called.IPV:NEG at:all
 ‘That’s not what I’m called’ or ‘That’s not my name’

Tlai can also be used to mean ‘like, as’, when it appears in a participial clause introduced by *ka* (see §8.3.1, §10.3). If the verb in the participial clause is the same as the verb in the main clause, the latter is sometimes omitted, as in the second example below.

- (6.123) *Sakiale imè ohka ka tlai tsan imò tiene ohke*
 Sakial.NOM 1sALL beloved.IPV and thus own 1sABL son.NOM beloved.PT
 ‘I love Sakial as I love my own son’
 more lit. ‘Sakial is beloved to me, and my own son being beloved to that degree’

- (6.124) *Sakiale imè ohka ka tlai tsan imò tiene*
 Sakial.NOM 1sALL beloved.IPV and thus own 1sABL son.NOM
 ‘I love Sakial like my own son’

Finally, there are two correlatives equivalent to English ‘why’: *ymiohpa* and *milhkoua*. The difference between them is subtle, and they can often be used interchangeably. Roughly, *ymiohpa* focuses on the cause of an event, and has the sense of ‘for what reason’ (or ‘how come’); whereas *milhkoua* focuses on the intended effect of an event, and has the sense of ‘for what purpose’ (or ‘what for’, or ‘to what end’). Compare the sentences below, both of which can be used to translate the sentence ‘Why did Elim smash the pot?’. The first asks what may have led Elim to smash the pot; while the latter asks what motivation Elim may have had for carrying out the action, or what he hoped to accomplish.

- (6.125) *Elimma ymiohpa kopoi tsitspyin?*
 Elim.ERG for:what:reason pot.DAT smash.PV.QU
 ‘How come Elim smashed the pot?’

- (6.126) *Elimma milhkoua kopoi tsitspyin?*
 Elim.ERG for:what:purpose pot.DAT smash.PV.QU
 ‘What did Elim smash the pot for?’

6.8 Quantifiers and related elements

In this section I discuss quantifiers and formally related elements. A quantificational phrase consists of a quantifier, usually preceded by a noun or noun phrase which expresses the domain of quantification. This is illustrated in (6.127), where the quantificational phrase *luhme iha tosepyi* ‘several old women’ consists of the quantifier *tosepyi* ‘several’ and the quantified noun phrase *luhme iha* ‘old woman’. Notice that the quantifier follows the quantified noun phrase, rather than preceding as it does in English. A quantificational phrase can also consist of a quantifier by itself with the domain of quantification implicit, as in (6.128).

- (6.127) *Luhme iha tosepyi ketyia*
 old:one woman several:NOM come:here.PV.NPL
 ‘Several old women came here’

- (6.128) *Tosepyi ketyia*
 several:NOM come:here.PV.NPL
 ‘Several (of them) came here’

Morphologically and syntactically, quantifiers pattern as nouns in Okuna, in that they inflect for case and can function (alone, or within a larger quantificational phrase) as an argument of a verb. Recall that case inflection occurs at the right edge of the phrase in Okuna (cf. §4.2). Therefore, since the quantifier comes after the quantified noun, it is normally the quantifier that will bear the case ending, if any, while the quantified noun (phrase) occurs in its unmarked form. However, if the quantifier is in turn followed by a demonstrative, it is the demonstrative that carries the case marking while the quantifier remains unmarked. Note the position of the instrumental ending *-me* in the examples below:

<i>luhme ihame</i>	‘with (the) old woman/women’
<i>luhme iha tosepyime</i>	‘with several old women’
<i>luhme iha tosepyi inime</i>	‘with these several old women’

Importantly, when a quantificational phrase is in the nominative case role, as in (6.127) and (6.128) above, the quantifier appears in its unmarked form: the case ending *-e*, which attaches to regular nouns in the nominative, does not occur on quantifiers or other postnominal modifiers.

Quantificational phrases almost always precede the verb (i.e., they rarely if ever undergo postposition; cf. §9.2.3). Moreover, Okuna is a language in which word order directly reflects quantifier scope: when a clause contains two quantificational phrases, the first quantificational phrase takes scope over the second one. Compare the sentences below. In (6.129), *pyi inket* scopes over *halma hein*, and the meaning is ‘For every child, there exist two (possibly different) books that that child read’. In (6.130), the relative scope of the quantifiers is reversed, and the meaning is ‘There exist two (specific) books which every child read’.

(6.129) *Pyi inket halma hein talyimat*
 child every:ERG book two.DAT read.PV.DPL.PL
 ‘Every child read two books’

(6.130) *Halma hein pyi inket talyinit*
 book two.DAT child every:ERG read.PV.EPL.PL
 ‘Two books were read by every child’

As in many languages, Okuna has separate quantifiers for mass nouns like *nà* ‘water’ and count nouns like *halma* ‘book’: e.g., *nà sipe* ‘some water’ vs. *halma sepyi* ‘some books’; *nà tsomo* ‘most of the water’ vs. *halma tsomote* ‘most of the books’. I discuss mass noun quantifiers in §6.8.1 and count noun quantifiers in §6.8.2, with additional remarks on the usage of certain quantifiers in §6.8.3. Numerals are treated in §6.8.4. Finally, in §6.8.5 I discuss other postnominal elements which share formal properties with quantifiers.

Note that there is a special class of quantificational elements not considered in this section, namely the universal quantifiers (equivalent to ‘each’, ‘every’, and ‘all’). These inflect differently from the other quantifiers, patterning more like pronouns than nouns, and are thus discussed in chapter 5 (§5.6). See also chapter 8 (§8.4.3), where I discuss various types of adverbs formed from quantifier stems.

6.8.1 Mass noun quantifiers

Mass noun quantifiers quantify over nouns denoting masses or substances which cannot be divided non-arbitrarily into countable units. These include *nà* ‘water’, *hos* ‘sand’, *ahim* ‘air, breath’, etc. The basic mass noun quantifiers are given below. Note that some of these are derived from verbs (e.g., *muhe* < *muha* ‘suffice, be adequate’; *muohe* < *muoha* ‘be whole/complete’; *tehe* < *teha* ‘stay, remain behind’).

<i>han</i>	‘much, a lot (of)’
<i>ife</i>	‘as much, an equal amount (of)’
<i>mian</i>	‘how much?; some, a certain amount (of)’
<i>muhe</i>	‘enough, a sufficient amount (of)’
<i>muohe</i>	‘all, the whole (thing)’
<i>ohe</i>	‘more; the most’
<i>sipe</i>	‘some, a bit (of)’
<i>tehe</i>	‘the rest (of), what remains (of)’
<i>tlan</i>	‘so much; that much’
<i>tsomo</i>	‘most (of)’
<i>tsuon</i>	‘too much’
<i>tsyin</i>	‘not enough, too little’
<i>tuhe</i>	‘less, not as much’

Some mass noun quantifiers can combine with the diminutive prefix *ki(h)-* or the augmentative prefix *to(h)-* to express finer distinctions:

<i>kihohe</i>	‘a bit more, slightly more’
<i>kisipe</i>	‘very little, just a little, a tiny bit (of)’
<i>kituhe</i>	‘a bit less, somewhat less’
<i>tohan</i>	‘quite a lot, a great deal (of)’
<i>tohohe</i>	‘much more, a lot more’
<i>tomuhe</i>	‘plenty (of), more than enough’
<i>tosipe</i>	‘a fair bit, quite a bit (of)’
<i>totuhe</i>	‘much less, a lot less, not nearly as much’

Examples of mass noun phrases containing quantifiers include:

<i>hos han</i>	‘a lot of sand’
<i>ise tsuon</i>	‘too much snow’
<i>nà sipe</i>	‘some water, a little water’
<i>iase tomuhe</i>	‘plenty of food, more than enough food’
<i>ueho mian</i>	‘how much wine?; some wine’

As these examples show, the quantified noun phrase normally appears in its unmarked form. However, it can also appear in the ablative case (marked with the ending *-u*) when the domain of quantification is definite. The result is a kind of partitive construction (note that the quantifiers *muohe* ‘all’ and *tehe* ‘the rest’ require this construction). Compare the examples below with those above:

<i>hosu han</i>	‘a lot of the sand’
<i>iseu tsuon</i>	‘too much of the snow’
<i>nahu sipe</i>	‘some of the water’
<i>iaseu tomuhe</i>	‘plenty of the food, more than enough of the food’
<i>uehou mian</i>	‘how much of the wine?; some of the wine’
<i>uehou tehe</i>	‘the rest of the wine’
<i>ueho itò muohe</i>	‘all of that wine’

Mass noun quantifiers can also take a count noun phrase in the ablative, in which case they indicate a portion of the (singular) object denoted by that noun phrase. In combination with a count noun, *muohe* is equivalent to English ‘the whole’, while *sipe* means ‘part of’ (similarly for quantifiers formed from *sipe*):

<i>kotou tsomo</i>	‘most of the house’
<i>lohu han</i>	‘much of the day’
<i>lohu tehe</i>	‘the rest of the day’
<i>sliahteu muohe</i>	‘all of the story; the whole story’
<i>sliahteu sipe</i>	‘some of the story; part of the story’
<i>sliahteu kisipe</i>	‘a small part of the story’

When marked with ablative case, the quantified noun phrase may scramble away from the quantifier, in which case the two no longer form a constituent. This is shown by the fact that the ablative noun phrase and the quantifier can be separated by intervening material: e.g., the ergative argument *Sakialma* in the example below. (Note that when the quantified noun phrase is unmarked for case, it cannot scramble away from the quantifier.)

- (6.131) *Ueho itò Sakialma tsuoin sepyi*
 wine that:ABL Sakial.ERG too:much.DAT drink.PV
 ‘Sakial drank too much of that wine’ (lit. ‘Of that wine, Sakial drank too much’)

6.8.2 Count noun quantifiers

Count noun quantifiers are those which quantify over nouns denoting discrete countable entities, as opposed to masses or substances. Apart from the universal quantifiers discussed in §5.6, the major count noun quantifiers are listed below in their basic forms. Numerals such as *hen* ‘two’, which also quantify over count nouns, are considered in §6.8.4. Notice that most of the count noun quantifiers listed here are transparently related to the corresponding mass noun quantifiers, but end in the suffix *-te* (see below).

<i>anihte</i>	‘as many, equally many’
<i>anohte</i>	‘more; the most, the greatest number of’
<i>ante</i>	‘many, a lot of’
<i>miantte</i>	‘how many?; some, a certain number of’
<i>muhte</i>	‘enough, sufficiently many’
<i>sepyi</i>	‘some, a few’
<i>tehte</i>	‘the rest (of), the remaining’
<i>tlante</i>	‘so many; that many’
<i>tsomote</i>	‘most, the majority of’
<i>tsuonte</i>	‘too many’
<i>tsyinte</i>	‘not enough, too few’
<i>tuhte</i>	‘fewer, not as many’

Like their mass noun counterparts, many count noun quantifiers can combine with the diminutive prefix *ki(h)-* and/or the augmentative prefix *to(h)-* to express finer distinctions:

<i>kihanohnte</i>	‘a few more’
<i>kisepyi</i>	‘a very few’
<i>kituhte</i>	‘somewhat fewer’
<i>tohanohnte</i>	‘many more, a lot more’
<i>tohante</i>	‘very many, a great many, numerous’
<i>tomuhte</i>	‘plenty of, more than enough’
<i>tosepyi</i>	‘several, a number of’
<i>totuhte</i>	‘a lot fewer, not nearly as many’

Examples of quantificational phrases containing these elements are given below. Like other quantifiers, they follow the noun or noun phrase (if any) that they quantify over, and carry the case marking for the phrase as a whole (unless they are in turn followed by a demonstrative).

<i>efos ante</i>	‘many problems’
<i>iha miantte</i>	‘how many women?’
<i>koin tohante</i>	‘a great many people’
<i>kopo sepyi</i>	‘some pots, a few pots’
<i>nesap muhte</i>	‘enough questions’

Normally the quantified noun occurs in its unmarked form, as in the examples above. However, when the quantified noun phrase is definite, the quantified noun may appear in the ablative case (suffixed with *-u*), resulting in a partitive interpretation:

<i>efosu ante</i>	‘many of the problems’
<i>ihau miantte</i>	‘how many of the women?’
<i>koin ineu tohante</i>	‘a great many of those people’
<i>imè kopou sepyi</i>	‘some of my pots’
<i>ineu nesapu muhte</i>	‘enough of their questions’

When marked with ablative case, the quantified noun phrase need not form a constituent with the quantifier, but can scramble away from it. This is shown in the example below by the fact that the quantified noun phrase is separated from the quantifier by another noun phrase (viz., the ergative argument *Sakialma*):

- (6.132) *Halma iteu Sakialma antei utala*
 book those:ABL Sakial.ERG many.DAT PF.read.IPV
 ‘Sakial has read many of those books’ (lit. ‘Of those books, Sakial has read many’)

To form expressions indicating an upper limit, count noun quantifiers combine with the particle *hulne* ‘at most, no more/later than, up to’. Likewise, to express a lower limit, *fene* ‘at least, no fewer than, no sooner/earlier than’ is used. These particles come immediately before the quantifier and after the quantified noun phrase (if any). Other particles which can appear in the same position include *laisne* ‘exactly’, *lhua* ‘about, approximately’, and *lhi* ‘almost, nearly’.³

- halma fene anihite* ‘at least as many books’
halma lhua anihite ‘about as many books’
halma hulne sepyi ‘no more than a few books’

Finally, note an unusual complication in the formation of quantifier phrases. I mentioned above that most of the count noun quantifiers end in *-te*, which seems to be a marker of plurality (see §6.8.5 below). It appears that there is a restriction on the expression of plurality, such that a quantifier containing *-te* may not precede another element in the same noun phrase which also expresses plurality, namely a plural demonstrative (§5.3.2) or other postnominal element like *iahte* ‘others’ (§6.8.5). In order to avoid such cases, a mass noun quantifier is used where the corresponding count noun quantifier might be expected—e.g., *han* ‘much’ is used in place of *ante* ‘many’, *tsomo* ‘most’ in place of *tsomote*, etc. Compare the following:

- halma ante* ‘many books’
halma han tin ‘those many books’
halma han iahte ‘many other books’

halma miantte ‘how many books?’
halma mian iahte ‘how many other books?’

ntse halma miantte ‘not many books’
ntse halma mian iahte ‘not many other books’

This rule does not apply to *sepyi* ‘some, a few’, or other quantifiers formed from it, which remain unchanged when a demonstrative or other plural element follows: e.g., *halma sepyi tin* ‘those few books’, *halma tosepyi iahte* ‘several other books, another several books’.

6.8.3 Remarks on the functions of certain quantifiers

The count noun quantifier *miantte* does double duty both as an interrogative element, equivalent to ‘how many’, and as an indefinite plural marker, equivalent to ‘some’ or ‘a number of’. The interrogative interpretation is signaled by the presence of the question particle *ne* (or *avn* in embedded clauses). *Miantte* can also occur in the scope of the negative particle *ntse*, in which case it is translated ‘many’—e.g., *ntse halma miantte* ‘not many books’. (Notice from the examples below that *miantte* can fail to trigger plural agreement on the verb in negative and interrogative contexts.) *Tlante* is the demonstrative counterpart of *miantte*, and has deictic or anaphoric force, equivalent to ‘this/that many’ (or ‘that’s how many...’). *Tlante* can also be used in exclamations, meaning ‘so many’.

- (6.133) *Halma mianttei utàlan?*
 book how:many.DAT PF.read.IPV.QU
 ‘How many books have (you) read?’

³These same particles can also be used with adverbials formed from count noun quantifiers, discussed in §8.4.3: e.g., *hulne kasepyime* ‘no more than a few times’, *lhi ianihtena* ‘nearly as often’.

(6.134) *Ma elohka halma miantei talyima*
 1sERG yesterday book how:many.DAT read.PV.DPL
 ‘Yesterday I read a (certain) number of books’

(6.135) *Ma ntse halma miantei talou*
 1sERG NEG book how:many.DAT read.PV:NEG
 ‘I didn’t read (very) many books’

(6.136) *Ma elohka halma tlantei talyima*
 1sERG yesterday book that:many.DAT read.PV.DPL
 ‘That’s how many books I read yesterday’ or ‘I read so many books yesterday!’

Parallel to *miantei*, the indefinite mass noun quantifier *mian* usually means ‘how much’ when it occurs in questions, and ‘some’ or ‘a certain amount’ in non-questions. In the scope of negation, *mian* may be translated ‘much’ (*ntse iase mian* ‘not much food’). The definite/demonstrative counterpart of *mian* is *tlan*, meaning ‘that much’, ‘that’s how much’ or ‘so much’.

(6.137) *Iase mian ketyit ne?*
 food how:much bring:here.PV.PL QU
 ‘How much food did you (pl) bring?’

(6.138) *Na iase mian ketyit*
 3aERG food how:much bring:here.PV.PL
 ‘They brought some food’

(6.139) *Na ntse iase mian ketout*
 3aERG NEG food how:much bring:here.PV:NEG.PL
 ‘They didn’t bring much food’

(6.140) *Na iase tlan ketyit*
 3aERG food that:much bring:here.PV.PL
 ‘That’s how much food they brought’ or ‘They brought so much food!’

Quantified phrases containing the equative quantifiers *ife* ‘as much’ and *anihte* ‘as many’, or the comparative quantifiers *ohe* ‘more’, *anohte* ‘more’, *tuhe* ‘less’, and *tuhte* ‘fewer’ are often accompanied by a participant nominal in the ablative case which expresses the standard of comparison. (On participant nominalization, see §10.6.)

(6.141) *Ma akut ikune moituheu halma anihte uktiama*
 1sERG 2pDAT 2pALL get.want.TNZR.ABL book as:many give.IPV.DPL
 ‘I’ll give you as many books as you want’ (lit. ‘... as what you want to get’)

(6.142) *Imem ekpyipeu halma anohte he*
 1sINST carry.able.TNZR.ABL book more be:IPV
 ‘I have more books than (I) can carry’ (lit. ‘With me are more books than [what is] carryable’)

(6.143) *Na ueho ifei sepyit ikima asepanilu*
 3aERG wine as:much.DAT drink.PV.PL 12ERG PV.drink.EPL.DNZR.ABL
 ‘They drank as much wine as we did’ (lit. ‘... as what had been drunk by us’)

Alternatively, the standard of comparison can be expressed using a clause headed by *aun* ‘if/whether’ preceded by a verb in the dependent form (see §10.2), and containing the quantifier *mian* ‘how much’ or *miantei* ‘how many’, depending on whether a mass noun or count noun is being quantified. Since it marks

the standard of comparison, the correlative clause inflects for ablative case: i.e., *aun* carries the ablative ending *-u*. The following examples are equivalent to those above. Notice that the verb ‘drink’ is omitted from the correlative clause in the third example, and *aun* replaced by *tiaun* (including the verb would also be acceptable: *ikima miain asepatu aunu*, lit. ‘as how much we drank’).

(6.144) *Ma akut halma anihte uktiama ikune miantu moituha aunu*
 1sERG 2pDAT book as:many give.IPV.DPL 2pALL how:many get.want.DEP if.ABL
 ‘I’ll give you as many books as you want’ (lit. ‘... as how many you want to get’)

(6.145) *Imem halma anohte he miantu ekpyipa aunu*
 1sINST book more be:IPV how:many carry.able.DEP if.ABL
 ‘I have more books than I can carry’ (lit. ‘... than how many [one] can carry’)

(6.146) *Na ueho ifei sepyit ikima miain tiaunu*
 3aERG wine as:much.DAT drink.PV.PL 12ERG how:much.DAT if:so.ABL
 ‘They drank as much wine as we did’ (lit. ‘... as how much we [drank]’)

6.8.4 Numerals

In addition to the elements discussed in §6.8.2, the count noun quantifiers include numerals such as *hen* ‘two’ and *ehte* ‘three’. Like other quantifiers, numerals can occur by themselves as noun phrases (6.147), or they can co-occur with a preceding noun expressing the domain of quantification (6.148):

(6.147) *Mo ehte kilyi*
 1sRDAT three:NOM see.PV
 ‘I saw three (of them)’

(6.148) *Mo kotu ehte kilyi*
 1sRDAT house three:NOM see.PV
 ‘I saw three houses’

Like other quantifiers, numerals follow the noun they quantify over. This means that the numeral carries the case marking for the noun phrase, unless it is in turn followed by a demonstrative or one of the elements discussed in §6.8.5, in which case the latter carries case marking and the numeral appears in its unmarked form. Also as with other quantifiers, the unmarked form of the numeral is used when the noun phrase is in the nominative case role; numerals do not take the nominative case ending (*-e*) found on regular nouns.

<i>kotu ehte</i>	(house three)	‘(the) three houses’
<i>kotu ehte<i>i</i></i>	(house three.DAT)	‘to (the) three houses’
<i>kotu ehte<i>na</i></i>	(house three.LOC)	‘in (the) three houses’
<i>kotu ehte ite<i>na</i></i>	(house three those.LOC)	‘in those three houses’
<i>kotu ehte mpehis<i>na</i></i>	(house three next.LOC)	‘in the next three houses’

In the examples above, the quantified noun (*kotu* ‘house’) appears in the unmarked form. The quantified noun can also appear in the ablative case, in which case the noun phrase receives a partitive interpretation: e.g., *kotou ehte* ‘three of the houses’, *kotu iteu ehte* ‘three of these houses’.

The one numeral word which doesn’t follow the normal pattern is *es* ‘one’. This element precedes the noun it quantifies (*es kotu* ‘one house, a house’), and consequently never gets marked for case. In complex noun phrases, *es* precedes all the elements in a noun compound (including adjective-like stative nouns such as *luhme* ‘old one’) but follows relative clauses, as well as possessors and other case-marked noun phrases acting as modifiers:

(6.149) *Sakialu es kuna*
 Sakial.ABL one friend
 ‘a friend of Sakial’s’

(6.150) *isane paluna es luhme kotu*
 13ALL village.LOC one old:one house
 ‘an old house in our village’

Alternatively, ‘one’ may be expressed using the ‘strong’ form *ehtsan*, which differs from *es* in its distribution. Whereas *es* precedes the noun, *ehtsan* follows the noun, like other numerals. In addition, *es* can only be used if the noun phrase is interpreted as indefinite, and often corresponds most closely to the English indefinite article ‘a/an’. By contrast, *ehtsan* can be used whether the noun phrase is definite or indefinite, and is more emphatic, reminiscent of English ‘a single’. Note also that *es* can never be used in the partitive construction; instead, *ehtsan* is required.

es kotu ‘one house, a house’
kotu ehtsan ‘(the) one house; a single house’
kotou ehtsan ‘one of the houses’

Finally, whereas *es* must combine with a noun, *ehtsan* is used when the numeral functions as a noun phrase by itself:

(6.151) *Mo ehtsan kilyi*
 1sRDAT one:NOM see.PV
 ‘I saw (just) one’

The Okuna count according to a base-ten system, but with special terms for eleven and twelve, and for 110 (‘eleventy’) and 120 (‘twelfty’). The basic number terms are given in the first column of the following table. Each of the units from one to twelve has a corresponding tens form, listed in the second column. The forms in the third column are discussed below.

BASIC TERMS	TENS	COMBINING FORMS
<i>es, ehtsan</i> ‘one’	<i>tam</i> ‘ten’	<i>es-</i> ‘plus one’
<i>hen</i> ‘two’	<i>tahen</i> ‘twenty’	<i>hen-</i> ‘plus two’
<i>ehte</i> ‘three’	<i>tauehte</i> ‘thirty’	<i>ehten-</i> ‘plus three’
<i>kun</i> ‘four’	<i>takun</i> ‘forty’	<i>kun-</i> ‘plus four’
<i>kian</i> ‘five’	<i>takian</i> ‘fifty’	<i>kian-</i> ‘plus five’
<i>ih̄t̄à (ih̄tah-)</i> ‘six’	<i>taieht̄à</i> ‘sixty’	<i>ih̄taun-</i> ‘plus six’
<i>kelu</i> ‘seven’	<i>takelu</i> ‘seventy’	<i>kelun-</i> ‘plus seven’
<i>niò (nioh-)</i> ‘eight’	<i>taniò</i> ‘eighty’	<i>nioh-</i> ‘plus eight’
<i>teiek</i> ‘nine’	<i>tateiek</i> ‘ninety’	<i>teiek-</i> ‘plus nine’
<i>tam</i> ‘ten’	<i>kiunma</i> ‘hundred’	
<i>elhu</i> ‘eleven’	<i>tauelhu</i> ‘eleventy’ (110)	
<i>huoi</i> ‘twelve’	<i>tahuoi</i> ‘twelfty’ (120)	
<i>kiunma</i> ‘hundred’		
<i>tolok</i> ‘ten thousand’		

Iht̄à ‘six’ takes the form *ih̄tah-* when suffixed with a case ending, but *ih̄tau-* when suffixed with other elements, such as the ordinal ending *-ka* (*ih̄tauka* ‘sixth’). Note also that vowel-initial terms change their form when a vowel-final prefix is attached, in accordance with the hiatus rules discussed in §3.5.3: e.g., *ka.elhu.me* > *kaiehlume* ‘eleven times’, *ka.ih̄tah.me* > *kaiehtahme* ‘six times’.

The numbers from 13 to 19, listed below, are formed by combining the elements from the units column above with the ending *-patam*. Notice that in the case of 16, the *ih̄tau-* form is used; while the terms for 14 and 15 show nasal assimilation to the following consonant:

<i>ehtepatam</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>kumpatam</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>kiampatam</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>ihtaupatam</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>kelupatam</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>niohpatam</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>teiekatam</i>	‘nineteen’

Terms for the numbers from 21 through 29, 31 through 39, etc., up to 129, are formed by taking the terms from the tens column in the table above and prefixing them with the ‘combining forms’ of the units, listed in the third column. Notice that this is the opposite of the order found in English: e.g., *estahen* ‘twenty-one’ is literally ‘one-twenty’. Examples are given below:

<i>estahen</i>	‘twenty-one’	<i>estauehte</i>	‘thirty-one’
<i>hentahen</i>	‘twenty-two’	<i>hentauehte</i>	‘thirty-two’
<i>ehtentahen</i>	‘twenty-three’	<i>ehtentauehte</i>	‘thirty-three’
<i>kuntahen</i>	‘twenty-four’	<i>kuntauehte</i>	‘thirty-four’
<i>kiantahen</i>	‘twenty-five’		
<i>ihtauntahen</i>	‘twenty-six’	<i>ihtauntakun</i>	‘forty-six’
<i>keluntahen</i>	‘twenty-seven’	<i>keluntakun</i>	‘forty-seven’
<i>niohtahen</i>	‘twenty-eight’	<i>niohtakun</i>	‘forty-eight’
<i>teiektahen</i>	‘twenty-nine’	<i>teiektakun</i>	‘forty-nine’

<i>keluntakian</i>	‘fifty-seven’
<i>niohtaiehtà</i>	‘sixty-eight’
<i>teiektateiek</i>	‘ninety-nine’

<i>eskiunma</i>	‘one hundred and one’
<i>ehtenkiunma</i>	‘one hundred and three’
<i>estaelhu</i>	‘one hundred and eleven’ (lit. ‘eleventy-one’)
<i>ihtauntauelhu</i>	‘one hundred and sixteen’ (lit. ‘eleventy-six’)
<i>niohtahuoi</i>	‘one hundred and twenty-eight’ (lit. ‘twelfty-eight’)
<i>teiektahuoi</i>	‘one hundred and twenty-nine’ (lit. ‘twelfty-nine’)

Multiples of 100 are expressed by taking *kiunma* ‘hundred’ or *tolok* ‘ten thousand’ and quantifying them with a following numeral. Note that there is no word for ‘thousand’: the Okuna count by tens of hundreds instead. Examples:

<i>kiunma hen</i>	‘two hundred’
<i>kiunma ehte</i>	‘three hundred’
<i>kiunma tam</i>	‘one thousand’ (lit. ‘ten hundreds’)
<i>kiunma takun</i>	‘four thousand’ (lit. ‘forty hundreds’)
<i>kiunma estakun</i>	‘forty-one hundred’
<i>kiunma niohtahuoi</i>	‘twelve thousand eight hundred’ (lit. ‘twelfty-eight hundreds’)
<i>tolok hen</i>	‘twenty thousand’ (lit. ‘two ten-thousands’)
<i>tolok taniò</i>	‘eight hundred thousand’ (lit. ‘eighty ten-thousands’)
<i>tolok kuntaniò</i>	‘eight hundred and forty thousand’ (lit. ‘84 ten-thousands’)
<i>tolok kiunma</i>	‘one million’ (lit. ‘one hundred ten-thousands’)
<i>tolok ihtauntauelhu</i>	‘1,160,000’ (lit. ‘eleventy-six ten-thousands’)

To form complex numerals from the terms above, tens, hundreds, and ten-thousands may be combined. All but the last term in a complex numeral is suffixed with the instrumental case marker *-me*. In such constructions, tens precede hundreds and hundreds precede ten-thousands, the opposite of the order in English. Examples:

- (6.152) *kuntakunme kiunma*
four.forty.INST hundred
'one hundred (and) forty-four'
- (6.153) *kiunma taniohme tolok*
hundred eighty.INST ten:thousand
'eighteen thousand' [18,000]
lit. 'ten thousand with eighty hundreds'
- (6.154) *kiunma ihtaupatamme tolok hen*
hundred sixteen.INST ten:thousand two
'twenty-one thousand six hundred' [21,600]
lit. 'two ten-thousands with sixteen hundreds'
- (6.155) *estaiehtahme kiunma kiantahenme tolok kelupatam*
one.sixty.INST hundred five.twenty.INST ten:thousand seventeen
'one hundred seventy-two thousand, five hundred and sixty-one' [172,561]
lit. 'seventeen ten-thousands with twenty-five hundreds with sixty-one'

As with simple numerals, complex numerals follow the quantified noun, and host the case ending when noun phrase-final. This case ending attaches to the final element in the numeral.

- (6.156) *Es ulhmona lò kiantaiehtahme kiunma ehte he*
one year.LOC day five.sixty.INST hundred three be:IPV
'There are three hundred and sixty-five days in a year'
- (6.157) *Na kahu tauhteme kiunmai tiku tahyit*
3aERG fish thirty.INST hundred.DAT harpoon kill.PV.PL
'They speared a hundred and thirty fish'

Phrases containing numerals can include one of a number of particles, which immediately precede the numeral and follow the noun being quantified (if any). The particles *lhua* 'about, around' and *lhi* 'almost, nearly' are used to express an approximate number, while *laisne* 'exactly' expresses a precise number. *Fene* 'at least, no fewer than' and *hulne* 'at most, no more than' combine with numerals to indicate a lower limit and an upper limit, respectively; while *eima* 'still, more' combines with numerals to express an additional amount. Finally, *la* 'each, apiece' and *kele* 'all together, a total of' are often found in distributive and collective constructions, respectively (see §5.6).

<i>koin lhua huoi</i>	'about twelve people'
<i>koin lhi huoi</i>	'almost twelve people'
<i>koin laisne huoi</i>	'exactly twelve people'
<i>koin fene huoi</i>	'at least twelve people'
<i>koin hulne huoi</i>	'at most twelve people'
<i>koin eima huoi</i>	'twelve more people'
<i>koin la huoi</i>	'twelve people each/apiece'
<i>koin kele huoi</i>	'twelve people all together, a total of twelve people'

Two form expressions meaning 'N at a time' or 'N by N', one of two constructions may be used. In the first construction the numeral is repeated, with the two copies linked by the particle *la* and the second copy taking the instrumental case ending: e.g., *hen la henme* 'two by two, two at a time'; *kun la kunme* 'four by four, four at a time, in fours'. In the second construction, the particle *ela* 'each time, any time' combines with a numeral in the instrumental case: e.g., *ela henme* 'two by two, two at a time', etc. Only the latter construction is used with the numeral *ehtsan*: *ela ehtsanme* 'one by one, one at a time'.

- (6.158) *Lhatè* *ela* *henme* *nkilhyit*
 children.NOM each:time two:INST leave.PV.PL
 ‘The children left two at a time’

Various constructions may be used to indicate a numerical range. To express an exact range, two numbers are juxtaposed, with the first number (representing the lower limit of the range) preceded by *fene* and the second number (representing the upper limit) preceded by *hulne*. To express an approximate range, the numbers are conjoined using *su* ‘or; from’, with *lhua* optionally preceding the first number. More commonly, *su* is absent and *lhua* is placed between the two numbers.

- kahu fene taken hulne kiantahen* ‘between twenty and twenty-five fish’
kahu (lhua) taken su kiantahen ‘(about) twenty or twenty-five fish’
koin taken lhua kiantahen ‘twenty to twenty-five fish’

Ordinal numbers

The cardinal numbers combine with the suffix *-ka* to form ordinal numbers, with nasal assimilation as necessary: e.g., *tam.ka* > *tanka* ‘tenth’, *kiampatam.ka* > *kiampatanka* ‘fifteenth’. Note also the changes in *teiek.ka* > *teiehka* ‘ninth’ and *tolok.ka* > *tolohka* ‘ten-thousandth’, due to the degemination rule discussed in §3.5.1. Examples of ordinal numbers:

- | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>henka</i> | ‘second’ | <i>niohka</i> | ‘eighth’ |
| <i>ehdeka</i> | ‘third’ | <i>teiehka</i> | ‘ninth’ |
| <i>kunka</i> | ‘fourth’ | <i>elhuka</i> | ‘eleventh’ |
| <i>kianka</i> | ‘fifth’ | <i>tahenka</i> | ‘twentieth’ |
| <i>ihtauka</i> | ‘sixth’ | <i>kiunmaka</i> | ‘hundredth’ |
| <i>keluka</i> | ‘seventh’ | <i>tolohka</i> | ‘ten-thousandth’ |

Ordinals are formed from complex numerals in the same way: e.g., *estahenka* ‘twenty-first’, *ihtauntakunka* ‘forty-sixth’. When ordinals are formed from compound numerals, *-ka* attaches just to the final element: e.g., *kiunma henka* ‘two hundredth’, *keluntahenme kiunmaka* ‘one hundred and twenty-seventh’.

Note that *es/ehtsan* ‘one’ has the irregular ordinal form *mpehkai* ‘first’. This forms a class with three other words denoting positions in a sequence, all characterized by the prefix *mpe-*. The other elements are listed below. Like numerals, they follow the noun and appear in their unsuffixed form when the noun phrase is nominative (rather than taking the case ending *-e*).

- mpehis* ‘the next (one)’
mpekam ‘the last, previous, preceding (one)’
mpekunte ‘the last, final (one)’

The correlatives *mianka* ‘which’ (lit. ‘the how many-th’) and *tlanka* ‘that’ (lit. ‘the so many-th’) also occur, and may be used to ask about and identify members of a sequence. Like cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals and related elements follow the noun they modify:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>koin mpehkai</i> | ‘the first person’ |
| <i>koin henka</i> | ‘the second person’ |
| <i>koin huoika</i> | ‘the twelfth person’ |
| <i>koin hentakeluka</i> | ‘the seventy-second person’ |
| <i>koin takunme kiunmaka</i> | ‘the hundred and fortieth person’ |
| <i>koin mpekunte</i> | ‘the last person’ |
| <i>lolhampeu lò miankana</i> | ‘on which day of the week?’ |
| <i>lò ihtaunkana</i> | ‘on the sixth day’ |
| <i>lò tlankana</i> | ‘on that day’ |

Fractions

Terms denoting specific fractions of a whole are formed by adding the suffix *-tla*, with nasal assimilation as appropriate: e.g., *tam.tla* > *tantla* ‘(one) tenth’, *kiampatam.tla* > *kiampatantla* ‘(one) fifteenth’. Additional examples:

<i>hentla</i>	‘(one) half’	<i>niohtla</i>	‘(one) eighth’
<i>ehtetla</i>	‘(one) third’	<i>teiektla</i>	‘(one) ninth’
<i>kuntla</i>	‘(one) fourth, quarter’	<i>elhutla</i>	‘(one) eleventh’
<i>kiantla</i>	‘(one) fifth’	<i>tahentla</i>	‘(one) twentieth’
<i>ihtautla</i>	‘(one) sixth’	<i>kiunmatla</i>	‘(one) hundredth, percent’
<i>kelutla</i>	‘(one) seventh’	<i>toloktla</i>	‘(one) ten-thousandth’

Like the ordinal suffix *-ka*, *-tla* attaches only to the final element in complex numbers: e.g., *kiantahentla* ‘one twenty-fifth’, *niohtauelhutla* ‘one 108th’, *takunme kiunmatla* ‘one 140th’.

Terms for fractions can in turn be combined with a following cardinal numeral to yield expressions like *ehtetla hen* ‘two thirds’, *kuntla ehte* ‘three quarters’, *kiunmatla taiehtë* ‘sixty percent’, etc. Fractions occur with a noun phrase in the ablative, as in *homau hentla* ‘half a loaf of bread’, *kitsou ehtetla hen* ‘two thirds of an onion’, *lhateu kiunmatla taiehtë* ‘sixty percent of the children’. Note also expressions like the following, in which a fraction takes instrumental case marking to express an incremental amount:

(6.159) *Kopò hentlame iatsatsa*
 jug.NOM half.INST PRG.REL.full.IPV
 ‘The jug is half full’

(6.160) *Kopò kuntla ehteme iatsatsa*
 jug.NOM quarter three.INST PRG.REL.full.IPV
 ‘The jug is three quarters full’

N-tuples

Numerals can also take the prefix *ka-* (with glide insertion and vowel lowering as necessary) to form collective nouns. A collective noun formed from a numeral N refers to a group of N entities, or to an object or concept divisible into N parts. Examples:

<i>kahen</i>	‘couple, pair, duo, twosome; double, twice, twofold’
<i>kaiehte</i>	‘threesome, trio, triplet, group of three; triple, three parts, threefold’
<i>kakun</i>	‘quadruple, foursome, quartet, group of four; four parts, fourfold’
<i>kakian</i>	‘quintuple, group of five; five parts, fivefold’
<i>kaiehtë</i>	‘sextuple, group of six; six parts, sixfold’

A numeral prefixed with *ka-* often takes the instrumental ending *-me* and acts as a verb modifier. When modifying an eventive verb, the instrumental form quantifies the number of times (in a row) that the event occurs. When used with stative verbs, especially in comparative constructions, it expresses a proportion or number of multiples, and is equivalent to ‘N-fold’, ‘by a factor of N’.

(6.161) *Inmo kaiehteme kahtyi*
 3aNOM.1sRDAT triple.INST hit.PV
 ‘He hit me three times (in a row)’

(6.162) *Olh palahta tan imè kotou kahenme apatohta*
 DIST tree that:NOM 1sALL house.ABL double.INST REL.tall.COMP.IPV
 ‘That tree over there is twice as tall as my house’
 more lit. ‘That tree over there is taller than my house by a factor of two’

Numerals with *ka-* also appear in the dative case, functioning as delimiting measure phrases. Here they indicate the proportional difference between the initial state and the final state:

- (6.163) *Hi kaiehte atohimyi*
 3iNOM triple.DAT REL.big.AINC.PV
 ‘It became three times as large (as before)’ or ‘It tripled in size’
 more lit. ‘It grew to triple (its original size)’

These forms, along with other adverbial elements formed from numerals, are discussed further in §8.4.3.

6.8.5 Other postnominal modifiers

In §6.8.2 I noted that most count noun quantifiers end in the suffix *-te*, which appears to mark plurality. This suffix also occurs on the elements listed below, making these the only other elements in the noun phrase (apart from pronouns and demonstratives) to mark a distinction between singular and plural. For want of a better name for these elements, I will refer to them as PSEUDO-QUANTIFIERS. Noun phrases containing a pseudo-quantifier tend to be definite, and tend to function to pick out a unique member or subset of some larger set or sequence of individuals.⁴

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
<i>eupe</i>	<i>euhte</i>	‘the only one(s), the sole one(s)’
<i>iap</i>	<i>iahte</i>	‘other one(s), else’
<i>koipe</i>	<i>koihte</i>	‘(the) specific one(s), (the) particular one(s)’
<i>tsan</i>	<i>tsante</i>	‘oneself; the same one(s), the very one(s)’ (emphatic)

Like quantifiers, pseudo-quantifiers can occur as noun phrases on their own, or can follow a noun, often combined with a participant nominal (§10.6) or other modifier. The forms in the first column are used when the noun phrase is singular, while those in the second column are used when the noun phrase is plural (except under the conditions noted below). Examples include:

<i>koin iap</i>	‘the other person’
<i>koin iahte</i>	‘the other people’
<i>ma elohka atsal koin eupe</i>	‘the only person I spoke to yesterday’
<i>ma elohka atsal koin euhte</i>	‘the only people I spoke to yesterday’

Besides quantifiers and pseudo-quantifiers, the following modifiers can also follow the noun. Noun phrases containing these modifiers share the property that they pick out a unique individual or set of individuals.

<i>ahkene</i>	‘the main/chief one(s), the principal/primary one(s)’
<i>eihte</i>	‘the right one(s), the correct one(s)’
<i>kaupihe</i>	‘the next one(s), the following one(s)’
<i>mpehis</i>	‘the next one(s), the following one(s)’
<i>mpehkai</i>	‘the first one(s)’
<i>mpekam</i>	‘the last one(s), the previous/preceding one(s)’
<i>mpekunte</i>	‘the last one(s), the final one(s)’
<i>ufatl</i>	‘the wrong one(s)’

Unlike the pseudo-quantifiers, these modifiers do not have distinct singular and plural forms. Normally a noun phrase containing one of these modifiers has a singular interpretation. To force a plural interpretation, the modifier is preceded by a numeral or quantifier, as shown below. Simple plurality is usually expressed by the quantifier *mian* (lit. ‘some number/amount’):

⁴Note that *koipe* can also precede the noun, but with a different meaning: ‘known, familiar’ (e.g., *es koipe hepala* ‘a familiar path’). Likewise, *eupe* can precede the noun, with the meaning ‘lone, by oneself’ (e.g., *es eupe puniakaka* ‘a lone traveler’). As prenominal modifiers, *koipe* and *eupe* do not inflect for number, so the forms *koihte* and *euhte* only occur as pseudo-quantifiers.

<i>nioksot eihte</i>	‘the right answer’
<i>nioksot mian eihte</i>	‘the right answers’
<i>eun ufatl</i>	‘the wrong place’
<i>eun mian ufatlma</i>	‘in the wrong places’
<i>lò mpehisme</i>	‘during the following day’
<i>lò mian mpehisme</i>	‘during the following (few) days’
<i>lò ehte mpehisme</i>	‘during the following three days’
<i>lò tosepyi mpehisme</i>	‘during the following several days’

In general, when a pseudo-quantifier or other postnominal modifier co-occurs with a non-universal quantifier, the latter precedes (e.g., *halma sepyi iahte* ‘another few books’, *halma ehte iahte* ‘three other books’). As noted in §6.8.2, count noun quantifiers ending in *-te* are not used before a pseudo-quantifier; instead the corresponding mass noun quantifier (§6.8.1) is used, and *-te* appears on the pseudo-quantifier if it is the final element in the noun phrase. Compare the following examples, where *han* is used in place of *ante* ‘many’ and *tsomo* is used in place of *tsomote* ‘most’:

<i>halma ante</i>	‘many books’
<i>halma han iahte</i>	‘many other books’
<i>halma tsomote</i>	‘most of the books’
<i>halma tsomo iahte</i>	‘most of the other books’

A pseudo-quantifier or other postnominal modifier can in turn be followed by a demonstrative (§5.3.2) or a universal quantifier (§5.6), in which case it is the demonstrative or universal quantifier which carries the case marking for the noun phrase. In addition, the singular form of the pseudo-quantifier is used even when the noun phrase is plural, since the number marker *-te* can only appear on the final element in the noun phrase. Compare the following examples, where the noun phrase inflects for locative case:

<i>lò mpehisme</i>	‘during the following day’
<i>lò mpehis item</i>	‘during that following day’
<i>lò mpehis itime</i>	‘during those following days’
<i>lò mpehis ikyime</i>	‘during each following day, during every other day’
<i>halma iapna</i>	‘in the other book’
<i>halma iahtena</i>	‘in the other books’
<i>halma iap itan</i>	‘in that other book’
<i>halma iap itena</i>	‘in those other books’
<i>halma ehte iap itena</i>	‘in those three other books’
<i>halma han iap itena</i>	‘in those many other books’
<i>halma iap imuna</i>	‘in all the other books’
<i>halma iap ikina</i>	‘in every other book’

Notes on the use of certain modifiers

Kaupihe and *mpehis* can be used more-or-less interchangeably to mean ‘next, following’. However, *mpehis* is preferred for things that occur in a temporal sequence (e.g., *lò mpehis* ‘the next day’), while *kaupihe* is generally used for objects that lie along a path of movement (e.g., *palu kaupihe* ‘the next village [that one comes to]’).

The pseudo-quantifier *iap* (plural *iahte*) is equivalent to English ‘other’, or ‘else’ when used in combination with an indefinite/interrogative correlative. Examples are given below. Notice that ‘another’ is expressed by combining *iap* with the indefinite numeral *es* ‘one, a(n)’.⁵

⁵Note that *halma iap eket* means ‘every other book’ in the sense of ‘every book not previously considered’ or ‘every additional book’. To refer to alternating members in a sequence of books, Okuna speakers would say *halma mpehis eket* ‘every next book’ or *halma henka eket* ‘every second book’ (likewise *halma ehteka eket* ‘every third book’, and so on).

<i>halma iap</i>	‘the other book’
<i>es iap</i>	‘another (one)’
<i>es halma iap</i>	‘another book’
<i>mà iap</i>	‘something else; what else?’
<i>ntsemiò iap</i>	‘no-one else’
<i>ntse halma mà iap</i>	‘no other book’
<i>halma iahte</i>	‘(the) other books’
<i>halma hen iahte</i>	‘two other books, two more books’
<i>mà iahte</i>	‘some other things; what else? (pl)’
<i>ntse halma mà iahte</i>	‘no other books’
<i>halma iap eket</i>	‘every other book’

The pseudo-quantifier *koipe* (plural *koihte*) emphasizes that the noun phrase in which it occurs has a specific intended referent. It tends to co-occur with *es* or an indefinite/interrogative correlative when the noun phrase is indefinite, and with a demonstrative when the noun phrase is definite.

<i>es halma koipe</i>	‘a certain book, a specific book’
<i>halma koihte</i>	‘certain books’
<i>halma mian koihte</i>	‘a certain number of books’
<i>miò koipe</i>	‘a certain someone, someone in particular’
<i>miò koihte</i>	‘certain individuals’
<i>halma koipe tan</i>	‘that particular book’
<i>halma koipe tin</i>	‘those particular books’

Finally, the pseudo-quantifier *tsan* functions as an emphatic modifier. It usually corresponds to English ‘the same’, or a juxtaposed reflexive. In combination with a following demonstrative, *tsan* may be translated ‘that very’ or ‘that’s the same...’ (see §9.4.3 for more on the uses of *tsan*):

<i>Sakial tsan</i>	‘Sakial himself’
<i>talo tsan</i>	‘the chief him/herself, the same chief’
<i>talo tsante</i>	‘the chiefs themselves, the same chiefs’
<i>tsan nin</i>	‘they themselves, those same ones’
<i>kotu tsan itan</i>	‘in that very house, in that same house’
<i>kotu tsan itena</i>	‘in those very houses, in those same houses’

(6.164) *Me talo tsanma tsulyi*
 1sNOM chief self.ERG visit.PV
 ‘The chief himself visited me’

(6.165) *Me koin tsan inà tsulyi*
 1sNOM person self that:ERG visit.PV
 ‘I was visited by that very (same) person’

(6.166) *Koin tsan inà man tsulyi*
 person self that:ERG 1sNOM visit.PV
 ‘That’s the same person who visited me’

6.9 Word order within the noun phrase

A noun phrase is a phrase headed by a noun (N). Noun phrases can be replaced by a pronoun, and act as arguments or modifiers of verbs, though a noun phrase can also modify another noun or function as a predicate. A noun phrase consists minimally of a noun or noun compound (cf. §6.4), usually suffixed with a

case ending. Noun phrases can also include dependents of various types: demonstratives, numerals and other quantifiers, deictic particles, and possessors, along with other case-marked nominal arguments and modifiers (often formed from clauses and corresponding to relative clauses in English).

The following template summarizes the relative order of elements within the noun phrase. Parentheses indicate optional elements, while an asterisk (*) indicates that multiple elements of the same type can occur together.

(NP-CM*/PN*) (PT) N (Q) (DEF) (DEM) -CM

Here, N stands for a noun or noun compound, and CM stands for a case marker (see §4.2). The DEM slot may be filled by a pronoun used as a demonstrative (§5.3.2), or by one of the universal quantifiers or words meaning ‘other’, which pattern morphologically with the demonstratives (§5.6). The Q slot is occupied by quantifiers other than those which occur in the DEM slot, including numerals (see §6.8). The indefinite correlatives *mà* and *miò*, when used to mean ‘some/any’ or ‘which’, may occur in either the DEM slot or the Q slot. As the template shows, both types of dependents follow the head noun, with elements from the DEM class following elements from the Q class when both are present.

Case markers attach phonologically to the final element in the noun phrase, whatever that element may be. Consider the examples below, showing the placement of the locative case ending *-na* relative to the head noun, the numeral *ehte* ‘three’, the third person plural inanimate demonstrative, the correlative *mà*, and the universal quantifier *-mot* ‘all’ (elements in the DEM class combine with case endings in a slightly irregular fashion; complete paradigms are given in §5.3.1 and §5.6):

<i>kotuna</i>	‘in the house(s)’	(N-CM)
<i>kotu ehtena</i>	‘in (the) three houses’	(N Q-CM)
<i>kotu itena</i>	‘in those houses’	(N DEM-CM)
<i>kotu mahna</i>	‘in which house(s)?’, ‘in some/any house(s)’	(N DEM-CM)
<i>kotu imuna</i>	‘in all the/those houses’	(N DEM-CM)
<i>kotu ehte itena</i>	‘in those three houses’	(N Q DEM-CM)
<i>kotu ehte mahna</i>	‘in which three houses?’, ‘in any three houses’	(N Q DEM-CM)
<i>kotu ehte imuna</i>	‘in all three houses’	(N Q DEM-CM)

The abbreviation DEF stands for DEFINITE MODIFIER. This is a cover term for a set of elements which form noun phrases that pick out a unique individual (or plurality of individuals) from a set. Definite modifiers include the pseudo-quantifiers and other post-nominal modifiers discussed in §6.8.5, as well as the ordinal numerals, formed from the cardinal numerals using the suffix *-ka* (e.g., *ehte* ‘three’ > *ehteka* ‘third’). In addition, superlatives such as *etohohte* ‘the biggest (one)’ optionally appear in the DEF slot (they can also precede the noun). Examples:

<i>kotu ehtekana</i>	‘in the third house’	(N DEF-CM)
<i>kotu eihテナ</i>	‘in the right house’	(N DEF-CM)
<i>kotu eupena</i>	‘in the only house’	(N DEF-CM)
<i>kotu tsanna</i>	‘in the house itself’	(N DEF-CM)
<i>kotu etohohtena</i>	‘in the biggest house’	(N DEF-CM)
<i>kotu sepyi mpehkaina</i>	‘in the first few houses’	(N Q DEF-CM)
<i>kotu ehteka ikina</i>	‘in every third house’	(N DEF DEM-CM)
<i>kotu koipe itena</i>	‘in those particular houses’	(N DEF DEM-CM)
<i>kotu tsan itena</i>	‘in those very houses’	(N DEF DEM-CM)
<i>kotu ehte iap itena</i>	‘in those other three houses’	(N Q DEF DEM-CM)

Turning to elements which precede the noun: In the template above, PT stands for deictic particle. The deictic particles are proximal *tsi* (for objects near speaker), medial *ke* (for objects near addressee, or speaker and addressee together), and distal *olh* (for objects not near the speaker or addressee). The particle precedes the noun (or noun compound), and generally follows other pre-nominal modifiers. As discussed in §5.3.2, deictic particles obligatorily co-occur with a demonstrative, which expresses the number and animacy of the

noun phrase. Another element which occurs in the same position as the deictic particles is the numeral *es* ‘one’, which behaves differently in this respect from all the other numerals (including the nearly synonymous *ehtsan* ‘one’, which occurs in the Q position; cf. §6.8.4).

<i>es kotuna</i>	‘in a/one house’	(PT N-CM)
<i>tsi kotu itan</i>	‘in this house (near me)’	(PT N DEM-CM)
<i>ke kotu itan</i>	‘in this/that house (near you/us)’	(PT N DEM-CM)
<i>olh kotu itan</i>	‘in that house (over there)’	(PT N DEM-CM)

(6.167) *tenena es kulhe kotuna*
 hill.LOC one green house.LOC
 ‘in a green house on the hill’

(6.168) *tenena olh kulhe kotu itana*
 hill.LOC DIST green house those:LOC
 ‘in those green houses (over there) on the hill’

NP-CM refers to case-marked noun phrases, which can occur as modifiers within a larger noun phrase. The locative noun phrase *tenena* ‘on the hill’ fulfills this function in (6.167) and (6.168) above. Oblique noun phrases expressing the possessor relation (cf. §6.6) also fill the NP-CM slot in the noun phrase template:

(6.169) *Sakiala kotuna*
 Sakial.ALL house.LOC
 ‘in Sakial’s house’

(6.170) *Sakiala es kotuna*
 Sakial.ALL one house.LOC
 ‘in a house of Sakial’s’ / ‘in one of Sakial’s houses’

(6.171) *Sakiala olh kulhe kotu itan*
 Sakial.ALL DIST green house that:LOC
 ‘in that green house of Sakial’s’

Finally, PN in the noun phrase template stands for a participant nominal used to modify another noun. A participant nominal is a clause which has been converted into an individual-denoting expression by adding nominalizing morphology to the verb (see §10.6 for discussion). When used to modify the head noun in a noun phrase, analogous to a relative clause in English, the participant nominal precedes the noun. In the following examples, *ihama mikail akile* (‘thing shown to the boy by the woman’) and *Sakialma tsuhpanen* (‘time/place/circumstances associated with Sakial’s living’) are participant nominals modifying the head noun *kotu* ‘house’. (Note that participant nominal modifiers—at least those longer than a single word—almost never co-occur with case-marked modifiers, which is why PN and NP-CM are treated as competing for the same slot in the noun phrase template.)

(6.172) *ihama mikail akile kotuna*
 woman.ERG boy.DAT PV.see.TNZR house.LOC
 ‘in the house that the woman showed to the boy’

(6.173) *Sakialma tsuhpanen olh kulhe kotu itan*
 Sakial.ERG live.DEP.CNZR DIST green house that:LOC
 ‘in that green house where Sakial lives’

Word order within the noun phrase is generally fixed. The only dependents which seem to have a variable position are single-word participant nominals like *pate* ‘tall one’. These can occupy the PN slot in the template, in which case they will precede a deictic particle such as *ke*, or they can be treated as the first element in a noun compound, in which case they will follow the deictic particle:

(6.174) *pate ke kotu itan*
 tall.TNZR MED house that:LOC
 ‘in this tall house’

(6.175) *ke pate kotu itan*
 MED tall.TNZR house that:LOC
 ‘in this tall house’

This flexibility is possible only if the participant nominal consists of a single word. If the participant nominal is complex, it must occupy the PN slot. Hence, if *pate* ‘tall one’ is replaced by the multi-word modifier *palahtau apatohte* ‘thing (which is) taller than a tree’, the latter must precede the deictic particle:

(6.176) *palahtau apatohte ke kotu itan*
 tree.ABL REL.tall.COMP.TNZR MED house that:LOC
 ‘in this house (which is) taller than a tree’

Chapter 7

Verb Morphology

7.1 Introduction

In chapter 4 (§4.4) I discussed the classification of verbs according to their argument structure. In this chapter I discuss the rather complex morphology found on verbs in Okuna. As noted in chapter 2, verbs inflect for tense, aspect, and mood, and also mark negation, as well as agreeing in number (singular versus plural) with their subjects and objects. Verbs also take morphology for expressing modality, and those denoting scalar properties inflect for equative and comparative/superlative degree.

In §7.2 I discuss number agreement, while in §7.3 I consider how negation is marked. §7.4 gives an overview of tense, aspect, and mood morphology. In §7.5 I discuss various infixes and suffixes which are used for deriving verbs of one class from verbs of other classes. §7.6 deals with the expression of degree and the formation of comparative constructions. Finally, in §7.7 I discuss modal inflection, along with other ways of expressing modality.

Note that verbs in Okuna are generally cited with the ending *-a*, which marks the non-past imperfect aspect in main clauses (cf. §7.4.2), as well as the indicative mood in dependent clauses (cf. §10.2). To derive the STEM for most verbs, the ending *-a* is simply removed. For instance, the verb ‘sleep’, usually cited as *muelha*, has the stem *muelh-*; while the verb ‘wash’, usually cited as *paua*, has the stem *pau-*. As these examples show, verb stems in Okuna may end in a consonant or a glide.

7.2 Number agreement

Verbs agree in number (singular versus plural) with their core arguments—that is, with noun phrases that are selected by the verb and appear in the nominative, dative, or ergative case. When a verb has one or more core arguments that are plural, this fact is registered by means of suffixes, which attach to the verb following any inflection for tense, aspect, mood, and polarity (see §7.3). For example, the verb *eta* ‘go’ normally takes the suffix *-t* when its nominative argument is plural: e.g., *me eta* ‘I go’, versus *se etat* ‘we go’. The agreement suffix is often the only indication that the argument in question is plural, since nouns, as well as (second and third person) clitic pronouns, do not themselves express number. Compare:

<i>ku eta</i>	‘you (sg) go’	<i>pyie eta</i>	‘the child goes’
<i>ku etat</i>	‘you (pl) go’	<i>pyie etat</i>	‘the children go’
<i>ne eta</i>	‘s/he goes’	<i>hi eta</i>	‘it goes’
<i>ne etat</i>	‘they go’	<i>hi etat</i>	‘they go’

- (7.1) *Tsokoimpà elohka etskanyi*
stranger.NOM yesterday arrive.PV
‘The stranger arrived yesterday’

- (7.2) *Tsokoimpà elohka etskanyit*
 stranger.NOM yesterday arrive.PV.PL
 ‘The strangers arrived yesterday’

Noun phrases that are unmarked for case (§4.6) do not agree in number with the verb, and so their number must usually be inferred from context (since unmarked noun phrases are normally interpreted as non-referential, number is usually irrelevant in any case). Oblique case-marked noun phrases likewise do not agree with the verb. Consider the examples below, where the unmarked noun phrase *halma* and the allative case-marked noun phrase *kamala* are vague or ambiguous as to number. When it is important to the context to specify whether an oblique or unmarked noun phrase has a singular or plural referent, one must resort to other means to express number besides verb agreement (see §6.2).

- (7.3) *Ma halma italanka*
 1sERG book PRG.read.IPV:PST
 ‘I was reading a book’ or ‘I was reading books’ (more lit. ‘I was book-reading’)

- (7.4) *Ma kamala ikpihanka*
 1sERG knife.ALL PRG.look:for.IPV:PST
 ‘I was looking for a/the knife’ or ‘I was looking for (the) knives’

Different agreement suffixes are used depending on the topicality and case role of the noun phrase being agreed with. There are five agreement suffixes, listed in the following table. The reciprocal suffix is discussed in §9.4.4, while the other suffixes are discussed and illustrated below.

PLURAL TOPIC (PL)	<i>-t/-ta</i>
NOMINATIVE PLURAL (NPL)	<i>-ua/-a</i>
DATIVE PLURAL (DPL)	<i>-ma</i>
ERGATIVE PLURAL (EPL)	<i>-ne/-ni</i>
RECIPROCAL (RECIP)	<i>-uo/-o</i>

Except for the dative plural marker, each suffix has two forms. For plural topics, the form of the suffix is grammatically determined: *-t* appears on verbs in main clauses and in participial clauses (§10.3), while *-ta* is used for verbs in the dependent form (§10.2). For the other suffixes, the form is phonologically conditioned. The nominative plural and reciprocal suffixes take the forms *-a* and *-o* after a glide, and *-ua* and *-uo* elsewhere. This is illustrated below for nominative plural agreement: in (7.5) the agreement suffix follows the imperfective suffix *-a*, while in (7.6) it follows the perfective suffix *-yi*, which ends in a glide.

- (7.5) *Elimma pyie itsulaua*
 Elim.ERG child.NOM PRG.visit.IPV.NPL
 ‘Elim is visiting the children’

- (7.6) *Elimma pyie tsulyia*
 Elim.ERG child.NOM visit.PV.NPL
 ‘Elim visited the children’

The ergative plural suffix takes the form *-ni* when followed by another suffix beginning with a consonant (typically the plural topic marker *-t*, but also the enclitic question marker *-n*), and *-ne* elsewhere. Compare the following examples, where *-ne/-ni* marks agreement with *pyima* ‘the children’, while *-t* in (7.9) marks agreement with *Elim ka Sakiale*:

- (7.7) *Elime pyima tsulyine*
 Elim.NOM child.ERG visit.PV.EPL
 ‘Elim was visited by the children’

(7.8) *Elim pyima tsuljiniin?*
 Elim.NOM child.ERG visit.PV.EPL.QU
 ‘Was Elim visited by the children?’

(7.9) *Elim ka Sakiale pyima tsuljiniit*
 Elim and Sakial.NOM child.ERG visit.PV.EPL.PL
 ‘Elim and Sakial were visited by the children’

A verb can take up to two plural agreement suffixes. When two suffixes are present, the second suffix must be the plural topic marker *-t*, while the first suffix is either the nominative, dative, or ergative agreement marker, or the reciprocal marker. The verbs in the following sentences illustrate the permissible two-suffix combinations (for non-reciprocal verbs):

(7.10) *Lhatima pilà iksonauat*
 children.ERG bird.NOM PRG.look:at.IPV.NPL.PL
 ‘The children are looking at the birds’

(7.11) *Ikema sekeit tahyimat*
 dog.ERG rat.DAT kill.PV.DPL.PL
 ‘The dogs killed the/some rats’

(7.12) *Sekeit ikema tahyiniit*
 rat.NOM dog.ERG kill.PV.EPL.PL
 ‘The rats were killed by (the) dogs’

The rules governing the use of the agreement suffixes are as follows:

1. If the clause contains a topic in one of the core cases (§4.3), and if that topic has a plural referent, then the verb is marked with the suffix *-t*. The topic is typically the first noun phrase or clitic pronoun in the clause, is interpreted as definite, and identifies the participant about which the rest of the clause is predicated (see §9.2.1 for more on the topic role).
2. If the clause contains a plural non-topic noun phrase marked with one of the core cases, then one of the other agreement suffixes in the above table is added to the verb. The choice of suffix depends on the case role of the non-topic noun phrase: if it is nominative, the verb takes *-(u)a*; if it is dative, the verb takes *-ma*; and if it is ergative, the verb takes *-ne/-ni*.
3. If the clause contains multiple non-topic noun phrases with core case marking, only one of which has a plural referent, then the verb will agree with that noun phrase (choice of agreement suffix is as in (2) above).
4. If the clause contains two or more non-topic noun phrases with plural referents, the verb can agree with at most one of them. In such cases, speakers have an option as to which noun phrase will trigger agreement, though animacy and definiteness are important factors. If one of the noun phrases is definite and the other is indefinite, the verb will tend to agree with the definite one. If both noun phrases are (in)definite but one of them has an animate referent and the other an inanimate referent, the verb will generally agree with the animate one.

These rules are illustrated by the examples below. The first set of examples involves verbs taking a single argument. In (7.13) a plural ergative argument functions as the topic, while in (7.14) the same argument acts as a non-topic. (In the latter case, as the glosses indicate, *pyima* is interpreted contrastively, or taken to be introducing a previously unmentioned referent into the discourse.) The second pair of sentences feature a verb taking a nominative argument, which acts as the topic in (7.15) and as a non-topic in (7.16).

- (7.13) *Pyima tsulna imuelhat*
 child.ERG bed.LOC PRG.sleep.IPV.PL
 ‘The children are sleeping on the bed’
- (7.14) *Tsulna pyima imuelhane*
 bed.LOC child.ERG PRG.sleep.IPV.EPL
 ‘There are some children sleeping on the bed’
 or ‘It’s (the) children who are sleeping on the bed’
- (7.15) *Yhkunà etskanyit*
 guest.NOM arrive.PV.PL
 ‘The guests arrived’
- (7.16) *Yhkuna sepyi etskanyia*
 guest some:NOM arrive.PV.NPL
 ‘Some guests arrived’ or ‘There arrived some guests’

The examples below feature a verb taking an ergative argument and a nominative argument, and show the various possible agreement options. In the sentences in (7.17) the ergative argument is the topic, while in the sentences in (7.18) it is the nominative argument which functions as the topic:

- (7.17) *Kalma palahtà take itiausa*
 man.ERG tree.NOM cut.CV PRG.fell.IPV
 ‘The man is cutting down a/the tree’
- Kalma palahtà take itiausat* ‘The men are cutting down a/the tree’
Kalma palahtà take itiausaua ‘The man is cutting down some/the trees’
Kalma palahtà take itiausauat ‘The men are cutting down some/the trees’
- (7.18) *Palahtà kalma take itiausa*
 tree.NOM man.ERG cut.CV PRG.fell.IPV
 ‘The tree is being cut down by a/the man’
- Palahtà kalma take itiausat* ‘The trees are being cut down by a/the man’
Palahtà kalma take itiausane ‘The tree is being cut down by some/the men’
Palahtà kalma take itiausanit ‘The trees are being cut down by some/the men’

Additional examples of plural marking:

- (7.19) *Elimu pyima hantampat*
 Elim.ABL child.ERG proper.ACT.IPV.PL
 ‘Elim’s children are well-behaved’
- (7.20) *Motlama ntsuta halma amot utaloma*
 Motla.ERG not:yet book all:DAT PF.read.IPV:NEG.DPL
 ‘Motla hasn’t read all the books yet’
- (7.21) *Sa kahu iasyit*
 13ERG fish eat.PV.PL
 ‘We ate (some) fish’
- (7.22) *No tsokoimpà Tenmotlaila tulona sasyiat*
 3aRDAT stranger.NOM Tenmotlai.ALL road.LOC meet.PV.NPL.PL
 ‘They met the strangers on the road to Tenmotlai’

(7.23) *Amema pyie sihkunoi histyia*
 mother.ERG child.NOM river.DAT take.PV.NPL
 ‘The mother took (her) children to the river(s)’

(7.24) *Sa ispakai hafe halmà tafyimat*
 13ERG student.DAT new.TNZR book.NOM show.PV.DPL.PL
 ‘We showed the/some new book(s) to the students’

In (7.24) the nominative argument *hafe halmà* ‘new book(s)’ is ambiguous between a singular and a plural interpretation, as the translation shows. This is because the slot on the verb devoted to non-topic agreement has been filled by the dative plural suffix *-ma*, preventing the nominative argument from triggering agreement on the verb. Likewise the dative argument *sihkunoi* ‘river(s)’ in (7.23) is ambiguous between a singular and a plural reading (although the former is more pragmatically plausible) because the verb is already agreeing in plurality with the nominative argument. Notice that in both cases, it is the animate argument which triggers agreement while the inanimate argument is blocked from agreeing.

Normally a verb will show plural agreement with a core argument only if that argument is overtly present in the clause. However, there are certain exceptions to this, discussed in §5.5. For example, topicalized second person pronouns are often omitted in questions and imperatives. These missing pronouns nevertheless trigger agreement when plural, causing the appropriate suffix to appear on the verb. Consider the examples below. In the second pair of examples, *Mekule eutaua* would be used when addressing a single individual, while *Mekule eutauat* would be used when addressing two or more individuals.

(7.25) *Okuna sulme kòman?*
 Okuna language.INST speak.IPV.QU
 ‘Do you (sg) speak Okuna?’

(7.26) *Okuna sulme komat ne?*
 Okuna language.INST speak.IPV.PL QU
 ‘Do you (pl) speak Okuna?’

(7.27) *Mekule eutaua*
 dish.NOM clean.IPV.NPL
 ‘Clean the dishes!’

(7.28) *Mekule eutauat*
 dish.NOM clean.IPV.NPL.PL
 ‘Clean the dishes!’

Consider also the examples below. In both cases the topic of the participial clause (‘looking at me’) is omitted under coreference with the topic of the main clause (see §10.3). Nevertheless, the participle agrees with this missing topic when it has a plural referent, just as the main clause verb agrees with the antecedent of the missing topic:

(7.29) *Sakiale euolhna itoilhanka man iksone*
 Sakial.NOM there.LOC PRG.stand:RES.IPV:PST 1sNOM PRG.look:at.PT
 ‘Sakial stood there looking at me’

(7.30) *Sakial ka Elime euolhna itoilhankat man iksonit*
 Sakial and Elim.NOM there.LOC PRG.stand:RES.IPV:PST.PL 1sNOM PRG.look:at.PT.PL
 ‘Sakial and Elim stood there looking at me’

7.3 Negation

Negation in Okuna is marked by a combination of morphemes. All negative sentences contain the negative particle *ntse* (glossed NEG in the examples), or some element incorporating this particle: e.g., *ntsemi* ‘never’, *ntsilas* ‘not only’, etc. These elements occur immediately before the portion of the clause that is being negated (see below). In addition, negation is marked on the verb: every verb carries a suffix which expresses some combination of tense/aspect/mood features (perfective, non-past imperfective, past imperfective, or conditional) and polarity (positive versus negative). A complete list of these suffixes is given in §7.4 below.

This two-part negation construction is illustrated using the pairs of examples below. In the first pair of sentences, the verb is marked for perfective aspect. In (7.31) the verb takes the suffix *-yi*, while in (7.32) the suffix changes to *-ou*. In the second pair of sentences the verb is marked for imperfective aspect (non-past tense). Here, the suffix is *-a* in the positive sentence and *-o* in its counterpart with negation.

(7.31) *Elohka sù kahpyi*
 yesterday rain fall.PV
 ‘It rained yesterday’

(7.32) *Elohka ntse sù kahpou*
 yesterday NEG rain fall.PV:NEG
 ‘It didn’t rain yesterday’

(7.33) *Lhatima halmai italamat*
 children.NOM book.DAT PRG.read.IPV.DPL.PL
 ‘The children are reading (the) books’

(7.34) *Lhatima ntse halmai italomat*
 children.NOM NEG book.DAT PRG.read.IPV:NEG.DPL.PL
 ‘The children are not reading (the) books’

Quite often the negative particle *ntse* will immediately precede the verb, in which case it attaches to the verb as a prefix. In its prefixal form, the negative particle is underlying *m-*, but regular phonological changes affect its surface realization as follows:

1. If the stem begins with a vowel, the negative prefix surfaces as *m-*: e.g., *afa* ‘accompany’, *mafo* ‘not accompany’; *iona* ‘know’, *miono* ‘not know’.
2. If the stem begins with a sonorant or a consonant cluster, the negative prefix takes the form *ma-*: e.g., *lima* ‘open’, *malimo* ‘not open’; *mutla* ‘understand’, *mamutlo* ‘not understand’; *nyipa* ‘use’, *manyipo* ‘not use’; *ksiama* ‘sneeze’, *maksiamo* ‘not sneeze’; *stoka* ‘destroy’, *mastoko* ‘not destroy’.
3. Finally, if the stem begins with a single obstruent consonant, the negative prefix takes the form of a nasal which agrees in place of articulation with the obstruent. If the obstruent is a continuant, it changes into the closest corresponding non-continuant: e.g., *fona* ‘praise’, *mpono* ‘not praise’; *huata* ‘like’, *nkuato* ‘not like’; *kahta* ‘hit’, *nkahto* ‘not hit’; *lhyua* ‘enter’, *ntllyuo* ‘not enter’; *pata* ‘be tall’, *mpato* ‘not be tall’; *siehpa* ‘write’, *ntsiehpo* ‘not write’; *tlelha* ‘find’, *ntlelho* ‘not find’; *tolha* ‘stand up’, *ntolho* ‘not stand up’; *tsupa* ‘be lost’, *ntsupo* ‘not be lost’.

The following example sentences include verbs to which the negative particle has been prefixed:

(7.35) *Yhmana manuhò hialò*
 outside.LOC NEG.cold.IPV:NEG today
 ‘It’s not cold out today’

- (7.36) *Ounana kahoi miasuhunka le*
 bear.LOC fish.DAT NEG.eat.want.IPV:PST:NEG it:seems
 ‘The bear didn’t want to eat the fish, it seems’

Note that when *m-* immediately precedes the progressive aspect prefix *i-*, the latter lowers to become *e-*, unless it is followed by a non-glide vowel. The perfect aspect prefix *u-* lowers to become *o-* under the same conditions. Compare:

<i>siehpa</i>	‘writes, will write’	<i>ntsiehpo</i>	‘doesn’t write, won’t write’
<i>isiehpa</i>	‘is writing’	<i>mesiehpo</i>	‘isn’t writing’
<i>usiehpa</i>	‘has written’	<i>mosiehpo</i>	‘hasn’t written’

When some other constituent besides the verb is in the scope of negation, that constituent appears between the negative particle and the verb, with the particle occurring in its unbound form *ntse* rather than as a prefix. For instance, when some dependent of the verb is focused in the scope of negation, it follows *ntse*. This is illustrated in (7.37), where *Elimma* is being contrasted with another participant. *Ntse* also precedes unmarked noun phrases, which must be immediately adjacent to the verb, as discussed in §4.6. An example is given in (7.38), where the noun *maka*, interpreted as a generic or non-referential object, intervenes between negation and the verb. Finally, (7.39) gives an example where the negative particle and the verb are separated by an adverbial and a dative noun phrase, both interpreted within the scope of negation.

- (7.37) *Kohui umot ntse Elimma iasout, tluosna Sakialma*
 berry all.RDAT NEG Elim.ERG eat.PV:NEG.PL but Sakial.ERG
 ‘It’s not ELIM who ate all the berries, but Sakial’

- (7.38) *Elimma ntse maka iaso*
 Elim.ERG NEG meat eat.IPV:NEG
 ‘Elim doesn’t eat meat’

- (7.39) *Ne ntse emiantena Tenmotlaie etot*
 3aNOM NEG how:often Tenmotlai.DAT go.IPV:NEG.PL
 ‘They don’t go to Tenmotlai very often’

The following examples provide minimal pairs illustrating the effect of word order on the interpretation of negative sentences. In (7.40) the negative marker attaches to the verb, whereas in (7.41) it precedes *kihoin* ‘letter’. Although the two sentences are translated in more or less the same way, they differ semantically. The first sentence would tend to receive a focus-neutral interpretation, paraphrasable as ‘It is not the case that the student is writing a letter’. In the second example a portion of the sentence following *ntse* is being focused. There are two possibilities: If the focus is on *kihoin*, then the meaning of the sentence is ‘It’s not a LETTER that the student is writing (but something else)’; here we say that negation scopes over *kihoin*. Alternatively, the whole phrase *kihoin isiehpo* can act as the focus and scope for negation, in which case the meaning is ‘It’s not WRITING A LETTER that the student is engaged in (but some other activity)’.

- (7.40) *Ispakama kihoin mesiehpo*
 student.ERG letter.DAT NEG.PRG.write.IPV:NEG
 ‘The student is not writing a letter’

- (7.41) *Ispakama ntse kihoin isiehpo*
 student.ERG NEG letter.DAT PRG.write.IPV:NEG
 ‘The student is not writing a letter’

Consider also the pair of examples below. In (7.42) the quantificational phrase *tsokoimpa mianta* ‘a number of strangers’ follows the negative marker *ntse*, and is interpreted inside the scope of negation, yielding the reading ‘It is not the case that Elim met a number of strangers’. In (7.43) the quantificational phrase

precedes the negative marker (here realized as the prefix *n-*), and is thus outside the scope of negation. This results in a subtly different interpretation, roughly paraphrasable as ‘A number of strangers are such that Elim didn’t meet them’.

(7.42) *Elim ntse tsokoimpa mianté tsokuou*
 Elim.DAT NEG stranger many:NOM meet.PV:NEG
 ‘Elim didn’t meet very many strangers’

(7.43) *Elim tsokoimpa mianté ntsokuou*
 Elim.DAT stranger many:NOM NEG.meet.PV:NEG
 ‘There are a number of strangers who Elim didn’t meet’

A final pair of examples illustrating the scope of negation is given below. Notice how the placement of the negative marker is reflected in the English translations.

(7.44) *Inkime ntse oite mà utso*
 3aERG:12DAT NEG important.TNZR something PF.say.IPV:NEG
 ‘She hasn’t told us anything of importance’

(7.45) *Inkime oite mà motso*
 3aERG:12DAT important.TNZR something NEG.PF.say.IPV:NEG
 ‘There’s something important that she hasn’t told us’

Attachment of the negative marker to other word classes

Besides appearing on the verb, the negative marker also attaches to certain preverbal elements. Examples include the focus operators *ntsilas* ‘not only’ and *ntsohkina* ‘not even’ (see §8.2.1); and the aspectual elements *ntseima* ‘no longer’, *ntsuta* ‘not yet’, and *ntsoke* ‘not going to’ (§8.4.2). Various negative quantifiers and quantificational adverbials can also be formed by adding the negative particle to a correlative element. These include the following (see §6.7.1 for a complete list):

ntsamà ‘none, nothing, not any’ [inanimate]
ntsemiò ‘none, no-one, not any’ [animate]
ntsemiè ‘nowhere’
ntsemi ‘never’

Note that when one of these elements combines with a noun, the negative element ‘detaches’ from the correlative and precedes the noun as *ntse*. Compare:

ntsamà ‘nothing’ *ntse iase mà* ‘no food’
ntsemiò ‘no-one’ *ntse pyi miò* ‘no children’

Negative operators, quantifiers, and adverbials all precede the verb, to the left of any noun phrases inside the scope of negation and to the right of noun phrases which are outside the scope of negation. As with *ntse*, the verb is suffixed with the negative form of the appropriate tense/aspect/mood suffix. Examples:

(7.46) *Ma ntsamà etsou*
 1sERG nothing say.PV:NEG
 ‘I said nothing’ or ‘I didn’t say anything’

(7.47) *Ntsemiohma mà etsou*
 nobody.ERG something say.PV:NEG
 ‘Nobody said anything’

- (7.48) *Ma ntse talak mà ikpunka*
 1SERG NEG money some PRG.carry.IPV:PST:NEG
 ‘I was not carrying any money’
- (7.49) *Imè halmà ntsemièna itleilho*
 1SALL book.NOM nowhere.LOC PRG.find:RES.IPV:NEG
 ‘My book is nowhere to be found’ (lit. ‘My book is found nowhere’)
- (7.50) *Ne ntsemi Tenmotlaie uto*
 3aNOM never Tenmotlai.DAT PF.go.IPV:NEG
 ‘She has never been/gone to Tenmotlai’

Other particles indicating polarity

In negative clauses the verb is sometimes followed by the emphatic particle *iahok*, which highlights the negation (see §8.2.2). Negative imperatives (prohibitives) feature the particle *iak*, while emphatic negative questions may be marked with the particle *iakin*. Examples include:

- (7.51) *Itè mekesto iahok iman*
 3iALL NEG.PRG.happy.IPV:NEG NEG:EMPH 1SLOC
 ‘I’m not at all happy about this’
- (7.52) *Ku mankilho iak*
 2NOM NEG.leave.IPV:NEG NEG:IMP
 ‘Don’t leave!’
- (7.53) *Sakiale motsokuo iakin?*
 Sakial.NOM NEG.PF.meet.IPV:NEG NEG:EMPH:QU
 ‘Haven’t you ever met Sakial before?’ or ‘Have you really never met Sakial?’

Note finally that *ntse* and *m-* alternate with two other preverbal negative particles, namely *ntsu* and *ntsune*. The former expresses negated coordination, and appears in a construction where it is repeated before each conjunct (*ntsu ... ntsu ...* is equivalent to English ‘neither ... nor ...’). Note that only the second conjunct is marked for case, while the first conjunct appears in the unmarked form. Notice also that in the example below the verb takes the negative form of the tense/aspect suffix, but does not carry plural agreement with the ergative argument (*ntsu Sakial ntsu imà*).

- (7.54) *Halma atai eima ntsu Sakial ntsu imà utalo*
 book that:DAT still neither Sakial nor 1SERG PF.read.IPV:NEG
 ‘Neither Sakial nor I have read that book yet’

Ntsune is used in place of *ntse* or *m-* to put emphatic focus on the negation, as when the speaker wishes to contradict a previous assertion or implication. For example, (7.55) below would be used to make a simple statement, while (7.56) would be used if the speaker wishes to disagree with an earlier claim that the water was hot. The positive counterpart of *ntsune* is *hiò*, which may be used to contradict a previous negative statement, as in (7.57). (Note the presence of the emphatic particle *ha*, used when the sentence conveys information which the speaker believes will be unexpected or surprising to the addressee; see §8.2.2.)

- (7.55) *Nahe mekailo*
 water.NOM NEG.PRG.hot.IPV:NEG
 ‘The water isn’t hot’

(7.56) *Nahe ntsune ikailo ha*
 water.NOM NEG PRG.hot.IPV:NEG in:fact
 ‘No, in fact the water is NOT hot’

(7.57) *Nahe hiò ikaila ha*
 water.NOM POS PRG.hot.IPV in:fact
 ‘On the contrary, the water IS hot’

The particles *hiò* and *ntsune* can also be used as utterances by themselves, equivalent to English ‘yes’ and ‘no’: *Hiò* is used to answer a yes/no question in the affirmative, to signal agreement with a previous positive assertion or implication, or to contradict a previous negative assertion or implication. *Ntsune* is used to answer a yes/no question in the negative, to signal agreement with a previous negative assertion or implication, or to contradict a positive assertion or implication.

Hiò and *ntsune* can also stand in for a predicate phrase which has been elided. *Hiò* (like English ‘do/does/did’) replaces a positive predicate, while *ntsune* (like ‘don’t/doesn’t/didn’t’) replaces a negative predicate:

(7.58) *Sakiale sikhkunoì etyi, le Elime ntsune*
 Sakial.NOM river.DAT go.PV but Elim.NOM NEG
 ‘Sakial went to the river, but Elim didn’t’

(7.59) *Sakiale sikhkunoì metou, le Elime hiò*
 Sakial.NOM river.DAT NEG.go.PV:NEG but Elim.NOM POS
 ‘Sakial didn’t go to the river, but Elim did’

These particles are not used in the so-called STRIPPING construction, where two clauses containing contrasting focused noun phrases are conjoined with one another, and everything except the focused phrase is omitted from the second conjunct (see §8.2.1 for more examples). In this construction, if the second conjunct is negated, the focused phrase is preceded by the regular negative particle *ntse*, just as it is when the first conjunct is negated:

(7.60) *Iasè te Sakialma ketyi, ntse Elimma*
 food.NOM FOC Sakial.ERG bring:here.PV NEG Elim.ERG
 ‘It’s Sakial who brought the food, not Elim’

(7.61) *Iasè ntse Sakialma ketou, tluosna Elimma*
 food.NOM NEG Sakial.ERG bring:here.PV:NEG instead Elim.ERG
 ‘It’s not Sakial who brought the food, but Elim’

7.4 Tense, aspect, and mood

In addition to number agreement (§7.2), verbs in Okuna inflect for tense, aspect, mood, and polarity. The type of inflection differs for verbs in main clauses versus verbs in dependent clauses. In this section I focus on main clause verbs. For discussion of aspect, mood, and polarity inflection in dependent clauses, see §10.2.

Tense, aspect, mood, and polarity are marked on the verb by a combination of suffixes and prefixes. I briefly consider these in turn before presenting some sample verb conjugations in §7.4.1.

Suffixal morphology

Verbs in main clauses mark the following features by means of suffixation:

1. Two MOOD categories are distinguished. The INDICATIVE mood is used when the clause denotes an actual or possible state of affairs, while the CONDITIONAL mood is used when it denotes a contingent or hypothetical state of affairs. E.g., *ma uhna* ‘I sing, I will sing’ (indicative), versus *ma uhnike* ‘I would sing’ (conditional).
2. For verbs in the indicative mood, a two-way TENSE distinction is made: NON-PAST tense is used for states and events which overlap or follow the moment of speaking, and for generic or ‘timeless’ states and events; while PAST tense is used for states and events which precede the moment of speaking. E.g., *ma uhna* ‘I sing, I will sing, I habitually sing’ (non-past), versus *ma uhnyi* ‘I sang’ (past).
3. A two-way ASPECT distinction is made in the past tense: PERFECTIVE aspect is used for single events when viewed as complete(d); while IMPERFECTIVE aspect is used for ongoing, habitual, or otherwise unbounded states of affairs. E.g., *ma uhnyi* ‘I sang’ (perfective), versus *ma uhnanka* ‘I used to sing’ (imperfective). Note that conditional and non-past indicative verbs always pattern as imperfective.
4. Finally, for each combination of tense, aspect, and mood features, a different ending is used depending on the POLARITY of the clause: one set of endings is used on verbs in POSITIVE clauses, while another set is used for verbs in NEGATIVE clauses. E.g., *ma hoti uhna* ‘I always sing’, versus *ma ntsemi uhno* ‘I never sing’.

The table below gives the complete set of tense, aspect, mood, and polarity endings found in main clauses. The abbreviations used in the glosses are given in parentheses after each suffix, while their functions are discussed in §7.4.2–§7.4.6. Note that when the past imperfective negative suffix *-unka* is added to a stem ending in a glide, the *u* lowers to *o* in accordance with the rules of vowel hiatus summarized in §3.5.3: e.g., *laki-* ‘hunt’ + *-unka* > *lakiunka*. Likewise, when the conditional suffix *-ike* is added to a glide-final stem, the *i* lowers to *e*: e.g., *tsoku-* ‘meet’ + *-ike* > *tsokueke*.

	POSITIVE		NEGATIVE	
NON-PAST IMPERFECTIVE	<i>-a</i>	(IPV)	<i>-o</i>	(IPV:NEG)
PAST IMPERFECTIVE	<i>-anka</i>	(IPV:PST)	<i>-unka</i>	(IPV:PST:NEG)
(PAST) PERFECTIVE	<i>-yi</i>	(PV)	<i>-ou</i>	(PV:NEG)
CONDITIONAL	<i>-ike</i>	(COND)	<i>-oike</i>	(COND:NEG)

The tense/aspect/mood/polarity suffixes immediately precede any number agreement suffixes attached to the verb (cf. §7.2). For reference, the following table presents all of the permissible combinations of these suffixes found on main clause verbs. These are grouped into rows according to tense/aspect/mood/polarity, and into columns according to number agreement.

	SG	PL	NPL	NPL+PL	DPL	DPL+PL	EPL	EPL+PL
IPV	<i>-a</i>	<i>-at</i>	<i>-aua</i>	<i>-auat</i>	<i>-ama</i>	<i>-amat</i>	<i>-ane</i>	<i>-anit</i>
IPV:NEG	<i>-o</i>	<i>-ot</i>	<i>-oua</i>	<i>-ouat</i>	<i>-oma</i>	<i>-omat</i>	<i>-one</i>	<i>-onit</i>
IPV:PST	<i>-anka</i>	<i>-ankat</i>	<i>-ankaua</i>	<i>-ankauat</i>	<i>-ankama</i>	<i>-ankamat</i>	<i>-ankane</i>	<i>-ankanit</i>
IPV:PST:NEG	<i>-unka</i>	<i>-unkat</i>	<i>-unkaua</i>	<i>-unkauat</i>	<i>-unkama</i>	<i>-unkamat</i>	<i>-unkane</i>	<i>-unkanit</i>
PV	<i>-yi</i>	<i>-yit</i>	<i>-yia</i>	<i>-yiat</i>	<i>-yima</i>	<i>-yimat</i>	<i>-yine</i>	<i>-yinit</i>
PV:NEG	<i>-ou</i>	<i>-out</i>	<i>-oua</i>	<i>-ouat</i>	<i>-ouma</i>	<i>-oumat</i>	<i>-oune</i>	<i>-ounit</i>
COND	<i>-ike</i>	<i>-ikit</i>	<i>-ikeua</i>	<i>-ikeuat</i>	<i>-ikima</i>	<i>-ikimat</i>	<i>-ikine</i>	<i>-ikinit</i>
COND:NEG	<i>-oike</i>	<i>-oikit</i>	<i>-oikeua</i>	<i>-oikeuat</i>	<i>-oikima</i>	<i>-oikimat</i>	<i>-oikine</i>	<i>-oikinit</i>

Notice that the conditional suffixes *-ike* and *-oike* become *-iki* and *-oiki*, respectively, when followed by a number agreement suffix beginning with a consonant. The conditional suffixes also have raising of final *e* to *i* before the bound question marker *-n* (discussed in §9.3.2):

<i>Na uhnike</i>	‘She would sing’	<i>Na uhnikin?</i>	‘Would she sing?’
<i>Na muhnoike</i>	‘She wouldn’t sing’	<i>Na muhnoikin?</i>	‘Wouldn’t she sing?’

Prefixal morphology

Besides the suffixes discussed above, verbs in the past and non-past imperfective, as well as the conditional, may take one of two prefixes to mark a further set of aspectual distinctions. The prefix *i-* or *e-* marks the PROGRESSIVE (PRG) aspect, while the prefix *u-* or *o-* marks the PERFECT (PF) aspect. When an imperfective or conditional verb does not carry one of these prefixes, it is said to be in the IMPERFECT aspect. Roughly speaking, the progressive is used for states of affairs viewed as current or ongoing; the perfect for states and events viewed ‘after the fact’; and the imperfect for generic, habitual, and future states of affairs:

IMPERFECT	<i>ma hosta</i>	‘I dance; I will dance’
PROGRESSIVE	<i>ma ihosta</i>	‘I am dancing’
PERFECT	<i>ma uhosta</i>	‘I have danced’

The progressive and perfect prefixes each have two allomorphs, whose distribution is governed by both phonological and morphological factors. The *e-* and *o-* variants are used when the prefix attaches to a stem beginning with a glide vowel (such as *iona* ‘know’ or *uohta* ‘sit’), in accordance with the vowel hiatus rules discussed in §3.5.3. In addition, *e-* and *o-* are used when the prefix attaches to a stem beginning with a consonant, just in case the prefix is in turn preceded by the bound negative marker *m-* (see §7.3). The *i-* and *u-* variants appear elsewhere. Compare the following partial paradigms for *kahta* ‘hit’, *aktapa* ‘help’, and *iasa* ‘eat’:

	POS	NEG	
IMPERFECT	<i>kahta</i>	<i>nkahto</i>	‘hits, will hit’
PROGRESSIVE	<i>ikahta</i>	<i>mekahto</i>	‘is hitting’
PERFECT	<i>ukahta</i>	<i>mokahto</i>	‘has hit’
IMPERFECT	<i>aktapa</i>	<i>maktapo</i>	‘helps, will help’
PROGRESSIVE	<i>iaktapa</i>	<i>miaktapo</i>	‘is helping’
PERFECT	<i>uaktapa</i>	<i>muaktapo</i>	‘has helped’
IMPERFECT	<i>iasa</i>	<i>miaso</i>	‘eats, will eat’
PROGRESSIVE	<i>eiasa</i>	<i>meiaso</i>	‘is eating’
PERFECT	<i>oiasa</i>	<i>moiaso</i>	‘has eaten’

In addition, when the aspectual prefixes are added to a stem beginning with a non-glide high vowel, that vowel lowers to become the corresponding mid vowel (again due to the vowel hiatus rules discussed in §3.5.3). For instance, adding *i-* to *ikla* ‘scratch’ yields *iekla* ‘is scratching’ (negative *mieklo* ‘is not scratching’), while adding *u-* gives *uekla* ‘has scratched’ (*mueklo* ‘has not scratched’). Likewise, adding *i-* and *u-* to *uhna* ‘sing’ yields *iohna* ‘is singing’ (*miohno* ‘is not singing’) and *uohna* ‘has sung’ (*muohno* ‘has not sung’), respectively.

7.4.1 Verb conjugations

In the discussion which follows, I will use abbreviated names for certain tense-aspect combinations. These are noted in the following table:

TENSE	ASPECT (SUFFIXAL)	ASPECT (PREFIXAL)	ABBREVIATED NAME
non-past	imperfective	imperfect	imperfect
non-past	imperfective	progressive	progressive
non-past	imperfective	perfect	perfect
past	imperfective	imperfect	past imperfect
past	imperfective	progressive	past progressive
past	imperfective	perfect	past perfect
past	perfective		perfective

The paradigms below illustrate the permissible tense/aspect/mood forms found in main clauses, using the verbs *siehp* ‘write’ (with the consonant-final stem *siehp-*) and *paua* ‘wash’ (with the glide-final stem *pau-*). The positive forms are given in the first column, and their negative counterparts in the second column. The latter are shown with the bound negative particle *m-* attached (see §7.3; note that *m-* + *siehp-* becomes *ntsiehp-* due to the regular assimilation rules discussed in §3.5.2). The third column gives approximate English equivalents for each tense/aspect/mood form.

	POS	NEG	
IMPERFECT	<i>siehp</i>	<i>ntsiehp</i>	‘write(s), will write’
PROGRESSIVE	<i>isiehp</i>	<i>mesiehp</i>	‘is writing, has been writing’
PERFECT	<i>usiehp</i>	<i>mosiehp</i>	‘wrote, has written’
PAST IMPERFECT	<i>siehp</i> <i>anka</i>	<i>ntsiehp</i> <i>anka</i>	‘wrote, would write, used to write’
PAST PROGRESSIVE	<i>isiehp</i> <i>anka</i>	<i>mesiehp</i> <i>anka</i>	‘was writing, had been writing’
PAST PERFECT	<i>usiehp</i> <i>anka</i>	<i>mosiehp</i> <i>anka</i>	‘had written’
IMPERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>siehp</i> <i>ike</i>	<i>ntsiehp</i> <i>ike</i>	‘would write’
PROGRESSIVE CONDITIONAL	<i>isiehp</i> <i>ike</i>	<i>mesiehp</i> <i>ike</i>	‘would be writing’
PERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>usiehp</i> <i>ike</i>	<i>mosiehp</i> <i>ike</i>	‘would have written’
PERFECTIVE	<i>siehp</i> <i>yi</i>	<i>ntsiehp</i> <i>ou</i>	‘wrote’
	POS	NEG	
IMPERFECT	<i>paua</i>	<i>mpauo</i>	‘wash(es), will wash’
PROGRESSIVE	<i>ipaua</i>	<i>mepauo</i>	‘is washing, has been washing’
PERFECT	<i>upaua</i>	<i>mopauo</i>	‘washed, has washed’
PAST IMPERFECT	<i>paua</i> <i>anka</i>	<i>mpauo</i> <i>onke</i>	‘washed, would wash, used to wash’
PAST PROGRESSIVE	<i>ipaua</i> <i>anka</i>	<i>mepauo</i> <i>onke</i>	‘was washing, had been washing’
PAST PERFECT	<i>upaua</i> <i>anka</i>	<i>mopauo</i> <i>onke</i>	‘had washed’
IMPERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>paua</i> <i>eke</i>	<i>mpauo</i> <i>ike</i>	‘would wash’
PROGRESSIVE CONDITIONAL	<i>ipaua</i> <i>eke</i>	<i>mepauo</i> <i>ike</i>	‘would be washing’
PERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>upaua</i> <i>eke</i>	<i>mopauo</i> <i>ike</i>	‘would have washed’
PERFECTIVE	<i>paua</i> <i>yi</i>	<i>mpauo</i> <i>ou</i>	‘washed’

Irregular verbs

A handful of verbs show certain irregularities in how they inflect for tense, aspect, mood, and polarity. For instance, the following eight verbs, whose stems all begin with *e*, mark prefixal aspect by replacing the *e* with *i* in the progressive and *u* in the perfect (or *e* in the progressive and *o* in the perfect when the negative prefix *m-* is added):

	PRG	PF	
<i>ekp-</i>	<i>ikp-</i>	<i>ukp-</i>	‘carry, bring/take, hold’
<i>esk-</i>	<i>isk-</i>	<i>usk-</i>	‘ask, request’
<i>est-</i>	<i>ist-</i>	<i>ust-</i>	‘reach, succeed’
<i>et-</i>	<i>it-</i>	<i>ut-</i>	‘go, come’
<i>ets-</i>	<i>its-</i>	<i>uts-</i>	‘say, tell’
<i>etskan-</i>	<i>itskan-</i>	<i>utskan-</i>	‘arrive, appear’
<i>etskast-</i>	<i>itskast-</i>	<i>utskast-</i>	‘summon, call, produce’
<i>etskop-</i>	<i>itskop-</i>	<i>utskop-</i>	‘realize’

That these verbs are genuinely irregular is shown by the fact that all other verbs whose stems begin with *e* form the progressive and perfect aspects according to the normal rules for vowel-initial verbs: e.g., *eka* ‘be

empty', progressive *ieka* 'is empty', perfect *ueka* 'has been empty'.

To illustrate this irregularity, I give the paradigm for *eta*:

	POS	NEG	
IMPERFECT	<i>eta</i>	<i>meto</i>	'go(es), will go'
PROGRESSIVE	<i>ita</i>	<i>meto</i>	'is going, has been going'
PERFECT	<i>uta</i>	<i>moto</i>	'went, has gone'
PAST IMPERFECT	<i>etanka</i>	<i>metunka</i>	'went, would go, used to go'
PAST PROGRESSIVE	<i>itanka</i>	<i>metunka</i>	'was going, had been going'
PAST PERFECT	<i>utanka</i>	<i>motunka</i>	'had gone'
IMPERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>etike</i>	<i>metoike</i>	'would go'
PROGRESSIVE CONDITIONAL	<i>itike</i>	<i>metoike</i>	'would be going'
PERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>utike</i>	<i>motoike</i>	'would have gone'
PERFECTIVE	<i>etyi</i>	<i>metou</i>	'went'

Only three other verbs show irregularities in their conjugations: the copula *he* (discussed in §9.3.1), and the deictic verbs *tsà* 'be over here' [near me] and *kà* 'be here/there' [near you/us] (discussed briefly in §5.3.2). The paradigm for *he* is given below. Notice that *he* is not only highly irregular but also morphologically 'deficient', in that it fails to inflect for the full range of tense and aspect distinctions: there are no progressive forms, and, since *he* is a stative verb, there are no perfective forms either. (The negative forms are given here without the bound negative marker *m-*, since this element never attaches directly to the copula, but always precedes the complement of the copula; cf. §9.3.1.)

	POS	NEG	
IMPERFECT	<i>he</i>	<i>ho</i>	'is/am/are, will be'
PERFECT	<i>heu</i>	<i>hou</i>	'has been'
PAST IMPERFECT	<i>nka</i>	<i>hunka</i>	'was/were'
PAST PERFECT	<i>heunka</i>	<i>hounka</i>	'had been'
IMPERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>heike</i>	<i>hoike</i>	'would be'
PERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>heuke</i>	<i>heuoike</i>	'would have been'

The paradigms for *tsà* and *kà* are given below. The slight irregularities found here are due to the fact that these are the only two verbs in the language whose stems end in a non-glide vowel (*tla-* and *ka-*, respectively).

	POS	NEG	
IMPERFECT	<i>tsà</i>	<i>ntsau</i>	'is here, will be here'
PROGRESSIVE	<i>itsà</i>	<i>metsau</i>	'is here, has been here'
PERFECT	<i>utsà</i>	<i>motsau</i>	'was here, has been here'
PAST IMPERFECT	<i>tsanka</i>	<i>ntsaunka</i>	'was here, used to be here'
PAST PROGRESSIVE	<i>itsanka</i>	<i>metsaunka</i>	'was here, had been here'
PAST PERFECT	<i>utsanka</i>	<i>motsaunka</i>	'had been here'
IMPERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>tsaike</i>	<i>ntsauoike</i>	'would be here'
PROGRESSIVE CONDITIONAL	<i>itsaike</i>	<i>metsauoike</i>	'would be here'
PERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>utsaike</i>	<i>motsauoike</i>	'would have been here'

	POS	NEG	
IMPERFECT	<i>kà</i>	<i>nkau</i>	‘is there, will be there’
PROGRESSIVE	<i>ikà</i>	<i>mekau</i>	‘is there, has been there’
PERFECT	<i>ukà</i>	<i>mokau</i>	‘was there, has been there’
PAST IMPERFECT	<i>kanka</i>	<i>nkaunka</i>	‘was there, used to be there’
PAST PROGRESSIVE	<i>ikanka</i>	<i>meaunka</i>	‘was there, had been there’
PAST PERFECT	<i>ukanka</i>	<i>mokaunka</i>	‘had been there’
IMPERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>kaike</i>	<i>nkauoike</i>	‘would be there’
PROGRESSIVE CONDITIONAL	<i>ikaike</i>	<i>mekauoike</i>	‘would be there’
PERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>ukaike</i>	<i>mokauoike</i>	‘would have been there’

The functions of the different tense, aspect, and mood forms are discussed and illustrated in the following subsections: §7.4.2 deals with the past and non-past imperfect, §7.4.3 with the past and non-past progressive, and §7.4.4 with the past and non-past perfect. In §7.4.5 I discuss the perfective and illustrate the differences between the perfective and the perfect, while in §7.4.6 I discuss the conditional mood.

7.4.2 Imperfect

As noted above, the non-past imperfective is marked on the verb by the suffix *-a* in positive clauses, and *-o* in negative clauses (these suffixes are glossed IPV and IPV:NEG, respectively). The past imperfective is marked by the suffix *-anka* in positive clauses, and *-unka* in negative clauses (glossed IPV:PST and IPV:PST:NEG, respectively). When these suffixes are used without the progressive or perfect aspectual prefix, the verb is said to be in the IMPERFECT aspect.

The non-past imperfect tends to be used in contexts where English would use the simple present tense, while the past imperfect corresponds to the simple past. With Class I verbs denoting an inherent or non-transitory property predicated of some individual (or group of individuals), the non-past imperfect form is used when the individual holds the property at the time when the sentence is uttered. The past imperfect is used when the individual held the property at some point in the past, but perhaps no longer does so.

(7.62) *Mo tiahtè pata*
 1sRDAT grandfather.NOM tall.IPV
 ‘My grandfather is tall’

(7.63) *Mo tiahtè patanka*
 1sRDAT grandfather.NOM tall.IPV:PST
 ‘My grandfather was tall’

(7.64) *Palò sikhunu utena tima*
 village.NOM river near.LOC lie.IPV
 ‘The village lies near a river’

(7.65) *Sakiale ameia akiel ohtlanka*
 Sakial.NOM mother.ALL appearance resemble.IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial looked like his mother’

Class I verbs also take the imperfect in generic sentences—that is, when the property in question is predicated of an entire class of entities rather than a particular individual or group of individuals. The non-past imperfect is used when the clause expresses a generalization that holds at the present moment, while the past imperfect is used for generalizations that applied at some point in the past (but may or may not apply at the present moment).

- (7.66) *Kotiemè inie ampiohna kote pekme yla*
 raccoon.NOM eyes around.LOC black patch.INST have.IPV
 ‘Raccoons have black patches around their eyes’
- (7.67) *Palu itan koinma es sul iapme komankat*
 village that:LOC person.ERG one language other.INST speak.IPV:PST.PL
 ‘People in that village used to speak a different language’
- Similarly with Class II and Class III verbs denoting events, the imperfect form is used in generic and habitual clauses. To express current generalizations or habitual actions (those overlapping with the moment of speaking), the non-past imperfect is used; while the past imperfect is used for habitual actions which are no longer being carried out and generalizations which no longer hold.
- (7.68) *Kitoleuma kepehots iasa*
 squirrel.ERG acorn eat.IPV
 ‘Squirrels eat acorns’
- (7.69) *Sakialma kahu pala*
 Sakial.ERG fish catch.IPV
 ‘Sakial catches fish’ or ‘Sakial is a fisherman’
- (7.70) *Sakialma ekan tsuhpa*
 Sakial.ERG here:LOC live.IPV
 ‘Sakial lives here’
- (7.71) *Sakialma ekan tsuhpanka*
 Sakial.ERG here:LOC live.IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial lived here’ or ‘Sakial used to live here’
- (7.72) *Sa kotsim ekina sihkununa sihpat*
 13ERG morning every:time river.LOC swim.IPV.PL
 ‘We go swimming in the river every morning’
- (7.73) *Halai iolhmohka, sa kotsim ekina sihkununa sihpankat*
 summer last:year 13ERG morning every:time river.LOC swim.IPV:PST.PL
 ‘Last summer, we went / would go swimming in the river every morning’

The non-past imperfect is also used to express a future event:

- (7.74) *Ma losaka eta*
 1sERG firewood.ALL go.IPV
 ‘I’ll go get (some) firewood’
- (7.75) *Ikimme Sakiale afa*
 12INST Sakial.NOM come:along.IPV
 ‘Sakial is coming with us’

It is usually possible to determine from context whether a verb in the non-past imperfect is referring to a generic/habitual event or a future event. When necessary, these senses can be distinguished by adding an adverbial or other temporal modifier to the sentence. For example, modifiers like *hoti* ‘always’, *kyfalu* ‘usually, as a rule’, *ela* ‘in each case’, or *kotsim ekina* ‘every morning’ bring out the generic or habitual interpretation (cf. example (7.72) above). To emphasize a future tense reading, an expression like *elohfoi* ‘tomorrow’, *lò henme efoi* ‘in two days’, *hatlam* ‘soon’, *laisne* ‘just’, or *oke* ‘in the future, by and by’ may be added to the clause. Verbs modified by *oke* are usually translated using the ‘be going to’ construction, while *laisne* expresses immediate future when used in combination with the non-past imperfect and corresponds to ‘be (just) about to’.

(7.76) *Ma koi elohfoi kuola*
 1SERG 2NOM tomorrow meet.IPV
 ‘I’ll meet you tomorrow’

(7.77) *Sakialma kihoin oke siehpa*
 Sakial.ERG letter.DAT going:to write.IPV
 ‘Sakial is going to write a letter’

(7.78) *Se laisne ilaltat*
 13NOM just go:to:shore.IPV.PL
 ‘We’re just about to go down to the shore’

Just as the non-past imperfect form can be used to express a future event, the past imperfect form can be used to express a ‘future-in-the-past’ event—that is, an event which, at a certain point in time in the past, had not yet happened but was expected to happen (cf. English ‘would leave, was going to leave, was about to leave’). To specify the future-in-the-past reading, the verb is normally accompanied by an adverbial such as *oke* or *laisne*.

(7.79) *Sakialma kihoin oke siehpanka*
 Sakial.ERG letter.DAT going:to write.IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial was going to write a letter’

(7.80) *Lhatè laisne sihkunoua nkilhankat unma ahatit*
 children.NOM just river.ALL leave.IPV:PST.PL 3ARDAT.1SERG PV.call.PT.PL
 ‘The children were just about to leave for the river when I called them (back)’

Finally, clauses in the non-past imperfect is used to express commands, wishes, or suggestions. Here the non-past imperfect is often used in combination with the postverbal imperative/optative marker *na* (expressing a command or wish) or *nem* (expressing a suggestion). In commands, the second person subject may be omitted (see §9.3.3 for more discussion of imperative sentences):

(7.81) *(Ko) temie paua*
 2ERG hands wash.IPV
 ‘Wash your hands!’

(7.82) *Tiakoi iase uktiama na*
 goat.DAT food give.IPV.DPL IMP
 ‘Go feed the goats!’ or ‘The goats should be fed’

(7.83) *Kue ikpihanene tlelha na*
 2DAT PRG.seek.DEP.CNZR.NOM find.IPV IMP
 ‘May you find what you’re looking for’

(7.84) *Kihoin siehpa nem*
 letter.DAT write.IPV why:not
 ‘Why don’t you write a letter?’

(7.85) *Kimot elohfoi Tenmotlaie etat nem*
 12:all:NOM tomorrow Tenmotlai.DAT go.IPV.PL why:not
 ‘Let’s all go to Tenmotlai tomorrow’

7.4.3 Progressive

The verb carries progressive inflection when it denotes a state or event which is being viewed as ongoing with respect to the present moment, or with respect to some other contextually-relevant past or future event. As noted above, progressive aspect is marked by adding the prefix *i-* to the verb, in combination with an imperfective suffix expressing tense and polarity (recall that *i-* becomes *e-* when preceded by the negative marker *m-* and/or followed by a glide):

<i>itala</i>	‘is reading, has been reading’	(non-past progressive)
<i>metalo</i>	‘isn’t reading, hasn’t been reading’	(non-past progressive negative)
<i>italanka</i>	‘was reading, had been reading’	(past progressive)
<i>metalunka</i>	‘wasn’t reading, hadn’t been reading’	(past progressive negative)

When a Class I verb appears in the non-past progressive, it denotes a state of affairs which holds at the moment of speaking. Here, the non-past progressive is normally translated using the simple present tense in English (‘is happy’) except when the verb denotes a position or posture, in which case it may correspond to the English present progressive (‘is sitting’). Likewise, the past progressive denotes a state of affairs which held at some point prior to the moment of speaking, and corresponds to the English simple past or past progressive (‘was tired’, ‘was sitting’).

(7.86) *Pyina ikesta*
 child.LOC PRG.happy.IPV
 ‘The child is happy’

(7.87) *Elime totsatna euohta*
 Elim.NOM table.LOC PRG.sit.IPV
 ‘Elim is sitting at the table’

(7.88) *Sakiale ihakta*
 Sakial.NOM PRG.tired.IPV
 ‘Sakial is tired’

(7.89) *Sakiale teusu ihaktanka elohka*
 Sakial.NOM very PRG.tired.IPV:PST yesterday
 ‘Sakial was very tired yesterday’

(7.90) *Kale euolhna itoilhankat*
 man.NOM over:there.LOC PRG.stand.RES.IPV:PST.PL
 ‘The men were standing over there’

For the most part, the progressive is used only with Class I verbs denoting states which are transitory, and not thought of as inherent or necessary properties of the individual in question (e.g., *kesta* ‘be happy’, *mouta* ‘be sick’). Verbs expressing permanent or integral characteristics of an individual (e.g., *pata* ‘be tall’) almost always appear in the imperfect instead of the progressive. Many Class I verbs can describe either a permanent state or a transitory state, depending on the context or the choice of theme argument. For such verbs, the choice between the progressive and the imperfect correlates with this difference in interpretation. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

(7.91) *Sakiale imouta*
 Sakial.NOM PRG.sick.IPV
 ‘Sakial is sick’ (now)

(7.92) *Sakiale mouta*
 Sakial.NOM sick.IPV
 ‘Sakial is sickly/infirm’ (i.e., has a chronic condition)

- (7.93) *Sakiale imuntanka*
 Sakial.NOM PRG.drunk.IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial was drunk’ (at a certain point in time)
- (7.94) *Sakiale muntanka*
 Sakial.NOM drunk.IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial was (habitually) drunk’ or ‘Sakial was a drunkard’
- (7.95) *Halmà totsat epamna itima*
 book.NOM table top.LOC PRG.lie.IPV
 ‘The book is lying on the table’ (transitory location)
- (7.96) *Palu tan loka pahaina tima*
 village that:NOM forest beyond.LOC lie.IPV
 ‘That village lies beyond the forest’ (permanent location)

Occasionally a verb denoting an inherent property will appear in the progressive rather than the imperfect. In such cases the progressive serves to emphasize that the individual in question possesses the property now, but did not do so in the past:

- (7.97) *Me ihka mitianka, le takan inasa*
 1sNOM earlier weak.IPV:PST but now PRG.strong.IPV
 ‘I used to be weak, but now I’m strong’

When an eventive (Class II or Class III) verb inflects for the progressive, the clause is understood to denote a particular event which is ongoing (overlaps with) some contextually-relevant point in time. The non-past progressive is normally used for an event which is ongoing at the moment of speaking, and corresponds closely to the present progressive in English (‘is eating’). The past progressive is used when the event was ongoing at some time in the past, and corresponds to the English past progressive (‘was eating’).

- (7.98) *Elimma homa eiasa*
 Elim.NOM bread PRG.eat.IPV
 ‘Elim is eating bread’
- (7.99) *Elimma homa eiasanka me haloi alhyue*
 Elim.NOM bread PRG.eat.IPV 1sNOM room.DAT PV.enter.PF
 ‘Elim was eating bread when I entered the room’

The progressive is also used when the clause expresses a state of affairs which began in the past and has persisted up to the present moment. When used in this way, the non-past progressive often corresponds to the English present perfect or present perfect progressive (‘has been tired’, ‘has been sitting’); while the past progressive corresponds to the past perfect or past perfect progressive (‘had been tired’, ‘had been sitting’). The clause generally includes a temporal measure phrase, often in the dative case and preceded by *kas* ‘so far, as of now/then, already’:

- (7.100) *Sakiale lem emuohpi ihakta*
 Sakial.NOM day whole:time PRG.tired.IPV
 ‘Sakial has been tired all day’
- (7.101) *Ne tsulna kas luom hein isailha*
 3aNOM bed.LOC so:far hour two.DAT PRG.lie.PV
 ‘She has been lying on the bed for two hours’

- (7.102) *Ne tsulna kas luom hein isailhanka me haloi alhyue*
 3aNOM bed.LOC so:far hour two.DAT PRG.lie.PV:PST 1sNOM room.DAT PV.enter.PT
 ‘She had been lying on the bed for two hours when I entered the room’

Note also the following example. As in (7.102) above, the main clause, with its verb in the past progressive, establishes a temporal context for the event denoted by the perfective participial clause. Here, however, the past progressive verb is instead translated using the simple past (‘was young’):

- (7.103) *Motlà eima teusu ifhanka no amè atioke*
 Motla.NOM still very PRG.young.IPV:PST 3aRDAT mother.NOM PV.die.PT
 ‘Motla was still very young when his mother died’

Combining progressive marking with an adverbial indicating futurity (such as *oke* ‘going to’, *hatlam* ‘soon’), or a dependent clause headed by *hulne hekuna* ‘by the time (that)’, yields a future progressive interpretation (‘will be sleeping’):

- (7.104) *Pyima hatlam imuelhat*
 child.ERG soon PRG.sleep.IPV.PL
 ‘The children will soon be sleeping’

- (7.105) *Se nioktata hulne hekuna, pyima imuelhat*
 13NOM return.DEP.PL at:the:latest when.LOC child.ERG PRG.sleep.IPV.PL
 ‘By the time we get back, the children will be sleeping’

The progressive can also express an event in the immediate future, much as in English. However, using the progressive to indicate futurity is less common in Okuna than it is in English: more often the non-past imperfect is used (§7.4.2). The progressive with future meaning occurs mostly with verbs such as *nkilha* ‘leave’, which express punctual events (i.e., events viewed as being instantaneous):

- (7.106) *Me elohfoi inkilha*
 1sNOM tomorrow PRG.leave.IPV
 ‘I’m leaving tomorrow’ or ‘I’ll be leaving tomorrow’

7.4.4 Perfect

Perfect aspect is marked by the adding the prefix *u-* to the verb (*o-* after the negative prefix *m-* or before a glide), in combination with an imperfective suffix indicating the tense and polarity of the clause:

<i>usiehpá</i>	‘has written, will have written’	(non-past perfect)
<i>mosiehpó</i>	‘hasn’t written, won’t have written’	(non-past perfect negative)
<i>usiehpánka</i>	‘had written’	(past perfect)
<i>mosiehpánka</i>	‘hadn’t written’	(past perfect negative)

Use of the perfect aspect indicates that the event or state denoted by the verb properly precedes some other discourse-salient point in time. For the non-past imperfect, this point in time is normally the moment when the sentence is uttered. Verbs in the non-past perfect are usually translated using the present perfect (‘has read’) in English:

- (7.107) *Na halma utai ehenna utala*
 3aERG book that:RDAT twice PF.read.IPV
 ‘She has read that book twice’

The non-past perfect is similar in meaning to the perfective, and often they can be used interchangeably without significantly altering the entailments of the sentence. However, the two forms are not identical in meaning. The perfective identifies a particular event and asserts that that event is complete(d); whereas the non-past perfect indicates that a given type of event occurred at one or more times in the past, or that a given state of affairs was in effect at some point prior to the present moment. Compare:

(7.108) *Ikè kankilhyi*
dog.NOM run:away.PV
'The dog ran away (then)'

(7.109) *Ikè ukankilha*
dog.NOM PF.run:away.IPV
'The dog ran away (at some point or other)'
or 'The dog has run away'

For more on the difference between the non-past perfect and the perfective, see the discussion in §7.4.5 below.

When accompanied by an element expressing futurity, such as *oke* 'be going to' or *hulne elohfoi* 'by tomorrow, no later than tomorrow', the non-past perfect can be used where English requires the future perfect ('will have finished'):

(7.110) *Hulne ielmefoi, na hafe kotoi tiespe uoslat*
at:the:latest next:month 3aERG new.TNZR house.DAT build.CV PF.finish.IPV.PL
'By next month, they will have finished building the new house'

The past perfect in Okuna is essentially equivalent to the past perfect in English: both forms are used when the event or state is already over with respect to some contextually-determined point in time in the past.

(7.111) *Lhatima uta umuelhtankat me alontsein aniokte*
children.ERG already PF.sleep.TINC.IPV:PST.PL 1sNOM campsite.DAT PV.return.PT
'The children had already gone to sleep by the time I returned to the campsite'

7.4.5 Perfective

The perfective is marked by adding the suffix *-yi* to the verb in positive clauses, and *-ou* in negative clauses: e.g., *siehpyi* 'wrote', *ntsiehpou* 'did not write' (in the examples, *-yi* and *-ou* are glossed PV and PV:NEG, respectively). Only verbs denoting events—that is, verbs belonging to Class II or Class III—have perfective forms; stative verbs appear only in the imperfective and the conditional. Note also that perfective marking is not compatible with the progressive or perfect aspects (marked by *i-* and *u-*, respectively). Hence, verbs in the perfective never carry an aspectual prefix.

The perfective form is used when the clause denotes a single complete event, viewed in its entirety, which precedes the moment of speaking. The perfective corresponds fairly closely to the simple past form in English ('wrote'). However, when denoting a recently completed event, it can also be translated using the English present perfect ('has written'), especially when the clause contains an adverbial such as *laisne* 'just' or *uta* 'already'.

(7.112) *Elimma kihoin siehpyi*
Elim.ERG letter.DAT write.PV
'Elim wrote the letter'

(7.113) *Elimma kihoin laisne siehpyi*
Elim.ERG letter.DAT just write.PV
'Elim just wrote the letter' or 'Elim has just written the letter'

- (7.114) *Elimma kihoin uta siehpyi*
 Elim.ERG letter.DAT already write.PV
 ‘Elim already wrote the letter’ or ‘Elim has already written the letter’

In narratives, a sentence may consist of two or more juxtaposed clauses with verbs in the perfective form, denoting two or more events which happened in succession. As illustrated below, the order of the clauses reflects the order in which the events happened. Note the absence of a direct equivalent for ‘and’ or ‘and then’ in these examples.

- (7.115) *Ihà etyit inmo kefhusot etsyit*
 woman.NOM come.PV.PL 3aERG.1sRDAT news tell.PV.PL
 ‘The women came (and) told me the news’

- (7.116) *Elimma kihoin siehpyi sa sati iasyit*
 Elim.ERG letter.DAT write.PV 13ERG meal eat.PV.PL
 ‘Elim wrote the letter, (and then) we ate dinner’

Perfective versus non-past perfect

As discussed in §7.4.4, the non-past perfect form is normally used when the event or state denoted by the verb properly precedes the moment when the sentence is uttered. However, it is not (completely) interchangeable with the perfective. The contrast between these two forms is illustrated by the pair of sentences below. Both assert that Elim ate whale meat at some point prior to the moment of speaking. When uttering (7.117), with the verb in the perfective, the speaker is referring to a particular occasion when Elim ate whale meat (even if it is not known when that event took place). When uttering (7.118), with the verb in the non-past perfect, the speaker does not have a particular occasion in mind. Instead, the sentence simply asserts that the event has already happened at least once: eating whale meat is part of Elim’s experience of the world.

- (7.117) *Elimma unto makai iasyi*
 Elim.ERG whale meat.DAT eat.PV
 ‘Elim ate (some) whale meat’

- (7.118) *Elimma unto makai oiasa*
 Elim.ERG whale meat.DAT PF.eat.IPV
 ‘Elim has eaten whale meat (before)’

While the perfective always picks out a particular episode—a specific event or sequence of events—the non-past perfect can refer to a series of unrelated episodes spread out over time. Compare the examples below. The first implies that there was one fire which destroyed all the houses, while the second is compatible with a situation where different houses were destroyed by different fires at different times.

- (7.119) *Tiesat itan kotu antei tohauat stokyima*
 town this:LOC house many.DAT fire destroy.PV.DPL
 ‘Many houses in this town were destroyed in a fire’

- (7.120) *Tiesat itan kotu antei tohauat ustokama*
 town this:LOC house many.DAT fire PF.destroy.IPV.DPL
 ‘Many houses in this town have been destroyed by fire(s)’

Because the non-past perfect can describe multiple past events or situations spread over a period of time, this is the form that is generally used with adverbials that quantify over events, such as *iehtena* ‘three times, on three (separate) occasions, in three cases’:

- (7.121) *Ma Elime iehtena utsula*
 1SERG Elim.NOM three:times.LOC PF.visit.IPV
 ‘I (have) visited Elim three times’

The non-past perfect emphasizes that an event is being viewed ‘after the fact’, from the vantage point of the present moment. Thus, the non-past perfect form is preferred over the perfective when the mere fact that an event happened—that it has come to pass—is what the speaker is choosing to focus on. For example, (7.122) asserts that the house has the property of having been built by Sakial’s grandfather; exactly when the house was built, or under what circumstances, is not as important as the identity of the builder. Likewise, the non-past perfect is often used to present new and potentially surprising information, especially about a recent development, as in (7.123). Note that in this sentence, the postverbal particle *iam* indicates that the sentence represents unexpected or recently-learned information, which has not yet been fully assimilated into the speaker’s consciousness.

- (7.122) *Olh kotu utai Sakialu miahtema utiespa*
 DIST house that:RDAT Sakial.ABL grandfather.ERG PF.build.IPV
 ‘Sakial’s grandfather (is the one who) built that house over there’

- (7.123) *Sakialu miahtè laisne utioka iam*
 Sakial.ABL grandfather.NOM just PF.die.IPV it:turns:out
 ‘Sakial’s grandfather (has) just died’

The use of the non-past perfect to emphasize that an event has come to pass is especially evident when the verb is negated. (7.124) below indicates that the event did not take place at the designated time (but may have occurred at some other time), while (7.125) indicates that the event has so far failed to occur.

- (7.124) *Sakiale elohka metskanou*
 Sakial.NOM yesterday NEG.arrive.PV:NEG
 ‘Sakial didn’t arrive yesterday’

- (7.125) *Sakiale eima motskano*
 Sakial.NOM still NEG.PF.arrive.IPV:NEG
 ‘Sakial hasn’t arrived yet’

7.4.6 Conditional

The conditional mood is marked on main clause verbs by the suffix *-ike* (or *-iki* before a consonant) in positive clauses, and *-oike* (or *-oiki* before a consonant) in negative clauses. The conditional is generally used where English uses the modal ‘would’. Like ‘would’, it indicates that the clause represents a hypothetical (potential or counterfactual) state of affairs, especially one which is contingent on some other state of affairs. As with the past and non-past imperfective, verbs in the conditional can occur in the imperfect aspect (with no prefix), the progressive aspect (with prefix *i-/e-*), or the perfect aspect (with prefix *u-/o-*). E.g.:

<i>talike</i>	‘would read’	<i>ntaloike</i>	‘would not read’
<i>italike</i>	‘would be / have been reading’	<i>metaloike</i>	‘would not be / have been reading’
<i>utalike</i>	‘would have read’	<i>motaloike</i>	‘would not have read’

The conditional form occurs most often in the apodosis of a conditional sentence (i.e., the ‘then’ clause in an ‘if-then’ construction), when that clause expresses a hypothetical consequence. The imperfective can also be used in this context, where the choice depends on the speaker’s assessment of how likely it is that the event in the conditional clause will come about. Compare:

- (7.126) *Ikoi aleut etiuhi aunme, kue imà uktia*
 2SALL help SBJ.need.DEP:SBJ if.INST 2DAT 1SERG give.IPV
 ‘If you need help, I will give (it) to you’

- (7.127) *Ikoī aleut etiūhi aūnme, kue imà uktieke*
 2SALL help SBJ.need.DEP:SBJ if.INST 2DAT 1SERG give.COND
 ‘If you needed help, I would give (it) to you’

The progressive and perfect conditional are used mostly in counterfactual sentences, describing a state or event which might have come about, but failed to do so:

- (7.128) *Ku tsipi ihka uketuhkai, kima kas sati easikit*
 2NOM a:little earlier PF.come:here.CPL.PT:SBJ 12ERG by:now meal PRG.eat.COND.PL
 ‘If you had managed to get here a little earlier, we would be eating dinner by now’

- (7.129) *Hialò ntse sù ukahpau, mā kohui utitieke*
 today NEG rain PF.fall.PT:SBJ:NEG 1SERG berry PF.gather.COND
 ‘If it hadn’t been raining today, I would have picked berries’

- (7.130) *Oionai ikuna ihalhkonà, mā ntse iase tehei oiasoike*
 PF.know.PT:SBJ 2pLOC PRG.hungry.DEP.NOM 1SERG NEG food rest.DAT PF.eat.COND:NEG
 ‘If (I) had known that you were hungry, I wouldn’t have eaten the rest of the food’

In questions, use of the conditional mood can signal a polite request. Here the conditional has a ‘softening’ effect, making the request less direct:

- (7.131) *Afikin imem?*
 come:with.COND.QU 1sINST
 ‘Would/could (you) come with me?’

- (7.132) *Mi ueho mian iap moitikin?*
 1sDAT wine some more receive.COND.QU
 ‘May I have some more wine?’ (lit. ‘Would I receive some more wine?’)

The conditional also has a softening effect when used in combination with the desiderative mood suffix *-uh* ‘want to’ (§7.7.1) to express the equivalent of English ‘would like’. Compare:

- (7.133) *Iman Kemotlasei etuha*
 1sLOC Kemotlasi.DAT go.want.IPV
 ‘I want to go to Kemotlasi’

- (7.134) *Iman Kemotlasei etuhike*
 1sLOC Kemotlasi.DAT go.want.COND
 ‘I would like to go to Kemotlasi’

When used in combination with the imperative particle *na* (in positive clauses) or *iak* (in negative clauses), the conditional form expresses a wished-for event, especially if that event failed to occur, or is unlikely to occur in the future. This construction is more or less equivalent to English ‘if only’ or ‘would that’:

- (7.135) *Inme ihka uteulikit na*
 3aERG.1sNOM earlier PF.listen.COND.PL IMP
 ‘If only they’d listened to me earlier’ or ‘Would that they had listened to me earlier’

Finally, the conditional is used in the construction illustrated below. Here it corresponds roughly to English ‘be’ plus an infinitive clause.

- (7.136) *Ntsamà iap sukoike*
 nothing other do.COND:NEG
 ‘There is nothing else to do’ (lit. ‘Nothing else would be done’)

- (7.137) *Itè tohan kyitsike*
 3iALL very:much say:about.COND
 ‘There is a great deal to say about that’

A noun phrase in the instrumental case may be added, creating a construction equivalent to English ‘have’ plus an infinitive clause:

- (7.138) *Imem suklut tlante uslikeua*
 1sINST task so:many:NOM finish.COND.NPL
 ‘I have so many tasks to finish’ (lit. ‘With me, so many tasks would be done’)

- (7.139) *Sakialme eima halma ehte talikima*
 Sakial.INST still book three.DAT read.COND.DPL
 ‘Sakial still has three books (left) to read’

- (7.140) *Ikimme ntsamà iap sukoike*
 12INST nothing other do.COND:NEG
 ‘We have nothing else to do’ or ‘There is nothing else for us to do’

7.5 Aspectual derivation

Section §7.4 dealt with GRAMMATICAL ASPECT, which relates to how an event is viewed (as ongoing, completed, etc.). Okuna also has extensive morphology for expressing LEXICAL ASPECT—that is, the type of event which the clause denotes. Various suffixes and infixes can be attached to a verb stem to derive a new verb expressing a different type of event, often belonging to a different verb class (see §4.4). For example, the suffix *-t* can be added to the Class I verb stem *toh-* ‘be big’, which denotes a state, to derive the Class II eventive verb *tohta* ‘become big’, which denotes a change of state.

The following table lists the suffixes and infixes used in aspectual derivation. For each affix, I indicate the class of the derived verb, as well as the verb class(es) that the affix applies to. These affixes are discussed and illustrated in the following subsections.

RESULTATIVE (RES)	<i>-i-</i> (<i>-u-</i>)	Class I < Class II, III
ACTIVE (ACT)	<i>-amp</i>	Class II < Class I, (III)
ATELIC INCHOATIVE (AINC)	<i>-im</i>	Class II < Class I
TELIC INCHOATIVE (TINC)	<i>-t, -et</i>	Class III < Class I, II, III
DURATIVE (DUR)	<i>-ot</i>	Class II, III < Class I, II, III
INCOMPLETEIVE (ICPL)	<i>-ahp</i>	Class III < Class III
COMPLETIVE (CPL)	<i>-uhk</i>	Class III < Class III

The affixes listed here precede the suffixes used to mark tense, aspect, mood, and polarity, discussed in §7.4. Note that these affixes are not mutually exclusive with one another, but can be stacked as appropriate. For example, starting with the stative verb stem *epata* ‘be (so) tall’, we can derive the atelic inchoative verb *epatima* ‘get taller’, while adding the telic inchoative suffix to this verb in turn yields *epatinta* ‘begin to get taller’. Additional examples include: *halhka* ‘be dry’ > *halhketa* ‘(make/become) dry’ > *halhkeita* ‘be dried’; *tioka* ‘die’ > *tioika* ‘be dead’ > *tioikampa* ‘play dead’ > *tioikampahpa* ‘attempt to play dead’; *patla* ‘cover’ > *paitla* ‘be covered’ > *paitlota* ‘keep covered’ > *paitlotuhka* ‘manage to keep covered’.

Note that the copular verb *he* (§9.3.1) takes the form *hi-* when it combines with aspectual derivation suffixes. Likewise the deictic verbs *tsà* ‘be over here (near me)’ and *kà* ‘be here/there (near us/you)’ take the stem forms *tsa-* and *ka-*, respectively, with insertion of a *u*-glide before a non-front vowel in accordance with the vowel hiatus rules summarized in §3.5.3. These are all non-scalar verbs belonging to Class I, and thus combine with the active, telic inchoative, and durative suffixes only:

ACT	<i>hiampa</i>	<i>tsauampa</i>	<i>kauampa</i>
TINC	<i>hita</i>	<i>tsata</i>	<i>kata</i>
DUR	<i>hiota</i>	<i>tsauota</i>	<i>kauota</i>

7.5.1 Resultative

Resultative aspect is marked by vowel infixation or ablaut. Resultative aspect morphology is added to a telic verb stem belonging to Class II (§4.4.2) or Class III (§4.4.3) to derive a stative verb belonging to Class I (§4.4.1). I will refer to these derived Class I verbs as RESULTATIVES (glossed RES in the examples). Recall that a telic verb denotes an event which culminates in a change of state or a change of location/position. The corresponding verb in the resultative aspect expresses the state or location/position resulting from that change event. For example, from the change-of-state verb *tioka* ‘die’ we can derive the resultative verb *tioika* ‘be dead’, and from the change-of-position verb *tolha* ‘stand up’ can be formed the resultative verb *toilha* ‘stand, be standing, be upright’.

Resultative aspect is typically marked by inserting the infix *-i-* after the final vowel of the stem, with concomitant vowel lowering and epenthesis where appropriate. Most resultative verbs are formed according to the following rules:

1. For verb stems ending in a glide preceded by a vowel, insert *ei* after the stem: e.g., *paua* ‘wash’ > *paueia* ‘be washed/clean’.
2. For verb stems ending in a glide preceded by a consonant, insert *i* after the stem and convert the glide to the corresponding mid vowel, in accordance with the rules of vowel hiatus resolution (§3.5.3): e.g., *takia* ‘break’ > *takeia* ‘be broken’; *tsokua* ‘meet (for the first time)’ > *tsokoia* ‘be known/introduced’.
3. For verb stems ending in a consonant or consonant cluster preceded by a falling diphthong, insert *e* after the diphthong: e.g., *kaiha* ‘kill’ > *kaieha* ‘be murdered/dead’.
4. In all other cases, insert *i* before the final consonant or consonant cluster of the verb stem: *tioka* ‘die’ > *tioika* ‘be dead’. If the inserted *i* is preceded by a high vowel, that high vowel becomes a mid vowel, as in (2) above: *tsitspa* ‘smash, shatter’ > *tseitspa* ‘be smashed, in pieces’; *muka* ‘close’ > *moika* ‘be closed/shut’.

Additional examples of resultative verb formation include:

<i>hana</i>	‘cut’	<i>haina</i>	‘be cut, wounded’
<i>mehka</i>	‘happen, come to be’	<i>meihka</i>	‘be, exist’
<i>mokta</i>	‘go home’	<i>moikta</i>	‘be at home’
<i>muohta</i>	‘complete, make whole’	<i>muoihta</i>	‘be complete(d)’
<i>mupatla</i>	‘put on [clothes]’	<i>mupaitla</i>	‘wear, be clothed (in)’
<i>salha</i>	‘lie down’	<i>sailha</i>	‘lie, be lying down’
<i>tlisa</i>	‘cross, traverse’	<i>tleisa</i>	‘lie across, span’
<i>usla</i>	‘end, finish’	<i>oisla</i>	‘be over, finished, done’

The following twelve verbs form their resultative stems irregularly. For verbs of this class, the stressed vowel in the stem is replaced by *u* (or *o* when adjacent to a glide).

<i>atia</i>	‘approach, come near(er)’	<i>utia</i>	‘be near(by)’
<i>etskana</i>	‘arrive’	<i>etskuna</i>	‘be present’
<i>kila</i>	‘be seen, come into view’	<i>kula</i>	‘be seen, visible, in view’
<i>kumita</i>	‘come before, approach’	<i>kumuta</i>	‘face, be oriented towards’
<i>lhyua</i>	‘enter’	<i>lhousa</i>	‘be inside’
<i>lima</i>	‘open’	<i>luma</i>	‘be open’
<i>lyua</i>	‘wake up, awaken’	<i>loua</i>	‘be awake’

<i>nkilha</i>	‘leave, go away’	<i>nkulha</i>	‘be gone, absent, away’
<i>ola</i>	‘be heard’	<i>ula</i>	‘be audible, in earshot’
<i>sena</i>	‘hang (up)’	<i>suná</i>	‘hang, be hanging’
<i>tsapa</i>	‘get lost, go astray’	<i>tsupa</i>	‘be lost’
<i>wih̄ta</i>	‘sit down’	<i>wohta</i>	‘sit, be seated’

Adding resultative aspect morphology reduces the number of core arguments the verb can take. The sentence in (7.141) features the Class II verb *lima* ‘open’, while (7.142) and (7.143) illustrate its resultative counterpart *luma* ‘be open’. Notice that in the resultative clauses the actor argument (*Elim*) is suppressed. This is because resultatives, being stative Class I predicates, cannot take ergative arguments.

(7.141) *Elimma huiloie limyi*
 Elim.ERG window.NOM open.PV
 ‘Elim opened the window’

(7.142) *Huiloie iluma*
 window.NOM PRG.open:RES.IPV
 ‘The window is open’

(7.143) *Huiloie ilumanka*
 window.NOM PRG.open:RES.IPV:PST
 ‘The window was open’

Adding resultative morphology can also affect how the verb’s arguments are marked for case. Compare the sentences below. Example (7.144) contains the Class III verb *tsitspa* ‘smash, shatter’, which selects a patient argument in the dative case. As shown in (7.145), when this verb is inflected for resultative aspect, that same argument instead appears in the locative case. As discussed in §4.3.2, dative case is associated with the endpoint—typically patient or goal—of a telic predicate. Because resultative verbs express the state or location resulting from an action rather than the action itself, they pattern as atelic. This blocks dative case from being assigned, and arguments which are normally assigned the dative take the locative instead (or sometimes the allative; see below).

(7.144) *Elimma nauoit tsitspyi*
 Elim.ERG cup.DAT smash.PV
 ‘Elim smashed the cup’

(7.145) *Nauotna tseitspa*
 cup.LOC smash:RES.IPV
 ‘The cup is smashed’ or ‘The cup is in pieces’

Another example of how resultative aspect affects case assignment is given below. With the Class III verb *tlelha* ‘find’, the noun phrase denoting the finder bears the delimiter role, and is marked with dative case. This is shown in (7.146). However, when *tlelha* is converted into the resultative verb *tleilha* ‘be found/located’, which lacks a delimiter, this same argument appears instead in the allative case (7.147):

(7.146) *Elim kamale tlelhyi*
 Elim.DAT knife.NOM find.PV
 ‘Elim found the knife’

(7.147) *Elim kamale itleilha*
 Elim.ALL knife.NOM PRG.find:RES.PV
 ‘Elim knows where the knife is’

Since resultative verbs do not take ergative (actor) arguments, and tend to place the focus of attention on the undergoer of an action, it is often appropriate to translate them using an adjectival passive construction in English. Compare the following pairs of examples:

(7.148) *Mo kala takiyi*
 1sRDAT leg break.PV
 ‘I broke my leg’ or ‘I got a broken leg’

(7.149) *Iman kala itakeia*
 1sLOC leg PRG.break:RES.IPV
 ‘My leg is broken’ or ‘I have a broken leg’

(7.150) *Sa kotoi itiespat*
 13NOM house.DAT PRG.build.IPV.PL
 ‘We are building a house’

(7.151) *Kotuna takan itieispa*
 house.LOC now PRG.build:RES.IPV
 ‘The house is now built/finished’

The resultative cannot really be considered a passive form, however—or at least, its syntactic and semantic properties are not fully comparable with those of the English passive. For one thing, resultative clauses are inherently stative. Thus, (7.151) above cannot be used to describe an ongoing activity (‘The house is now being built’), but can only mean that the house is in a built state. To form the closest equivalent of an eventive passive, the actor argument is simply omitted from the clause, without any change to the form or class membership of the verb (cf. §9.4.1):

(7.152) *Kotoi takan itiespa*
 house.DAT now PRG.build.IPV.PL
 ‘The house is now being built’

Furthermore, whereas the English passive construction can only be used with transitive verbs, the resultative in Okuna is fully compatible with predicates taking just a single core argument. Compare, for example:

(7.153) *Sakiale tiokyi*
 Sakial.NOM die.PV
 ‘Sakial died’

(7.154) *Sakiale tioika*
 Sakial.NOM die:RES.IPV
 ‘Sakial is dead’

(7.155) *Sakiale laisne etskanyi*
 Sakial.NOM just arrive.PV
 ‘Sakial just arrived’

(7.156) *Sakiale takan itskuna*
 Sakial.NOM now PRG.arrive:RES.PV
 ‘Sakial is now here/present’

As the last example above shows, resultative aspect marking can be used to convert a dynamic motion verb, such as *etskana* ‘arrive’, into a static verb denoting a location, such as *etskuna* ‘be present’. Additional pairs of sentences illustrating this dynamic–static contrast are given below. As (7.162) and (7.164) show, the resultative verb does not necessarily denote the literal result of a change-of-location event. Instead, resultative morphology can simply indicate that no movement is involved—that the verb denotes a spatial relation between two (sets of) objects.

- (7.157) *Puniakakà palou nkilhyit*
 traveler.NOM village.ABL leave.PV.PL
 ‘The travelers left the village’
- (7.158) *Puniakakà palou inkulhat*
 traveler.NOM village.ABL PRG.leave:RES.IPV.PL
 ‘The travelers are gone from the village’
- (7.159) *Mikale keuli uihtyi*
 boy.NOM chair.DAT sit:down.PV
 ‘The boy sat (down) on the chair’
- (7.160) *Mikale keulna euohta*
 boy.NOM chair.LOC PRG.sit:down:RES.IPV
 ‘The boy is sitting on the chair’
- (7.161) *Lhatè Sakiail ampiotyit*
 children.NOM Sakial.DAT surround.PV.PL
 ‘The children surrounded Sakial’
- (7.162) *Isane paluna loka ampioita*
 13ALL village.LOC forest surround:RES.IPV
 ‘Our village is surrounded by forests’
- (7.163) *Ounà sihkunume sihafautme ekau tlisyi*
 bear.NOM river.INST downstream.INST here.ABL cross.PV
 ‘The bear crossed [i.e., went across] the river downstream from here’
- (7.164) *Pakone sihkunume sihafautme ekau tleisa*
 bridge.NOM river.INST downstream.INST here.ABL cross:RES.IPV
 ‘The bridge crosses [i.e., spans] the river downstream from here’

Consider also the formation of resultative stems from verbs of perception and cognition, such as those listed below. The non-resultative (Class III) forms of are given in the first column, with their resultative (Class I) counterparts in the second column:

<i>etskopa</i>	<i>etskoipa</i>	‘realize’
<i>kila</i>	<i>kula</i>	‘see’
<i>ola</i>	<i>ula</i>	‘hear’
<i>luhtsa</i>	<i>loihtsa</i>	‘smell’
<i>mahtla</i>	<i>maihtla</i>	‘taste’
<i>sefa</i>	<i>seifa</i>	‘feel (with one’s fingers/skin)’
<i>uota</i>	<i>uoita</i>	‘feel, sense, perceive’

In their non-resultative forms these verbs denote punctual events, while in the resultative they denote states. For example, *kila* means ‘see’ in the sense of ‘begin to see’ or ‘catch sight of’ (or, when used intransitively, ‘appear, come into view’), while *kula* means ‘see’ in the sense of ‘be able to see, have within view’ (or, used intransitively, ‘be visible, be in view’). Likewise, *uota* means ‘notice, become aware of’ while *uoita* means ‘be aware of’.

As the following examples show, the noun phrase expressing the experiencer (the one who sees, hears, feels, etc.) appears in the dative case when the verb is non-resultative. With resultative verbs of perception, the experiencer appears in either the allative case or the locative case. The locative case is used when the experience is completely internal to the self, lacking a direct external stimulus; otherwise the allative case

is used. Hence, *kula*, *ula*, *loihitsa*, *maihtla*, and *seifa* all take their experiencers in the allative case, while *etskoipa* takes its experiencer in the locative case. *Uoita* takes a locative experiencer when denoting an internal sensation (the experiencing of a thought or emotion, or a physical sensation internal to one's body), and an allative experiencer when denoting the awareness of something external to oneself:

- (7.165) *Ule kilyi*
 island.NOM see.PV
 ‘The island appeared’ or ‘The island came into view’
- (7.166) *Puniakakameit ule kilyit*
 traveling:party.DAT island.NOM see.PV.PL
 ‘The travellers saw [caught sight of] the island’
- (7.167) *Ule ikula*
 island.NOM PRG.see:RES.IPV
 ‘The island is visible’ or ‘The island is in view’
- (7.168) *Ule puniakakamita ikula*
 island.NOM traveling:party.ALL PRG.see:RES.IPV
 ‘The island is visible to the travellers’
- (7.169) *Puniakakamita ule ikula*
 traveling:party.ALL island.NOM PRG.see:RES.IPV
 ‘The travellers (can) see the island’
- (7.170) *Mo tynna tunku iahki uotyi*
 1SRDAT head.LOC pain sharp:blow feel.PV
 ‘I felt a sudden sharp pain in my head’
- (7.171) *Iman tyn tunku euoita*
 1sLOC head pain PRG.feel:RES.IPV
 ‘I have a headache’
- (7.172) *Imè euoitanka Sakiale iatià*
 1sALL PRG.feel:RES.IPV:PST Sakial.NOM PRG.approach.DEP.NOM
 ‘I had the feeling that Sakial was approaching’ or ‘I was aware that...’

Verbs of perception in the resultative form can also take a dependent subjunctive clause, marked for nominative case, as their theme argument (see §10.2.1). The resulting expressions are equivalent to ‘It looks/appears as though...’, ‘It sounds as though...’, ‘It feels as though...’, etc.:

- (7.173) *Kula pyina iekestè*
 see:RES.IPV child.LOC SBJ:PRG.happy.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘It looks as though the child is happy’
- (7.174) *Ulanka kimima iemuelhè*
 hear:RES.IPV:PST baby.ERG SBJ:PRG.sleep.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘It sounded as though the baby was asleep’

Alternatively, the perception verb can take the relative prefix *a-* (see §7.6) and form the head of a restructuring predicate (see §10.2.4); here the perception verb combines with a preceding verb (phrase) in the dependent subjunctive which is unmarked for case. The result is a complex expression meaning ‘look X’, ‘sound X’, ‘feel X’, etc., where X is the quality or activity expressed by the dependent subjunctive verb—e.g., *ekesti akula* ‘look happy’, *eseimi amaihtla* ‘taste sweet’, etc.:

- (7.175) *Pyina ekesti iakula*
 child.LOC SBJ.happy.DEP:SBJ PRG.REL.see:RES.IPV
 ‘The child looks happy’
- (7.176) *Kimima emuelhi iauolanka*
 baby.ERG SBJ.sleep.DEP:SBJ PRG.RES.hear:RES.IPV:PST
 ‘The baby sounded asleep’ or ‘The baby sounded as though s/he were sleeping’
- (7.177) *Satè tsuo eiaseimi amaihtla*
 food.NOM too SBJ.REL.sweet.DEP:SBJ REL.taste:RES.IPV
 ‘The food tastes too sweet’

A noun phrase in the allative case may be added to the above constructions to indicate the individual who experiences the state of affairs in question, or from whose point of view the assessment is being made:

- (7.178) *Imè kula pyina iekestè*
 1sALL see:RES.IPV child.LOC SBJ:PRG.happy.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘It looks to me as though the child is happy’
- (7.179) *Pyina ekesti iekula imè*
 child.LOC SBJ.happy.DEP:SBJ PRG.RES.see:RES.IPV 1sALL
 ‘The child looks happy to me’

7.5.2 Active

The active aspectual suffix *-ampa* (glossed ACT in the examples) is added to a verb stem to form an atelic eventive verb. Verbs formed with *-ampa* all belong to Class II (§4.4.2). Most commonly, *-ampa* is added to a stative Class I verb stem denoting some property X, and the result is an eventive verb meaning roughly ‘act/ behave in an X manner’ or ‘exhibit signs of being X’. Examples are listed below. Notice that certain verbs derived with *-ampa* have a somewhat idiosyncratic meaning.

<i>ehkana</i>	‘come from, originate’	<i>ehkanampa</i>	‘be original, act in a distinctive way’
<i>elia</i>	‘be at ease’	<i>eliampa</i>	‘be graceful, move gracefully’
<i>eupa</i>	‘be alone’	<i>eupampa</i>	‘keep to oneself, stay away from others’
<i>futla</i>	‘be unpleasant, disagreeable’	<i>futlampa</i>	‘be rude, behave badly’
<i>hanta</i>	‘be appropriate, suitable’	<i>hantampa</i>	‘be polite, well-behaved, act appropriately’
<i>huata</i>	‘be pleasant, appealing’	<i>huatampa</i>	‘be friendly, likeable’
<i>iksa</i>	‘be serious’	<i>iksampa</i>	‘be serious, act in earnest’
<i>kiota</i>	‘be quick’	<i>kiotampa</i>	‘hurry, rush, do [something] quickly’
<i>koluma</i>	‘be difficult, cumbersome’	<i>kolumampa</i>	‘be clumsy, act clumsily’
<i>kuha</i>	‘be hard, firm’	<i>kuhampa</i>	‘be rough, careless, brutal’
<i>liunta</i>	‘be slack, loose’	<i>liuntampa</i>	‘be lenient, indulgent’
<i>muha</i>	‘be enough, suffice’	<i>muhampa</i>	‘do enough; satisfy, satiate’
<i>nasa</i>	‘be strong’	<i>nasampa</i>	‘exert oneself, use one’s strength’
<i>stula</i>	‘be strange, odd’	<i>stulampa</i>	‘act strangely, behave in an odd manner’
<i>sutlka</i>	‘be spoiled, rotten’	<i>sutlkampa</i>	‘be vicious, act in a vile manner’

Compare the following examples, showing the conversion of a stative Class I verb into an eventive Class II verb. Note the difference in noun inflection: *munta* takes a nominative argument, while *muntampa* takes an ergative argument.

- (7.180) *Elimè imunta*
 Elim.NOM PRG.drunk.IPV
 ‘Elim is drunk’

- (7.181) *Elimma imuntampa*
 Elim.ERG PRG.drunk.ACT.IPV
 ‘Elim is acting drunk’ or ‘Elim is behaving as though he’s drunk’

Verbs formed with *-amp* often appear with a modifying converb (see §10.4). Sentences that show this pattern can sometimes be rendered in English by using a manner adverb to translate the *-amp* verb (e.g., ‘quickly’ in the first example below):

- (7.182) *Lhatima homai iase kiotampyit*
 children.ERG bread.DAT eat.CV quick.ACT.PV.PL
 ‘The children ate the bread quickly’ or ‘The children were quick to eat the bread’
 lit. ‘The children acted quickly [by] eating the bread’

- (7.183) *Na nakà tiyise nasampyi*
 3aERG rock.NOM lift.CV strong.ACT.PV
 ‘He exerted himself by lifting the rock’

The suffix *-amp* often combines with Class I verbs denoting physical sensations or emotional states. When added to a verb of this type, *-amp* forms an atelic causative verb taking an actor argument (marked with ergative case) in addition to its experiencer argument (marked with the locative or allative case). Here the actor argument denotes an entity that (consciously or unconsciously) triggers, or tends to trigger, an emotion or sensation in the experiencer.

<i>ekona</i>	‘be hungry’	<i>ekonampa</i>	‘be appetizing, palatable; make hungry’
<i>hotsma</i>	‘be angry’	<i>hotsmampa</i>	‘anger, be aggravating to’
<i>huetla</i>	‘be afraid, fear’	<i>huetlampa</i>	‘frighten, be frightening to’
<i>katama</i>	‘be intimidating’	<i>katamampa</i>	‘intimidate’
<i>kesta</i>	‘be happy’	<i>kestampa</i>	‘please, be pleasing to, make happy’
<i>ohiyña</i>	‘be sad’	<i>ohiynampa</i>	‘sadden, depress’
<i>sonka</i>	‘be surprising’	<i>sonkampa</i>	‘surprise, amaze, astound’

Compare the following:

- (7.184) *Iman ikesta*
 1sLOC PRG.happy.IPV
 ‘I am happy’
- (7.185) *Mo kunama iman kestapat*
 1sRDAT friend.ERG 1sLOC happy.ACT.IPV.PL
 ‘My friends make me happy’
- (7.186) *Sakialna iekona*
 Sakial.LOC PRG.hungry.IPV
 ‘Sakial is hungry’
- (7.187) *Sati aluhtse ità Sakialna ekonampyi*
 food smell that:ERG Sakial.LOC hungry.ACT.PV
 ‘The smell of that food made Sakial hungry’

Although it normally combines with Class I stative verb stems, there are a handful of Class III stems which also combine with *-amp* to form Class II verbs:

<i>etsa</i>	‘say, tell’	<i>etsampa</i>	‘speak, talk, have a conversation’
<i>kahta</i>	‘hit, strike’	<i>kahtampa</i>	‘fight, have a fight’
<i>kyitsa</i>	‘say [s.th.] about, mention’	<i>kyitsampa</i>	‘talk about, discuss’
<i>lasta</i>	‘send’	<i>lastampa</i>	‘send out, send away’
<i>nesapa</i>	‘ask’	<i>nesapampa</i>	‘interrogate, ask questions (of)’
<i>teuna</i>	‘put (down), place’	<i>teunampa</i>	‘put in place; hand out, distribute’

When the verb stem denotes a telic event, adding *-amp* forms a verb which expresses a more open-ended activity, or one with a variable or unspecified endpoint. For example, in the first sentence below (with *uktia* ‘give’), the event ends once each of the strangers in question has received a gift; whereas in the second sentence (with *uktiampa* ‘give out, distribute’), no specific recipients are mentioned, and the event of gift-giving could in principle go on indefinitely.

(7.188) *Taloma tsokoimpai kytu uktiyima*
 chief.ERG stranger.DAT gift give.PV.DPL
 ‘The chief gave gifts to the strangers’

(7.189) *Taloma kytu uktiampyi*
 chief.ERG gift give.ACT.PV
 ‘The chief gave out gifts’

Note that eventive verbs formed with *-amp*, being atelic, cannot take delimiter arguments or appear with noun phrases marked for dative case (except under the circumstances discussed in §4.3.2). Where the verb from which it is derived would take a dative noun phrase, the *-amp* verb may take a noun phrase in the instrumental or locative case. Compare:

(7.190) *Ma kefihusote lhatei etsyima*
 1sERG news.NOM children.DAT say.PV.DPL
 ‘I told the news to the children’

(7.191) *Ma lhatime etsampyi*
 1sERG children.INST say.ACT.PV
 ‘I spoke to/with the children’

(7.192) *Unma kahtyi*
 3aRDAT.1sERG hit.PV
 ‘I hit him’

(7.193) *Ma inem kahtampyi*
 1sERG 3asINST hit.ACT.PV
 ‘I fought with him’

(7.194) *Sa kahtampyiot*
 13ERG hit.ACT.PV.RECIP.PL
 ‘We fought (each other)’

7.5.3 Telic and atelic inchoative

The atelic inchoative suffix *-im* and the telic inchoative suffix *-(e)t* (glossed AINC and TINC, respectively) are used to derive Class II and Class III verbs expressing a change of state or the initiation of an action. I discuss these forms in turn.

ATELIC INCHOATIVE verbs express an incremental and often gradual increase in the presence of some property. As the name indicates, these verbs denote open-ended events, with no fixed endpoint. Atelic

inchoative verbs thus belong to Class II (§4.4.2). The atelic inchoative is marked by adding the suffix *-im* to the stem, combined with the relative prefix *a-* discussed in §7.6 (*-im* becomes *-em* after a glide: e.g., *mitia* ‘be weak’ > *amitiema* ‘weaken’). The following examples illustrate the formation of the atelic inchoative:

<i>kaila</i>	‘be hot’	<i>akailima</i>	‘heat, make/get hotter’
<i>koipa</i>	‘be known/familiar’	<i>akoipima</i>	‘make/become more familiar, get better known’
<i>lhuma</i>	‘be dim, faded, misty’	<i>alhumima</i>	‘fade, pale, grow dimmer’
<i>liakna</i>	‘be long’	<i>aliaknima</i>	‘lengthen, grow in length, make/get longer’
<i>liuna</i>	‘be old’	<i>aliunima</i>	‘age, get older’
<i>muohfa</i>	‘be thick/dense’	<i>amuohfima</i>	‘thicken, make/get thicker’
<i>nuha</i>	‘be cold’	<i>anuhima</i>	‘cool down, make/get colder’
<i>toha</i>	‘be big’	<i>atohima</i>	‘grow, increase in size, make/get bigger’

The atelic inchoative suffix combines with Class I verb stems. Compare the following:

(7.195) *Imè Sakiale koipa*
 1SALL Sakial.NOM known.IPV
 ‘I know Sakial’ (lit. ‘Sakial is known to me’)

(7.196) *Imè Sakiale akoipimyi*
 1SALL Sakial.NOM REL.known.AINC.PV
 ‘I got to know Sakial better’

Atelic inchoative verbs, like other Class II verbs, can be used either ‘intransitively’ (with a theme argument alone) or ‘transitively’ (with both an actor and a theme argument). In the former case the verb denotes a more-or-less spontaneous action, and may be translated ‘get X-er’, where X is the state expressed by the stem; in the latter case the verb denotes an externally-caused action, and may be translated ‘make X-er’. Compare:

(7.197) *Mase muohfa*
 soup.NOM thick.IPV
 ‘The soup is thick’

(7.198) *Mase iamuhfima*
 soup.NOM PRG.REL.thick.AINC.IPV
 ‘The soup is thickening’ or ‘The soup is getting thicker’

(7.199) *Ma mase iamuhfima*
 1SERG soup.NOM PRG.REL.thick.AINC.IPV
 ‘I’m thickening the soup’ or ‘I’m making the soup thicker’

Compare also:

(7.200) *Halò ihuina*
 room.NOM PRG.bright.IPV
 ‘The room is bright’

(7.201) *Halò ahuinimyi*
 room.NOM REL.bright.AINC.PV
 ‘The room got brighter’

(7.202) *Halò mohkauatma ahuinimyi*
 room.NOM hearth:fire.ERG REL.bright.AINC.PV
 ‘The hearth fire brightened the room’ (i.e., made the room brighter)

To express TELIC INCHOATIVE aspect, the suffix *-et* is added to verb stems ending in two consonants, while *-t* is added to stems ending in a single consonant or a glide. If the stem ends in *p*, *f*, or *t*, that consonant changes to *h* before the *-t* suffix, in accordance with regular phonological rules (see §3.5.1). Likewise, if the stem ends in *tl*, that consonant changes to *lh* before *-t*. Finally, if the stem ends in *m*, it assimilates to *n* before the *-t* suffix (cf. §3.5.2). Examples showing the formation of telic inchoative verbs are given below:

<i>elifa</i>	‘be beautiful’	<i>elihta</i>	‘beautify, make/become beautiful’
<i>eua</i>	‘be clean’	<i>euta</i>	‘clean (up), make/become clean’
<i>hotsma</i>	‘be angry’	<i>hotsmeta</i>	‘anger, make/become angry’
<i>kisa</i>	‘be frozen’	<i>kista</i>	‘freeze’
<i>koipa</i>	‘be known/familiar’	<i>koihta</i>	‘get to know, become familiar with’
<i>lehma</i>	‘be calm’	<i>lehmeta</i>	‘calm down, make/become calm’
<i>liuna</i>	‘be old’	<i>liunta</i>	‘get old’
<i>mutla</i>	‘understand’	<i>mulhta</i>	‘realize, come to understand’
<i>okla</i>	‘be hidden’	<i>okleta</i>	‘hide’
<i>pata</i>	‘be tall’	<i>pahta</i>	‘make/become tall’
<i>tama</i>	‘be great, powerful’	<i>tanta</i>	‘empower, make/become great’
<i>tlana</i>	‘be straight’	<i>tlanta</i>	‘straighten’
<i>tsatsa</i>	‘be full’	<i>tsatsta</i>	‘fill, make/become full’
<i>tsihfa</i>	‘be bare’	<i>tsihfeta</i>	‘clear (off), get rid of, make/become bare’
<i>tuosa</i>	‘be ripe, ready’	<i>tuosta</i>	‘ripen; prepare, make/get ready’

As these examples show, the telic inchoative suffix is usually added to a stative verb belonging to Class I, and derives an eventive verb expressing the entry into a state (whether spontaneous or externally caused). Compare the pairs of sentences below:

(7.203) *Ihana ihotsma*
 woman.LOC PRG.angry.IPV
 ‘The woman is angry’

(7.204) *Motlama ihana hotsmetyi na tahoti etsampame*
 Motla.ERG woman.LOC angry.TINC.PV 3aERG constantly say.ACT.DEF.INST
 ‘Motla angered the woman with his constant talking’

(7.205) *Me intuma*
 1sNOM blind.IPV
 ‘I am blind’

(7.206) *Me tupuatsme lai iahki intuntyi*
 1sNOM moment.INST light flash blind.TINC.PV
 ‘I was momentarily blinded by a flash of light’

Verbs in the telic inchoative aspect all belong to Class III (§4.4.3). They express events which are conceptualized as having a fixed endpoint: a participant enters into, or is brought into, a particular state, and once that state is achieved the event is over. As shown in (7.206) above, telic inchoative verbs may also take an extra argument (unmarked for case) to express the type of instrument or means by which the change of state is brought about. Consider the following examples, comparing the telic inchoative verb *halhketa* ‘make/become dry’ with the stative verb from which it is derived, *halhka* ‘be dry’. Notice that when an overt actor argument is present, *halhketa* receives a causative interpretation (‘make dry’); and when no actor is present, it expresses a spontaneous change of state (‘become dry’).

(7.207) *Mupatlè halhkat*
 clothes.NOM dry.IPV.PL
 ‘The clothes are dry’

(7.208) *Mupatlè enkit ihalhketat*
 clothes.NOM breeze PRG.dry.TINC.IPV.PL
 ‘The clothes are drying in the breeze’

(7.209) *Ihama mupatlè enkit ihalhketauat*
 woman.ERG clothes.NOM breeze PRG.dry.TINC.IPV.NPL.PL
 ‘The women are drying the clothes in the breeze’

Note also the following examples, comparing stative *tsatsa* ‘be full’ and telic inchoative *tsatsta* ‘fill’:

(7.210) *Nauote nà itsatsa*
 cup.NOM water PRG.full.IPV
 ‘The cup is full of water’

(7.211) *Nauote nà tsatstyì*
 cup.NOM water full.TINC.PV
 ‘The cup filled with water’

(7.212) *Na nauote nà tsatstyì*
 3a.ERG cup.NOM water full.TINC.PV
 ‘She filled the cup with water’

As with other Class III verbs, telic inchoative verbs can in turn combine with resultative morphology to form Class I verbs expressing the state resulting from an action (see §7.5.1). In this case, the actor argument is suppressed. Compare the sentences below with those in (7.209) and (7.212) above.

(7.213) *Mupatlè ihalhkeita*
 clothes.NOM PRG.dry.TINC:RES.IPV
 ‘The clothes are dried’ (i.e., no longer wet)

(7.214) *Nauote nà itsaitsta*
 cup.NOM water full:RES.TINC.IPV
 ‘The cup is filled with water’

Telic inchoative aspect can also combine with Class I verbs of cognition. Observe the following examples, comparing telic inchoative *ionta* ‘find out; let (someone) know’ with stative *iona* ‘be known’ (both verbs assign locative case to the experiencer argument).

(7.215) *Elimna iona ma iafà*
 Elim.LOC know.IPV 1SERG PRG.take:part.DEP.NOM
 ‘Elim knows that I am taking part’

(7.216) *Elimna iontyi ma iafà*
 Elim.LOC know.TINC.PV 1SERG PRG.take:part.DEP.NOM
 ‘Elim found out that I was taking part’

(7.217) *Ma Elimna iontyi ma iafà*
 1SERG Elim.LOC know.TINC.PV 1SERG PRG.take:part.DEP.NOM
 ‘I let Elim know that I was taking part’

Consider also the examples below, where telic inchoative morphology is added to the stative verb *niokona* to derive the eventive verb *niokonta*. Both may be translated as ‘remember’ or ‘recall’; however, *niokona* has the sense of ‘have in one’s memory’, while *niokonta* means ‘come to have in one’s memory, bring to mind’ (the latter can also be translated ‘remind’ if an actor argument is included). Both verbs take experiencer arguments in the locative case. A similar meaning contrast is found with *suhona* ‘forget, have no memory of’ versus *suhonta* ‘forget, lose one’s memory of’ (or, when an actor is included ‘cause to forget’).

- (7.218) *Elimna nioksote niokònan?*
 Elim.LOC answer.NOM remember.IPV.QU
 ‘Does Elim remember the answer?’
- (7.219) *Elimna nioksote sukane niokontyi*
 Elim.LOC answer.NOM sudden.CV remember.TINC.PV
 ‘Elim suddenly remembered/recalled the answer’
- (7.220) *Ma Elimna nioksote niokontyi*
 1SNOM Elim.LOC answer.NOM remember.TINC.PV
 ‘I reminded Elim of the answer’

Although the telic inchoative suffix combines most often with stative Class I verbs, it can also be freely added to eventive verbs belonging to Class II or III. In the latter case, the result is a Class III verb expressing the initiation of an event, corresponding to English ‘begin to X’ or ‘start X-ing’.

<i>hosta</i>	‘dance’	<i>hosteta</i>	‘begin to dance, start dancing’
<i>mehka</i>	‘happen’	<i>mehketa</i>	‘begin to happen, start’
<i>muelha</i>	‘sleep’	<i>muelhta</i>	‘fall asleep, begin to sleep’
<i>puniaka</i>	‘travel’	<i>puniakta</i>	‘begin to travel, set out on a journey’

- (7.221) *Laisne sù kahpetyi*
 just:now rain fall.TINC.PV
 ‘It’s just started to rain’

When the telic inchoative suffix is added to a Class III verb, and the clause includes a delimiter argument marked with dative case, the irrealis dative form must be used, never the realis dative, regardless of the tense/aspect of the clause. Compare the following:

- (7.222) *Ihama halma utai talyi*
 woman.ERG book that:RDAT read.PV
 ‘The woman read that book’
- (7.223) *Ihama halma atai taltyi*
 woman.ERG book that:DAT read.TINC.PV
 ‘The woman began to read that book’

7.5.4 Durative

Durative aspect is marked by adding the suffix *-ot* (glossed DUR) to the verb stem. This suffix can be added to any verb stem, but with slight differences in interpretation depending on the class of that stem. When added to a Class I stem denoting a state, *-ot* forms a Class II verb expressing the perpetuation of that state, and is roughly equivalent to English ‘stay’ or ‘remain’:

<i>huala</i>	‘be healthy’	<i>hualota</i>	‘stay/keep healthy’
<i>isuta</i>	‘be alive’	<i>isutota</i>	‘stay/keep alive, go on living’
<i>kà</i>	‘be here’	<i>kauota</i>	‘stay (here), keep here’
<i>kesta</i>	‘be happy’	<i>kestota</i>	‘stay/keep happy’
<i>nkulha</i>	‘be gone, away’	<i>nkulhota</i>	‘stay away, avoid, keep away’
<i>uohta</i>	‘be seated’	<i>uohtota</i>	‘stay/keep seated’

The entity which remains in the state is encoded as a theme argument (marked with nominative case). If there is an agent who acts to perpetuate the state, that agent is encoded as an actor argument (marked with ergative case). When an actor argument is present, *-ot* corresponds to English ‘keep’. Compare:

- (7.224) *Ne isuta*
 3aNOM alive.IPV
 ‘He is alive’
- (7.225) *Ne isutota*
 3aNOM alive.DUR.IPV
 ‘He is staying alive’ or ‘He has survived’
- (7.226) *Ntsa iesutotane*
 3aNOM.13ERG PRG.alive.DUR.IPV.EPL
 ‘We are keeping him alive’

Compare also the following, examples, where the durative suffix is added to a Class I verb derived from a Class II stem by adding resultative aspect morphology:

- (7.227) *Hitole ilumanka*
 door.NOM PRG.open:RES.IPV:PST
 ‘The door was open’
- (7.228) *Hitole lumoty*
 door.NOM open:RES.DUR.PV
 ‘The door remained open’
- (7.229) *Ma hitole lumoty*
 1sERG door.NOM open:RES.DUR.PV
 ‘I kept the door open’

When the durative suffix attaches to a Class II stem denoting an unbounded activity, it forms another Class II stem expressing the perpetuation of that activity. Here *-ot* is roughly equivalent to ‘keep’, ‘continue’, or ‘go on’: e.g., *hosta* ‘dance’ > *hostota* ‘continue to dance, keep dancing’; *muelha* ‘sleep’ > *muelhota* ‘stay asleep, go on sleeping’.

Finally, when the durative suffix is added to a Class II or Class III stem denoting a telic or punctual event, it expresses the iteration or repetition of that event: e.g., *tiausa* ‘fall down’ > *tiausota* ‘keep falling down, fall down over and over’. Another example:

- (7.230) *Na ikei kahtoty*
 3aERG dog.DAT hit.DUR.PV
 ‘He hit the dog repeatedly’

Note that iterative verbs are somewhat unusual in that they can take more than one delimiter, and can thus assign dative case to more than one argument. See §4.3.2 for discussion.

7.5.5 Completive and incompletive

The *completive* (CPL) and *incompletive* (ICPL) aspect suffixes combine with an eventive (Class II or III) verb stem to form another eventive stem. The incompletive suffix is *-ahp*. Added to a stem, this suffix indicates that the event denoted by the stem has (so far) failed to come about, despite the intentions of the actor. It is roughly equivalent to English ‘try/attempt’ or ‘set out to’:

<i>esta</i>	‘reach’	<i>estahpa</i>	‘try to reach, aim for, set out for’
<i>ksona</i>	‘look at’	<i>ksonahpa</i>	‘try to see, look (out) for’
<i>peta</i>	‘take, grab’	<i>petahpa</i>	‘grab at, try to take’
<i>tatsa</i>	‘shoot, hit with a projectile’	<i>tatsahpa</i>	‘shoot at, try to shoot’
<i>tiyisa</i>	‘lift’	<i>tiyisahpa</i>	‘attempt to lift’
<i>tlelha</i>	‘find, discover’	<i>tlelahpa</i>	‘set out to find, search/hunt for’

Compare the following examples:

(7.231) *Na hastein tahyi*
 3aERG deer.DAT kill.PV
 ‘He killed the deer’

(7.232) *Na hastein utah^{ah}pa*
 3aERG deer.DAT PF.kill.ICPL.IPV
 ‘He has set out to kill the deer’ or ‘He is trying to kill the deer’

(7.233) *Na hastein tah^{ah}pyi*
 3aERG deer.DAT kill.ICPL.PV
 ‘He tried to kill the deer’ (but didn’t manage to do so)

Note that when the incomplete suffix is added to the verb, the delimiter (see §4.3.2) must appear in the irrealis dative, regardless of the tense/aspect or polarity of the verb, and never in the realis dative. In this respect, the incomplete patterns like the telic inchoative, discussed in §7.5.3.

(7.234) *Na hastin anai tah^{ah}pyi*
 3aERG deer that:DAT kill.ICPL.PV
 ‘He tried to kill that deer’

Note that the incomplete suffix *-ahp* translates English ‘try’ only when the attempt did not succeed, or has not yet succeeded at the time when the sentence is uttered. To express ‘try’ without commitment as to the success of the attempt, the verb *nika* may be used, in combination with a dependent subjunctive clause (or a noun phrase complement, when *nika* is used in the sense of ‘try out’ or ‘sample’):

(7.235) *Kima nikat nem tomla ypiiai sikà estità*
 12ERG try.IPV.PL IMP mountain top.DAT all:the:way SBJ.reach.DEP:SBJ.PL.NOM
 ‘Let’s try to get all the way to the top of the mountain’

(7.236) *Iasè unikat ne?*
 food.NOM PF.try.IPV.PL QU
 ‘Have you (pl) tried the food?’

The completive aspect is marked by adding the suffix *-uhk* to the stem: e.g., *kahta* ‘hit’ > *kahtuhka* ‘manage to hit’ (the suffix takes the form *-ohk* when the verb stem ends in a glide: e.g., *takia* ‘break’ > *takiohka* ‘manage to break’). Like the incomplete marker, the completive marker combines with an eventive verb stem to derive another eventive verb. Adding *-uhk* to the verb indicates that the agent succeeded in bringing about the event denoted by the stem, perhaps with some effort and/or contrary to expectations. It is roughly equivalent to English ‘manage to’ or ‘get’. Compare:

(7.237) *Mo kamale tlelhyi*
 1sRDAT knife.NOM find.PV
 ‘I found the knife’

(7.238) *Mo kamale tlel^{uh}kyi*
 1sRDAT knife.NOM find.CPL.PV
 ‘I managed to find the knife’

(7.239) *Sakialma hitole limyi*
 Sakial.ERG door.NOM open.PV
 ‘Sakial opened the door’

- (7.240) *Sakialma hitole limuhkyi*
 Sakial.ERG door.NOM open.CPL.PV
 ‘Sakial got the door open’
- (7.241) *Kauen kikotoi es kotiemè lhyuyi*
 turkey shed.DAT one raccoon.NOM enter.PV
 ‘A raccoon entered the turkey coop’
- (7.242) *Kauen kikotoi es kotiemè lhyuohkyi*
 turkey shed.DAT one raccoon.NOM enter.CPL.PV
 ‘A raccoon got into the turkey coop’

7.6 Relative marking and the comparative construction

Class I stative verbs sometimes take the prefix *a-*, which I will refer to as the RELATIVE MARKER (glossed REL in the examples). Verbs which carry this prefix are referred as relative verbs. Note that when *a-* is prefixed to a stem beginning with a non-glide vowel, the rules of glide insertion and high vowel lowering discussed in §3.5.3 apply: e.g., *ynta* ‘narrow’ > *aiynta*, *utia* ‘nearby’ > *auotia*. This prefix immediately precedes the verb root, following the aspectual prefixes (§7.4), as well as the negative prefix *m(a)-* (§7.3).

The relative prefix combines with verbs which denote a property which can be possessed to a greater or lesser degree. When the verb appears in the relative form, it indicates that the individual of which the verb is predicated is located somewhere along the scale associated with that property. The contrast between the non-relative and relative forms is illustrated by the pair of examples below. Sentence (7.243) means ‘That young man is tall’—in other words, he is of greater-than-average height according to some contextually-determined standard. By contrast, (7.244) literally means something like ‘The young man is of a certain height’ or ‘The young man possesses a certain degree of tallness’.

- (7.243) *Kalon nan pata*
 young:man that:NOM tall.IPV
 ‘That young man is tall’
- (7.244) *Kalon nan apata*
 young:man that:NOM REL.tall.IPV
 ‘That young man is so/as tall’

A verb prefixed with the relative marker rarely appears by itself; instead, it almost always co-occurs with some sort of modifier expressing a degree or standard of comparison. For example, it can be modified by a noun phrase expressing the entity or class of entities in comparison to which the theme is being evaluated. In this case, the relative form has an equative function (expressed in English using ‘as’). When the noun phrase denotes a general class of objects, it usually appears in the unmarked form, as in (7.245). When the noun phrase denotes a specific individual or set of individuals, it appears in the ablative case, as in (7.246):

- (7.245) *Kalon nan kas esiankats koin apata*
 young:man that:NOM already adulthood person REL.tall.IPV
 ‘That young man is already as tall as an adult’ or ‘... already the height of an adult’
- (7.246) *Kalon nan Sakialu apata*
 young:man that:NOM Sakial.ABL REL.tall.IPV
 ‘That young man is as tall as Sakial’

To add emphasis, the relative verb is optionally preceded by the degree marker *ihpi* ‘as much, just as much, equally’, as in (7.247). Note also the construction shown in (7.248), where the nominative argument denotes two or more individuals who are equal with respect to the property expressed by the relative verb; here *ihpi* is in turn preceded by *kele* ‘together’, which adds a collective or reciprocal meaning.

(7.247) *Kalon nan Sakialu ihpi apata*
 young:man that:NOM Sakial.ABL equally REL.tall.IPV
 ‘That young man is just as tall as Sakial’

(7.248) *Sakial ka Elime kele ihpi apatat*
 Sakial and Elim.NOM together equally REL.tall.IPV.PL
 ‘Sakial and Elim are equally tall’ or ‘Sakial and Elim are the same height’

A stative verb also takes the relative prefix when it is modified by a noun phrase in the instrumental case expressing a measurement on the scale denoted by the verb, as in the following example (a *katlam* is a unit of measure equivalent to about 55 centimeters):

(7.249) *Kalon nan katlam lhua ehteme apata*
 young:man that:NOM katlam about three.INST REL.tall.IPV
 ‘That young man is about three katlams tall’

Note that *kuista* ‘be long, last a long time, endure’, when prefixed with the relative marker and accompanied by a measure phrase, corresponds to English ‘last’ or ‘take’, as illustrated below. Similarly: *liakna* ‘be long’ > *aliakna* ‘measure (a certain length)’, *lhuta* ‘be heavy’ > *alhuta* ‘weigh (a certain amount)’, *lama* ‘be far away’ > *alama* ‘be (a certain distance) away’. In each case the measurement is expressed by a noun phrase in the instrumental case.

(7.250) *Sukiame luom tosepyime iakuistanka*
 rainstorm.NOM hour several.INST PRG.REL.long.IPV:PST
 ‘The rainstorm lasted (for) several hours’

(7.251) *Lò henme akuista satlai etokè*
 day two.INST REL.long.IPV roof.DAT SBJ.fix.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘It will take two days to fix the roof’ (more lit. ‘To fix the roof will be two days long’)

In the examples below, the relative verb is modified by (a phrase headed by) a converb, which takes the suffix *-e* (cf. §10.4). In this construction, the converb phrase expresses an event or type of event which identifies the extent to which—or the respect in which—the property denoted by the relative verb holds. Here the relative verb may be translated ‘so X (that...)’ or ‘X enough (to...)’:

(7.252) *Sakiale lakie aliuna*
 Sakial.NOM hunt.CV REL.old.IPV
 ‘Sakial is old enough to hunt’

(7.253) *Suhime kule ianuhanka*
 exhalation see:RES.CV PRG.REL.cold.IPV:PST
 ‘It was cold enough to see your breath’

Relative verbs can also be modified by a dependent clause (§10.2) marked for instrumental case, as in the examples below:

(7.254) *Ne anasa na olh naka tan atiyisuhkame*
 3a.NOM REL.strong.IPV 3a.ERG DIST rock that:NOM PV.lift.CPL.DEP.INST
 ‘He is so strong that he managed to lift that rock’

- (7.255) *Moihà apata mutume inie etlisime*
 girl.NOM REL.tall.IPV fence.INST eyes SBJ.go:over.DEP:SBJ.INST
 ‘The girl is tall enough to see over the fence’
 lit. ‘The girl is so tall that (she) would (be able to) move her eyes/vision over the fence’

Relative verbs can also be modified by an adverbial expressing the degree to which the property holds. A partial list of these is given below. Additional degree adverbials are listed and discussed in §8.4.3 and §8.4.5.

<i>hampi</i>	‘a lot, very, considerably’
<i>ihpi</i>	‘equally, as, just as’
<i>miai, miampi</i>	‘how (much); somewhat, to a certain degree’
<i>mu, muhpi</i>	‘enough, sufficiently’
<i>ntse miampi</i>	‘not very, not so, not that (much)’
<i>tlai, tlampi</i>	‘so, that, (by) that much’
<i>tsipi</i>	‘a little, a bit, somewhat, to some degree’
<i>tsuo, tsuompi</i>	‘too’
<i>tsyi, tsyimpi</i>	‘not ... enough, insufficiently’

Examples are given below, showing that the degree adverbial immediately precedes the relative verb:

- (7.256) *Kamale miampi akilhan?*
 knife.NOM how:much REL.sharp.IPV.QU
 ‘How sharp is the knife?’ (lit. ‘The knife is sharp by how much?’)

- (7.257) *Kamale ntse miampi akilho*
 knife.NOM NEG much REL.sharp.IPV:NEG
 ‘The knife is not very sharp’

<i>Kamale mu akilha</i>	‘The knife is sharp enough’
<i>Kamale tsuo akilha</i>	‘The knife is too sharp’
<i>Kamale tsyi akilha</i>	‘The knife is not sharp enough’
<i>Kamale tlampi akilha</i>	‘The knife is so sharp’ or ‘That’s how sharp the knife is’

The relative marker also appears on a handful of non-scalar verbs referring to one of the physical senses. When the relative marker is prefixed to a verb of perception inflected for the resultative aspect (see §7.5.1), the resulting predicate expresses the possession of a property which is detectable by the sense in question. Compare the following sets of verbs:

<i>kila</i>	‘see’	<i>akula</i>	‘look, appear, have the look/appearance of’
<i>luhtsa</i>	‘smell’	<i>aloihtsa</i>	‘smell, have the smell/odour of’
<i>mahltla</i>	‘taste’	<i>amaihltla</i>	‘taste, have the taste/flavour of’
<i>ola</i>	‘hear’	<i>auola</i>	‘sound, have the sound of’
<i>sefa</i>	‘feel, touch’	<i>aseifa</i>	‘feel, have the feel/texture of’
<i>uota</i>	‘feel, perceive’	<i>auoita</i>	‘feel, seem, appear, give the sensation of’

These verbs in turn combine with a bare noun phrase complement (§4.6.5) or a bare verb (phrase) complement in the dependent subjunctive (§10.2.4). This complement expresses the property in question, or a kind of entity or substance which bears that property:

- (7.258) *Mase ksas amaihltla*
 soup.NOM salt REL.taste:RES.IPV
 ‘The soup tastes salty’ or ‘The soup tastes of salt’

- (7.259) *Tilase enuhi iaseifanka*
 glass.NOM SBJ.cold.DEP:SBJ PRG.REL.feel:RES.IPV:PST
 ‘The glass felt cold (to the touch)’

Finally, the relative marker is required when the verb takes the atelic inchoative suffix *-im*, discussed in §7.5.3 (e.g., *toha* ‘be big’ > *atohima* ‘grow, get bigger’; *liuna* ‘be old’ > *aliunima* ‘get older, age’), and also in the comparative construction, discussed in the subsection below.

The comparative construction

In comparative constructions, the suffix *-oht* (glossed COMP for COMPARATIVE) is added to the relative stem of a stative verb: e.g., *pata* ‘be tall’ > *apatohta* ‘be taller/tallest’; *oita* ‘be important’ > *auoitohta* ‘be more/most important’. Note that the verb *iena* ‘be good’ has an irregular comparative form: *aniohta* ‘be better/best’.

As the glosses indicate, the *-oht* form can express either a comparative degree (‘taller’) or a superlative degree (‘tallest’). The intended meaning can usually be inferred from context, though if necessary a universal quantifier in the ablative case (e.g., *imou* ‘of all’ [inanimate], *inmou* ‘of all’ [animate]) can be added to the sentence to make the superlative reading explicit:

- (7.260) *Oh kotu tan paluna imou atohohta*
 DIST house that:NOM village.LOC 3i:all:ABL REL.big.COMP.IPV
 ‘That house over there is the biggest in the village’ (lit. ‘bigger than all’)

Also, when the *-oht* form is nominalized and functions as the modifier of another noun (cf. §10.6), it optionally follows the noun when used to express the superlative degree. For instance, *kotu atohohte* means ‘the biggest house’, whereas *atohohte kotu* can mean either ‘the biggest house’ or ‘a/the bigger house’, depending on context. Another example of a noun followed by a superlative modifier is given in the following sentence:

- (7.261) *Tiesat auotiohte mieme ètan?*
 town REL.nearby.COMP.TNZR.DAT where.INST go.IPV.QU
 ‘How do you get to the nearest town?’

When a relative verb with *-oht* expresses the comparative, the standard of comparison (marked by ‘than’ in English) usually appears in the ablative case. Alternatively, an unmarked noun phrase may be used if the standard of comparison is a general class of entities rather than a particular individual or group of individuals.

- (7.262) *Sakiale mo ahteu aliunohta*
 Sakial.NOM 1SRDAT father.ABL REL.old.COMP.IPV
 ‘Sakial is older than my father’

- (7.263) *Tonaka tan kotu atohohta*
 rock that:NOM house REL.big.COMP.IPV
 ‘That rock is bigger than a house’

To express the degree of difference between the entities being compared, the comparative verb may be modified by a degree adverbial (e.g., *hampi apatohta* ‘a lot taller’, *kitsipi apatohta* ‘slightly taller’) or by a measure phrase in the instrumental case, as illustrated below. In addition, the comparative verb may be modified by the aspectual adverbial *eima* ‘still, yet’, used in the sense of English ‘even’: *eima apatohta* ‘even taller’.

- (7.264) *Sakiale mo ahteu ulhmo henme aliunohta*
 Sakial.NOM 1SRDAT father.ABL year two.INST REL.old.COMP.IPV
 ‘Sakial is two years older than my father’

When two events or states are being compared, rather than two individuals, the standard of comparison may be expressed by a correlative clause headed by *aun* (cf. §10.2.3), where *aun* is marked for ablative case. When the verb in the main clause is the same as the verb in the correlative clause, the latter is often omitted and *aun* is replaced by *tiaun*.

(7.265) *Ma akiotohte kiompyi Elimma miampi akiompa aunu*
 1sERG REL.fast.COMP.CV run.PV Elim.ERG how:much PV.run.DEP if.ABL
 ‘I ran faster than Elim ran’ (lit. ‘... faster than how (much) Elim ran’)

(7.266) *Ma akiotohte kiompyi Elimma miampi tiaunu*
 1sNOM REL.fast.COMP.CV run.PV Elim.ERG how:much if:so.ABL
 ‘I ran faster than Elim did’

(7.267) *Ma hialò akiotohte kiompyi miampi elohka tiaunu*
 1sNOM today REL.fast.COMP.CV run.PV how:much yesterday if:so.ABL
 ‘I ran faster today than (I did) yesterday’

To express ‘preferred’ or ‘favourite’ in Okuna, the comparative ending may be added to an evaluative verb such as *henka* ‘be enjoyable’ or *huata* ‘be liked/appreciated’, or to the modal verb *okfa* ‘be wanted’—e.g., *imè ahenkohte iase* ‘my favourite food’ (lit. ‘the food most enjoyable to me’). Note that *auokfohta* (literally ‘more/most wanted’) can also take a subordinate clause complement, in which case it is equivalent to English ‘(would) rather’ or ‘prefer’. Alternatively, ‘rather/prefer’ can be expressed by attaching the comparative suffix to a verb stem formed with the modal suffix *-uh*, discussed in §7.7.1—e.g., *muelha* ‘sleep’ > *muelhuha* ‘want to sleep’ > *muelhuhohtha* ‘prefer to sleep, would rather sleep’ (lit. ‘more/most want to sleep’). Note that verbs formed with *-uh* plus *-oht* do not carry the relative prefix.

(7.268) *Imè nkilhuhohta*
 1sALL leave.want.COMP.IPV
 ‘I would rather leave’ or ‘I (would) prefer to leave’

(7.269) *Ku nkilhuhohta imè*
 2NOM leave.want.COMP.IPV 1sALL
 ‘I would rather you left’ or ‘I (would) prefer for you to leave’

(7.270) *Imè auokfohta ku eima menkilhoie*
 1sALL REL.want.COMP.IPV 2NOM still NEG.SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ:NEG.NOM
 ‘I would prefer it if you (did) not leave yet’

The construction equivalent to ‘the X-er ... the X-er’ (e.g., ‘the bigger they come, the harder they fall’) is illustrated below. Here two clauses are combined, each containing a comparative or atelic inchoative verb, or a comparative quantifier or degree word (e.g., *anohte* ‘more’, *ohpi* ‘more so, to a greater degree’). The second clause also includes the demonstrative adverbial *tlai* ‘thus, so, that much, to that extent’. The verb in the first clause takes the form of a participle (§10.3): an indicative participle if the sentence describes an actual or generic state of affairs, and a subjunctive participle if it describes a hypothetical state of affairs.

(7.271) *Koine alinime, tlai ohe iona*
 person.NOM REL.old.AINC.PT thus more:NOM known.IPV
 ‘The older a person gets, the more (s/he) knows’
 lit. ‘When a person gets older, to that extent more is known (by him/her)’

(7.272) *Kima akiotohte sukait, tlai ohpi tehefoi uslat*
 12ERG REL.fast.COMP.CV work.PT:SBJ.PL thus more:so soon finish.IPV.PL
 ‘The faster we work, the sooner we will finish’
 lit. ‘If we work more quickly, to that extent (we) will finish sooner’

Note finally that, although the suffix *-oht* is mostly used in combination with the relative prefix to form comparatives, it can also combine to a limited degree with non-stative verbs. When used with a non-stative verb, *-oht* expresses an event whereby one individual (or group of individuals) surpasses another in performing the activity or exhibiting the trait denoted by the root:

<i>kahta</i>	‘hit’	<i>kahtohta</i>	‘out-hit, defeat (in a fight)’
<i>kapua</i>	‘be skillful, be good at’	<i>kapuohta</i>	‘outperform, be better at’
<i>kiompa</i>	‘run, chase’	<i>kiompohta</i>	‘outrun, run faster than, beat (in a race)’
<i>lhaha</i>	‘reach, stretch’	<i>lhahohta</i>	‘overreach, reach past/beyond’
<i>lhintā</i>	‘be clever’	<i>lhintohta</i>	‘outsmart, outwit, be cleverer than’
<i>tsahompa</i>	‘wrestle’	<i>tsahompohta</i>	‘out-wrestle, defeat in a wrestling match’

In a clause headed by an eventive verb with *-oht*, the participant being surpassed is expressed by a noun phrase in the ablative case:

- (7.273) *Motlama suhpau kiompohtyi*
 Motla.ERG brother.ABL run.COMP.PV
 ‘Motla outran his brother’

7.7 Expressing modality

Modality involves the expression of possibility, necessity, and other notions related to hypothetical or possible worlds (ability, volition, intention, etc.). Modality is expressed in two different ways in Okuna: by adding a modal suffix to the verb stem, or by using a separate modal verb which selects a verb or a clause in the dependent subjunctive form. I discuss these options in turn.

7.7.1 Modal suffixes

One of four suffixes can be added to a verb stem to express modality. These suffixes, listed in the following table, are added directly to the verb stem, preceding any tense/aspect/mood/polarity inflection (see §7.4). When added to a stem ending in a glide, the initial high vowels of the desiderative and purposive suffixes undergo lowering, in accordance with the vowel hiatus rules in §3.5.3: e.g., *takia* ‘break’, *taki.ihp.a* > *takiehpā* ‘intend to break’, *taki.uh.a* > *takiohā* ‘want to break’.

DEBITIVE	(‘must, have to, need to’)	<i>-oks</i>
DESIDERATIVE	(‘want to’)	<i>-uh</i>
PURPOSIVE	(‘should, mean to, intend to’)	<i>-ihp</i>
POTENTIAL	(‘can, may, might, be able to’)	<i>-yip</i>

The copular verb *he* (§9.3.1) takes the form *hi-* when it combines with these suffixes. Likewise the deictic verbs *tsà* ‘be over here (near me)’ and *kà* ‘be here/there (near us/you)’ take the stem forms *tsa-* and *ka-*, respectively, with insertion of a glide in accordance with the vowel hiatus rules.

<i>hioksa</i>	‘must be’	<i>tsauoksa</i>	‘must be here’	<i>kauoksa</i>	‘must be here/there’
<i>hioha</i>	‘want to be’	<i>tsauoha</i>	‘want to be here’	<i>kauoha</i>	‘want to be here/there’
<i>hiehpā</i>	‘intend to be’	<i>tsaiehpā</i>	‘intend to be here’	<i>kaiehpā</i>	‘intend to be here/there’
<i>hiyipa</i>	‘can be’	<i>tsaiyipa</i>	‘can be here’	<i>kaiyipa</i>	‘can be here/there’

When a modal suffix is added to the verb, that verb is treated as a (derived) stative for purposes of tense/aspect marking (§7.4). Verbs inflected for modality cannot take perfective aspect, but can appear in the non-past imperfective, past imperfective, or conditional. Below I give a partial tense/aspect/mood paradigm for *siehp-* ‘write’ + debitive *-oks*, with approximate English translations for each form:

<i>siehpoksa</i>	‘must write, has to write, needs to write’
<i>isiehpoksa</i>	‘must be writing, must have been writing’
<i>usiehpoksa</i>	‘must have written’
<i>siehpoksanka</i>	‘had to write, needed to write’
<i>isiehpoksanka</i>	‘had to be writing, had to have been writing’
<i>usiehpoksanka</i>	‘had to have written’
<i>siehpoksike</i>	‘would have to write, would need to write’
<i>isiehpoksike</i>	‘would have to be writing, would have to have been writing’
<i>usiehpoksike</i>	‘would have to have written’

Note also that when a verb inflected for modality is negated (§7.3), the negation is understood to scope over the modal suffix. Compare the following:

<i>iman siehpyipa</i>	‘I can write’	<i>iman ntsiehpyipo</i>	‘I can’t write’
<i>iman siehpihpa</i>	‘I intend to write’	<i>iman ntsiehpihpo</i>	‘I don’t intend to write’
<i>iman siehpuha</i>	‘I want to write’	<i>iman ntsiehpuho</i>	‘I don’t want to write’
<i>iman siehpoksa</i>	‘I must write’	<i>iman ntsiehpokso</i>	‘I don’t have to write’

To express propositions like ‘I might not write’, ‘I must not write’, or ‘I should not write’, where the modal scopes over negation, a separate modal verb must be used in place of a modal suffix (see next section).

The meanings of the different modal forms are discussed and illustrated below.

Potential modality

The potential modal suffix *-yip* (glossed ‘able’ in the examples) can express the possibility that the event denoted by the verb will come to pass, or has come to pass. When expressing possibility, the potential form usually corresponds to ‘may’ or ‘might’ in English:

(7.274) *Ise kahpyipa*
 snow fall.able.IPV
 ‘It may/might snow’

(7.275) *Ise ikahpyipa*
 snow PRG.fall.able.IPV
 ‘It may/might be snowing’

(7.276) *Ise ukahpyipa*
 snow PF.fall.able.IPV
 ‘It may/might have snowed’

The potential suffix can also express ability, in which case it is roughly equivalent to English ‘can, be able to’, or the suffix ‘-able’:

(7.277) *Halmai talyipa*
 book.DAT read.able.IPV
 ‘The book is readable’ or ‘The book can be read’

When the clause includes a noun phrase denoting the individual who possesses the ability to perform the action, that noun phrase appears in the locative case. The locative-marked noun phrase almost always replaces one of the verb’s core arguments—typically the ergative argument, if the verb takes one, otherwise the nominative argument. Compare the following:

- (7.278) *Moihama halmai tala*
 girl.ERG book.DAT read.IPV
 ‘The girl will read the book’
- (7.279) *Moihama halmai talyipa*
 girl.ERG book.DAT read.able.IPV
 ‘The girl may/might read the book’
 or ‘It is possible that the girl will read the book’
- (7.280) *Moihana halmai talyipa*
 girl.LOC book.DAT read.able.IPV
 ‘The girl can read the book’ or ‘The girl is able to read the book’
- (7.281) *Sakiale nkilhyipa*
 Sakial.NOM leave.able.IPV
 ‘Sakial may/might leave’
- (7.282) *Sakialna nkilhyipa*
 Sakial.LOC leave.able.IPV
 ‘Sakial can leave’ or ‘Sakial is able to leave’

Finally, a verb in the potential modality can express permission (‘may, be allowed to’). The individual who has permission to perform the action may be represented by a noun phrase in the allative case. Like the locative noun phrase in the examples above, this allative noun phrase normally replaces one of the verb’s core arguments.

- (7.283) *Moihaua halmai talyipa*
 girl.ALL book.DAT read.able.IPV
 ‘The girl may read the book’ or ‘The girl is allowed to read the book’
- (7.284) *Sakiala nkilhyipa*
 Sakial.ALL leave.able.IPV
 ‘Sakial may leave’ or ‘Sakial is allowed to leave’

Debitive modality

The debitive modal suffix *-oks* (glossed ‘must’) expresses necessity. In certain cases this suffix is used when the clause expresses the realization or supposition that the event in question will come about, or has come about. Here it usually corresponds to English ‘must’ or ‘be sure to’:

- (7.285) *Ise kahpoks*
 snow fall.must.IPV
 ‘It must snow’ or ‘It’s sure to snow’
- (7.286) *Ise ikahpoks*
 snow PRG.fall.must.IPV
 ‘It must be snowing’
- (7.287) *Ise ukahpoks*
 snow PF.fall.must.IPV
 ‘It must have snowed’

The debitive suffix can also express obligation, in which case it can be translated ‘must, have to, need to’:

(7.288) *Halmai taloksa*
 book.DAT read.must.IPV
 ‘The book needs to be read’

(7.289) *Moihama halmai taloksa*
 girl.ERG book.DAT read.must.IPV
 ‘The girl must / has to read the book’

A noun phrase in either the locative case or the allative case may be added to the clause to indicate the individual who possesses the obligation. As with the potential form, this noun phrase almost always replaces one of the verb’s core arguments. The difference between locative and allative marking is somewhat subtle: roughly speaking, locative case is used when the sense of obligation originates within the individual, while allative case is used when the individual is compelled by someone else. Compare the examples below: (7.290) implies that Sakial feels an inner compulsion to read the book, whereas with (7.291) the usual sense is that the requirement to read the book has been imposed on Sakial by someone else.

(7.290) *Sakialna halmai taloksa*
 Sakial.LOC book.DAT read.must.IPV
 ‘Sakial must read the book’ (i.e., has the urge to read)

(7.291) *Sakiala halmai taloksa*
 Sakial.ALL book.DAT read.must.IPV
 ‘Sakial must read the book’ (i.e., is required to read)

By contrast, in (7.289) above, there is no sense that any particular individual is being compelled to bring about the reading event. To capture this, (7.289) may be translated ‘It is necessary for the girl to read the book’ or ‘The girl is certain to read the book’.

Purposive and desiderative modality

The purposive suffix *-ihp* (glossed ‘intend’) is added to the verb stem when the clause denotes the state of affairs where it is intended or considered desirable that the event named by the verb stem come about. It is sometimes equivalent to ‘should’ or ‘be meant to, be supposed to’:

(7.292) *Halmai talihpa*
 book.DAT read.intend.IPV
 ‘The book is (meant) to be read’

(7.293) *Moihama halmai talihpa*
 girl.ERG book.DAT read.intend.IPV
 ‘The girl is supposed to read the book’ or ‘The girl should read the book’

A verb in the purposive form can combine with a noun phrase in the locative case, referring to the individual who possesses the intention that the action come about. When this individual is also one of the participants in the intended event, the locative noun phrase will replace the core argument that denotes that participant (usually the ergative argument, or the nominative argument if the verb lacks an ergative argument):

(7.294) *Sakialna moihama halmai talihpa*
 Sakial.LOC girl.ERG book.DAT read.intend.IPV
 ‘Sakial intends that the girl (should) read the book’

(7.295) *Sakialna halmai talihpa*
 Sakial.LOC book.DAT read.intend.IPV
 ‘Sakial intends to read the book’

The desiderative suffix *-uh* (glossed ‘want’) works essentially the same way as the purposive suffix. It is added to the verb to indicate that the event in question is desired by some individual, and usually corresponds to English ‘want to’. The individual possessing the desire may be expressed by a noun phrase in the locative, which can replace one of the verb’s core arguments.

- (7.296) *Halmai taluha*
 book.DAT read.want.IPV
 ‘It is desired that the book be read’
- (7.297) *Moihama halmai taluha*
 girl.ERG book.DAT read.want.IPV
 ‘It is desired that the girl read the book’
- (7.298) *Sakialna moihama halmai taluha*
 Sakial.LOC girl.ERG book.DAT read.want.IPV
 ‘Sakial wants the girl to read the book’
- (7.299) *Sakialna halmai taluha*
 Sakial.LOC book.DAT read.want.IPV
 ‘Sakial wants to read the book’

Note that a verb with the desiderative suffix can in turn take the comparative/superlative suffix *-oht* (cf. §7.6). The resulting forms are equivalent English expressions with ‘rather’ or ‘prefer’: e.g., *nkilha* ‘leave’ > *nkilhuha* ‘want to leave’ > *nkilhuhohta* ‘prefer to leave, would rather leave’ (lit. ‘more/most want to leave’).

- (7.300) *Te halma atai taluhohta iman*
 FOC book that:DAT read.want.COMP.IPV 1sLOC
 ‘I (would) prefer to read that book’

Generally with verbs in the purposive or desiderative form, the locative noun phrase replaces a coreferential core argument only if that argument represents the most ‘active’ or ‘agentive’ participant in the event. Otherwise, the locative noun phrase and the coreferential core argument are both realized in the clause. Compare the examples in (7.301) and (7.302): in the former sentence, the participant possessing the desire is the same individual as the (ergative) actor participant, while in the latter sentence it’s the same individual as the (nominative) theme. (7.303) and (7.304) show a parallel contrast:

- (7.301) *Iman talò fonuhanka*
 1sLOC chief.NOM praise.want.IPV:PST
 ‘I wanted to praise the chief’
- (7.302) *Iman me taloma fonuhanka*
 1sLOC 1sNOM chief.ERG praise.want.IPV:PST
 ‘I wanted the chief to praise me’ or ‘I wanted to be praised by the chief’
- (7.303) *Iman talò fonihpa*
 1sLOC chief.NOM praise.intend.IPV
 ‘I intend to praise the chief’
- (7.304) *Iman me taloma fonihpa*
 1sLOC 1sNOM chief.ERG praise.intend.IPV
 ‘I intend for the chief to praise me’ or ‘I intend to be praised by the chief’

7.7.2 Modal verbs

In addition to the modal suffixes, Okuna has a number of Class I stative verbs for expressing notions of possibility, necessity, desirability, etc. The most common modal verbs are listed below. For each verb, the most literal meaning is given first, followed by typical English translation equivalents in parentheses.

<i>alha</i>	‘be allowed, permissible’ (‘can, may’)
<i>aniohta</i>	‘be better, preferable’ (‘it would be better/best if...’)
<i>etaupa</i>	‘be predicted’ (‘be supposed to’)
<i>ksafa</i>	‘be desired, wished for’
<i>kuia</i>	‘be certain, definite’
<i>lehua</i>	‘be advisable’ (‘should, ought to’)
<i>lyihpa</i>	‘be possible’ (‘can, may, might’)
<i>okfa</i>	‘be desired/desirable’ (‘want’)
<i>otsena</i>	‘be likely, probable’
<i>tima</i>	‘be likely, common’ (‘tend to; be liable to’)
<i>tiuha</i>	‘be necessary, needed’ (‘need, must’)
<i>toupa</i>	‘be presumable, apparent’ (‘must’)

As members of Class I, modal verbs select a single core argument, marked for nominative case. In addition, most modal verbs can take a noun phrase in the locative or allative case. For *ksafa* and *okfa*, a locative noun phrase indicates the individual who wishes or hopes for the object or event denoted by the nominative argument. With verbs such as *lyihpa* and *tiuha*, an allative noun phrase indicates the individual with respect to whom the object/event denoted by the nominative argument is possible or necessary.

(7.305) *Iman iase mian iokfa*
 1sLOC food some:NOM PRG.desired.IPV
 ‘I want some food’ (lit. ‘In me, some food is desired’)

(7.306) *Imè ikou aleute itiuha*
 1sALL 2sABL help.NOM PRG.necessary.IPV
 ‘I need your help’ (lit. ‘Your help is necessary to/for me’)

In the examples above, the nominative argument is a regular noun phrase. The nominative argument can also take the form of a clause in the dependent subjunctive form (§10.2), denoting a hypothetical event:

(7.307) *Lehua ke halma atai etalè*
 advisable.IPV MED book this:DAT SBJ.read.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘This book should be read’ or ‘It is advisable that this book be read’

(7.308) *Aniohta ku kotseim sikà ekauotè*
 best.IPV 2NOM morning.DAT until SBJ.be:here.DUR.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘It would be best if you stayed here until morning’

(7.309) *Alha ne ikimme eiafità*
 allowed.IPV 3aNOM 12INST SBJ.accompany.DEP:SBJ.PL.NOM
 ‘It is permissible for them to come with us’

(7.310) *Lyihpa kime elohfoi esaseutà*
 possible.IPV 12DAT tomorrow SBJ.meet.DEP:SBJ.RECIP.PL.NOM
 ‘It’s possible that we will meet tomorrow’

(7.311) *Elimna okfa otanaina ekestè*
 Elim.LOC desired.IPV child.LOC SBJ.happy.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘Elim wants (his) children to be happy’

Alternatively, the modal verb and its complement may undergo restructuring (see §10.2.4). In this construction, the dependent subjunctive verb appears without an case marking and immediately precedes the modal verb, the two forming a complex predicate. Any arguments selected by the dependent subjunctive verb behave as part of the main clause, and when they trigger plural agreement or reciprocal marking (§7.2, §9.4.4), the agreement and reciprocal suffixes attach to the modal verb rather than the verb it selects. Compare the sentences above with their restructured counterparts below:

- (7.312) *Ke halma atai etali lehua*
 MED book this:DAT SBJ.read.DEP:SBJ advisable.IPV
 ‘This book should be read’
- (7.313) *Ku kotseim sikà ekauoti aniohta*
 2NOM morning.DAT until SBJ.be:here.DUR.DEP:SBJ best.IPV
 ‘You had best stay here until morning’
- (7.314) *Ne ikimme eiafi alhat*
 3aNOM 12INST SBJ.accompany.DEP:SBJ allowed.IPV.PL
 ‘They may come with us’ or ‘They are allowed to come with us’
- (7.315) *Kime elohfoi esasi lyihpauot*
 12DAT tomorrow SBJ.meet.DEP:SBJ possible.IPV.RECIP.PL
 ‘We may/might/could meet tomorrow’
- (7.316) *Elimna otanaina ekesti okfa*
 Elim.LOC child.LOC SBJ.happy.DEP:SBJ desired.IPV
 ‘Elim wants (his) children to be happy’

Note that either the dependent subjunctive verb, or the sentence as a whole, can be negated. In the former case, the modal verb scopes over negation, while in the latter case, negation scopes over the modal. The following pairs of sentences illustrate the contrast between these two possibilities:

- (7.317) *Pyie ntse enkilhoi alhot*
 child.NOM NEG SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ:NEG allowed.IPV:NEG.PL
 ‘The children may not leave’ (i.e., it is not permitted that the children leave)
- (7.318) *Pyie menkilhoi alhat*
 child.NOM NEG.SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ:NEG allowed.IPV.PL
 ‘The children don’t have to leave’ (i.e., it is permitted that the children not leave)
- (7.319) *Pyie ntse enkilhoi tiuhot*
 child.NOM NEG SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ:NEG necessary.IPV:NEG.PL
 ‘The children don’t have to leave’ (i.e., it is not necessary that the children leave)
- (7.320) *Pyie menkilhoi tiuhat*
 child.NOM NEG.SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ:NEG necessary.IPV.PL
 ‘The children must not leave’ (i.e., it is necessary that the children not leave)

The verbs *tiuha* and *toupa* are easily confused, since both verbs overlap in meaning with the debitive suffix *-oks*, and both may be translated as ‘must’ or ‘have to’ in English. *Tiuha* expresses the necessity that a situation come about, while *toupa* expresses the realization or supposition that a situation has or will come about. This contrast is illustrated below:

(7.321) *Ikime ahotsine enalhi tiuha*
 12ALL corn.NOM SBJ.plant.DEP:SBJ necessary.IPV
 ‘We must / have to plant the corn’

(7.322) *Motlà iemouti toupa hialò, elh tlohpa*
 Motla.NOM SBJ:PRG.sick.DEP:SBJ must.IPV today and for:that:reason
mekau
 NEG.PRG.be:here.IPV:NEG
 ‘Motla must be sick today, and that’s why (he)’s not here’

Note also the following examples, which illustrate *tima* used as a modal verb. Notice that the interpretation of this construction depends on the aspect in which *tima* occurs: when it occurs in progressive aspect, the sentence indicates the strong likelihood that the event denoted by the subjunctive verb will come about, given the current situation; when it occurs in the imperfect, the sentence expresses the general tendency for the event denoted by the subjunctive verb to come about. (In non-modal contexts, *tima* means ‘lie, be located’.)

(7.323) *Kalone ehkamne elyue timat*
 boy.NOM early SBJ.wake:up.DEP:SBJ tend.IPV.PL
 ‘The boys tend to wake up early’

(7.324) *Kalone ehkamne elyue itimat*
 boy.NOM early SBJ.wake:up.DEP:SBJ PRG.tend.IPV.PL
 ‘The boys are liable to wake up early’

Chapter 8

Minor Word Classes

8.1 Introduction

Nouns and verbs (discussed in chapters 4, 6, and 7) constitute the OPEN LEXICAL CLASSES of Okuna—i.e., the lexical classes to which new members may be added, either through coinage or by borrowing from another language. There are also several CLOSED CLASSES of words whose members perform various grammatical functions. Some of these classes (e.g., pronouns, quantificational adverbs) were introduced in earlier chapters. The remaining classes are discussed here. Section §8.2 deals with sentential particles, which mark operator functions related to focus or clause type. §8.3 gives an overview of coordinators and the conjoining of phrases and clauses. Finally, §8.4 deals with adverbials (predicate modifiers) for expressing manner, degree, temporal quantification, and aspect.

8.2 Sentence particles

Sentence particles are non-inflecting function words which occupy a fixed position in the clause. I group these particles into two classes based on the position they occupy. §8.2.1 deals with focus particles, which express concepts like ‘even’, ‘only’, and ‘not’. §8.2.2 deals with force and evidential particles. Force particles provide information about the function of the clause (i.e., whether it constitutes a question, command, exclamation, etc.), while evidential particles indicate something about the epistemological status of the sentence (i.e., whether it represents common knowledge, hearsay, speculation, etc.). Focus particles always precede the verb, and take scope over some portion of the clausal nucleus (§9.2.1); while force and evidential particles occur at the right edge of the clausal nucleus, immediately following the verb.

8.2.1 Focus particles

Okuna has a number of particles which precede a constituent (a noun phrase or predicate) to indicate that that constituent is being contrastively focused—that is, foregrounded in the sentence and implicitly or explicitly contrasted with other potential discourse referents. One such focus particle is *te*, illustrated in (8.2) below.

(8.1) *Ma hotume itsampanka*
1SERG uncle.INST PRG.say.ACT.IPV:PST
‘I was talking to my uncle’

(8.2) *Ma te hotume itsampanka*
1SERG FOC uncle.INST PRG.say.ACT.IPV:PST
‘I was talking to my UNCLE’ (not to anyone else)

Focus particles occur within the clausal nucleus (§9.2.1), following the topic and preceding the verb and any noun phrases unmarked for case (see §4.6.3). Case-marked noun phrases in the clause either precede or follow the focus particle, depending on their scope, as discussed below. The major focus particles and particle combinations are listed here (on the negative particles *ntse* and *ntsune*, see §7.3 for discussion):

<i>ekane</i>	‘just, specifically, in particular; exactly, precisely’
<i>hiò</i>	‘indeed, actually, in fact’
<i>husu</i>	‘also, even’
<i>husu ntse</i>	‘not even’
<i>las</i>	‘only, merely, just’
<i>ntse, ntsune</i>	‘not’
<i>ntsilas</i>	‘not only’
<i>ntsohkina</i>	‘neither, not even’
<i>ohkina</i>	‘also, even’
<i>te</i>	‘just, only, actually’
<i>tiefu</i>	‘only, solely, just; except’
<i>tiefu ntse</i>	‘only not, just not; except’
<i>usahke</i>	‘especially, in particular’

Focus particles are interpreted as operators which take scope over the verb, verb phrase, or noun phrase to their immediate right. Compare the following sentences, where the difference in word order correlates with a difference in scope for the particle *tiefu*:

(8.3) *Moihama kahoi tiefu ipamyima*
 girl.ERG fish.DAT only cook.PV.DPL
 ‘The girl only COOKED the fish’

(8.4) *Moihama tiefu kahoi ipamyima*
 girl.ERG only fish.DAT cook.PV.DPL
 ‘The girl only cooked (the) FISH’

(8.5) *Kahoi tiefu moihama ipamyit*
 fish.DAT only girl.ERG cook.PV.PL
 ‘Only the GIRL cooked the fish’
 or ‘The fish were cooked by the girl alone’

(8.6) *Tiefu moihama kahoi ipamyima*
 only girl.ERG fish.DAT cook.PV.DPL
 ‘It’s only (the case) that the girl cooked the fish’

In (8.3) *tiefu* scopes over the verb *ipamyima* ‘cooked’, and sets up an implicit contrast between the cooking action and other possible actions which the girl might have performed on the fish (such as eating them). In (8.4) the particle scopes over either *kahoi* ‘fish’ or *kahoi ipamyima* ‘cooked the fish’: this sentence asserts that the fish are the only things that the girl cooked, or that cooking the fish is the only thing that the girl did. In (8.5) *tiefu* scopes over *moihama* ‘the girl’, or *moihama ipamyit* ‘cooked by the girl’; this sentence means that the girl is the only one who cooked the fish, or that being cooked by the girl is the only thing that happened to the fish. Finally, in (8.6), *tiefu* scopes over the entire sentence, and the meaning is that the girl cooking the fish is the only thing that happened.

The scopal domain of the focus particle extends rightward only as far as the verb. Hence in the sentences below, the postposed noun *kahoi* is outside the scope of *tiefu*.

(8.7) *Moihama tiefu ipamyima kahoi*
 girl.ERG only cook.PV.DPL fish.DAT
 ‘The girl only COOKED (them), the fish’

- (8.8) *Tiefu moihama ipamyima kahoi*
 only girl.ERG cook.PV.DPL fish.DAT
 ‘Only the GIRL cooked (them), the fish’

The interaction between word order and scope is further illustrated by the sentences below, containing the particle *husu*. Notice that *husu* can be translated as ‘also’ or ‘even’, depending on the context (likewise for *ohkina* when it is used as a focus particle):

- (8.9) *Sakialma Elime husu fonyi*
 Sakial.ERG Elim.NOM also praise.PV
 ‘Sakial also PRAISED Elim’ (besides doing other things to/for him)

- (8.10) *Sakialma husu Elime fonyi*
 Sakial.NOM also Elim.NOM praise.PV
 ‘Sakial also/even praised ELIM’ (in addition to praising other people)
 or ‘Sakial also PRAISED ELIM’ (in addition to doing other things)

- (8.11) *Elime husu Sakialma fonyi*
 Elim.NOM also Sakial.ERG praise.PV
 ‘Even SAKIAL praised Elim’ (he wasn’t just praised by other people)
 or ‘Elim was also PRAISED BY SAKIAL’ (besides having other things happen to him)

The particles *te* and *hiò* have an emphatic sense, indicating that what follows is new or unexpected information. The particle *te* also has a identificational function, and is often used when the speaker wishes to point out or draw attention to a particular referent. Sentences with *te* are often appropriately translated into English using a cleft or pseudo-cleft construction. Compare the following:

- (8.12) *Ma halmà kohoit elhyia*
 1SERG book.NOM chest.DAT put:in.PV.NPL
 ‘I put the books in the chest’
- (8.13) *Ma halmà te kohoit elhyia*
 1SERG book.NOM FOC chest.DAT put:in.PV.NPL
 ‘The chest is where I put the books’
- (8.14) *Ma te halma tin elhyia kohoit*
 1SERG FOC book those:NOM put:in.PV.NPL chest.DAT
 ‘It’s those books that I put in the chest’
 or ‘Those are the books that I put in the chest’

Te is also found as an optional element in a presentational sentences, where the speaker is drawing the listener’s attention to the entity denoted by the focused noun phrase (which typically functions as a theme argument and appears without any case marking):

- (8.15) *Te es halma itsà*
 FOC one book PRG.be:here.IPV
 ‘Here’s a book’ or ‘There’s a book over here’
- (8.16) *Te Sakial iketa*
 FOC Sakial PRG.come:here.IPV
 ‘Here comes Sakial’

Other examples of sentences with focus particles are given below:

- (8.17) *Ne las pyi*
 3aNOM just child
 ‘He’s just a child’
- (8.18) *Kahu aunme, Sakiala usahke kono henka*
 fish if.INST Sakial.ALL especially salmon like.IPV
 ‘When it comes to fish, Sakial especially likes salmon’
- (8.19) *Tonaka tan husu ntse koin anasohtena tiyisyipoike*
 rock that:NOM even NEG person REL.strong.COMP.TNZR.LOC lift.able.COND:NEG
 ‘Not even the strongest person could lift that rock’

Focus particles often occur in conjoined clauses, where a focused phrase in the second clause bears a relation of comparison, contrast, augmentation, etc., to a focused phrase in the first clause. Typically all non-focused material is omitted from the second clause, leaving just the particle and the focused phrase:

- (8.20) *Elima tsakamot koine huata, usahke pyie*
 Elim.ALL all:kinds person.NOM like.IPV especially child.NOM
 ‘Elim likes all kinds of people, especially children’
- (8.21) *Hynukiale inmone henkanka, usahke pyia*
 play.NOM everyone:ALL enjoy.IPV:PST especially child.ALL
 ‘Everyone enjoyed the play, especially the children’

As these examples show, the focused noun phrase in the second clause must carry the same case marking as the corresponding focused noun phrase in the first clause. In (8.20) the children are set apart as a special subset of the people who Elim likes. Here, *pyi* ‘children’ appears in the nominative case because *tsakamot koin* ‘all kinds of people’ takes the nominative. In (8.21) the children are set apart as a special subset of the people who enjoyed the play. Since *inmone* ‘everybody’ is in the allative case (assigned to the experiencer participant of the verb *henka* ‘be enjoyable’), *pyi* takes the allative case as well.

Additional examples of this construction are given below:

- (8.22) *Halma utai Sakialma utala, husu imà*
 book that:RDAT Sakial.ERG PF.read.IPV also 1SERG
 ‘Sakial has read that book, and so have I’
- (8.23) *Halma utai inket utalane, ohkina imà*
 book that:RDAT everyone.ERG PF.read.IPV.EPL also 1SERG
 ‘Everyone has read that book, even/including me’
- (8.24) *Nsilas Elime muntetou, tluosna husu Motlà*
 not:only Elim.NOM drunk.TINC.PV:NEG rather also Motla.NOM
 ‘It’s not just Elim who got drunk, but also Motla’
- (8.25) *Sa husu Elime tsulyit, ntilas Sakiale*
 13ERG also Elim.NOM visit.PV.PL not:only Sakial.NOM
 ‘We also visited Elim, not just Sakial’
- (8.26) *Se husu Elimma tsulyit, ntilas Sakialma*
 13NOM also Elim.ERG visit.PV.PL not:only Sakial.NOM
 ‘Even Elim visited us, not just Sakial’ or ‘We were also visited by Elim, not just by Sakial’

Note finally that *tiefu* and *tiefu ntse* can be used to express exclusion, equivalent to English ‘except’ or ‘but’. *Tiefu* is used after a negative quantifier, as in (8.27) and (8.28), while *tiefu ntse* is used after a universal quantifier, as in (8.29) and (8.30):

- (8.27) *Elima ntsemiò huato, tiefu man*
 Elim.ALL nobody:NOM like.IPV:NEG only 1sNOM
 ‘Elim doesn’t like anybody except me’ (lit. ‘Elim likes nobody, only me’)
- (8.28) *Elim ntsemioha huato, tiefu imè*
 Elim.NOM nobody.ALL like.IPV:NEG only 1sALL
 ‘Nobody likes Elim except me’
- (8.29) *Elima nket huataua, tiefu ntse man*
 Elim.ALL everyone:NOM like.IPV.NPL only NEG 1sNOM
 ‘Elim likes everyone except me’ (lit. ‘Elim likes everyone, only not me’)
- (8.30) *Elim inkene huata, tiefu ntse imè*
 Elim.NOM everyone.ALL like.IPV only NEG 1sALL
 ‘Everyone likes Elim except me’

8.2.2 Force and evidential particles

Okuna has a number of particles which immediately follow the verb. Some of these particles express emphasis, or indicate the type of speech act which the utterance represents (statement, question, command, exclamation, etc.). Others encode EVIDENTIAL features—that is, they indicate the speaker’s source of information, or the degree of certainty with which s/he is making an assertion. The particles and their functions are listed below and discussed in the following subsections.

<i>ha</i>	unexpected information (‘in fact, as it happens’)
<i>hok</i>	emphatic, exclamative
<i>iahok</i>	emphatic negative (‘at all’)
<i>iak</i>	emphatic imperative (prohibitive)
<i>iakin</i>	emphatic negative question
<i>iam</i>	surprise, unassimilated information (‘it turns out that...’)
<i>kalh</i>	emphatic question
<i>la</i>	reassurance (‘don’t worry’)
<i>le</i>	conjecture, speculation (‘I think, apparently, it seems so’)
<i>lin</i>	question, request to speculate (‘do you suppose?’)
<i>lo</i>	uncertainty, request for confirmation (‘right?, is it so?’)
<i>mi</i>	regret (‘unfortunately, I’m afraid’)
<i>mo</i>	subjective judgement, personal opinion (‘I think so, in my opinion’)
<i>mun</i>	question, request for judgement/opinion (‘in your opinion...?’)
<i>na</i>	imperative/optative
<i>ne, -n</i>	question
<i>nem</i>	suggestion (‘let’s, how about, why not...’)
<i>pi</i>	uncertainty, possibility (‘maybe, perhaps’)
<i>tat</i>	common knowledge (‘of course, after all, as you know’)
<i>tli</i>	hearsay, secondhand information (‘apparently, so they say’)

Particles marking clause type and emphasis

Perhaps the most common postverbal particle is *ne* (glossed QU in the examples), which indicates that the sentence is a question. Both yes/no questions and content questions are marked with *ne*. As shown in (8.32)

and (8.33) below, *ne* contracts to *-n* and attaches to the verb when the latter ends in a vowel; however, *-n* is not treated as part of the verb for purposes of stress assignment (note the diacritic on *itàlan*, indicating that stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word, despite the presence of a final consonant).

- (8.31) *Elim ka Motlai ikè utlelhuhkat ne?*
 Elim and Motla.DAT dog.NOM PF.find.CPL.IPV.PL QU
 ‘Did Elim and Motla manage to find the dog?’
- (8.32) *Moihama halmai itàlan?*
 girl.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.IPV.QU
 ‘Is the girl reading the book?’
- (8.33) *Moihama halma mai talyin?*
 girl.ERG book what.DAT read.PV.QU
 ‘Which book did the girl read?’

To mark emphasis, the particle *hok* is often used. This particle acts as a sort of verbal exclamation point, indicating heightened emotional involvement on the part of the speaker. It frequently occurs in exclamatory statements such as (8.35):

- (8.34) *Hi manakpyipo iman, tsuo alhuta hok!*
 3iNOM NEG.carry.able.IPV:NEG 1sLOC too REL.heavy.IPV EXCL
 ‘I can’t lift it; (it’s) too heavy!’
- (8.35) *Ne tlai amila hok!*
 3aNOM so REL.handsome.IPV EXCL
 ‘How handsome he is!’ or ‘He’s so handsome!’

The particles *la* and *mi* are also used to express emphasis, but unlike *hok* they have a ‘softening’ effect: *la* is often added to a sentence when the speaker wishes to comfort, reassure, or placate the addressee; while *mi* is used to express speaker regret in reporting an unfortunate event.

- (8.36) *Moito la*
 NEG.matter.IPV:NEG EMPH
 ‘Don’t worry, it doesn’t matter’
- (8.37) *Nkuetlo ikun, mutlihpo la iman*
 NEG.afraid.IPV:NEG 2sLOC NEG.harm.intend.IPV:NEG EMPH 1sLOC
 ‘Don’t be afraid, I won’t harm (you)’
- (8.38) *Sakiale mafo mi ikimme*
 Sakial.NOM NEG.go:along.IPV:NEG EMPH 12INST
 ‘Sakial won’t be coming with us, I’m afraid’

The counterpart of *hok* used in negative clauses is *iahok*. In some cases this particle corresponds to English ‘at all’ or ‘ever’:

- (8.39) *Ntsemiò iolhunka iahok*
 nobody:NOM PRG.be:there.IPV:PST:NEG EMPH:NEG
 ‘There wasn’t anybody there’
- (8.40) *Inmi ntsemi kanu utso iahok*
 3aERG.1sDAT never lie PF.say.IPV:NEG EMPH:NEG
 ‘He’s never (ever) lied to me’

- (8.41) *Iman nkuio iahok ionà mà esuki aun*
 1sLOC NEG.certain.IPV:NEG EMPH:NEG know.DEP.NOM what SBJ.do.DEP:SBJ if
 ‘I’m not at all sure I know what to do’

The particle *kalh* marks a sentence as an emphatic question. It can be used in place of *ne* to indicate surprise, disbelief, frustration, disgust, or other strong emotion. To form emphatic negative questions, *iakin* is used in place of *kalh*.

- (8.42) *Mikail te ounà kilyit kalh hamohimok utena?*
 boy.DAT FOC bear.NOM see.PV.PL EMPH:QU sweat:lodge near.LOC
 ‘Did the boys really see a bear by the sweat lodge?’

- (8.43) *Mà laisne mehkyi kalh?*
 what:NOM just happen.PV EMPH:QU
 ‘What on earth just happened?’

- (8.44) *Ymihpa ntse yte etsoike iakin?*
 why NEG truth say.COND:NEG EMPH:NEG:QU
 ‘Why on earth won’t you tell (me) the truth?’

- (8.45) *Ko inem metsampo iakin?*
 2ERG 3sINST NEG.speak.ACT.IPV:NEG NEG:EMPH:QU
 ‘Won’t you even talk to him?’

Note that *ne*, *kalh*, and *iakin* occur only in main clause questions; embedded (indirect) questions are formed with the element *aun* ‘if, whether’, discussed in §10.2.3. Two other question particles, *lin* and *mun*, are discussed below. For more on the structure of questions, see §9.3.2.

Finally, the particles *na*, *nem*, and *iak* occur in imperative and optative clauses. *Na* expresses a strong desire on the part of the speaker that an action be performed or that an event (be permitted to) come about. In negative imperatives (prohibitives), *iak* is used in place of *na*. *Nem* is somewhat less emphatic than *na*, and may be used when the speaker is suggesting a course of action; it can correspond to English ‘let’s’, ‘how about’, or ‘why not’, depending on context. (For more on imperative sentences, see §9.3.3.)

- (8.46) *Ko hitole muka na*
 2ERG door.NOM close.IPV IMP
 ‘Close the door!’

- (8.47) *Ma akoi aleut uktia na*
 1sERG 2sDAT help give.IPV IMP
 ‘Let me help you!’

- (8.48) *Atai miaso iak*
 that:DAT NEG.eat.IPV:NEG NEG:IMP
 ‘Don’t eat that!’

- (8.49) *Kim Kematlasei etat nem*
 12NOM Kematlasi.DAT go.IPV.PL EMPH
 ‘Let’s go to Kematlasi’ or ‘Why don’t we go to Kematlasi?’

In the examples above, the imperative/optative particle follows a verb in the imperfect form. When *na* or *iak* is used with a verb in the conditional form, as in the example below, the sentence expresses a counterfactual wish. This construction corresponds roughly to English ‘if only’ or ‘would that...’:

- (8.50) *Inme ihka uteulikit na*
 3aERG.1sNOM earlier PF.listen.COND.PL IMP
 ‘If only they’d listened to me earlier’ or ‘Would that they had listened to me earlier’

Particles marking evidentiality

In addition to emphasis or clause type, a post-verbal particle may encode evidential distinctions, expressing the source of information or degree of certainty behind the speaker's assertion.

The particles *pi* and *lo* express a low degree of certainty: *pi* is equivalent to 'maybe' or 'perhaps', while *lo* is used where an English speaker might use a tag question (e.g., '... doesn't it?'). In the case of *lo*, the speaker is not entirely certain if the proposition is true and is looking to the addressee for confirmation or denial. *Pi*, on the other hand, marks the proposition as pure speculation: the speaker cannot vouch for the truth of the sentence, and does not expect the addressee to be able to do so either.¹

(8.51) *Elohfoi ise kahpa pi*
 tomorrow snow fall.IPV maybe
 'Perhaps it will snow tomorrow'

(8.52) *Mutoi tokoksa lo*
 fence.DAT repair.must.IPV do:you:think
 'The fence needs to be repaired, doesn't it?'

The particle *tli* also expresses uncertainty, but indicates that the proposition is hearsay, something which the speaker learned secondhand but cannot vouch for:

(8.53) *Inè tiakoi malkama ukaiha tli*
 3aALL goat.DAT wolf.ERG PF.kill.IPV they:say
 'His goat was killed by a wolf, they say'

Other evidential particles indicate something about the speaker's attitude towards the truth of what s/he is asserting. For example, *tat* marks the utterance as common knowledge, something which is well accepted or self-evident. By using *tat* (roughly equivalent to 'of course', 'after all', 'as you know', etc.), the speaker asserts that s/he believes the proposition to be true, and expects the addressee to agree:

(8.54) *Mutoi tokoksa tat*
 fence.DAT repair.must.IPV of:course
 'As you know, the fence needs to be repaired'

The particle *ha* is also used when the speaker wishes to emphasize that what s/he is saying is true. However, it differs from *nin* in that the speaker does not expect the addressee to recognize the truth of the proposition. Instead, *ha* is used when the speaker is imparting new, perhaps unexpected or surprising information, making it similar in function to English 'actually', 'in fact' or 'it so happens that...'. Consider the following exchange:

(8.55) *Tenmotlaie ùtan?*
 Tenmotlai.DAT PF.go.IPV.QU
 'Have you ever been to Tenmotlai?'

(8.56) *Hiò, ma itan tsuhpa ha*
 yes 1sNOM 3iLOC live.IPV in:fact
 'Yes, in fact I live there!'

The particle *iam* is similar to *ha* in that it can signal new or surprising information. It is generally used to express a sudden realization, or when the speaker is acknowledging or reporting on something that s/he just learned about. It is roughly equivalent to English 'it turns out that...' or 'I now see/realize that...':

¹There is also a preverbal particle meaning 'maybe, perhaps', namely *tiuse*. This particle may be used in place of *pi*, or the two can co-occur: e.g., *Tiuse elohfoi ise kahpa pi* 'Perhaps it will snow tomorrow'.

- (8.57) *Ko eima isuka iam*
 2ERG still PRG.do.IPV just:learned
 ‘You’re still working, I see’
- (8.58) *Sakialu amè utioka iam*
 Sakial.ABL mother.NOM PF.die.IPV just:learned
 ‘(I just learned that) Sakial’s mother died’

The particles *mo* and *le* correspond roughly to English ‘I think’: *mo* is used when the speaker is expressing a subjective judgement or personal opinion, while *le* indicates conjecture.² The latter is used instead of *pi* ‘maybe’ when the speaker believes that the proposition is true, but lacks sufficient evidence to be sure.

- (8.59) *Sakiale teusu mila mo*
 Sakial.NOM very handsome.IPV I:think
 ‘(I think that) Sakial is very handsome’
- (8.60) *Iha nemot usihitat le*
 woman 3a:all:NOM PF.go:to:river.IPV.PL I:think
 ‘The women have all gone down to the river, I think’

Mo and *le* each have a counterpart used to form questions, namely *mun* and *lin*, respectively. With these particles, the point of view shifts from the speaker to the addressee. *Mun* is used in questions which ask for the addressee’s opinion or judgement, while *lin* is used in questions which invite the addressee to speculate. The latter particle may be used in place of *ne* when the speaker does not expect the addressee to be able to provide a definitive answer. Like the other question particles (*ne*, *kalh*, and *iakin*), *mun* and *lin* occur both in yes/no questions and in content questions:

- (8.61) *Sakiale mila mun?*
 Sakial.NOM handsome.IPV in:your:opinion
 ‘Do you think that Sakial is handsome?’
- (8.62) *Kima mà esuki lehuat mun?*
 12:ERG what:NOM SBJ.do.DEP:SBJ should.IPV.PL in:your:opinion
 ‘What do you think we should do?’
- (8.63) *Oke sù kahpa lin?*
 going:to rain fall.IPV do:you:think
 ‘Do you think it’s going to rain?’
- (8.64) *Ni mà mehka lin?*
 3aDAT what:NOM happen.IPV do:you:suppose
 ‘What will happen to him, do you suppose?’

Finally, note that the evidential particles can be used to qualify the focus particles *hiò* ‘yes/really’ and *ntsune* ‘no/not’, when the latter are used as utterances to answer a question in the affirmative or negative:

<i>hiò le</i>	‘I believe so’	<i>ntsune le</i>	‘I don’t believe so’
<i>hiò mo</i>	‘yes, in my opinion’	<i>ntsune mo</i>	‘no, in my opinion’
<i>hiò mun?</i>	‘do you agree/think (so)?’	<i>ntsune mun?</i>	‘don’t you think (so)?’
<i>hiò pi</i>	‘maybe so’	<i>ntsune pi</i>	‘maybe not’
<i>hiò tat</i>	‘of course!’	<i>ntsune tat</i>	‘of course not!’
<i>hiò tli</i>	‘yes, apparently so’	<i>ntsune tli</i>	‘no, apparently not’

²Parallel to this distinction, Okuna has two verbs meaning ‘think, believe’: *ampa* means ‘think’ in the sense of ‘be of the opinion (that)’, while *opa* means ‘think’ in the sense of ‘suppose, conjecture’. (Yet another verb, *mina*, means ‘think’ in the sense of ‘use one’s brain’ or ‘contemplate/experience an idea’.)

8.3 Coordination

Like all languages, Okuna provides various means for combining two or more constituents into a single larger constituent of the same type. In §8.3.1 I illustrate the function words used in coordinating noun phrases and clauses, while in §8.3.2 I briefly discuss particles used to express various kinds of discourse relations between two clauses (temporal succession, cause and effect, etc.).

8.3.1 Coordinators

Noun phrases and clauses can be linked using a coordinator, which precedes and forms a unit with the second conjunct (and in some cases the first conjunct as well). Okuna has the following coordinators:

<i>elh</i>	‘and, and then; so, and so’
<i>husu</i>	‘and also, as well as, along with’
<i>ka</i>	‘and; as, such that’
<i>le</i>	‘but’
<i>lo</i>	‘or’
<i>ntsu</i>	‘nor’
<i>ntsohkina</i>	‘nor’
<i>ohkina</i>	‘and, as well as, in addition to’
<i>su</i>	‘or’
<i>tena</i>	‘and’
<i>tlafa</i>	‘for, as, because’

Coordinators expressing simple conjunction

The coordinators *elh*, *ka*, *husu*, *ohkina*, and *tena* all express simple conjunction, and usually correspond to English ‘and’. However, they differ somewhat in their distribution. I discuss these elements in turn.

Ka, *ohkina*, and *husu* are used exclusively for coordinating two nouns or noun phrases to form a larger noun phrase: e.g., *Sakial ka Elim* ‘Sakial and Elim’, *kal ohkina iha* ‘the man and the woman’, *halma husu kitam* ‘books and papers’. Note that when noun phrases conjoined with these coordinators are marked for case, the case ending attaches only to the second conjunct, while the first conjunct appears in its unmarked form (or in the nominative case if no unmarked form exists, as with pronouns): e.g., *Sakial ka Elimme* ‘with Sakial and Elim’, *kal ohkina ihau* ‘from the man and the woman’.

Although *ka*, *ohkina*, and *husu* all mean ‘and’, compound noun phrases formed with *ka* tend to have a collective interpretation, whereas those formed with *ohkina* and *husu* tend to have a distributive interpretation. The distributive reading is especially pronounced with *ohkina*, which has the sense of English ‘as well as, in addition to’. For example, (8.65) below implies that Sakial and Elim are going to town together, while (8.66) does not have that implication, and (8.67) strongly implies that they are going separately. (As these examples show, noun phrases formed through coordination are grammatically plural, and trigger plural agreement on the verb where appropriate: see §7.2.)

- (8.65) *Sakial ka Elim tiesait itat*
 Sakial and Elim.NOM town.DAT PRG.go.IPV.PL
 ‘Sakial and Elim are going to town (together)’
- (8.66) *Sakial husu Elim tiesait itat*
 Sakial and:also Elim.NOM town.DAT PRG.go.IPV.PL
 ‘Sakial and Elim are (each) going to town’
- (8.67) *Sakial ohkina Elim tiesait itat*
 Sakial as:well:as Elim.NOM town.DAT PRG.go.IPV.PL
 ‘Sakial, as well as Elim, is going to town’

In the case of *husu* and *ohkina* (which also function as focus particles meaning ‘also’ or ‘even’; see §8.2.1), the second conjunct may be postposed to the right of the verb, especially when it represents an afterthought. Here the two noun phrases are separately marked for case, and the verb takes singular agreement when the first conjunct is singular.

- (8.68) *Sakiale tiesait ita, husu Elime*
 Sakial.NOM town.DAT PRG.go.IPV and:also Elim.NOM
 ‘Sakial is going to town, and so is Elim’
- (8.69) *Sakiale tiesait ita, ohkina Elime*
 Sakial.NOM town.DAT PRG.go.IPV as:well:as Elim.NOM
 ‘Sakial is going to town, as well as Elim’
- (8.70) *Nemot tiesait itat, ohkina Elime*
 everyone:NOM town.DAT PRG.go.IPV as:well:as Elim.NOM
 ‘Everyone is going to town, including Elim’

In the examples above, only two noun phrases are conjoined to form a larger noun phrase. When conjoining three or more noun phrases, a coordinator appears between each noun phrase. The final two noun phrases may be conjoined with *ka*, *husu*, or *ohkina*, but only *ka* is used between noun phrases earlier in the sequence. As above, case endings appear only on the final noun phrase.

- (8.71) *Sakial ka Motla ka Elime tiesait itat*
 Sakial and Motla and Elim.NOM town.DAT PRG.go.IPV.PL
 ‘Sakial, Motla, and Elim are going to town (together)’
- (8.72) *Sakial ka Motla husu Elime tiesait itat*
 Sakial and Motla and:also Elim.NOM town.DAT PRG.go.IPV.PL
 ‘Sakial, Motla, and also Elim are going to town’

Ka has another function besides conjoining noun phrases. As the examples below show, it can introduce a participial clause (§10.3) which provides additional information about an individual mentioned in the previous clause. In English a non-restrictive (appositive) relative clause is usually used for this purpose.

- (8.73) *Ma Elimme laisne itsampanka, ka namo iolhmohka atsokue*
 1SERG Elim.INST just PRG.say.ACT.IPV:PST and 3aNOM.1SRDAT last:year PV.meet.PT
 ‘I was just talking to Elim, who I met (for the first time) last year’
 more lit. ‘I was just talking to Elim, and I having met him last year’
- (8.74) *Ma Tenmotlaie etyi, ka itan amema kas ulhmo antei itsuhpe*
 1SNOM Tenmotlai.DAT go.PV and 3iLOC mother.ERG so:far year many.DAT PRG.live.PT
 ‘I went to Tenmotlai, where my mother has been living for many years’
 more lit. ‘I went to Tenmotlai, and in it (my) mother living for many years’

The examples below are similar, except that here the participial clause introduced by *ka* comments on or provides supplementary information about the entire propositional content of the main clause, instead of some entity mentioned in that clause:

- (8.75) *Elimma kapue suka, ka ma tlai ihka utse*
 Elim.ERG skillful.CV work.IPV and 1SERG thus before PF.say.PT
 ‘Elim is a good worker, as I’ve said before’ (lit. ‘and I having said thus before’)
- (8.76) *Motlà eima imouta, ka tan efos hi*
 Motla.NOM still PRG.sick.IPV and that:NOM problem is.PT
 ‘Motla is still sick, which is a problem’ (lit. ‘and that being a problem’)

Participial clauses of the latter type may also be fronted. However, when the clause is fronted, *ka* is omitted:

- (8.77) *Ma tlai ihka utse, Elimma kapue suka*
 1SERG thus before PF.say.PT Elim.ERG skillful.CV work.IPV
 ‘As I’ve said before, Elim is a good worker’

- (8.78) *Efos tsai, Motlà eima imouta*
 problem be:here.PT Motla.NOM still PRG.sick.IPV
 ‘The problem is that Motla is still sick’ (lit. ‘Here being a problem, Motla is still sick’)

The coordinator *elh* also means ‘and’. However, it never conjoins nouns or noun phrases, but is instead used to conjoin verbs, verb phrases, and entire clauses. *Elh* typically expresses a relation of temporal succession (‘and then’) or cause and effect (‘so, and so, thus’) between the events denoted by the conjoined clauses. It is often followed by a discourse particle such as *temai* ‘then, consequently’, *teuk* ‘thus, therefore’, *tlohpa* ‘for that reason’, etc.

- (8.79) *Puniakakamite kotsimna etskanyit, elh kosetna inane tosati mehkyi*
 traveling:party.NOM morning.LOC arrive.PV.PL and evening.LOC 3apALL feast happen.PV
 ‘The traveling party arrived in the morning, and (then) in the evening a feast was held for them’

- (8.80) *Mo suhpà imouta hialò, elh teuk mafyipo ikimme*
 1SRDAT brother.NOM PRG.sick.IPV today and thus NEG.go:with.able.IPV:NEG 12INST
 ‘My brother is sick today, so (he) can’t go with us’

When reporting a sequence of events, especially with clauses containing verbs in the imperfect or perfective aspect (see §7.4.2, §7.4.5), *elh* is optional. Temporal succession may be indicated simply by juxtaposing two or more clauses, with the order of the clauses reflecting the order in which the events occur. Juxtaposition is common in narratives, especially when describing events which are closely related to one another (e.g., because they happen in quick succession, or involve the same individual(s)).

- (8.81) *Sakiale tolhyi na mupatlyi ne losaka suhyi*
 Sakial.NOM get:up.PV 3aERG dress.PV 3aABS firewood.ALL go:out.PV
 ‘Sakial got up, dressed, and went out to get firewood’

- (8.82) *Me eta ma itè ekpiha*
 1SNOM go.IPV 1SERG 3isALL search.IPV
 ‘I’ll go and look for it’ (lit. ‘I’ll go, I’ll look for it’)

Finally, simple conjunction can be expressed using the coordinator *tena*. This element can combine constituents of any category, including nouns or noun phrases (*Sakial tena Elim* ‘Sakial and Elim’), adverbials (*elohfoi tena hialò* ‘yesterday and today’), and clauses. When *tena* combines nouns or noun phrases, both conjuncts are marked for case: e.g., *Sakialme tena Elimme* ‘with Sakial and Elim’. When *tena* combines clauses or parts of clauses, the events denoted by those clauses are understood to happen simultaneously. When the events happen in succession, *elh* is used instead of *tena*, or the clauses are simply juxtaposed with no coordinator between them, as noted above. Compare:

- (8.83) *Lhatima hostyit tena uhnyit*
 children.ERG dance.PV.PL and sing.PV.PL
 ‘The children danced and sang’ (at the same time)

- (8.84) *Lhatima hostyit (elh) uhnyit*
 children.ERG dance.PV.PL and sing.PV.PL
 ‘The children danced and then sang’

To express ‘both X and Y’, *tena* may be repeated before each conjunct:

tena Sakial tena Elim ‘both Sakial and Elim’
Lhatima tena hostyit tena uhnyit ‘The children both danced and sang’

However, to express ‘both X and Y’ where X and Y are noun phrases, it is more common to conjoin them with *ka*, *husu*, or *ohkina*, as discussed above, and then combine the result with a universal quantifier, which follows the conjoined noun phrases and carries the case marking for the whole expression (see §5.6):

(8.85) *Sakial ka Elim nemot Uilumai itat*
 Sakial and Elim 3a:all:NOM Uiluma.DAT PRG.go.PV.PL
 ‘Both Sakial and Elim are going to Uiluma’ (lit. ‘Sakial and Elim all are going...’)

Other coordinators

Disjunction (‘or’) is normally expressed using the coordinator *su*, as in the example below. Notice that when two noun phrases are coordinated using *su*, both are marked for case; and if the noun phrases both have singular referents, then the conjoined phrase takes singular agreement, much as in English.

(8.86) *Mi Elimma su Sakialma aleut uktia*
 1SDAT Elim.ERG or Sakial.ERG help give.IPV
 ‘Elim or Sakial will help me’

To form the equivalent of ‘either X or Y’, *su* may be repeated before both conjuncts, or the particle *ela* can be placed before the first conjunct: e.g., *su Elim su Sakial* ‘either Elim or Sakial’, *ela hialò su elohfoi* ‘either today or tomorrow’.

Disjunction can also be expressed using the coordinator *lo*. *Lo* is used in direct and indirect yes/no questions (§9.3.2) when offering a choice between two or more mutually incompatible alternatives, as illustrated below. When two clauses are conjoined with *lo*, the question particle *ne/-n* (or *aun* in indirect questions) appears only after the second conjunct.

(8.87) *Sateia maka lo kahu iasùhan?*
 meal.ALL meat or fish eat.want.IPV.QU
 ‘Do you want to have meat or fish for dinner?’

(8.88) *Motlà ikauotanka lo iahteme afyin?*
 Motla.NOM PRG.be:here.DUR.IPV:PST or others.INST go:along.PV.QU
 ‘Did Motla stay here, or did (he) go with the others?’

Like *tena* and *su*, *lo* may also be repeated before both conjuncts:

(8.89) *Sateia lo maka lo kahu iasùhan?*
 meal.ALL or meat or fish eat.want.IPV.QU
 ‘Do you want to have meat or fish for dinner?’

(8.90) *Ma untsapyi lo ne iolyue lo na eima*
 1SNOM wonder.PV or 3aNOM SBJ:PF.wake:up.DEP:SBJ or 3aERG still
iemuelhi aun
 SBJ:PRG.sleep.DEP:SBJ if
 ‘I wondered if he had woken up or if he was still sleeping’

Lo (usually repeated) also occurs in concessive clauses, formed with *alhme* ‘although, despite, even if’, to indicate that it makes no difference which of two or more alternatives is chosen:

- (8.91) *ku lo etehi lo enkilhi alhme*
 2NOM or SBJ.stay.DEP:SBJ or SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ though.INST
 ‘(regardless of) whether you stay or go...’

To express ‘neither X nor Y’, the coordinator *ntsu* is used, repeated before both conjuncts: e.g., *ntsu Elim ntsu Sakial* ‘neither Elim nor Sakial’. (When coordinating two noun phrases, *ntsohkina* may be used in place of the second *ntsu*: e.g., *ntsu Elim ntsohkina Sakial*.) As the examples below show, *ntsu* replaces the negative marker *ntse* or *m(a)-*, and triggers negative inflection on the following verb(s) (see §7.3 and §7.4). As the second example shows, when two singular noun phrases are combined with *ntsu*, the verb takes singular agreement.

- (8.92) *Itè iman ntsu kestunka ntsu ohiyunuka*
 3iALL 1sLOC nor happy.IPV:PST:NEG nor sad.IPV:PST:NEG
 ‘I was neither happy nor sad about it’
- (8.93) *Eima ntsu Elime ntsu Sakiale utskano*
 still nor Elim.NOM nor Sakial.NOM PF.arrive.IPV:NEG
 ‘Neither Elim nor Sakial has arrived yet’

The coordinator *tlafa* ‘for, since, because’ introduces a clause expressing the cause or reason for the event expressed by the preceding clause (as discussed in §10.2.1 and §10.2.2, ‘because’ can also be expressed by the relational nouns *talhkou* and *ohpeu*, or by an dependent clause inflected for ablative case):

- (8.94) *Mo suhpana mafyipo ikimme, tlafa imouta*
 1sRDAT brother.LOC NEG.come:along.able.IPV:NEG 12INST since PRG.sick.IPV
 ‘My brother can’t come with us, since (he) is sick’

Finally, the conjunction *le* is equivalent to English ‘but’ or ‘yet’. It is also found in contrastive constructions, where English tends to use ‘and, while, whereas’.

- (8.95) *Na nilou ehtsain muohtukyi, le iapna eima otù he*
 3aERG net.ABL one.DAT fix.CPL.PV but other.LOC still hole be:IPV
 ‘He managed to fix one of the nets, but there’s still a hole in the other one’
- (8.96) *Ikema maka iasa, le ounama kyfalu kahu ka ipoi iasa*
 dog.ERG meat eat.IPV while bear.ERG as:a:rule fish and berry eat.IPV
 ‘Dogs eat meat, while bears usually eat fish and berries’

When denying one alternative and affirming another (‘not X but Y’), *le* is often accompanied by the discourse marker *tluosna* ‘rather, instead’. Alternatively, *tluosna* can occur by itself in this function.

- (8.97) *Niloi ntse Sakialma umuohto, (le) tluosna Elimma*
 net.DAT NEG Sakial.ERG PF.fix.IPV:NEG but instead Elim.ERG
 ‘It wasn’t Sakial who fixed the net, but Elim’

8.3.2 Discourse markers

The following expressions typically occur at the left edge of a clause, either immediately before or after the topic, and are often preceded by one of the coordinators discussed in §8.3.1. The function of these expressions is to help indicate the relationships between sentences in a discourse. Some discourse markers indicate the temporal ordering of the event denoted by the clause in which they occur and a previous or following clause. Others indicate the presence or absence of a logical relation between the clause in which they occur and a previous clause.

<i>anin</i>	‘even so, still, nevertheless, anyway, in any case’
<i>halime</i>	‘on the contrary, rather’
<i>halle</i>	‘yet, however’
<i>heku tsanna</i>	‘simultaneously, at the same time’
<i>hisne</i>	‘then, next, after that’
<i>kai, kaine</i>	‘first, first of all, at first’
<i>kam, kamne</i>	‘first, previously, prior to that, beforehand’
<i>kunne</i>	‘lastly, finally’
<i>ntsune alhme</i>	‘nevertheless, even if not; although that’s not the case’
<i>ntsune aunme</i>	‘if not, otherwise’
<i>tatalhkou</i>	‘thus, therefore, for that reason, because of that’
<i>taualhme</i>	‘still, anyway, even (if) so, despite that, nevertheless, regardless’
<i>tehempì</i>	‘also, besides, moreover, in addition; either’
<i>temai</i>	‘then; in that case; thus, consequently’
<i>teuk</i>	‘thus, therefore, hence’
<i>tiaunme</i>	‘if so, in that case; given that’
<i>tielhkoua</i>	‘thus, for that purpose, in order to do so’
<i>tluosna</i>	‘rather, instead’

Note that *kai* and *kaine* can be used interchangeably; likewise for *kam* and *kamne*.

Below are some examples of sentences containing these discourse markers. As (8.99) and (8.100) show, the discourse marker can either precede or follow a clitic or clitic cluster.

(8.98) *Kai homà sonau nufa, temai hi eianuhimi nana*
 first bread.NOM oven.ABL take:out.IPV then 3iNOM SBJ.REL.cold.AINC.DEP:SBJ let.IPV
 ‘First take the bread out of the oven, then let it cool down’

(8.99) *Eima ise ikahpa, le me anin yhmai suha*
 still snow PRG.fall.IPV but 1sNOM nevertheless outside.DAT go:out.IPV
 ‘It’s still snowing, but I’m going out anyway’

(8.100) *Eima ise ikahpa, le ntsune alhme me himna tehike*
 still snow PRG.fall.IPV but not even:if 1sNOM inside.LOC stay.COND
 ‘It’s still snowing, but even if it weren’t, I would stay inside’

Temai is often found in the main clause of a sentence containing a conditional clause, while *anin* is used in combination with a concessive clause. (Conditional clauses are normally headed by *aunme* ‘if, when’ or a subjunctive participle, while concessive clauses are headed by *alhme* ‘though, even if’; see §10.2.3, §10.3.2.)

(8.101) *Ku imem eiafi aunme, temai ehkamne lyuksa*
 2NOM 1sINST SBJ.come:along.DEP:SBJ if.INST then early wake:up.must.IPV
 ‘If you (want to) come with me, then you’ll have to wake up early’

(8.102) *Ma halmai ehenna utala alhme, hi anin mamutlo*
 1sERG book.DAT twice PF.read.DEP though 3iNOM still NEG.understand.IPV:NEG
 ‘Even though I’ve read the book twice, (I) still don’t understand it’

As the examples below show, *tluosna* ‘instead, rather’, often preceded by the coordinator *le*, expresses ‘but’ in ‘not X but Y’ constructions:

(8.103) *Mo suhpà maliunohto imò, tluosna afihohta*
 1sRDAT brother.NOM NEG.REL.old.COMP.IPV:NEG 1sALL instead REL.young.COMP.IPV
 ‘My brother isn’t older than me, but (rather) younger’

- (8.104) *Satlai ntse Sakialma utokou, le tluosna Elimma*
 roof.DAT NEG Sakial.ERG PF.fix.PV:NEG but instead Elim.ERG
 ‘It’s not Sakial who fixed the roof, but Elim’

Although discourse markers are normally associated with the left edge of the clause, immediately preceding or following the topic, they can occur closer to the verb in a position associated with focused elements (see §9.2.1). In the example below, for instance, the discourse particle *temai* is focused, as shown by the fact that it immediately precedes the verb and follows the focus particle *tiefu*:

- (8.105) *Mi ikò aleut uktiai, ma tiefu temai namuohta*
 1sDAT 2sERG help give.PT:SBJ 1sERG only then succeed.IPV
 ‘I will succeed only if you help me’ (lit. ‘If you help me, only then will I succeed’)

8.4 Adverbial elements

In addition to focus particles, force and evidential particles, coordinators, and discourse markers, Okuna has a small number of lexical items for expressing the manner in which an action is carried out, and a larger number for picking out particular points in time (e.g. ‘now’, ‘tomorrow’, ‘last year’), quantifying over times (e.g., ‘sometimes’, ‘always’, ‘never’), quantifying over degrees (e.g., ‘too’, ‘very’, ‘a little’), or expressing aspectual information (‘still’, ‘again’, ‘already’). Since these elements do not usually inflect for case, I treat them as adverbials rather than nouns.

I begin this section with a brief discussion of manner adverbials in §8.4.1, and turn to aspectual adverbials in §8.4.2. The remaining sections deal with temporal and degree adverbials. A large number of these are derived from quantifiers, and are presented in §8.4.3. Additional temporal adverbials are listed in §8.4.4, and additional degree adverbials in §8.4.5.

8.4.1 Manner adverbs

English has a large (indeed, open-ended) class of adverbs for expressing manner: ‘quickly’, ‘slowly’, ‘clumsily’, etc. Okuna, by contrast, has almost no manner adverbs. In fact, there are only three such elements in common usage, listed below. Notice that all three are formed with the suffix *-pi*, which also combines with quantifiers to form degree words and adverbials of temporal duration, as discussed in §8.4.3.

- eliampi* ‘easily, smoothly, gracefully’
kolumpi ‘with difficulty’
tiahpi ‘easily, with ease, in a simple manner’

These elements precede the verb that they modify:

- (8.106) *Na nakà kolumpi tiyisyi*
 3aERG rock.NOM with:difficulty lift.PV
 ‘He lifted the rock with difficulty’

Apart from these three elements, modification to express manner is normally done using stative verbs. Typically the stative verb will occur as a converb modifier, as in (8.107) (cf. §10.4). Occasionally, the stative verb will appear in the dependent indicative form, inflected for instrumental case, as in (8.108) (cf. §10.2.1). (In fact, the suffix *-pi* is probably an archaic variant of the instrumental case marker, which now survives only on a handful of elements.)

- (8.107) *Sakialma kiote itupa*
 Sakial.ERG be:quick.CV PRG.walk.IPV
 ‘Sakial is walking quickly’ (lit. ‘walking [by] being quick’)

- (8.108) *Sakialma kiotame itupa*
 Sakial.ERG be:quick.DEP.INST PRG.walk.IPV
 ‘Sakial is walking quickly’ (lit. ‘walking with/while being quick’)

8.4.2 Aspectual adverbials

Aspectual adverbials indicate properties of the event denoted by the predicate, or its temporal relationship to other events, by expressing features such as continuation, completion, repetition, etc. Aspectual adverbials always occur within the clausal nucleus, preceding the verb and following the topic, if any (see §9.2.1). The most commonly used adverbials are listed below, followed by discussion and examples of their function.

<i>eima</i>	‘still; again’
<i>heiku</i>	‘again, once more’
<i>kas</i>	‘as of now, by now, so far; already’
<i>kyfalu</i>	‘generally, as a rule’ (‘be wont to..., used to...’)
<i>laisne</i>	‘just, just now, barely’ (‘about to...’)
<i>niok</i>	‘again, once more, back’
<i>ntseima</i>	‘not any more, no longer’
<i>ntsoke</i>	(‘not going to...’)
<i>ntsuta</i>	‘not yet’
<i>oke</i>	‘by and by’ (‘going to...’)
<i>taheiku</i>	‘yet again, once again’
<i>uta</i>	‘already, yet’

The adverb *oke* combines with a verb in the imperfective aspect to express futurity: it marks that the event in question follows the present moment, or some other contextually determined reference point. As shown below, it can occur with a verb in the non-past imperfective or the past imperfective. In the latter case, it corresponds to English ‘was going to’. In negative sentences, the negative marker *ntse* fuses with *oke* to form *ntsoke*, which triggers negative tense/aspect/mood marking on the verb.

- (8.109) *Oke sù kahpa lin?*
 going:to rain fall.DEP.NOM do:you:suppose
 ‘Do you think it’s going to rain?’
- (8.110) *Na kihoin oke siehpa*
 3aERG letter.DAT going:to write.IPV
 ‘She will write the letter’
- (8.111) *Na kihoin oke siehpanka nima uata kamna*
 3aERG letter.DAT going:to write.IPV:PST 3aNOM.1sERG stop.DEP before.LOC
 ‘She was going write the letter before I stopped her’
- (8.112) *Na kihoin ntsoke siehpo*
 3aERG letter.DAT not:going:to write.IPV:NEG
 ‘She is not going to write the letter’

Note that marking futurity with *oke* is optional: as discussed in §7.4.2, a verb in the imperfect form can express a future event even in the absence of this element. Moreover, *oke* does not occur in combination with other modifiers expressing futurity, such as *elohfoi* ‘tomorrow’, *hatlam* ‘soon’, or *lò henme efoi* ‘in two days’. Adding *oke* to a clause already containing such a modifier would be considered redundant. This shows that *oke* is an adverbial element and not a true tense marker, since tense markers freely co-occur with modifiers that further specify the time of the event relative to the moment of speaking.

The adverbial *kyfalu* ‘generally, as a rule’ also combines with a verb in the imperfective, and indicates that the clause denotes a tendency or habitual action. When used with the past imperfective, it is often translated ‘used to’:

- (8.113) *Inmi kyfalu iantena aleut uktiankat*
 3aERG.1sDAT generally often help give.IPV:PST.PL
 ‘They used to help me often’

There are two adverbials equivalent to English ‘already’, *kas* and *uta*. *Kas* is used of an event which began in the past and continues up to the present moment (or some other temporal reference point). It can also be translated ‘now/then’, ‘by now/then’, ‘so far’, etc., depending on context. As the examples below illustrate, when *kas* is used the verb generally appears in the progressive aspect:

- (8.114) *Kimima kas imuelha*
 baby.ERG already PRG.sleep.IPV
 ‘The baby is already sleeping’
 or ‘The baby is sleeping now / will be sleeping by now’
- (8.115) *Kimima kas imuelhanka me amokte*
 baby.ERG already PRG.sleep.IPV:PST 1sNOM PV.come:home.PT
 ‘The baby was already sleeping when I got home’

Kas commonly appears in combination with a temporal measure phrase marked with instrumental or dative case. Notice that in this construction the clause is usually translated using the perfect progressive (‘has/had been sleeping’).

- (8.116) *Kimima kas luom hein imuelha*
 baby.ERG already hour two.DAT PRG.sleep.IPV
 ‘The baby has been sleeping for two hours (now)’
- (8.117) *Kimima kas luom hein imuelhanka me amokte*
 baby.ERG already hour two.DAT PRG.sleep.IPV:PST 1sNOM PV.come:home.PT
 ‘The baby had (already) been sleeping for two hours when I got home’

The other counterpart to ‘already’, *uta*, is typically used of a completed event. Both *kas* and *uta* indicate that the state or event in question is being viewed after the fact; they differ in that *kas* takes the beginning point of an ongoing event or state as its frame of reference, while *uta* takes the whole event as its frame of reference. Compare:

- (8.118) *Na kihoin kas isiehpa*
 3aERG letter.DAT already PRG.write.IPV
 ‘She is already writing the letter’ or ‘She has been writing the letter’
- (8.119) *Na kihoin uta siehpyi*
 3aERG letter.DAT already write.PV
 ‘She has already written the letter’

Consider also the following pair of sentences, where the choice of adverbial determines how the past perfect verb *usiehpanka* is interpreted (‘had been writing’ versus ‘had written’):

- (8.120) *Na kihune kas es luoim usiehpanka me atskane*
 3aERG letter.NOM already one hour.DAT PF.write.IPV:PST 1sNOM PV.arrive.PT
 ‘She had already been writing the letter for an hour when I arrived’

- (8.121) *Na kihoin uta usiehpanka me atskane*
 3aERG letter.DAT already PF.write.IPV:PST 1sNOM PV.arrive.PT
 ‘She had already written the letter when I arrived’

In questions, *uta* and *kas* usually correspond to English ‘yet’:

- (8.122) *Na kihoin kas isiehpan?*
 3aERG letter.DAT already PRG.write.IPV.QU
 ‘Is she writing the letter yet?’
- (8.123) *Na kihoin uta siehpyin?*
 3aERG letter.DAT already write.PV.QU
 ‘Has she written the letter yet?’

Another common aspectual adverbial is *eima*, equivalent to English ‘still’:

- (8.124) *Kimima eima imuelha*
 baby.ERG still PRG.sleep.IPV
 ‘The baby is still sleeping’

Eima is also used as an emphatic element with verbs expressing equative or comparative degree (§7.6), comparable to English ‘just’ or ‘even’: e.g., *etoha* ‘be as big (as)’, *eima etoha* ‘be just as big (as)’, *etohohta* ‘be bigger (than)’, *eima etohohta* ‘be even bigger (than)’. In addition, *eima* can occur before a quantifier in the sense of ‘more’: e.g., *koin hen* ‘two people’, *koin eima hen* ‘two more people’; *koin ante* ‘many people’, *koin eima ante* ‘many more people’.

Like *oke*, *eima* and *uta* undergo fusion with the negative particle *ntse*, forming *ntseima* ‘no longer, not any more’ and *ntsuta* ‘not yet’, respectively. Both *ntseima* and *ntsuta* require negative tense/aspect/mood inflection on the following verb. ‘Not yet’ can also be expressed by *eima* followed by the negative marker *ntse* (or *m-*).

- (8.125) *Kimima ntseima imuelho*
 baby.ERG no:longer PRG.sleep.IPV:NEG
 ‘The baby is no longer asleep’ or ‘The baby isn’t sleeping anymore’
- (8.126) *Na kihoin ntsuta siehpou*
 3aERG letter.DAT not:yet write.PV:NEG
 ‘She hasn’t written the letter yet’
- (8.127) *Na kihoin eima ntsiehpou*
 3aERG letter.DAT still NEG.write.PV:NEG
 ‘She hasn’t written the letter yet’ or ‘She still hasn’t written the letter’

Note that there are two adverbials equivalent to English ‘again, once more’, namely *heiku* and *niok*. These adverbials are not synonymous: *heiku* expresses the repetition of an event, while *niok* indicates the return to a prior state of affairs (the latter is clearly related to the verbs *niokta* ‘return, go/come back’, *niokona* ‘remember’, etc.). Hence *heiku* is used with Class II and Class III verbs (denoting events), while *niok* tends to be used with Class I verbs (denoting states). When it is used with a Class II/III verb, as in (8.130) below, *niok* indicates that the action in question continues or reverses a previous action (i.e., when we say that Motla left again, we don’t mean that he repeated the act of leaving, but rather that his leaving returned things to the way they were before he arrived):

- (8.128) *Mo Motlama heiku kahtyi*
 1sRDAT Motla.ERG again hit.PV
 ‘Motla hit me again’

(8.129) *Mo tiene niok imouta*
 1sRDAT son.NOM again PRG.sick.IPV
 ‘My son is sick again’ (i.e., back to being sick)

(8.130) *Motlà etskanyi hisne niok kankilhyi*
 Motla.NOM arrive.PV then again leave:suddenly.PV
 ‘Motla arrived, and then suddenly left again’

Finally, note the adverbial *laisne*, which indicates close proximity to the present moment. When combined with a verb in the perfect or the perfective, *laisne* translates as ‘just’ or ‘barely’. When combined with a verb in the progressive, *laisne* expresses immediate futurity, and is equivalent to ‘(just) about to’:

(8.131) *Na suklute laisne uslyit*
 3aERG work.NOM just finish.PV.PL
 ‘They (have) just finished the work’

(8.132) *Na suklute laisne uoslat me atskane*
 3aERG work.NOM just PF.finish.IPV:PST.PL 1sNOM PV.arrive.PT
 ‘They had just/barely finished the work when I arrived’

(8.133) *Na suklute laisne ioslat*
 3aERG work.NOM just PRG.finish.IPV.PL
 ‘They are just finishing the work’ or ‘The are (just) about to finish the work’

English ‘as soon as’ may be expressed by adding *laisne* to a perfect participial clause:

(8.134) *Me laisne umokte, sù kahpetyi*
 1sNOM just PF.go:home.PT rain fall.TINC.PV
 ‘As soon as I got home, it began to rain’ (more lit. ‘I having just gotten home...’)

8.4.3 Adverbials formed from quantifiers

A common way of forming adverbials is by adding affixes to the quantifiers discussed in sections §5.6 and §6.8. For example, there are two types of adverbials derived from count noun quantifiers. Adverbials of the first type are formed by adding the prefix *e-* (or *i-* before a vowel) and the locative suffix *-na*. These adverbials quantify over the occasions on which a particular event happens, or the situations in which a particular state of affairs holds:

<i>ekihanohtena</i>	‘a bit more often’
<i>ekina</i>	‘every time, in each case’
<i>ekisepyina</i>	‘rarely, very occasionally, every now and then’
<i>ekituhtena</i>	‘a bit less often’
<i>emiantena</i>	‘how often; sometimes, on some occasions, in certain cases’
<i>emuhtena</i>	‘often enough’
<i>emuna</i>	‘always, in all cases’
<i>esepyina</i>	‘sometimes, occasionally, now and then; in some cases’
<i>etehtena</i>	‘on the remaining occasions’
<i>etlantena</i>	‘that often; so often’
<i>etohanohtena</i>	‘a lot more often’
<i>etohantena</i>	‘very often, frequently; in a great many cases’
<i>etomuhtena</i>	‘plenty of times, more than often enough’
<i>etosepyina</i>	‘on several occasions, in several cases’
<i>etotuhtena</i>	‘a lot less often’
<i>etsomotena</i>	‘mostly, usually, for the most part, in most cases’
<i>etsuontena</i>	‘too often’
<i>etsyintena</i>	‘not often enough, too seldom’
<i>etuhtena</i>	‘not as often, less often’
<i>ianihtena</i>	‘as often, as frequently, equally often’
<i>ianohtena</i>	‘more (often)’
<i>iantena</i>	‘often, frequently, in many cases’

Some of these can combine with negation:

<i>ntse emiantena</i>	‘not often, seldom’
<i>ntse etsuontena</i>	‘not too often’
<i>ntse ianohtena</i>	‘no more often’

When quantifying over time periods, an adverbial of this type may be immediately preceded by a noun denoting the relevant unit of time, such as *lò* ‘day’ (i.e., 24-hour period), *lem* ‘day(time)’, *koset* ‘evening’, *hun* ‘night’, *ilme* ‘month’ (lit. ‘moon’), *ulhmo* ‘year’. This noun is unmarked for case.

<i>lò ekina</i>	‘every day’
<i>ulhmo ekina</i>	‘every year’
<i>hun esepiyina</i>	‘some nights’
<i>lem esepiyina</i>	‘sometimes during the day’
<i>ntse koset emiantena</i>	‘rarely in the evening’

Quantificational adverbials of the second type are formed by adding the prefix *ka-* to the quantifier (*k-* before a vowel), and suffixing the instrumental case ending *-me* or the dative ending *-i* (subject to the usual allomorphy discussed in §4.2):

INST	DAT	
<i>kakihanohteme</i>	<i>kakihanohtei</i>	‘somewhat more times; somewhat more’
<i>kakisepyime</i>	<i>kakisepyie</i>	‘a very few times’
<i>kakituhteme</i>	<i>kakituhtei</i>	‘somewhat fewer times; somewhat less (so)’
<i>kamianteme</i>	<i>kamiantei</i>	‘how many times; a number of times’
<i>kamuhteme</i>	<i>kamuhtei</i>	‘enough times; enough’
<i>kanihteme</i>	<i>kanihtei</i>	‘as many times’
<i>kanohteme</i>	<i>kanohtei</i>	‘more times; more, more so’
<i>kanteme</i>	<i>kantei</i>	‘many times, repeatedly, a lot’
<i>kasepyime</i>	<i>kasepyie</i>	‘a few times’
<i>katehteme</i>	<i>katehtei</i>	‘the remaining times’
<i>katlanteme</i>	<i>katlantei</i>	‘that many times; so many times’
<i>katohanohteme</i>	<i>katohanohtei</i>	‘many more times; a lot more’
<i>katohanteme</i>	<i>katohantei</i>	‘a great many times, over and over again’
<i>katomuhteme</i>	<i>katomuhtei</i>	‘more than enough (times)’
<i>katosepyime</i>	<i>katosepyie</i>	‘several times’
<i>katotuhteme</i>	<i>katotuhtei</i>	‘a lot fewer times; a lot less’
<i>katsomoteme</i>	<i>katsomotei</i>	‘most times’
<i>katsuonteme</i>	<i>katsuontei</i>	‘too many times’
<i>katsyinteme</i>	<i>katsyintei</i>	‘not enough times, too few times’
<i>katuhteme</i>	<i>katuhtei</i>	‘fewer times, not as many times; less, less so’

Certain of these adverbials combine with the negative element *ntse*:

INST	DAT	
<i>ntse kamianteme</i>	<i>ntse kamiantei</i>	‘not many times’
<i>ntse kanihteme</i>	<i>ntse kanihtei</i>	‘not as many times; less, less so’
<i>ntse kanohteme</i>	<i>ntse kanohtei</i>	‘no more, not any more (times)’
<i>ntse katsuonteme</i>	<i>ntse katsuontei</i>	‘not too many times’

The *e/i-* adverbs quantify over occasions or instances where a situation holds, especially when dispersed over time or across different sets of individuals or possible worlds. By contrast, the instrumental *ka-* adverbs are used to quantify repetitions of a (single) event, especially when those repetitions occur in quick succession. For example, both *iantena* and *kanteme* (from *ante* ‘many’) can be translated ‘many times’. However, *iantena* has the sense of ‘often, on a number of occasions, in many cases, in many instances’; whereas *kanteme* means ‘many times in a row, repeatedly’. The instrumental *ka-* forms can also be used in comparative constructions, in which case they mean ‘X times’ in the sense of ‘by a factor of X’:

- (8.135) *Palahtà kotou kanteme apatohta*
 tree.NOM house.ABL many:times.INST REL.tall.COMP.IPV
 ‘The tree is many times taller than the house’

When the *ka-* forms are marked with dative case, they again mean ‘X times’ in the sense of ‘by a factor of X’. These forms occur in sentences expressing a change of state, where they are used to quantify the proportion of change between the initial state and the final state:

- (8.136) *Hi katosepyie atohimyi*
 3iNOM several:times.DAT REL.big.AINC.PV
 ‘It became several times bigger (than before)’

Mass noun quantifiers also act as the base for a series of adverbial elements, listed below. These adverbials express a degree or extent, and are formed by combining the quantifier with the suffix *-pi* (with certain irregularities, e.g.: *sipe* > *tsipi*).

<i>hampi</i>	‘a lot, much, very, greatly’
<i>ihpi</i>	‘as (much), equally, to the same degree’
<i>kihohpi</i>	‘a bit more, to a somewhat greater degree’
<i>kitsipi</i>	‘slightly, just a bit’
<i>kituhpi</i>	‘a bit less, somewhat less’
<i>miampi</i>	‘how (much); somewhat, to a certain degree’
<i>muhpi</i>	‘enough, sufficiently’
<i>muohpi</i>	‘fully, completely, entirely, wholly’
<i>ohpi</i>	‘more, to a greater degree’
<i>tlampi</i>	‘so (much); that (much)’
<i>tohampi</i>	‘extremely, exceedingly’
<i>tohohpi</i>	‘a lot more, much more, to a much greater degree’
<i>tomuhpi</i>	‘more than enough’
<i>totsipi</i>	‘fairly, rather’
<i>totuhpi</i>	‘much less, not nearly as much’
<i>tsipi</i>	‘a bit, somewhat, partially’
<i>tsomopi</i>	‘almost (entirely); mostly, for the most part’
<i>tsuompi</i>	‘too (much)’
<i>tsyimpi</i>	‘too little, not enough, insufficiently’
<i>tuhpi</i>	‘not as much, less, to a lesser degree’

Degree adverbials with *-pi* generally modify a stative verb, which carries the relative prefix *a-*, discussed in §7.6. Consider the following examples with *toha* ‘be big’:

<i>Hi hampi atoha</i>	‘It’s very big’
<i>Hi ihpi atoha</i>	‘It’s equally big’ or ‘It’s as big (as...)’
<i>Hi tsipi atoha</i>	‘It’s a bit big’
<i>Hi tlampi atoha</i>	‘It’s so big’ or ‘It’s that big / That’s how big it is’
<i>Hi ntse miampi atoha</i>	‘It’s not very big’ or ‘It’s not (all) that big’
<i>Hi tsyimpi atoha</i>	‘It’s not big enough’
<i>Hi miampi atòhan?</i>	‘How big is it?’

Many of these degree adverbials can also be used to modify agentive Class II and Class III verbs. In this context they express the amount of force, effort, intensity, or concentration with which the action denoted by the verb is carried out:

(8.137) *Na maloi hampi moikenaua kahtyi*
 3aERG wall.DAT much fist hit.PV

‘He hit the wall hard with his fist’

(8.138) *Me ihama tohampi loityi*
 1sNOM woman.ERG a:great:deal look.PV

‘The woman stared at me intensely’

(8.139) *Na sohe eima ohpi tlynkyi*
 3aERG rope.NOM still more:so pull.PV

‘She pulled even harder on the rope’

Certain degree words can also be used to modify scalar adverbials such as *tehefoi* ‘soon’, *ehkamne* ‘early’, and *ehisne* ‘late’: e.g., *ihpi tehefoi* ‘just as soon’, *ohpi tehefoi* ‘sooner’, *ntse muhpi tehefoi* ‘not soon enough’. For more on degree adverbials, see §8.4.5.

Mass noun quantifiers suffixed with *-pi* can in turn take the prefix *e-* (*i-* before a vowel) to form adverbials expressing temporal duration. These include:

<i>ehampi</i>	‘for a long time; for some time’
<i>ekitsipi</i>	‘for a very short time, (just) briefly’
<i>emiampi</i>	‘for how long; for a certain length of time’
<i>emuhpi</i>	‘for long enough’
<i>emuohpi</i>	‘for the whole time’
<i>etehpi</i>	‘for the rest of the time, for the remaining time’
<i>etlampi</i>	‘for so long; for that long’
<i>etohampi</i>	‘for a very long time’
<i>etomuhpi</i>	‘for more than enough time, for plenty of time’
<i>etotsipi</i>	‘for a fairly long time, for some time’
<i>etsipi</i>	‘for a (little) while’
<i>etsomopi</i>	‘for most of the time; mostly’
<i>etsuompi</i>	‘for too long’
<i>etsympi</i>	‘not for long enough’
<i>etuhpi</i>	‘not for as long’
<i>iehpi</i>	‘for as long’
<i>iohpi</i>	‘for longer’

Examples:

(8.140) *Na etsipi muelhyi*
 3aERG a:while sleep.PV
 ‘She slept for a (little) while’

(8.141) *Palu itan kas emiampi itsùhpan?*
 village this:LOC so:far how:long PRG.live.IPV.QU
 ‘How long have (you) been living in this village?’

(8.142) *Ma palu itan ntse emiampi tsuhpou*
 1sERG village that:LOC NEG so:long live.PV:NEG
 ‘I didn’t live in that village for very long’

These temporal adverbials can combine with *ihka* ‘before now’, *efoi* ‘after now’, *tahka* ‘before then’, and *tahoi* ‘after then’ to indicate approximate points in time relative to some reference time:

<i>ehampi ihka</i>	‘a long time ago’
<i>etsipi efoi</i>	‘for a while; in a while, a while from now’
<i>ntse emiampi tahka</i>	‘not long before (that)’
<i>emuohpi tahoi</i>	‘for the whole time after that; ever after’

Adverbials of temporal duration formed with *-pi* may also be preceded by a noun denoting a period of time (*lò* ‘day’, *kotsim* ‘morning’, *ilme* ‘month’, *ulhmo* ‘year’, etc.). Notice that the temporal noun occurs in the unmarked form.

<i>lò emuohpi</i>	‘all day (long), (for) the whole day’
<i>kotsim emuohpi</i>	‘all morning, (for) the whole morning’
<i>lem etsipi</i>	‘(for) part of the day’
<i>ulhmo etsomopi</i>	‘(for) most of the year’

In addition to the prefix *e/i-*, adverbials formed with *-pi* can combine with the noun *lau* ‘way, path’ to express an amount or degree of distance:

<i>lau hampi</i>	‘far, a long way; to a great extent’
<i>lau ihpi</i>	‘as far; equally, to as great an extent, to the same point/degree’
<i>lau kihohpi</i>	‘a bit farther; to a somewhat greater extent’
<i>lau kitsipi</i>	‘a very short way, not far; barely, hardly’
<i>lau miampi</i>	‘how far, to what degree; to some extent, to a certain point/extent’
<i>lau muhpi</i>	‘far enough; enough’
<i>lau muohpi</i>	‘all the way; completely, entirely, wholly’
<i>lau ohpi</i>	‘farther; more, to a greater extent’
<i>lau tehpi</i>	‘the rest of the way’
<i>lau tlampi</i>	‘so far, so (much); that far, to that point/extent’
<i>lau tohampi</i>	‘very far, a very long way; to a very great extent’
<i>lau tohohpi</i>	‘a lot farther; to a much greater extent’
<i>lau tomuhpi</i>	‘more than far enough; more than enough’
<i>lau totsipi</i>	‘rather far; to a fairly great extent’
<i>lau tsipi</i>	‘not far; partly, partially, part way’
<i>lau tsomopi</i>	‘most of the way; almost (completely)’
<i>lau tsuompi</i>	‘too far; too (much)’
<i>lau tsyimpi</i>	‘not far enough; not enough, insufficiently’
<i>lau tuhpi</i>	‘not as far, less far; less, not as much’

When combined with stative verbs (prefixed with the relative marker *a-*; cf. §7.6) these expressions indicate incremental degree:

<i>Kopò lau tsipi iatsatsa</i>	‘The jug is partially full / part way full’
<i>Kopò lau tsomopi iatsatsa</i>	‘The jug is almost full / close to full’
<i>Kopò lau muohpi iatsatsa</i>	‘The jug is completely full’
<i>Kopò lau tuhpi iatsatsa</i>	‘The jug is not as full (as...)’
<i>Kopò lau miampi iatsàtsan?</i>	‘How (close to) full is the jug?’

When used with location verbs, these *lau* adverbials quantify the distance separating one point in space from another (8.143). When used with motion verbs and other telic predicates, they express how much distance is traversed, as in (8.144) and (8.145), or how close one comes to reaching the endpoint, as in (8.146).

(8.143) *Na lau hampi ekau tsuhpa*
 3aERG way much here.ABL live.IPV
 ‘She lives a long way from here’

(8.144) *Sa moini lau muohpi puniakyt*
 13ERG ocean.DAT way entirely travel.PV.PL
 ‘We travelled all the way to the ocean’

(8.145) *Ne eima ntse lau miampi ustot*
 3aNOM still NEG way how:much PF.reach.IPV:NEG.PL
 ‘They haven’t gotten very far yet’

(8.146) *Na makai lau muohpi iasyi*
 3aERG meat.DAT way entirely eat.PV
 ‘He ate up all the meat’ (lit. ‘He ate the meat all the way’)

In place of *lau muohpi*, the emphatic particles *sikà* ‘up to, as far as, until’ (following a dative noun phrase) and *su* ‘ever since, all the way from’ (following an ablative noun phrase) are often used. When the dative noun phrase denotes the goal of a motion event, *sikà* emphasizes that the entity in motion has traversed the entire distance to that goal (but no further). Likewise, the emphatic particle *su* ‘ever since, all the way from’

may be used to emphasize that an entity in motion has traversed the entire distance from a source, where the source is expressed by a noun phrase in the ablative case. With verbs expressing telic actions, where the dative noun phrase denotes a patient undergoing an incremental change of state, *sikà* may be used to indicate that that patient has been completely affected. Compare:

- (8.147) *Ne lokai sikà etyi*
 3aNOM forest.DAT until go.PV
 ‘She went all the way to the forest / as far as the forest’
- (8.148) *Ne lokau su ketyi*
 3aNOM forest.ABL ever:since come:here.PV
 ‘She came all the way from the forest’
- (8.149) *Na makai sikà iasyi*
 3aERG meat.DAT until eat.PV
 ‘He ate up the meat’ (lit. ‘He ate until the meat [was finished]’)

Adverbials formed from numerals

Certain types of adverbial expressions can also be formed productively from numerals (see §6.8.4). Temporal adverbials meaning ‘(for) the N-th time’ may be formed by prefixing an ordinal numeral with *e-* (*i-* before a non-glide vowel) and suffixing the appropriate oblique case ending, usually the locative ending *-na*. Examples include: *ehenkana* ‘for the second time’, *iehtaukana* ‘for the sixth time’, *etankana* ‘for the tenth time’, *iehtentakunkana* ‘for the forty-third time’, *etakianme kiunmakana* ‘for the hundred and fiftieth time’. Related forms include *empehkaina* ‘first, for the first time’, *empehisna* ‘next, the next time’, *empekamna* ‘previously, most recently, (the) last (time)’, *empekunna* ‘finally, for the last time, in the end’.

- (8.150) *Unma laisne hialò empehkaina etysi*
 3aRDAT.1sERG just today first:time.LOC speak.PV
 ‘I just spoke to her for the first time today’
- (8.151) *Niokònan kimo empekamna sasauota aun?*
 remember.IPV.QU 12RDAT previous:time.LOC meet.DEP.RECIP.PL when
 ‘Do you remember the last time we met?’ or ‘... when we last met?’
 more lit. ‘Do you remember when we met (at) the previous time?’

Two types of temporal/proportional adverbials, meaning ‘N times’, may also be formed from the numerals: Those in the first column take the prefix *e-* or *i-*, while those in the second column take the prefix *ka-*. Notice that the forms meaning ‘once’ are both irregular.

<i>esalh</i>	<i>ekas</i>	‘once’
<i>ehen</i>	<i>kahen</i>	‘twice’
<i>iehte</i>	<i>kaiehte</i>	‘three times’
<i>ekun</i>	<i>kakun</i>	‘four times’
<i>ekian</i>	<i>kakian</i>	‘five times’
<i>iehtà</i>	<i>kaiehtà</i>	‘six times’
<i>ekelu</i>	<i>kakelu</i>	‘seven times’
<i>eniò</i>	<i>kaniò</i>	‘eight times’
<i>eteiek</i>	<i>kateiek</i>	‘nine times’
<i>etam</i>	<i>katam</i>	‘ten times’
<i>ielhu</i>	<i>kaielhu</i>	‘eleven times’
<i>ehuai</i>	<i>kahuoi</i>	‘twelve times’
<i>ekiunma</i>	<i>kakiunma</i>	‘a hundred times’
<i>etolok</i>	<i>katolok</i>	‘ten thousand times’

The forms in the first column are used when quantifying over separate occasions or situations, and take the locative case ending *-na*. The forms in the second column are used to count iterations of a single action, especially when the iterations follow each other in quick succession; these forms take the instrumental ending *-me*. The semantic difference between the *e-* and *ka-* forms is significant: e.g., while *ehenna* means ‘twice’ in the sense of ‘on two (separate) occasions’ or ‘in two cases/situations/instances’, *kahenme* means ‘twice’ in the sense of ‘twice in a row’. An example of this contrast is given below:

(8.152) *Me Tenmotlaie tiefu ekunna uta*
 1sNOM Tenmotlai.DAT only four:times.LOC PF.go.IPV
 ‘I have been to Tenmotlai only four times’

(8.153) *Inmo kahen lhua kaiehteme ukahtoksa*
 3aNOM.1sRDAT twice about three:times.INST PF.hit.must.IPV
 ‘He must have hit me two or three times (in a row)’

The *ka-* forms are also used in comparative constructions to express a proportion, in which case they mean ‘N times’ in the sense of ‘N-fold’ or ‘by a factor of N’:

(8.154) *Olh palahta tan imè kotou kahenme apatohta*
 DIST tree that:NOM 1sALL house.ABL twice.INST REL.tall.COMP.IPV
 ‘That tree over there is twice as tall as my house’
 more lit. ‘That tree over there is taller than my house by two times’

Finally, the *ka-* forms can take the dative ending in place of the instrumental. The dative variants also mean ‘by a factor of N’, but are used in sentences expressing a change of state, where the adverbial indicates the proportional difference between the initial state and the final state:

(8.155) *Hi kaiehtei atohimji*
 3iNOM three:times.DAT REL.big.AINC.PV
 ‘It became three times as large (as before)’
 more lit. ‘It grew to three times (its original size)’

8.4.4 Other temporal adverbials

Some of the more common temporal adverbs (apart from those discussed in §8.4.3) are listed below. Notice that many of these feature the prefix *e/i-* and/or the suffix *-ne*. Temporal adverbials generally pick out one or more periods in time, often relative to the moment of speaking (e.g., *elohka* ‘yesterday’) or to some other contextually salient time (e.g., *ehkamne* ‘early’); while others quantify over times, cases, or situations (e.g., *hoti* ‘always’).

<i>efoi</i>	‘later, in the future, from/after now, in...’
<i>ehisne</i>	‘late’
<i>ehkamne</i>	‘early’
<i>ela</i>	‘in each case, in any case, anyhow, anyway’
<i>elohfoi</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>elohka</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>empiolhna</i>	‘nowadays, these days, currently’
<i>hapa</i>	‘often, regularly, periodically, all the time’
<i>hatlam</i>	‘soon, in a while, before long’
<i>hialò</i>	‘today’
<i>hielme</i>	‘this month’
<i>hiolhmo</i>	‘this year’
<i>hoti</i>	‘always, ever, all the time’
<i>ielmefoi</i>	‘next month’
<i>ielmehka</i>	‘last month’
<i>ihka</i>	‘earlier, in the past, before now, ago’
<i>iolhmofoi</i>	‘next year’
<i>iolhmohka</i>	‘last year’
<i>kanulne</i>	‘at first, initially, at the beginning’
<i>lamuta</i>	‘at last, finally, in the end’
<i>mulhe</i>	‘always, constantly, the whole time’
<i>sifoi</i>	‘now, starting now, from now on, as of now’
<i>sihka</i>	‘up to now, (only) until now’
<i>tahka</i>	‘before, before that/then, earlier, previously’
<i>tahoi</i>	‘after(wards), after that, thereafter, later’
<i>tahoti</i>	‘constantly, incessantly, all the time’
<i>takan</i>	‘now, at this time’
<i>tehefoi</i>	‘soon, shortly, presently, in a little while’
<i>tehihka</i>	‘recently, lately, not long ago’
<i>tuohisne</i>	‘late, too late, after the appropriate time’
<i>tuohkamne</i>	‘early, too early, too soon, before the appropriate time’

Compound temporal expressions can be formed from *hialò* ‘today’, *elohka* ‘yesterday’, and *elohfoi* ‘tomorrow’, by adding a noun referring to the time of day. *Ekina* ‘every time’ and *emuohpi* ‘the whole time’ can also be combined with temporal nouns. The noun precedes the adverb and is unmarked for case, as the following examples show.³

<i>kotsim hialò</i>	‘this morning’	<i>lò ekina</i>	‘every day’
<i>lem hialò</i>	‘today during the day’	<i>kotsim ekina</i>	‘every morning’
<i>koset hialò</i>	‘this evening’	<i>hun ekina</i>	‘every night’
<i>hun hialò</i>	‘tonight’	<i>ilme ekina</i>	‘every month’
<i>kotsim elohka</i>	‘yesterday morning’	<i>lò emuohpi</i>	‘all day’
<i>lem elohka</i>	‘yesterday during the day’	<i>koset emuohpi</i>	‘all evening’
<i>koset elohka</i>	‘yesterday evening’	<i>hun emuohpi</i>	‘all night’
<i>hun elohka</i>	‘last night’	<i>ulhmo emuohpi</i>	‘all year’
<i>kotsim elohfoi</i>	‘tomorrow morning, in the morning’		
<i>lem elohfoi</i>	‘tomorrow during the day’		
<i>koset elohfoi</i>	‘tomorrow evening’		
<i>hun elohfoi</i>	‘tomorrow night’		

³Note that *lem* ‘day, daylight’ refers to the period from dawn to dusk, and is the opposite of *hun* ‘night’, whereas *lò* ‘day’ denotes the entire period from dawn to dawn.

Similarly, the names for the seasons can combine with *hiolhmo* ‘this year’, *iolhmohka* ‘last year’, and *iolhmofoi* ‘next year’: e.g., *tuhsa hiolhmo* ‘this (past) winter, winter of this year’, *ihmet iolhmohka* ‘spring of last year’, *halai iolhmofoi* ‘summer of next year’.⁴ *Ekina* and *emuohpi* can also be used with the names of the seasons: e.g., *tiaulyip ekina* ‘every autumn’, *tuhsa emuohpi* ‘all winter (long)’.

Note that *hialò*, *elohka*, *hiolhmo*, *ielmefoi*, etc., and expressions formed from them, can be modified by *fene* ‘at the earliest, no sooner than, not before’ or *hulne* ‘at the latest, no later than’, to indicate a temporal boundary or cut-off point. *Fene* and *hulne* immediately precede the temporal adverb; if the expression includes a temporal noun (*kotsim*, *tuhsa*, etc.), the temporal noun precedes *fene/hulne*. Examples:

<i>fene elohfoi</i>	‘tomorrow at the earliest, not before tomorrow’
<i>hulne elohfoi</i>	‘tomorrow at the latest, no later than tomorrow, by tomorrow’
<i>kotsim hulne elohfoi</i>	‘(by) tomorrow evening at the latest’
<i>tuhsa fene hiolhmo</i>	‘no earlier than this (coming) winter’

- (8.156) *Sakiale hulne elohfoi uniokta pi*
 Sakial.NOM at:the:latest tomorrow PF.return.IPV perhaps
 ‘Sakial should have returned by tomorrow’

Note also that *ihka*, *tahka*, *efoi*, and *tahoi* may be preceded by a quantified noun phrase in the instrumental case, or by a quantificational adverb of duration (e.g., *ehampi* ‘for a long time’, *etsipi* ‘for a little while’). These quantificational modifiers measure the amount of time elapsing between the time in question and the reference time. Examples are given below. Note that *ihka* picks out a time prior to the moment of speaking, while *efoi* picks out a time after the moment of speaking. By contrast, *tahka* and *tahoi* pick out times relative to some previously mentioned time.

<i>lò kelume ihka</i>	‘seven days ago’
<i>lò kelume efoi</i>	‘seven days from now, in seven days’
<i>ilme ihtahme tahka</i>	‘six months earlier, six months before (then/that)’
<i>ilme ihtahme tahoi</i>	‘six months later, in/after six months, six months after that’
<i>etohampi ihka</i>	‘a long time ago’
<i>ekitsipi efoi</i>	‘in a short while, very soon’
<i>ulhmo emuohpi tahka</i>	‘for a whole year before then/that’
<i>ulhmo emuohpi tahoi</i>	‘for a whole year after that’

The placement of temporal adverbs within the clause is quite free. They can be clause-initial, clause-final, or appear between the verb and any of its noun phrase dependents, unless the latter is unmarked for case, since unmarked noun phrases must be adjacent to the verb (see §4.6). For instance, the following sentence variants are all possible, and mean more or less the same thing. Notice that the only place where *elohka* cannot occur is between *kytu* and *uktiyi*.

- (8.157) ***Elohka*** *Sakialma ihai kytu uktiyi*
 yesterday Sakial.ERG woman.DAT gift give.PV
 ‘Yesterday Sakial gave a present to the woman’

Sakialma elohka ihai kytu uktiyi
Sakialma ihai elohka kytu uktiyi
Sakialma ihai kytu uktiyi elohka

When a temporal adverbial precedes the verb, it must also precede any degree adverbials (§8.4.3, §8.4.5) that modify the same verb, as illustrated below: reversing the order of *hialò* and *teusu* renders this sentence ungrammatical (though *hialò* can also be placed before *iman*, or after *euoita*).

⁴The Okuna new year is on the winter solstice. Hence an expression like *halai hiolhmo* (lit. ‘summer this year’) means ‘next summer, this coming summer’ if uttered in the winter or spring, and ‘this past summer’ if uttered in the fall.

- (8.158) *Iman hialò teusu ehakti iauoita*
 1sLOC today very SBJ.tired.DEP:SBJ PRG.REL.feel:RES.IPV
 ‘I’m feeling very tired today’

Note that temporal adverbials cannot inflect for case. However, they can combine with the relational noun *heku* ‘time, when’: e.g., *elohfoi heku* ‘tomorrow, the time tomorrow, when (it is) tomorrow’. *Heku*, being a nominal element, heads a noun phrase and is capable of taking case endings. Note the following examples:

- (8.159) *Ma elohfoi hekoua iase ekpyi*
 1sERG tomorrow time.ALL food bring.PV
 ‘I brought some food for tomorrow’
- (8.160) *Ne ielmehka hekou su imouta*
 3aNOM last:month time.ABL ever:since PRG.sick.IPV
 ‘She has been sick ever since last month’
- (8.161) *Iman ihmet iolhmofoi hekoi sikà mokna tehihpa*
 1sLOC spring next:year time.DAT until hearth.LOC stay.intend.IPV
 ‘I intend to stay with my family until spring of next year’

Remarks on the meanings of certain temporal adverbials

There are two adverbials in Okuna which translate English ‘always’: *mulhe* and *hoti*. These are essentially equivalent in meaning, except that *mulhe* is used only with stative verbs belonging to Class I (§4.4.1), whereas *hoti* tends to be used with eventive verbs belonging to Class II and Class III (§4.4.2, §4.4.3):

- (8.162) *Sakialna mulhe kestanka*
 Sakial.LOC always happy.IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial was always happy’
- (8.163) *Isane miuama hoti osek palahpa*
 13ALL cat.ERG always mouse catch.ICPL.IPV
 ‘Our cat is always trying to catch mice’

A number of temporal adverbs refer to the moment of speaking, among them *takan* ‘now’, *empiolhna* ‘nowadays’, *sihka* ‘just now, up until now’, and *sifoi* ‘starting now, from now on’ (the aspectual adverbial *kas*, discussed in §8.4.2, can also be used to translate ‘now’ under certain circumstances). Of these, *takan* is the most neutral, meaning simply ‘at this time’. *Sihka* is used of an event which began in the past and terminates at (or just before) the present moment, while *sifoi* is used of an event which is just beginning. *Sifoi* is similar in meaning to *takan* (or *kas*), but indicates explicitly that the state of affairs in question did not hold in the past.

- (8.164) *Ihka sù kahpyi, le takan aho ilaina*
 earlier rain fall.PV but now sun PRG.shine.IPV
 ‘It rained earlier, but now it’s sunny’
- (8.165) *Kimima sihka imuelhanka*
 baby.ERG until:now PRG.sleep.IPV:PST
 ‘The baby was just sleeping’ (but has now woken up)
- (8.166) *Kimima sifoi imuelha*
 baby.ERG starting:now PRG.sleep.IPV
 ‘The baby is now sleeping’ (but was not earlier)
 or ‘The baby has now begun to sleep’

Note finally that the adverbial *ela* ‘in any case, in any situation, anyhow’ is often used in combination with imperfect marking on the verb to express a generic event or property. Also, when *ela* precedes a phrase containing an indefinite correlative (§6.7.1), it indicates that that phrase has a ‘free choice’ reading (equivalent to a stressed ‘any’ form in English). In this latter construction the verb is generally in the conditional form.

- (8.167) *Kotiemima ela hunna tunkuma*
 raccoon.ERG in:any:case night.LOC be:active.IPV
 ‘Raccoons are active at night’ (more lit. ‘In any situation, the raccoon is active at night’)
- (8.168) *Na ela miohme etsampike*
 3aERG in:any:case someone.INST talk.ACT.COND
 ‘He would talk to (just) anyone’
 more lit. ‘In any situation, he would talk to someone’
- (8.169) *Tan ela miohna mutlike*
 that:NOM in:any:case someone.LOC understand.COND
 ‘Anyone could understand that’
 more lit. ‘In any situation, someone would understand that’
- (8.170) *Motlana ela sasei efos mai lahyipike*
 Motla.LOC in:any:case encounter.TNZR:SBJ problem some.DAT solve.able.COND
 ‘Motla can solve any problem he encounters’
 more lit. ‘In any situation, Motla could solve some problem that (he) would encounter’

8.4.5 Other degree adverbials

Degree adverbials combine with stative verbs belonging to Class I, and express the (subjective) degree or extent to which the property denoted by the verb holds. A large number of degree adverbials are derived by adding the suffix *-pi* to mass noun quantifiers: e.g., *han* ‘much, a lot’ > *hampi* ‘very, to a great degree’; *tsomo* ‘most’ > *tsomopi* ‘mostly, for the most part’. These forms are listed and discussed in §8.4.3 above. Other degree adverbials are given below.

Degree adverbials can be divided into two subclasses. Forms in the first subclass are related to quantificational adverbials with *-pi* listed in §8.4.3, and may be used interchangeably with them. These are listed below, with the *-pi* variants given in parentheses. Elements in this subclass require that the following verb carry the relative prefix *a-*, discussed in §7.6.

<i>miai</i>	(<i>miampi</i>)	‘how (much); somewhat, to a certain degree’
<i>mu</i>	(<i>muhpi</i>)	‘enough, sufficiently’
<i>tlai</i>	(<i>tlampi</i>)	‘so, that, (by) that much’
<i>tsuo</i>	(<i>tsuompi</i>)	‘too’
<i>tsyi</i>	(<i>tsyimpi</i>)	‘not ... enough, insufficiently’

Adverbials in the second subclass, listed below, are not derived from (or related to) quantifiers. A verb modified by one of these elements does not carry the relative prefix *a-*.

<i>atsafe</i>	‘very, truly, terribly, horribly’
<i>ienapi</i>	‘very, well, to a good degree’
<i>kipehi</i>	‘slightly, barely, just’
<i>pehi</i>	‘a little, a bit, somewhat’
<i>teusu</i>	‘very, a lot, quite; really, truly, certainly’
<i>tohi</i>	‘extremely, exceedingly; especially’
<i>totohi</i>	‘extraordinarily, immensely’
<i>uteupi</i>	‘almost, nearly’ (<i>uteupi ntse</i> ‘hardly, barely’)
<i>ytapi</i>	‘truly, really’

Normally a degree adverbial will immediately precede the verb it modifies, regardless of which subclass it belongs to:

(8.171) *Kamale miai akilhan?*
 knife.NOM how REL.sharp.IPV.QU
 ‘How sharp is the knife?’

(8.172) *Kamale tohi kilha*
 knife.NOM extremely sharp.IPV
 ‘The knife is extremely sharp’

(8.173) *Kamale ntse miai akilho*
 knife.NOM NEG much REL.sharp.IPV:NEG
 ‘The knife is not very sharp’

Additional examples:

Kamale mu akilha ‘The knife is sharp enough’
Kamale tsuo akilha ‘The knife is too sharp’
Kamale tsyi akilha ‘The knife is not sharp enough’
Kamale tlai akilha ‘The knife is so sharp’ or ‘That’s how sharp the knife is’

A verb modified by a degree word such as *mu*, *tsuo*, or *tsyi* can select a converb (cf. §10.4), or a clause headed by a subjunctive dependent verb inflected for allative case (cf. §10.2.1), equivalent to an infinitival clause in English. In the former case, the converb immediately precedes the degree word; in the latter case, the clause is usually postposed to the end of the sentence (see §9.2.3).

(8.174) *Tomlà kule tsuo alamankat*
 mountain.NOM see:RES.CV too REL.far.IPV:PST.PL
 ‘The mountains were too far away to see’

(8.175) *Tomlà tsuo alamankat isane ekuleia*
 mountain.NOM too REL.far.IPV:PST.PL 13ALL SBJ.see:RES.DEP:SBJ.ALL
 ‘The mountains were too far away for us to see’

Note that the intensifying degree particles *teusu* and *ytapi*, like English ‘really’ or ‘truly’, can be used both to assert the truth of some proposition, and to indicate that a property holds to a great degree. *Ienapi* and *atsafe* also function as intensifiers, where *ienapi* tends to be used with verbs that have a positive connotation: e.g., *ienapi kesta* ‘very happy’, *ienapi huala* ‘very healthy’. By contrast, *atsafe* is used with verbs that have a negative connotation: e.g., *atsafe lulha* ‘very bad’, *atsafe mouta* ‘very sick’. (Note that the choice between *ienapi* and *atsafe* depends on the speaker’s subjective assessment of the situation. For example, while ‘Sakial is very happy’ would normally be expressed as *Sakialna ienapi ikesta*, if for some reason the speaker disapproved of Sakial’s happiness or considered it unfortunate, *Sakialna atsafe ikesta* could be used.)

Chapter 9

Clause Structure

9.1 Introduction

This chapter deals broadly with the constituent structure of simple sentences—that is, sentences which do not involve the embedding of one clause within another (clausal embedding and related phenomena are dealt with in chapter 10).

In §9.2 I give an overview of word order within the clause. Clauses consist minimally of a clausal nucleus (usually headed by the verb), and can also include preposed and postposed constituents. Each of these is dealt with in turn. In §9.3 I consider the formation of special types of clauses, including copular clauses, questions, and commands. Finally, in §9.4 I deal with issues related to the number of noun phrase arguments in a clause, including the formation of causative, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions.

9.2 Word order within the clause

Although word order within noun phrases is fairly fixed (see §6.9), the relative order of noun phrases and other constituents within the clause is quite free, especially in clauses which can stand on their own as complete utterances. Consider a sentence such as (9.1), consisting of a transitive verb along with its ergative and dative arguments:

- (9.1) *Moihama halmai itala*
girl.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.IPV
'The girl is reading the book'

Although the most common order is the one shown above, where the ergative argument precedes the dative argument and the verb occurs at the end of the sentence, other orders are also acceptable. In the case of the three-word sentence in (9.1), all six logically possible orders are allowed. The sentences below are all grammatical, and all describe the same event.

Moihama halmai itala
Moihama itala halmai
Halmai moihama itala
Halmai itala moihama
Itala moihama halmai
Itala halmai moihama

In part, this flexibility reflects the fact that word order does not play a role in distinguishing grammatical relations like subject and object, which are instead encoded by case inflection on the noun phrases. This is not to say that order is unimportant, however. As the discussion in the following sections makes clear, the

placement of noun phrases relative to the verb, and to each other, can determine how they are interpreted with regard to pragmatic features like topic and focus, old versus new information, et cetera.

In §9.2.1 I give an overview of the factors that dictate word order in basic clauses. §9.2.2 deals with preposed (left-dislocated) constituents, such as contrastive topics; while §9.2.3 deals with the postposing of constituents to a position following the verb.

9.2.1 Word order and topicality

An Okuna sentence consists minimally of a CLAUSAL NUCLEUS, comprised of a verb preceded by zero or more dependent constituents (noun phrases denoting arguments of the verb, adverbials and other modifiers, focus particles, etc.). The clausal nucleus is sometimes preceded by a PREPOSED constituent, often separated from the clausal nucleus by a pause. Constituents can also follow the verb under certain circumstances, in which case they are said to be POSTPOSED. I discuss preposed and postposed constituents in §9.2.2 and §9.2.3, respectively. In this section I summarize the rules governing constituent order within the clausal nucleus.

Within the clausal nucleus, the order of certain elements is fixed. By definition, the verb is always the final element in the clausal nucleus. Moreover, as discussed in detail in §5.4, if the clause includes a clitic pronoun or clitic cluster, the latter will occur at the left edge of the clausal nucleus, preceding all of the other (non-preposed) constituents. This is illustrated by the examples below, which differ with regard to which of the verb's arguments (ergative, nominative, or dative) is encoded by a clitic pronoun. In each case the clitic must come first in the clause.

(9.2) *Na halmà totsait teunyi*
 3aERG book.NOM table.DAT put.PV
 'S/he put the book on the table'

(9.3) *Hi Motlama totsait teunyi*
 3iNOM Motla.ERG table.DAT put.PV
 'Motla put it on the table'

(9.4) *To Motlama halmà teunyi*
 3iRDAT Motla.ERG book.NOM put.PV
 'Motla put the book there' (lit. 'on it')

In the following sentences, the clause contains two clitic arguments. These combine to form a clitic cluster (§5.4.1), which obligatorily precedes the full noun phrase.

(9.5) *Ima totsait teunyi*
 3iNOM.1sERG table.DAT put.PV
 'I put it on the table'

(9.6) *Uma halmà teunyi*
 3iRDAT.1sERG book.NOM put.PV
 'I put the book there'

In addition, when the clause contains a noun phrase which is unmarked for case and functions as a non-referential argument of the verb (see §4.6.3), that noun phrase immediately precedes the verb. Compare the sentences below, containing noun phrases denoting a theme (*ahotsin* 'corn') and an instrument (*natui* 'pestle'). When both the theme and instrument are marked for case (nominative and instrumental, respectively), they can occur in either order (9.7)–(9.8). However, if one of the noun phrases appears in its 'bare' form, the other noun phrase obligatorily precedes it within the clausal nucleus (9.9)–(9.10).

(9.7) *Ma natuime ahotsine tlulyi*
 1sERG pestle.INST corn.NOM pound.PV
 'I ground the/some corn with a/the pestle'

(9.8) *Ma ahotsine natuime tlulyi*
 1SERG corn.NOM pestle.INST pound.PV
 ‘I ground the/some corn with a/the pestle’

(9.9) *Ma natuime ahotsin tlulyi*
 1SERG pestle.INST corn pound.PV
 ‘I ground corn with a/the pestle’

(9.10) *Ma ahotsine natui tlulyi*
 1SERG corn.NOM pestle pound.PV
 ‘I ground the/some corn with a pestle’

Apart from these restrictions on the placement of clitics and unmarked noun phrases, constituents within the clausal nucleus are ordered according to their degree of ‘topicality’ (or ‘aboutness’), with more topical elements preceding less topical elements. Typically the clausal nucleus can be thought of as having a bipartite structure, where the first constituent identifies a particular discourse-salient referent, while the rest of the clausal nucleus predicates something about that referent. We can refer to this first element as the TOPIC of the clause. If the clause contains a clitic pronoun, the clitic is the topic; otherwise, the topic can be a full noun phrase, interpreted as definite or generic (in clitic clusters, the first clitic is understood to be the topic). When the clause contains multiple noun phrases capable of functioning as topics, the choice of topic will depend on the discourse context within which the clause is uttered, as well as the ‘communicative point of view’ from which the speaker chooses to present the situation. Consider the following pair of examples, which differ only in the order of the ergative and dative noun phrases:

(9.11) *Mo miahtema olh kotu utai utiespa*
 1SRDAT grandfather.ERG DIST house that:RDAT PF.build.IPV
 ‘My grandfather build that house over there’

(9.12) *Olh kotu utai mo miahtema utiespa*
 DIST house that:RDAT 1SRDAT grandfather.ERG PF.build.IPV
 ‘My grandfather build that house over there’

These sentences have the same propositional content—that is, they describe the same event. The difference between them is one of ‘aboutness’. The order in (9.11) is preferred if the speaker is presenting information about his/her grandfather, while (9.12) is the preferred order if the speaker is presenting information about the house. A sentence like (9.11) would typically be used in a context where the speaker’s grandfather was under discussion, as in the following dialogue:

Speaker A: “What did your grandfather do?”
 Speaker B: “Well, for one thing, my grandfather built that house.”

A sentence like (9.12) would be used if the house were the topic of discussion, as in this situation:

Speaker A: “What can you tell me about that house over there?”
 Speaker B: “Well, for one thing, my grandfather built that house.”

As noted in §9.4.1 below, varying the order of noun phrases to reflect relative topicality can achieve effects similar to those of active–passive alternations in other languages (Okuna does not have a passive construction *per se*). Compare the sentences below, where the first asserts something about the agent (the hunter) while the second asserts something about the patient (the deer). It is natural to translate the second sentence with an English passive, reflecting the fact that the patient is more topical than the agent.

(9.13) *Lakiakama hastein tahyi*
 hunter.ERG deer.DAT kill.PV
 ‘The hunter killed the deer’

- (9.14) *Hastein lakiakama tahyi*
 deer.DAT hunter.ERG kill.PV
 ‘The deer was killed by the hunter’

As discussed in §7.2, topic noun phrases are distinguished from non-topic noun phrases not only by the fact that they appear at the left edge of the clausal nucleus, but by how they trigger number agreement on the verb. When a topic noun phrase is marked for nominative, dative, or ergative case and is interpreted as plural, the verb carries the plural topic suffix *-t*. Core arguments other than the topic trigger different plural agreement morphology: e.g., the suffix *-ne*, which marks a non-topic ergative argument as plural. Compare:

- (9.15) *Lakiakama hastein tahyit*
 hunter.ERG deer.DAT kill.PV.PL
 ‘The hunters killed the deer’

- (9.16) *Hastein lakiakama tahyine*
 deer.DAT hunter.ERG kill.PV.EPL
 ‘The deer was killed by the hunters’

Word order and topic choice can affect the interpretation of missing arguments (see §5.5). All else being equal, when a sentence consists of two conjoined clauses with a noun phrase omitted from the second clause, the omitted argument is interpreted as coreferring with the topic the first clause. The following pair of sentences illustrates this:

- (9.17) *Mikalma ikei kahtyi kiompe nkilhyi*
 boy.ERG dog.DAT hit.PV run.CV go:away.PV
 ‘The boy hit the dog, and then ran away’ (i.e, the boy ran away)

- (9.18) *Ikei mikalma kahtyi kiompe nkilhyi*
 dog.DAT boy.ERG hit.PV run.CV go:away.PV
 ‘The boy hit the dog, and then it ran away’ (i.e, the dog ran away)
 or ‘The dog was hit by the boy, and then ran away’

Just as highly topical noun phrases tend to occur at the left edge of the clausal nucleus, highly FOCAL noun phrases—that is, noun phrases which are interpreted contrastively, and/or provide important or salient new information about the event—tend to occur at the right edge of the clausal nucleus, immediately preceding the verb (or the unmarked noun phrase, if any). For instance, compare the sentences below:

- (9.19) *Sakialma tausi kamalme kyuatyi*
 Sakial.ERG spoon.DAT knife.INST carve.PV
 ‘Sakial carved the spoon with a KNIFE’

- (9.20) *Sakialma kamalme tausi kyuatyi*
 Sakial.ERG knife.INST spoon.DAT carve.PV
 ‘Sakial carved a SPOON with the knife’

- (9.21) *Tausi kamalme Sakialma kyuatyi*
 spoon.DAT knife.INST Sakial.ERG carve.PV
 ‘SAKIAL carved the spoon with the knife’

The order in (9.19) would be preferred in a context where it is understood that Sakial carved the spoon, and the fact that this activity was carried out with a knife is the most salient piece of new information. On the other hand, if it is presupposed that Sakial carved something (or did something) with a knife, and the new information is that he carved the spoon, the order in (9.20) would be used. Finally, the order in (9.21) is

appropriate if it is presupposed that the spoon was carved (or that something happened to the spoon), and the identity of the carver is what's being focused on. In each case, the main stress in the sentence falls on the stressed syllable of the argument immediately preceding the verb.

Other possible orders are shown below, with approximate English translations. In each of the sentences in (9.19)–(9.24), the most topical noun phrase comes first, while the most focal noun phrase immediately precedes the verb.¹

(9.22) *Tausi Sakialma kamalme kyuaty*
 spoon.DAT Sakial.ERG knife.INST carve.PV
 'The spoon was carved by Sakial with a KNIFE'

(9.23) *Kamalme Sakialma tausi kyuaty*
 knife.INST Sakial.ERG spoon.DAT carve.PV
 'The knife was used by Sakial to carve a SPOON'

(9.24) *Kamalme tausi Sakialma kyuaty*
 knife.INST spoon.DAT Sakial.ERG carve.PV
 'The knife was used by SAKIAL to carve the spoon'

In content questions (see §9.3.2), the interrogative element stands in for the focused constituent. Hence, interrogative words normally come immediately before the verb (or before an unmarked noun phrase dependent, if any). Compare the content questions below with the sentences in (9.19)–(9.21) above.

(9.25) *Sakialma tausi mahme kyuatyin?*
 Sakial.ERG spoon.DAT what.INST carve.PV.QU
 'What did Sakial carve the spoon with?'

(9.26) *Sakialma kamalme mai kyuatyin?*
 Sakial.ERG knife.INST what.DAT carve.PV.QU
 'What did Sakial carve with the knife?'

(9.27) *Tausi kamalme miohma kyuatyin?*
 spoon.DAT knife.INST who.ERG carve.PV.QU
 'Who carved the spoon with the knife?'

Besides topic and focus, preverbal word order also reflects semantic scope: quantifiers and operators take scope over the portion of the clausal nucleus to their right, up to (and sometimes including) the verb itself. Word order can thus have a noticeable effect on the interpretation of sentences with scope-bearing elements. For example, as mentioned in §6.8, when a clause contains two quantificational phrases preceding the verb, the first quantificational phrase takes scope over the second one. Compare the sentences below. In (9.28), *pyi unket* scopes over *kietam hen*: the meaning is that every child was shown two (possibly different) pictures. In (9.29), where the relative scope of the quantifiers is reversed, it is understood that there are two (particular) pictures which I showed to every child.

(9.28) *Ma pyi unket kietam hen tafyima*
 1SERG child every:RDAT picture two:NOM show.PV.DPL
 'I showed every child two pictures'

¹Note that in each of these sentences, *tausi* can be interpreted as either definite ('the spoon') or indefinite ('a spoon'), depending on whether the spoon is already familiar to the addressee at the point in the discourse when the sentence is uttered—and likewise for *kamalme* ('with a knife' versus 'with the knife'). My translations of these sentences are approximate, and reflect the generalization that noun phrases expressing new information tend to be indefinite.

- (9.29) *Ma kietam hen pyi unket tafyima*
 1SERG picture two:NOM child every:RDAT show.PV.DPL
 ‘I showed two (particular) pictures to every child’

The same principle applies to scope-bearing adverbials. Compare (9.30) and (9.31), which differ in the relative order of the temporal modifier *ehenna* ‘twice’ and the manner modifier *nakapme* ‘accidentally, by chance’. In (9.30), *ehenna* scopes over *nakapme*, and the sentence may be paraphrased ‘On two occasions, I accidentally hit him’ (I may have hit him deliberately on other occasions). In (9.31), *nakapme* scopes over *ehenna*, and the sentence may be paraphrased ‘It was an accident that I hit him on two occasions’ (I may have intended to hit him only once).

- (9.30) *Unma ehenna nakapme ukahta*
 3aRDAT.1SERG twice chance.INST PF.hit.IPV
 ‘Twice, I hit him accidentally’

- (9.31) *Unma nakapme ehenna ukahta*
 3aRDAT.1SERG chance.INST twice PF.hit.IPV
 ‘I accidentally hit him twice’

As a final example of the relationship between word order and scope, consider the sentences below. As discussed in §8.2.1, focus particles like *tiefu* ‘only’ scope over the portion of the clausal nucleus to their right, up to (and perhaps including) the verb. In (9.32) *tiefu* scopes over the verb *itlulanka* ‘was grinding’, and the sentence means that grinding is the only thing the girl was doing to the corn. In (9.33) *tiefu* scopes over either *ahotsine* ‘corn’ or *ahotsine itlulanka* ‘was grinding the corn’. This sentence asserts that the corn is the only thing that the girl was grinding, or that grinding the corn is the only thing that the girl was doing. Finally, in (9.34) *tiefu* scopes over *moihama* ‘the girl’, or *moihama itlulanka* ‘the girl was grinding’. This sentence means that the girl is the only one who was grinding the corn, or that being ground by the girl is the only thing that was happening to the corn.

- (9.32) *Moihama ahotsine tiefu itlulanka*
 girl.ERG corn.NOM only PRG.pound.IPV:PST
 ‘The girl was only GRINDING the corn’

- (9.33) *Moihama tiefu ahotsine itlulanka*
 girl.ERG only corn.NOM PRG.pound.IPV:PST
 ‘The girl was only grinding the CORN’

- (9.34) *Ahotsine tiefu moihama itlulanka*
 corn.NOM only girl.ERG PRG.pound.IPV:PST
 ‘Only the GIRL was grinding the corn’
 or ‘The corn was only being ground by the GIRL’

In rare cases, the verb may be preceded by two or more noun phrases which fail to differ from one another in relative topicality, focus, or scope—e.g., when the clause contains no scope-bearing elements, and is being used to present a situation ‘out of the blue’ (e.g. in response to the question ‘What happened?’). In clauses of this type, which we might refer to as PRAGMATICALLY NEUTRAL, the relative order of noun phrases is essentially free. However, there is a tendency for ergative noun phrases to come at the beginning of the clause, for noun phrases with human referents to precede those with non-human referents, and for noun phrases interpreted as definite to precede those interpreted as indefinite.

9.2.2 Preposed constituents

Certain types of phrases properly precede the clausal nucleus, occurring at the left edge of the sentence. Such phrases are said to be PREPOSED. Note that preposed constituents are confined to main clauses: preposing is not allowed in dependent and participial clauses (§10.2, §10.3), or in nominalized clauses such as gerunds and participant nominals (§10.5, §10.6).

One class of constituents which can be preposed includes temporal adverbials (e.g., *elohka* ‘yesterday’, *halai ekina* ‘every summer’) and oblique case-marked noun phrases (e.g., *muohfe kahpise ohpeu* ‘because of the heavy snowfall’), when these elements are used to set the scene or establish the general context (time, place, reason, etc.) for the situation or event described in the clausal nucleus. Examples are given below. That the constituents in question are preposed is shown by the fact that they come before the (boldfaced) clitic pronouns: clitics always occur at the left edge of the clausal nucleus, and are thus normally sentence-initial (§5.4, §9.2.1). Note that when the preposed constituent is internally complex, as in (9.37), it generally forms its own prosodic unit, and is separated from the clausal nucleus by a short pause, indicated here by a comma.

(9.35) *Elohka* **ma** *Sakialme* *etsampyi*
 yesterday 1sERG Sakial.INST tell.ACT.PV
 ‘Yesterday I spoke with Sakial’

(9.36) *Halai* *ekina* **sa** *kahame* *ka* *tusò* *tsulauat* *Kemotlasina*
 summer every:time 13ERG aunt and uncle.NOM visit.IPV.NPL.PL Kemotlasi.LOC
 ‘Every summer we visit our aunt and uncle in Kemotlasi’

(9.37) *Muohfe* *kahpise* *ohpeu,* **na** *otupyit* *mokna* *tehatà*
 heavy.TNZR snowfall cause.ABL 3aERG decide.PV.PL home.LOC stay.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘Because of the heavy snowfall, they decided to stay home’

Constituents may be preposed only if they provide background or contextualizing information. If the adverbial or oblique noun phrase constitutes a focal part of what is being asserted, and especially if it is being used contrastively, it must appear within the clausal nucleus. For example, (9.35) above would not be appropriate as an answer to the question in (9.38), which is specifically asking for the time of the event; instead, the order in (9.39) is required, with *elohka* coming immediately before the verb, in the position normally associated with focused constituents. Likewise (9.41), but not (9.37), is an acceptable response to the question in (9.40).

(9.38) **Ko** *Sakialme* *emi* *etsampyin?*
 2ERG Sakial.INST when tell.ACT.PV.QU
 ‘When did you speak with Sakial?’

(9.39) **Ma** *Sakialme* *elohka* *etsampyi*
 1sERG Sakial.INST yesterday tell.ACT.PV
 ‘I spoke with Sakial YESTERDAY’

(9.40) **Na** *ymiohpa* *otupyit* *ne* *mokna* *tehatà?*
 3aERG why decide.PV.PL QU home.LOC stay.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘Why did they decide to stay home?’

(9.41) **Na** *muohfe* *kahpise* *ohpeu* *otupyit* *mokna* *tehatà*
 3aERG heavy.TNZR snowfall cause.ABL decide.PV.PL home.LOC stay.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘They decided to stay home because of the heavy snowfall’
 or ‘It’s because of the heavy snowfall that they decided to stay home’

In the example below, the oblique case-marked pronoun *itè* is preposed, preceding the clitic *ma*. The preposed pronoun functions here much like a topic, referring back to an entity mentioned in the previous clause:

- (9.42) *Imè kamale itsupa: itè ma eun imuna ukpiha*
 1SALL knife.NOM PRG.missing.IPV 3iALL 1sERG place all.LOC PF.search.IPV
 ‘My knife is missing: I’ve looked for it everywhere’ (lit. ‘for it, I’ve searched everywhere’)

In addition to noun phrases and adverbials, certain kinds of subordinate clauses are commonly preposed. These include participial clauses (§10.3) and dependent clauses marked with oblique case or used in combination with a relational noun (§10.2.1, §10.2.2). Like preposed adverbials, preposed subordinate clauses introduce background information—specifically, they identify an (actual or hypothetical) situation that provides the temporal context, purpose, rationale, etc., for the situation named by the main clause. Conditional clauses headed by *aunme* ‘if’ and concessive clauses headed by *alhme* ‘though’—whose function is to identify a situation which is (or is not) required in order for the situation named by the main clause to come about—are also typically preposed. Examples are given below (as above, the left edge of the clausal nucleus is indicated by the boldfaced clitic pronoun).

- (9.43) *Sakohmima losak itake, ma mekule pauyia*
 spouse.ERG firewood PRG.chop.PT 1sERG dish.NOM wash.PV.NPL
 ‘While (my) husband chopped firewood, I washed the dishes’
- (9.44) *Homa epusuki elhkoua, ko kamne ahotsine sofoi tluloksa*
 bread SBJ.make.DEP:SBJ purpose.ALL 2ERG beforehand corn.NOM flour.DAT pound.must.IPV
 ‘In order to make bread, you must first grind the corn into flour’
- (9.45) *Ikun imò aleute euokfi aunme, ko eski tiuha*
 2LOC 1sABL help.NOM SBJ.want.DEP:SBJ if.INST 2ERG SBJ.request.DEP:SBJ necessary.IPV
 ‘If you want my help, you’ll have to ask (for it)’

A final class of preposed constituents are CONTRASTIVE TOPICS, consisting of a noun phrase (unmarked for case) followed by *aunme*. The function of a contrastive topic is to introduce a new subject of discussion into the discourse, or reintroduce a subject from earlier in the discourse. Contrastive topics typically correspond to English expressions of the form ‘as for X’, ‘as far as X is concerned’, ‘with respect to X’, etc. Note that the clausal nucleus typically contains a resumptive clitic or oblique pronoun which encodes the participant referred to by the contrastive topic.

- (9.46) *Sakial aunme, nami ntsuta utsokuo*
 Sakial if.INST 3aNOM.1sDAT not:yet PF.meet.IPV:NEG
 ‘As for Sakial, I haven’t met him yet’

As shown in (9.45) above, *aunme* is also used to form conditional clauses, where it corresponds to English ‘if’ or ‘when(ever)’. It is possible that contrastive topics should be analyzed as a special kind of conditional clause, in which everything except a focused constituent has been elided—e.g., *Sakial aunme* might be thought of as meaning ‘if/when (it’s) Sakial (that we’re talking about)’.

9.2.3 Postposed constituents

Noun phrases, dependent clauses, and adverbials which follow the verb are said to be POSTPOSED. In the first example below, the temporal adverb *elohfoi* ‘tomorrow’ has been postposed, while in the second example, the nominative noun phrase *Elimu lihpa* ‘Elim’s sister’ has been postposed:

- (9.47) *Sa lakiat elohfoi*
 13ERG hunt.IPV.PL tomorrow
 ‘We’re going hunting tomorrow’

- (9.48) *Ntsuta uniokto Elimu lihpa*
 not:yet PF.return.IPV:NEG Elim.ABL sister.NOM
 ‘(She) hasn’t returned yet, Elim’s sister’

Postposed noun phrases normally denote individuals whose existence and relevance to the discourse is pre-supposed. For instance, (9.48) above is appropriate only in a context where Elim’s sister has already been established as one of the individuals under discussion. Like preposed constituents, postposed constituents are associated with background information. Thus a noun phrase (especially one marked with oblique case) will often be postposed when it conveys information which is supplementary or tangential to the main assertion of the sentence. Compare the following sentences, which differ in the placement of the locative noun phrase:

- (9.49) *Lhatima sihilalna ilaliat*
 children.ERG riverbank.LOC PRG.play.IPV.PL
 ‘The children are playing by the river’

- (9.50) *Lhatima ilaliat sihilalna*
 children.ERG PRG.play.IPV.PL riverbank.LOC
 ‘The children are playing by the river’

These sentences are roughly equivalent in meaning, but differ in the informational status of the locative noun phrase. In (9.49), where *sihilalna* is immediately preverbal, greater focus is placed on the location of the event. Here the fact that the children are by the river is judged by the speaker to be significant—indeed, it may constitute the only new piece of information in the utterance, as when (9.49) is used in answer to the question ‘Where are the children playing?’. In (9.50), on the other hand, where *sihilalna* is postposed, the location of the action is somewhat de-emphasized. This sentence might be used if the location of the event were already known to the addressee—e.g., in answer to the question ‘What are the children doing by the river?’. Alternatively, the speaker might be presenting the location of the event as new but incidental information, perhaps an afterthought.

Note that first and second person oblique pronouns are frequently postposed, at least in main clauses. This may be because first and second person pronouns refer to participants in the discourse, who are often backgrounded since their relevance to the discourse is taken for granted. For the most part, these pronouns precede the verb only if they are topicalized or focused. Compare the following:

- (9.51) *Sakiale huata imè*
 Sakial.ERG like.IPV 1SALL
 ‘I like Sakial’

- (9.52) *Imè Sakiale huata*
 1SALL Sakial.ERG like.IPV
 ‘I like Sakial’ or ‘As for me, I like Sakial’

- (9.53) *Sakiale imè huata*
 Sakial.ERG 1SALL like.IPV
 ‘I’m the one who likes Sakial’

The order in (9.51), with the oblique experiencer *imè* following the verb, is pragmatically neutral, and would be used when uttering the proposition out of the blue. In (9.52), *imè* occurs at the beginning of the clause and is likely to be interpreted as a topic. This sentence would be appropriate in a context where the speaker is already under discussion—e.g., it might be uttered in answer to the question ‘Who do you like?’. Finally, in (9.53), where *imè* immediately precedes the verb, the pronoun is likely to be interpreted as focused (cf. §9.2.1 above). This last sentence might be used in answer to the question ‘Who likes Sakial?’.

Even if it does not represent backgrounded or peripheral information, a constituent will often be postposed if it is prosodically ‘heavy’—i.e., long and internally complex. Complement clauses, for instance, are often

postposed, as in (9.55) below. Here the embedded question *pyie elohfoi nioktuta aun* ‘if the children will return tomorrow’ appears to the right of the verb *iona* ‘know’, which selects the clause as its theme argument. Compare this sentence with (9.54), where the theme argument, consisting of a single word (the noun *nioksot* ‘answer’), most naturally precedes the verb.

(9.54) *Elimna nioksote iònan?*
 Elim.LOC answer.NOM know.IPV.QU
 ‘Does Elim know the answer?’

(9.55) *Elimna iònan pyie elohfoi enioktita aun?*
 Elim.LOC know.IPV.QU child.NOM tomorrow SBJ.return.DEP:SBJ.PL if
 ‘Does Elim know if the children will return tomorrow?’

In fact, dependent clauses normally precede the verb only under special circumstances, such as when the clause is topicalized, or contains within it a constituent which is topicalized or focused. Compare the examples below: (9.56), where the dependent clause is postposed, represents the most neutral order. In (9.57), the dependent clause is topicalized, and so precedes the verb. Likewise in (9.58), the dependent clause contains a clitic pronoun (*ne*) which refers back to the preposed topic of the clause (the latter marked with *aunme*; see §9.2.2, §10.2.3). Finally, in (9.59), the dependent clause is fronted because it contains a focused constituent—specifically, the interrogative element *emi* ‘when’, which scopes over the entire sentence, turning it into a content question (see §6.7.1, §9.3.2). (Notice that in the sentences where the dependent clause precedes the verb, the noun phrase *Elimna* has been postposed. With verbs of thinking or saying, there is a tendency for the dependent clause complement to occur on the opposite side of the verb from its other arguments, perhaps so as to make sentences with dependent clauses easier to process.)

(9.56) *Elimna opa pyie elohfoi nioktatà*
 Elim.LOC think.IPV child.NOM tomorrow return.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘Elim thinks that the children will return tomorrow’

(9.57) *Pyie elohfoi nioktatà ytapi opa Elimna*
 child.NOM tomorrow return.DEP.PL.NOM truly think.IPV Elim.LOC
 ‘That the children will return tomorrow, Elim definitely thinks (so)’

(9.58) *Pyi aunme, ne elohfoi nioktatà opa Elimna*
 child if.INST 3aNOM tomorrow return.DEP.PL.NOM think.IPV Elim.LOC
 ‘As for the children, Elim thinks that they will return tomorrow’

(9.59) *Pyie emi nioktatà òpan Elimna?*
 child.NOM when return.DEP.PL.NOM think.IPV.QU Elim.LOC
 ‘When does Elim think that the children will return?’

9.3 Special clause types

Having reviewed word order in basic clauses, I consider certain clause types and special constructions that require additional discussion. In §9.3.1 I introduce the copula *he* and discuss different types of copular clauses. The remaining subsections provide an overview of various speech act types: in §9.3.2 I discuss the formation of questions, while §9.3.3 deals with imperatives, and §9.3.4 with direct versus indirect quotation.

9.3.1 Copular sentences

When a noun phrase forms the main predicate of a clause, it can combine with the COPULA *he*, corresponding to ‘be’ in English. The copula immediately follows the predicate noun phrase, which may be unmarked for case (§4.6), or marked for one of the oblique cases (§4.5):

(9.60) *Sakiale mo suhpa he*
 Sakial.NOM 1sRDAT brother be:IPV
 ‘Sakial is my brother’

(9.61) *Halmà totsatna he*
 book.NOM table.LOC be:IPV
 ‘The book is on the table’

The Okuna copula has a much more limited distribution than its English counterpart. In English, ‘be’ is used to form predicates not just from noun phrases (‘Sakial is a doctor’), but also from adjective phrases (‘Sakial is tall’). In Okuna, however, ‘adjectives’ pattern as a subclass of verbs, and form predicates without the need for a copula: e.g., *Sakiale pata* ‘Sakial is tall’.

The copula *he* inflects for tense/aspect/mood and polarity (§7.4) and number agreement (§7.2), and can combine with the aspectual and modal suffixes discussed in §7.5 and §7.7.1, as well as the non-finite and nominalizing morphology discussed in chapter 10. In this respect it behaves as a verb (specifically, a Class I verb; cf. §4.4.1). However, *he* has an irregular conjugation, and only makes certain aspectual distinctions: perfective and progressive forms do not occur. Below is the complete tense/aspect/mood/polarity and agreement paradigm for the copula, as it occurs in main clauses. Note that, as a Class I verb, *he* can take at most one plural agreement suffix, either the topic plural marker *-t* (PL) or the nominative plural marker *-ua* (NPL).

	POSITIVE			NEGATIVE		
	SG	PL	NPL	SG	PL	NPL
IMPERFECT	<i>he</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>heua</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>hot</i>	<i>houa</i>
PERFECT	<i>heu</i>	<i>heut</i>	<i>heua</i>	<i>hou</i>	<i>hout</i>	<i>houa</i>
PAST IMPERFECT	<i>nka</i>	<i>nkāt</i>	<i>nkaua</i>	<i>hunka</i>	<i>hunkāt</i>	<i>hunkaua</i>
PAST PERFECT	<i>heunka</i>	<i>heunkāt</i>	<i>heunkaua</i>	<i>hounka</i>	<i>hounkāt</i>	<i>hounkaua</i>
IMPERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>heike</i>	<i>heikit</i>	<i>heikeua</i>	<i>hoike</i>	<i>hoikit</i>	<i>hoikeua</i>
PERFECT CONDITIONAL	<i>heuke</i>	<i>heukīt</i>	<i>heukeua</i>	<i>heuoike</i>	<i>heuoikit</i>	<i>heuoikeua</i>

Notice the vowel alternation whereby *he* becomes *hi-* when the agreement suffix *-t* is attached. *He* also becomes *hi-* when it combines with the question marker *-n*:

(9.62) *Halmà totsatna hin?*
 book.NOM table.LOC be:IPV.QU
 ‘Is the book is on the table?’

In addition, the copula takes the form *hi-* when it combines with an aspectual or modal suffix (with lowering of the suffix vowel when the latter is high), e.g.:

-ihp hiehpa ‘intend to be’
-ot hiota ‘continue to be’
-t hita ‘begin to be, become’
-uh hioha ‘want to be’
-yip hiyipa ‘able to be’

The copula also has an irregular conjugation in dependent clauses (§10.2), and in participial clauses (§10.3). The dependent and participial forms of the copula are given in the following tables:

	IMPERFECT			PERFECT		
	SG	PL	NPL	SG	PL	NPL
DEP	<i>ha</i>	<i>hata</i>	<i>haua</i>	<i>heua</i>	<i>heuata</i>	<i>heuaua</i>
DEP:NEG	<i>hu</i>	<i>huta</i>	<i>houa</i>	<i>heuo</i>	<i>heuota</i>	<i>heuoua</i>
DEP:SBJ	<i>hi</i>	<i>hita</i>	<i>heua</i>	<i>heue</i>	<i>heueta</i>	<i>heueua</i>
DEP:SBJ:NEG	<i>hoi</i>	<i>hoita</i>	<i>hoia</i>	<i>heuoi</i>	<i>heuoita</i>	<i>heuoia</i>

	IMPERFECT			PERFECT		
	SG	PL	NPL	SG	PL	NPL
PT	<i>hi</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>heia</i>	<i>heue</i>	<i>heuet</i>	<i>heueia</i>
PT:NEG	<i>hu</i>	<i>hut</i>	<i>houa</i>	<i>heuo</i>	<i>heuot</i>	<i>heuoua</i>
PT:SBJ	<i>hai</i>	<i>hait</i>	<i>haia</i>	<i>heuai</i>	<i>heuaait</i>	<i>heuaia</i>
PT:SBJ:NEG	<i>hau</i>	<i>haut</i>	<i>haua</i>	<i>heuai</i>	<i>heuaait</i>	<i>heuaia</i>

The copula appears in three types of predication structures. In the first type, the copula combines with a bare noun phrase—i.e., a noun phrase which does not take any case marking—to form a predicate denoting an individual or class of individuals. This predicate in turn takes a nominative case-marked theme noun phrase as its argument, which may (but need not) function as the topic of the clause. Examples of this construction are given below. (Concerning (9.64), note that colour words pattern as nouns in Okuna—*hemak* is literally ‘grey one’ or ‘thing which is grey’—and thus require the copula in order to form predicates.)

(9.63) *Koin nin so kuna hit*
 person those:NOM 13RDAT friend be:IPV.PL
 ‘Those people are our friends’

(9.64) *Sieme moheu hemak nka*
 sky.NOM cloud.ABL grey:one be:IPV:PST
 ‘The sky was grey with clouds’

When the copular predicate is negated, the predicate noun phrase is preceded by the negative marker *ntse* (or some other particle incorporating negation, such as *ntsilas* ‘not only’, *ntseima* ‘no longer’, *ntsemi* ‘never’, etc.), and the negative form of the copula is used:

(9.65) *Koin nin ntse so kuna hot*
 person those:NOM NEG 13RDAT friend be:IPV:NEG.PL
 ‘Those people are not our friends’

(9.66) *Tehefoi sieme ntseima moheu hemak hunka*
 presently sky.NOM no:longer cloud.ABL grey:one be:IPV:PST:NEG
 ‘After a while the sky was no longer grey with clouds’

In non-past tense main clauses the copula is very often omitted, leaving just the noun phrase, unless the copula is required to carry number agreement or host one of the modal and aspectual suffixes discussed in §7.5 and §7.7.1. Compare the examples below. Here, *he* and *ho* are optional, and typically left out, while their past tense and plural counterparts are not.

(9.67) *Sakiale mo kuna (he)*
 Sakial.NOM 1SRDAT friend be:IPV
 ‘Sakial is my friend’

(9.68) *Sakiale ntse mo kuna (ho)*
 Sakial.NOM NEG 1SRDAT friend be:IPV
 ‘Sakial is not my friend’

(9.69) *Sakiale mo kuna nka*
 Sakial.NOM 1SRDAT friend be:IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial was my friend’

(9.70) *Sakial ka Elime mo kuna hit*
 Sakial and Elim.NOM 1SRDAT friend be:IPV.PL
 ‘Sakial and Elim are my friends’

The copula is also overt in the following examples, where it is needed to host the modal suffix *-uh* and the telic inchoative suffix *-t*, respectively:

(9.71) *Sakialna mo kuna hioha*
 Sakial.LOC 1SRDAT friend be.want.IPV
 ‘Sakial wants to be my friend’

(9.72) *Sakiale mo kuna hityi*
 Sakial.NOM 1SRDAT friend be.TINC.PV
 ‘Sakial became my friend’ (lit. ‘began to be my friend’)

An important condition on copula deletion is that the predicate containing the copula must denote an inherent attribute of the theme, one which is integral to the theme and/or resistant to change. If the predicate instead denotes a non-integral property of the theme, the copula is never omitted, even when it is not needed to host any verb suffixes. Compare the examples below. Being grey is a more-or-less permanent property of the dog’s coat, but a transitory property of the sky: hence the copula is normally omitted in (9.73) but remains overt in (9.74).

(9.73) *Ikena luane hemak (he)*
 dog.LOC coat.NOM grey:one be:IPV
 ‘The dog’s coat is grey’

(9.74) *Sieme hemak he kotsim hialò*
 sky.NOM grey:one be:IPV morning today
 ‘The sky is grey this morning’

When the copula is omitted, questions are formed by adding the particle *ne* to the end of the sentence:

(9.75) *Ku miò ne?*
 2NOM who QU
 ‘Who are you (sg)?’

(9.76) *Sakiale kuo kuna ne?*
 Sakial.NOM 2RDAT friend QU
 ‘Is Sakial your friend?’

Besides combining with an unmarked noun phrase to form a predicate, the copula can combine with a noun phrase marked for one of the oblique cases, as shown below. Here the predicate identifies the location, possessor, beneficiary, etc., of the nominative-marked theme argument. Note that the copula is never omitted when the predicate noun phrase is in one of the oblique cases.

(9.77) *Nilò sane hutana he*
 net.NOM red basket.LOC be:IPV
 ‘The net is in the red basket’

(9.78) *Kamale Sakialme hin?*
 knife.NOM Sakial.INST be:IPV.QU
 ‘Does Sakial have the knife?’ (lit. ‘Is the knife with Sakial?’)

(9.79) *Halma tan ntse ikoi ho*
 book that:NOM NEG 2sALL be:IPV:NEG
 ‘That book is not for you’ or ‘That book is not yours’

Finally, the copula is used to form existential clauses, where it corresponds to English ‘there is...’. Here the copula combines with an unmarked noun phrase (denoting the entity whose existence is being asserted) preceded by a noun phrase in the locative case (denoting the location). This same construction can also be used to express a possession relation, but with an instrumental noun phrase (denoting the possessor) in place of the locative noun phrase. The copula may not be omitted in this construction.

- (9.80) *Totsatna es halma he*
 table.LOC one book be:IPV
 ‘There is a book on the table’
- (9.81) *Totsatna ntse halma ho*
 table.LOC NEG book be:IPV:NEG
 ‘There are no books on the table’
- (9.82) *Sakialme es halma nka*
 Sakial.INST one book be:IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial had a book’ (lit. ‘There was a book with Sakial’)

9.3.2 Questions

Questions can be divided into four broad classes, along two dimensions: YES/NO QUESTIONS versus CONTENT QUESTIONS (also known as WH QUESTIONS), and DIRECT QUESTIONS versus INDIRECT QUESTIONS. In a direct yes/no question, such as ‘Are the children playing?’, the speaker presents a complete proposition and solicits confirmation or denial from the addressee. In a direct content question, such as ‘Who is playing?’, the speaker presents an incomplete proposition and asks for the addressee to complete it. Indirect yes/no and content questions function as the complements of predicates with meanings like ‘ask’ and ‘wonder’ (e.g., ‘I wonder if/whether the children are playing’, ‘I wonder who is playing’). In this section I summarize how these different types of questions are formed in Okuna.

Direct yes/no questions

To form a direct yes/no question, the unstressed particle *ne* (glossed QU) is usually added to a main clause. This particle immediately follows the verb. (Other question particles can be used in place of *ne* under certain circumstances; these are discussed in §8.2.2.) As the examples below show, the word order in a direct yes/no question is the same as in the corresponding statement. Note that direct yes/no questions are pronounced with a high pitch on the syllable bearing sentence-level stress, followed by a drop to a mid-level or slightly rising pitch extending to the end of the sentence (statements, by contrast, end in a falling pitch contour).

- (9.83) *Lhatima ilaliat*
 children.ERG PRG.play.IPV.PL
 ‘The children are playing’
- (9.84) *Lhatima ilaliat ne?*
 children.ERG PRG.play.IPV.PL QU
 ‘Are the children playing?’

When *ne* comes after a verb ending in a vowel, it undergoes contraction with the verb and surfaces as the bound element *-n*. This is illustrated below. Note that attaching *-n* to the verb does not affect stress assignment (see §3.4): if the verb is stressed on the penultimate syllable without *-n*, then penultimate stress is retained when *-n* is added. In such cases, the stressed vowel is marked with a diacritic, as shown in (9.88).

- (9.85) *Moihama elohka kihoin siehpyi*
 girl.ERG yesterday letter.DAT write.PV
 ‘The girl wrote the letter yesterday’

(9.86) *Moihama elohka kihoin siehpyin?*
 girl.ERG yesterday letter.DAT write.PV.QU
 ‘Did the girl write the letter yesterday?’

(9.87) *Sakialma hutai itapa*
 Sakial.ERG basket.DAT PRG.weave.IPV
 ‘Sakial is weaving a basket’

(9.88) *Sakialma hutai itàpan?*
 Sakial.ERG basket.DAT PRG.weave.IPV.QU
 ‘Is Sakial weaving a basket?’

As in non-questions, word order in questions is sensitive to discourse structure. If a particular constituent in the clause is the focus of the questioning, that constituent will generally appear immediately before the verb, following constituents denoting information which the speaker takes for granted. Compare the examples below, which differ in the order of elements preceding the verb: (9.89) might be used if the speaker presupposes that Elim sent the letter, and wants to know whether it happened yesterday as opposed to some other day; (9.90) might be used if the speaker presupposes that Elim sent something yesterday, and wants to know if it was the letter; and (9.91) might be used if the speaker presupposes that someone sent the letter yesterday, and wants to know if it was Elim.

(9.89) *Elimma kihune elohka lastyin?*
 Elim.ERG letter.NOM yesterday send.PV.QU
 ‘Did Elim send the letter YESTERDAY?’

(9.90) *Elimma elohka kihune lastyin?*
 Elim.ERG yesterday letter.NOM send.PV.QU
 ‘Did Elim send THE LETTER yesterday?’

(9.91) *Kihune elohka Elimma lastyin?*
 letter.NOM yesterday Elim.ERG send.PV.QU
 ‘Was it ELIM who sent the letter yesterday?’

Direct content questions

Direct content questions are formed in the same way as direct yes/no questions, using the question particle *ne* (or *-n*). Here, however, the preverbal focus position is occupied by an indefinite correlative such as *mà* ‘what’, *miò* ‘who’, or *emi* ‘when’ (cf. §6.7.1), or by a larger noun phrase containing an indefinite correlative. Okuna content questions differ in this respect from their English counterparts, where the WH-phrase normally moves to the front of the sentence. Compare the yes/no questions in (9.89)–(9.91) above with the related content questions below:

(9.92) *Elimma kihune emi lastyin?*
 Elim.ERG letter.NOM when send.PV.QU
 ‘When did Elim send the letter?’

(9.93) *Elimma elohka mà lastyin?*
 Elim.ERG yesterday what:NOM send.PV.QU
 ‘What did Elim send yesterday?’

(9.94) *Kihune elohka miohma lastyin?*
 letter.NOM yesterday who.ERG send.PV.QU
 ‘Who sent the letter yesterday?’

Note that because indefinite correlatives can be used either as interrogatives (‘who’) or as simple indefinite quantifiers (‘someone/anyone’), the above sentences are potentially ambiguous between a content question reading and a yes/no question reading. For example, given the proper context, (9.94) can mean ‘Did someone send the letter yesterday?’. In actual practice, these readings can usually be distinguished by intonation. When (9.94) is a yes/no question, *lastyin* is pronounced with a level or slightly rising pitch on the second syllable. When it is a content question, *lastyin* is pronounced with a falling pitch on the second syllable.

Additional examples of content questions are given below. In these examples the indefinite correlative is part of a larger interrogative phrase: *yhkuna miò* ‘which guest(s)’, *mekul miantè* ‘how many bowls’, *mioha kotu* ‘whose house’, and *huta mà* ‘which basket’.

(9.95) *Kima yhkuna mioha eima ipeutat ne?*
 12ERG guest which.ALL still PRG.wait.IPV.PL QU
 ‘Which guest(s) are we still waiting for?’

(9.96) *Na mekul miantè ketyit ne?*
 3aERG bowl how:many:NOM bring:here.PV.PL QU
 ‘How many bowls did they bring?’

(9.97) *Mioha kotò euòlhan?*
 who.ALL house.NOM be:over:there.IPV.QU
 ‘Whose house is over there?’

(9.98) *Ma kepehotse huta mai elhihpàuan?*
 1sERG acorn.NOM basket what.DAT put:in.intended.IPV.NPL.QU
 ‘Which basket am I supposed to put the acorns in?’

When the indefinite correlative is embedded inside a dependent clause (see §10.2.1), that dependent clause precedes the verb in the main clause. This is in contrast to the usual order, where dependent clauses are postponed to the end of the sentence (§9.2.3). Compare the examples below:

(9.99) *Sakialna opa Elimma kamale napei auoktià*
 Sakial.LOC think.IPV Elim.ERG knife.NOM daughter.DAT PV.give.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial thinks that Elim gave the knife to (his) daughter’

(9.100) *Elimma kamale mioi auoktià òpan Sakialna?*
 Elim.ERG knife.NOM who.DAT PV.give.DEP.NOM think.IPV.QU Sakial.LOC
 ‘Who does Sakial think that Elim gave the knife to?’

Note that when the addressee is the topic of a yes/no or content question, the second person clitic pronoun may be omitted. However, if the topic has a plural referent and would trigger plural agreement, the verb carries the appropriate agreement marking (§7.2) even when the pronoun is dropped, as shown in (9.103).

(9.101) *Kihune elohka lastyin?*
 letter.NOM yesterday send.PV.QU
 ‘Did you (sg) send the letter yesterday?’

(9.102) *Paloi emi niòktan?*
 village.DAT when return.IPV.QU
 ‘When will you (sg) return to the village?’

(9.103) *Paloi emi nioktat ne?*
 village.DAT when return.IPV.PL QU
 ‘When will you (pl) return to the village?’

Indirect questions

Indirect questions in Okuna take the form of a clause headed by a verb in the dependent form (§10.2), followed by the element *aun* (here glossed ‘if’; see §10.2.3). To form an indirect yes/no question, the verb takes the dependent subjunctive form. Here *aun* corresponds to ‘if’ or ‘whether’ in English. Verbs which select indirect questions as complements include *nesapa* ‘ask’, *untsapa* ‘wonder’, and *iona* ‘know’. As the following examples show, the indirect question is normally postposed to the right of the selecting verb.

(9.104) *Ma untsapa elohfoi sù ekahpi aun*
 1sERG wonder.IPV tomorrow rain SBJ.fall.DEP:SBJ if
 ‘I wonder if/whether it will rain tomorrow’

(9.105) *Ma Sakiail nesapyi Motlama kihoin uta iosiehpi aun*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT ask.PV Motla.ERG letter.DAT already SBJ:PF.write.DEP:SBJ if
 ‘I asked Sakial if/whether Motla had written the letter yet’

Aun may also form indirect content questions by combining with a dependent clause containing an indefinite correlative, as illustrated below. Notice that in indirect content questions, *aun* does not correspond directly to any element in the English translation. When the content question refers to an actual event or state of affairs, the verb is in the dependent indicative form rather than the dependent subjunctive:

(9.106) *Ma untsapa Motlama mai isiehpa aun*
 1sERG wonder.IPV Motla.ERG what.DAT PRG.write.DEP if
 ‘I wonder what Motla is writing’

(9.107) *Ma Sakiail nesapyi Motlama kihoin emi asiehpa aun*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT ask.PV Motla.ERG letter.DAT when PV.write.DEP if
 ‘I asked Sakial when Motla wrote the letter’

Additional examples are given below. Sentence (9.108) shows a direct yes/no question which in turn contains an indirect content question. In (9.110), the verb in the indirect question is negated, and appears in the negative form of the dependent indicative, marked with the suffix *-i*.

(9.108) *Inkuo etsyit ne ihà miei ita aun?*
 3aERG.2RDAT say.PV.PL QU woman.NOM where.DAT PRG.go.DEP if
 ‘Did they tell you where the woman is/was going?’

(9.109) *Iman miono kimi inat ymiohpa ihisata aun*
 1sLOC NEG.know.IPV:NEG child those:ERG why PRG.cry.DEP.PL if
 ‘I don’t know why those children are crying’

(9.110) *Na nesapyit ma ymiohpa mutoi ntsuta utoku aun*
 3aERG ask.PV.PL 1sERG why fence.DAT not:yet PF.repair.DEP:NEG if
 ‘They asked why I hadn’t fixed the fence yet’

When the indirect content question refers to a hypothetical event or state of affairs, the verb appears in the dependent subjunctive, as in (9.111). (This sentence is actually ambiguous: because the verb is in the dependent subjunctive, it is also possible to interpret it as an indirect yes/no question with the correlative *mà* functioning as an indefinite element: ‘It’s not clear if there’s anything to be done’.)

(9.111) *Ntsilo mà esuki aun*
 NEG.clear.IPV:NEG what SBJ.do.DEP:SBJ if
 ‘It’s not clear what to do’ or ‘It’s not clear what one would/should do’

Note that indirect questions pattern like noun phrases, insofar as *aun* can take a case ending. In the examples below, for instance, *aun* takes the allative case ending *-a*. The form *aina*, meaning roughly ‘about’ or ‘about whether’, is used with verbs of thinking and saying to indicate a question which is being debated:

(9.112) *Sa ikyitsampauot elohfoi elakieta aina*
 13ERG PRG.talk:about.ACT.IPV.RECIP.PL tomorrow SBJ.hunt.DEP:SBJ.PL if.ALL
 ‘We’re talking about whether to go hunting tomorrow’

(9.113) *Na sokastyiot ineu miò anasohta aina*
 3aERG argue.PV.RECIP.PL 3apABL who REL.strong.COMP.DEP if.ALL
 ‘They argued about which of them was stronger’

Finally, note the demonstrative element *tiaun* ‘if so, if that’. This element forms indirect questions from which everything except a focused constituent has been elided. Often the focused constituent is an indefinite correlative, as in (9.115)–(9.117), in which case *tiaun* forms what is called a SLUICING construction.

(9.114) *Na etsyi no miò utsokuà; miono Elime tiaun*
 3aERG say.PV 3aRDAT who:NOM PF.meet.DEP.NOM NEG.know.IPV:NEG Elim.NOM if:that
 ‘She said that she just met someone; (I) don’t know if (it was) Elim’

(9.115) *Sakiail laisne miò utsokua, le miono miò tiaun*
 Sakial.DAT just who:NOM PF.meet.IPV but NEG.know.IPV:NEG who:NOM if:that
 ‘Sakial just met someone, but (I) don’t know who’

(9.116) *Imè halmà laisne uskoha, le miono miohma tiaun*
 1sALL book.NOM just PF.steal.IPV but NEG.know.IPV:NEG who.ERG if:that
 ‘My book was just stolen, but (I) don’t know by whom’ or ‘... but I don’t know who did it’

(9.117) *Sakialna iohiyina le, le miono ymiohpa tiaun*
 Sakial.LOC PRG.sad.IPV it:seems, but NEG.know.IPV:NEG why if:that
 ‘Sakial seems to be sad, but I don’t know why’

9.3.3 Imperatives

Imperative sentences, which express commands or wishes, are formed with the verb in the non-past imperfect form, discussed in §7.4.2. Examples of positive and negative imperatives are given below. Since the non-past imperfect is also used to express future tense, we might paraphrase these examples more literally as ‘You will wash your hands’ and ‘You will not touch the pot’.

(9.118) *Ko temie paua!*
 2ERG hands wash.IPV
 ‘Wash (your) hands!’

(9.119) *Ko pankotoi ntse silh teuno, eima ikaila ha!*
 2ERG cooking:pot.DAT NEG finger put.IPV:NEG still PRG.hot.IPV in:fact
 ‘Don’t touch the pot, (it’s) still hot!’

Notice that both of these examples, the imperative clause includes an overt second person clitic pronoun. As in English, the second person argument of an imperative clause can be omitted, as in (9.120) below. However, omission of this argument is less common in Okuna than it is in English. In particular, the second person argument is typically overt when it is part of a clitic cluster, as in (9.121), and necessarily overt when it is being focussed, as in (9.122). In the latter case it takes the form of a full (non-clitic) pronoun.

(9.120) *Temie paua!*
 hands wash.IPV
 ‘Wash (your) hands!’

(9.121) *Iko amai uktia!*
 3iNOM.2ERG 1sDAT give.IPV
 ‘You give it to me!’

(9.122) *Hi ikò suka!*
 3iNOM 2sERG do.IPV
 ‘YOU do it!’ (or ‘It’s you who must do it!’)

Note that even when the second person pronoun is omitted in an imperative, it still triggers number agreement as necessary. When the second person argument is plural, the verb carries the appropriate agreement suffix even when the pronoun is left out. For instance, the examples above would all be used when addressing a single individual, whereas (9.123) and (9.124) below would be used when addressing two or more individuals. Here the verb takes the plural topic agreement suffix *-t* regardless of whether *ko* is included as an overt topic or not.

(9.123) *Ko temie pauat!*
 2ERG hands wash.IPV.PL
 ‘You wash (your (pl)) hands!’

(9.124) *Temie pauat!*
 hands wash.IPV.PL
 ‘Wash (your (pl)) hands!’

Imperative sentences are often marked as such by adding the emphatic particle *na* or *nem* after the verb. *Na* (glossed IMP) is used when the speaker is issuing a command or expressing a strong wish that a particular event come about, while *nem* is used when the speaker is suggesting a possible course of action. The contrast is illustrated below:

(9.125) *Losak anohte teunaua na hauait*
 firewood more put.IPV.NPL IMP fire.DAT
 ‘Put more wood on the fire!’

(9.126) *Losak anohte teunaua nem hauait*
 firewood more put.IPV.NPL why:not fire.DAT
 ‘Why don’t (you) put more wood on the fire?’

The particle *iak* occurs in place of *na* in negative commands:

(9.127) *Ku mankilho iak*
 2NOM NEG.leave.IPV:NEG NEG:IMP
 ‘Don’t leave!’

Imperatives formed with *na*, *iak*, or *nem* are regarded as informal, and sound rather brusque when addressed to someone with whom one is unfamiliar, or to whom one is expected to show respect or deference. To express a polite command or request, the verb-like element *eskuke* ‘please’ is used in place of an emphatic particle.² *Eskuke* immediately follows the main verb, which appears in the converb form (suffixes with *-e*). When the main verb takes one or more plural core arguments, the number agreement suffixes attach not to the verb itself, but to *eskuke* (which takes the form *eskuki-* before a consonant: e.g., *eskuke + -ma* ‘DPL’ > *eskukima*).

²*Eskuke* may have originated as a reduced form of *eske ukia* ‘may (you) perform a request’, or *eske uktia* ‘may (you) grant a request’ (*eske* ‘request’).

- (9.128) *Temie paue eskuke*
 hands wash.CV please
 ‘Please wash (your) hands’
- (9.129) *Temie paue eskukit*
 hands wash.CV please.PL
 ‘Please wash (your (pl)) hands’
- (9.130) *Huiloie lime eskukeua*
 window.NOM open.CV please.NPL
 ‘Please open the windows’ (addressed to one person)
- (9.131) *Huiloie lime eskukeuat*
 window.NOM open.CV please.NPL.PL
 ‘Please open the windows’ (addressed to two or more people)

To form polite prohibitives, *eskuke* combines with a verb in the negative participial form, suffixed with *-u*:

- (9.132) *Pankotoi ntse silh teunu eskuke*
 cooking:pot.DAT NEG finger put.PT:NEG please
 ‘Please don’t touch the pot’
- (9.133) *Huiloie malimu eskukeuat*
 window.NOM NEG.open.PT:NEG please.NPL.PL
 ‘Please don’t the windows’

Note that imperatives in Okuna can have a first person or third person topic in place of a second person topic, in which case it is more or less obligatory that the clause include some overt imperative marking (either a particle or a form of *eskuke*). Imperatives with first or third person topics are usually translated with a construction involving ‘let’ or ‘may (it be that)’:

- (9.134) *Kim etat na!*
 12NOM go.IPV.PL IMP
 ‘Let’s go!’
- (9.135) *Inkue aleut uktiat na!*
 3aERG.2DAT help give.IPV.PL IMP
 ‘Let them help you!’ or ‘May it be that they’ll help you!’
- (9.136) *Kimima pankotoi ntse silh teuno iak!*
 baby.ERG cooking:pot.DAT NEG finger put.IPV:NEG NEG:IMP
 ‘Don’t let the baby touch the pot!’
- (9.137) *Me takan nkilhe eskuke*
 1sNOM now leave.CV please
 ‘Please let me leave now’

9.3.4 Direct quotation

With verbs of saying such as *etsa* ‘say, tell’, the propositional content of the saying event (i.e., what is said) is usually expressed by a dependent clause, functioning as the nominative case-marked argument of the verb (cf. §10.2.1). Likewise verbs such as *nesapa* ‘ask’ can take a dependent clause headed by *aun* ‘if, whether’ (cf. §9.3.2, §10.2.3) to express the content of the question.

(9.138) *Sakialma etsyi inè aleut itiuhà*
 Sakial.ERG say.PV 3aALL help PRG.need.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial said that he needed help’

(9.139) *Sakialma nesapyi ikimna elohfoi ahotsin enalhihpi aun*
 Sakial.ERG ask.PV 12LOC tomorrow corn SBJ.plant.intend.DEP:SBJ if
 ‘Sakial asked if we intend(ed) to plant corn tomorrow’

In the examples above, the person uttering the sentence is reporting the content of what Sakial said or asked (indirect quotation), rather than Sakial’s exact words (direct quotation). To express direct quotation, the construction illustrated below is used. Here the direct quotation, which takes the form of a main clause, follows the verb of asking or saying and is introduced by the quotative particle *ia* (glossed QUOT):

(9.140) *Sakialma etsyi ia, Imè aleut itiuha*
 Sakial.ERG say.PV QUOT 1sALL help PRG.need.IPV
 ‘Sakial said, “I need help”’

(9.141) *Sakialma nesapyi ia, Ikuna elohfoi ahotsin nalhihpan?*
 Sakial.ERG ask.PV QUOT 2pLOC tomorrow corn plant.intend.IPV.QU
 ‘Sakial asked, “Do you intend to plant corn tomorrow?”’

In informal speech and writing, the verb of saying or asking may be omitted in this construction, leaving just the quotative particle preceded by a noun phrase in the ergative case giving the identity of the speaker.

(9.142) *Sakialma ia, Imè aleut itiuha*
 Sakial.ERG QUOT 1sALL help PRG.need.IPV
 ‘“I need help”, (said) Sakial’

The quotative particle need not be used with a complete sentence, but can also precede any word or phrase to indicate that it is being cited or quoted rather than used to refer:

(9.143) *Ma ia hiò etsyi*
 1sERG QUOT yes say.PV
 ‘I said yes’

This particle is also used to introduce a proper name in one of the two appositive constructions found in Okuna. In appositives a proper name (such as *Elim*) is juxtaposed with a descriptive noun phrase (such as *mo suhpa* ‘my brother’) which picks out the same individual. In Okuna the proper name can either precede or follow the descriptive noun phrase. When the name precedes, there is no special marking: e.g., *Elim mo suhpa* ‘my brother Elim’ (lit. ‘Elim my brother’). When the name follows the descriptive noun phrase, it is introduced by the quotative particle *ia*: e.g., *mo suhpa ia Elim* ‘my brother Elim’. Note that in the former construction, any case marking appears on the final word of the descriptive noun phrase; while in the latter construction the case marker is repeated on both the descriptive noun phrase and the name. For example, ‘with my brother Elim’ is *Elim mo suhpame* (with the instrumental ending *-me* attaching to *mo suhpa*) or *mo suhpame ia Elimme* (with *-me* attaching to both *mo suhpa* and *Elim*). Further examples of the appositive *ia* construction include:

(9.144) *Mo kasuhpà ia Elime itskana etsuleia elohfoi*
 1sRDAT cousin.NOM QUOT Elim.NOM PRG.arrive.IPV SBJ.visit.DEP:SBJ.ALL tomorrow
 ‘My cousin Elim is coming to visit tomorrow’

(9.145) *Euolhna es koinma ia Elimma tsuhpa*
 over:there.LOC one person.ERG QUOT Elim.ERG live.IPV
 ‘Over there lives a man (named) Elim’

- (9.146) *Takisma ia Tenmotlaima minta mà èkpan?*
 name.ERG QUOT Tenmotlai.ERG meaning what carry.IPV.QU
 ‘What does the name ‘Tenmotlai’ mean?’
 lit. ‘What meaning does the name ‘Tenmotlai’ carry?’

9.4 Valence

In this section I discuss clause structure with respect to alternations in VALENCE—that is, in the number of overt core arguments in a clause. In §9.4.1 I discuss valence reduction and counterparts to the English passive construction. In §9.4.2 I discuss causative constructions. And in §9.4.3 and §9.4.4 I discuss reflexive and reciprocal clauses, respectively.

9.4.1 Decreasing valence: Equivalents of the passive

The passive construction in English and other languages fulfills various functions. It enables the patient noun phrase to be ‘foregrounded’ (made more salient), and the agent noun phrase to be ‘backgrounded’, or even be omitted from the clause if its referent is unknown or unimportant. In some cases, passivization may also express stativity, emphasizing the complete(d)ness of the action.

Okuna does not have a passive construction, so the pragmatic effects of passivization must be achieved in other ways. For example, foregrounding of the patient and backgrounding of the agent may be achieved simply by making the patient into the topic of the clause (so long as it is definite), in which case it will precede the agent noun phrase. Compare the following examples. In (9.147) the agent is the topic, while in (9.148) the patient is the topic. The former sentence would be used in a discourse context where the hunter is being discussed, while the latter would be used if the deer were the focus of attention. To highlight the fact that the patient is more ‘topical’ than the agent in (9.148), we may choose to translate this sentence using an English passive construction, even though it differs from (9.147) only in word order.

- (9.147) *Lakiakama hastein tahyi*
 hunter.ERG deer.DAT kill.PV
 ‘The hunter killed the deer’
- (9.148) *Hastein lakiakama tahyi*
 deer.DAT hunter.ERG kill.PV
 ‘The deer was killed by the hunter’

Suppression of the agent is achieved simply by dropping the ergative-marked noun phrase from the sentence, as in (9.149). No special passive morphology is required here. That the deer is the patient of the action is shown by the fact that *hastein* takes dative case marking (if the deer had been doing the killing, rather than being killed, it would have appeared in the ergative case: *hasteinma*).

- (9.149) *Hastein tahyi*
 deer.DAT kill.PV
 ‘The deer was killed’ or ‘Someone killed the deer’

Below are additional examples illustrating the optionality of ergative arguments. Notice that when the ergative argument is absent, the sentence is often ambiguous between a passive-like interpretation, where the action has an implicit agent (‘The door was closed’), and a middle-like interpretation, where there is no agent at all and the event is viewed as spontaneous (‘The door closed’).

- (9.150) *Mikalma hitole mukyi*
 boy.ERG door.NOM close.PV
 ‘The boy closed the door’

(9.151) *Hitole mikalma mukyi*
 door.NOM boy.ERG close.PV
 ‘The door was closed by the boy’

(9.152) *Hitole mukyi*
 door.NOM close.PV
 ‘The door (was) closed’

(9.153) *Hauatma lotsain kiospyi*
 fire.ERG wood.DAT burn.PV
 ‘The fire burned up the wood’

(9.154) *Lotsain hauatma kiospyi*
 wood.DAT fire.ERG burn.PV
 ‘The wood burned up in the fire’

(9.155) *Lotsain kiospyi*
 wood.DAT burn.PV
 ‘The wood (was) burned up’

Suppression of the ergative argument is just a special case of a more general pattern in Okuna. In principle, any core argument can be omitted from a clause if its referent is unknown or unimportant to the discourse. Consider the pairs of sentences below, for example. In the second sentence of each pair, the non-ergative argument is left out, yielding the equivalent of an absolute or antipassive construction in other languages. Again, note that the form of the verb does not change when an argument is omitted.

(9.156) *Na kotò ieutat*
 3aERG house.NOM PRG.clean.TINC.IPV.PL
 ‘They are cleaning the house’

(9.157) *Na ieutat*
 3aERG PRG.clean.TINC.IPV.PL
 ‘They are cleaning’

(9.158) *Motlaua ikema pyie kilhtyi*
 Motla.ALL dog.ERG child.DAT bite.PV
 ‘Motla’s dog bit the child’

(9.159) *Motlaua ikema kilhtyi*
 Motla.ALL dog.ERG bite.PV
 ‘Motla’s dog bit (someone or other)’

It is even possible, in the appropriate context, to omit all core arguments from the clause, leaving just the verb. For example, coming across a patch of scorched earth in a forest clearing, one might remark:

(9.160) *Ekan kiospyi le*
 here:LOC burn.PV apparently
 ‘Someone must have burned something here’
 or ‘Something must have burned here’

Perhaps the closest structural equivalent to a passive is the resultative (RES) construction discussed in §7.5.1. As the examples below illustrate, resultative morphology is added to a Class II or III verb denoting an action to derive a Class I verb expressing the state resulting from that action. In the process, the verb’s ergative argument (if any) is suppressed, while the dative argument (if any) loses its status as a delimiter and appears instead in the locative or allative case:

(9.161) *Kalma kotoi itiespat*
 man.ERG house.DAT PRG.build.IPV.PL
 ‘The men are building the house’

(9.162) *Kotuna tieispa*
 house.LOC build:RES.IPV
 ‘The house is built/finished’

However, even the resultative construction is not fully comparable to the English passive. See §7.5.1 for some discussion on this point.

9.4.2 Increasing valence: Causative constructions

A causative construction is any construction in which an external actor participant directly or indirectly brings about an event: e.g., ‘Sakial made Elim write the letter’ is a causative proposition, where ‘Sakial’ is the external actor (or CAUSER) who brings about the writing event—in this case by compelling a more immediate actor (‘Elim’, the CAUSEE) to carry out the action. Below I discuss some of the ways of expressing causation in Okuna.

Monoclausal causatives

To begin with, any Class III verb which normally describes a spontaneous or self-directed action may be ‘causativized’ simply by adding an actor argument—a noun phrase marked with ergative case—without the need for any special causative marking. The participant denoted by the actor argument is usually understood to be acting directly on the participant denoted by the theme/delimiter argument—that is, physically manipulating it so as to cause it to undergo a change of state or location. Compare the following examples, featuring the Class III verb *uihta*. Although this verb normally expresses a self-directed action (‘sit down’), it can also express an externally-caused action (‘set down’) when an actor argument is included in the clause:

(9.163) *Pyie tsoil uihtyi*
 child.NOM bed.DAT sit:down.PV
 ‘The child sat down on the bed’

(9.164) *Amema pyie tsoil uihtyi*
 mother.ERG child.NOM bed.DAT sit:down.PV
 ‘The mother set the child down on the bed’

Compare also the following examples, featuring the Class III verb *tiausa* ‘fall/drop’:

(9.165) *Palahtà tiausyi*
 tree.NOM fall.PV
 ‘The tree fell’

(9.166) *Kalma palahtà tiausyit*
 man.ERG tree.NOM fall.PV.PL
 ‘The men felled the tree’

Certain Class II verbs show a somewhat different valence alternation. These include *kiompa*, illustrated below, which means ‘run, move quickly’ when used intransitively and ‘chase’ (i.e., cause to move quickly) when used transitively. Here, however, the transitive variant is formed by adding a nominative-marked theme argument denoting a causee, rather than an ergative-marked actor argument denoting a causer.

(9.167) *Ikema ikiompa*
 dog.ERG PRG.run.IPV
 ‘The dog is running’

(9.168) *Ikema sekite ikiompa*
 dog.ERG rat.NOM PRG.run.IPV
 ‘The dog is chasing a rat’

Class I verbs, which are generally stative, cannot take an actor argument at all. However, a Class I verb can be converted into a Class II verb by adding the atelic inchoative suffix *-im* or the telic inchoative suffix *-(e)t* (e.g., *nuha* ‘be cold’ > *enuhima* ‘make/get colder, cool down’, *nuhta* ‘make/get cold’; cf. §7.5.3). These derived verbs are capable of taking an ergative-marked actor argument, as in (9.171), in which case they denote an externally-caused change of state.

(9.169) *Mupatlè ihalhkat*
 clothes.NOM PRG.dry.IPV.PL
 ‘The clothes are dry’

(9.170) *Mupatlè halhketiyit*
 clothes.NOM dry.TINC.PV.PL
 ‘The clothes became dry’ or ‘The clothes dried’

(9.171) *Na mupatlè halhketiyia*
 3aERG clothes.NOM dry.TINC.PV.NPL
 ‘He dried the clothes’ (i.e., caused the clothes to become dry)

Class I verbs denoting an emotion or physical sensation, such as *ohiyina* ‘be sad’, can be converted into Class II verbs using the active suffix *-amp* (§7.5.2). Like verbs derived with *-im* or *-(e)t*, these are capable of taking an actor argument denoting the causer of the emotion/sensation.

(9.172) *Motlana iohiyina*
 Motla.LOC PRG.sad.IPV
 ‘Motla is sad’

(9.173) *Sliahte ità Motlana ohyinampa*
 story that:ERG Motla.LOC sad.ACT.IPV
 ‘That story saddens Motla’ or ‘That story makes Motla sad’

For verbs denoting an emotion or sensation, the *-im* and *-(e)t* causatives tend to imply that the actor is doing something (consciously or unconsciously) to bring about an emotional reaction in the experiencer, whereas the *-amp* causative is used when some characteristic of the actor triggers the emotion, without the actor necessarily having to do anything. For example, ‘X saddens Y, X makes Y sad’ can be expressed using *ohiynta*, *euohiyinama*, or *ohiyinampa*, depending on the intended sense: *ohiynta* means ‘X does something to make Y sad’ and *euohiyinama* means ‘X does something to increase Y’s level of sadness’, whereas *ohiyinampa* has the sense of ‘X inspires sadness in Y’.

Biclausal causatives

A verb cannot have more than one actor argument, and hence a verb cannot take more than one noun phrase marked for ergative case. Consider clauses headed by a Class II or III verb and containing an ergative actor, such as (9.174) and (9.175) :

(9.174) *Kimima ailyi*
 baby.ERG cry.PV
 ‘The baby cried’

- (9.175) *Sakialma kihoin siehpyi*
 Sakial.ERG letter.DAT write.PV
 ‘Sakial wrote the letter’

Sentences like these cannot be causativized simply by adding another ergative noun phrase to express the causer. Suppose we wanted to form a sentence meaning ‘A loud noise caused the baby to cry’: we could not do this by adding the ergative noun phrase *lhonkoma* ‘noise’ to (9.174). **Lhonkoma kimima ailyi* is no more grammatical in Okuna than ‘The noise cried the baby’ is in English: *aila* ‘cry’ cannot combine directly with a causer because its actor argument function has already been filled by *kimi* ‘baby’. The mono-clausal causative construction is unavailable for such verbs.

In order to express an externally-caused action, the Class II/III verb is placed in the dependent indicative form, and the clause containing that verb (marked for nominative case) is selected as the theme argument of a causative verb such as *lohka*, which takes the causer as its ergative argument. This construction, which I will refer to as the BICLAUSAL causative construction, is illustrated in (9.176) and (9.177):

- (9.176) *Lhonkoma lohkyi kimima ailà*
 loud:noise.ERG cause.PV baby.ERG cry.DEP.NOM
 ‘A loud noise made the baby cry’ (more lit. ‘caused the baby[’s] crying’)

- (9.177) *Ma lohkyi Sakialma kihoin siehpà*
 1sERG cause.PV Sakial.ERG letter.DAT write.DEP.NOM
 ‘I made Sakial write the letter’

The biclausal causative construction is available quite generally for expressing external causation of an event. In cases where one has the option of using the biclausal causative construction or simply adding an ergative argument to a clause which does not already have one, the choice between the two depends on how directly the causer is acting on the causee. Consider the examples below, featuring the verb *nkilha* ‘leave, go away’. Both the mono-clausal causative in (9.179) and the biclausal causative in (9.180) describe a situation where Sakial caused the child to leave. In (9.179), however, it is understood that Sakial acted directly on the child to bring about the event, by carrying or leading the child away. In (9.180), by contrast, it is more likely that Sakial acted indirectly—e.g., ordering or persuading the child to leave, tricking the child into leaving, etc.

- (9.178) *Pyie nkilhyi*
 child.NOM leave.PV
 ‘The child went away’

- (9.179) *Sakialma pyie nkilhyi*
 Sakial.ERG child.NOM leave.PV
 ‘Sakial took/led the child away’

- (9.180) *Sakialma lohkyi pyie nkilhà*
 Sakial.ERG cause.PV child.NOM leave.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial made the child leave’ or ‘Sakial got the child to leave’

Note that if the noun phrase denoting the causee is in the nominative or dative case, as in (9.180) above, the verb denoting the caused event may also appear in the converb form, immediately preceding the causative verb (see §10.4 on the converb construction). Hence, (9.181) below is acceptable as an alternative to (9.180). Crucially, this converb construction is not available for causatives like (9.176) or (9.177), where the causee is in the ergative case.

- (9.181) *Sakialma pyie nkilhe lohkyi*
 Sakial.ERG child.NOM leave.CV cause.PV
 ‘Sakial made the child leave’ or ‘Sakial got the child to leave’

In the examples of the biclausal construction seen so far, the causee functions as an argument of the dependent verb. It is also possible for the causee to function as the dative-marked delimiter argument of *lohka*, as illustrated by the examples below (causative verbs like *lohka* belong to Class III). When the causee is an argument of the causative verb, its function within the dependent clause is usually expressed by a missing argument.

(9.182) *Ma Sakiail lohkyi kihoin siehpà*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT cause.PV letter.DAT write.DEP.NOM
 ‘I made Sakial write the letter’

(9.183) *Sakialma pyie lohkyima nkilhatà*
 Sakial.ERG child.DAT cause.PV.DPL leave.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘Sakial made the children leave’

(9.184) *Kimei lhonkoma lohkyi ailà*
 baby.DAT loud:noise.ERG cause.PV cry.DEP.NOM
 ‘A loud noise made the baby cry’

(9.185) *No nkilhe lohkyit*
 3aRDAT leave.CV cause.PV.PL
 ‘They were made to leave’

Lohka is a semantically neutral causative verb, roughly equivalent to ‘make’ or ‘cause’ in English. Other causative verbs which can occur in the biclausal construction discussed above include *teuohka* and *somita*: *teuohka* is similar to *lohka*, but connotes a degree of coercion on the part of the causer, making it closer to English ‘force’ or ‘compel’; while *somita* is used when the causer verbally influences the causee to act, and thus corresponds to ‘persuade’ or ‘convince’ (the latter requires a dependent subjunctive complement when used as a causative verb).

(9.186) *Ma Sakiail teuohkyi kihoin siehpà*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT force.PV letter.DAT write.DEP.NOM
 ‘I forced Sakial to write the letter’

(9.187) *Ma Sakiail somityi kihoin esiehpè*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT convince.PV letter.DAT SBJ.write.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘I convinced Sakial to write the letter’

Another pair of verbs which occur in causative constructions are *mehka* and *tsuhka*. These verbs take a nominative argument denoting an event and an optional dative argument denoting the experiencer of that event. Normally they are used as equivalents of English ‘happen/occur’ or ‘take place’, as in the examples below. Note that *mehka* is neutral, while *tsuhka* is used when the event which happens is unfortunate or unpleasant, and can sometimes be translated ‘go wrong’.

(9.188) *Esimoitatse elohfoi mehka*
 naming:ceremony.NOM tomorrow happen.IPV
 ‘The naming ceremony will take place tomorrow’

(9.189) *Kuo mà mehkyin?*
 2RDAT what:NOM happen.PV.qu
 ‘What happened to you?’ (neutral)

(9.190) *Kuo mà tsuhkyin?*
 2RDAT what:NOM happen:badly.PV.qu
 ‘What happened to you?’ (negative) or ‘What’s wrong?’

- (9.191) *Mo tsuhkyi naua hanà*
 1SRDAT happen:badly.PV palm cut.DEP.NOM
 ‘I happened to cut my hand’ (lit. ‘[My] hand being cut happened to me’)

Mehka and *tsuhka* can take an actor argument as well as a theme and a delimiter, in which case they function as causative verbs. *Mehka*, when used in place of *lohka*, usually emphasizes that the causer is acting indirectly and/or unintentionally to bring about the event, and corresponds roughly to English ‘have’:

- (9.192) *Ma Sakiail mehkyi kihoin siehpà*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT happen.PV letter.DAT write.DEP.NOM
 ‘I had Sakial write the letter’ (more lit. ‘I made writing the letter happen to Sakial’)
- (9.193) *Me Elimma nehtyi, elh mo ità tsuhkyi naua hanà*
 1sNOM Elim.ERG startle.PV and 1SRDAT that:ERG happen:badly.PV palm cut.DEP.NOM
 ‘Elim startled me, and that’s what caused me to cut my hand’

Note finally that the theme argument of a causative verb need not be a dependent clause, but can be a regular noun phrase or pronoun denoting an action, event, or office:

- (9.194) *Ko Sakiail ymiohpa tan lohkyin?*
 2ERG Sakial.DAT why that:NOM cause.PV.QU
 ‘Why did you make Sakial do that?’
- (9.195) *Sa Sakiail talo lohkyit*
 13ERG Sakial.DAT chief make.PV.PL
 ‘We made Sakial our chief’

9.4.3 The reflexive construction

Reflexive clauses are formed using the noun *tsan*, glossed ‘self’ in the examples below. *Tsan* normally occurs immediately before the verb, replacing one of the verb’s arguments:

- (9.196) *Mikalma ikei kahtyi*
 boy.ERG dog.DAT hit.PV
 ‘The boy hit the dog’
- (9.197) *Mikalma tsan kahtyi*
 boy.ERG self hit.PV
 ‘The boy hit himself’

Tsan is the functional counterpart of a reflexive pronoun (‘myself’, ‘yourself’, ‘themselves’, etc.). Unlike the English reflexive pronouns, however, *tsan* takes the same form regardless of the person and number of its antecedent:

<i>ma tsan kahtyi</i>	‘I hit myself’	<i>sa tsan kahtyit</i>	‘we hit ourselves’
<i>ko tsan kahtyi</i>	‘you hit yourself’	<i>ko tsan kahtyit</i>	‘you hit yourselves’
<i>na tsan kahtyi</i>	‘s/he hit him/herself’	<i>na tsan kahtyit</i>	‘they hit themselves’

When used as a reflexive element, *tsan* is normally unmarked for case (see §4.6). Being unmarked, *tsan* does not trigger number agreement on the verb (§7.2), even when its antecedent is plural. Compare the examples below: In the first sentence, the dative-marked topic argument (‘women’) and the nominative argument (‘children’) are both plural, and so the verb carries both the plural topic suffix *-t* and the nominative plural suffix *-ua*. In the second sentence, however, *tsan* stands in for the nominative argument; here, *-ua* is absent and the verb carries only plural topic agreement:

(9.198) *Ihai pyie kilauat*
 woman.DAT child.NOM see.IPV.NPL.PL
 ‘The women see the children’

(9.199) *Ihai tsan kilat*
 woman.NOM self see.IPV.PL
 ‘The women see themselves’

The reflexive construction is actually a variant of the body part construction discussed in §4.6.3. When a clause denotes an event where the actor acts on a part of his/her own body, the noun which denotes the body part appears in its ‘bare’ form, unmarked for case and without a possessive pronoun, as with *temie* ‘hands’ in (9.200) below. *Tsan* patterns with body part terms in this respect (9.201). In fact, *tsan* can be used to mean ‘body’, so an alternate translation for (9.201) would be ‘The children washed (their) bodies’.³

(9.200) *Pyima temie pauyit*
 child.ERG hands wash.PV.PL
 ‘The children washed their hands’

(9.201) *Pyima tsan pauyit*
 child.ERG self wash.PV.PL
 ‘The children washed themselves’

The distribution and function of *tsan* depend on the class to which the verb belongs. I consider the various possibilities below.

Reflexive clauses with Class I verbs

Verbs belonging to Class I may take *tsan* as an argument if they express a relationship between an experiencer (marked for one of the oblique cases) and a theme argument (marked for nominative case). When a verb of this type is reflexivized, *tsan* replaces the nominative noun phrase, while the oblique noun phrase names the individual who bears the relationship to him/herself. Compare:

(9.202) *Elima Sakiale huata*
 Elim.ALL Sakial.NOM like.IPV
 ‘Elim likes Sakial’ (lit. ‘To Elim, Sakial is liked’)

(9.203) *Elima tsan huata*
 Elim.ALL self like.IPV
 ‘Elim likes himself’

Reflexivization of Class II verbs

Class II verbs can take up to two core arguments, one marked with ergative case and the other with nominative. When *tsan* is used with a Class II verb, it usually replaces the nominative noun phrase, and the clause denotes an event whereby the actor carries out an action on him/herself or stands in a particular relation to him/herself. Compare:

(9.204) *Moihama mikale iksona*
 girl.ERG boy.NOM PRG.look:at.IPV
 ‘The girl is looking at the boy’

³ *Tsan* also means ‘thing, object, entity’. To express ‘body’, the more usual word is *koitsan* (for the body of a person) or *lino* (for the body of an animal, vessel, etc.).

- (9.205) *Moihama tsan iksona ailotna*
 girl.NOM self PRG.look:at.IPV mirror.LOC
 ‘The girl is looking at herself in the mirror’

Tsan can, in principle, appear with any Class II verb. This includes verbs like *muelha* ‘sleep’, *tupa* ‘walk’, and *ekpiha* ‘search’, which normally do not take a nominative argument because they denote events involving only one (core) participant. It is not always easy to articulate the function of *tsan* when used with such verbs. Roughly speaking, the reflexive serves to emphasize that the actor is involving him/herself fully in the action, or performing the action for his/her own benefit:

- (9.206) *Sakialma tsan muelhyi*
 Sakial.ERG self sleep.PV
 ‘Sakial got himself some sleep’ (lit. ‘Sakial slept his body’)
- (9.207) *Sakialma tsan ihosta*
 Sakial.ERG self PRG.dance.IPV
 ‘Sakial is dancing vigorously’ (lit. ‘Sakial is dancing his body’)
- (9.208) *Sakialma kamala tsan ikpiha*
 Sakial.ERG knife.ALL self PRG.search.IPV
 ‘Sakial is looking for a knife for himself’ or ‘... a knife that he can use’

Occasionally the ergative argument is replaced by *tsan* while the nominative argument remains. This construction may be used to emphasize that the event happened spontaneously, without any external cause. Compare the sentences below: (9.209) is a regular transitive clause, with *muka* ‘close’ taking an ergative argument and a nominative argument. In (9.210)–(9.211) only the nominative argument is present. (9.210) is ambiguous between an agentive reading, where the event is caused by an implicit agent or force separate from the undergoer, and a non-agentive reading, where the event happens spontaneously.⁴ When *tsan* is included, as in (9.211), only the non-agentive reading is possible. In this usage, *tsan* has a similar sense to English ‘by itself’, ‘on its own’, ‘of its own accord’, etc.

- (9.209) *Ihama hitole mukyi*
 woman.ERG door.NOM close.PV
 ‘The woman closed the door’
- (9.210) *Hitole mukyi*
 door.NOM close.PV
 ‘The door (was) closed’
- (9.211) *Hitole tsan mukyi*
 door.NOM self close.PV
 ‘The door closed (by itself)’

Consider also the examples below, featuring the verb *tiausa*. This verb means ‘drop’ [transitive] when used to describe an agentive action, and ‘fall’ or ‘drop’ [intransitive] when it describes a non-agentive action:

- (9.212) *Kitoleuma kepehotse palahtau tiausyi*
 squirrel.ERG acorn.NOM tree.ABL fall/drop.PV
 ‘The squirrel dropped an acorn from the tree’

⁴To indicate unambiguously that the event has an agent, an ergative noun phrase must be included in the clause. When the identity of the actor is unknown, an indefinite element such as *miò* ‘someone’ may be used: e.g., *Hitole miòhma mukyi* ‘Someone closed the door’ or ‘The door was closed by someone’.

- (9.213) *Kepehotse palahtau tiausyi*
 acorn.NOM tree.ABL fall/drop.PV
 ‘An acorn fell/dropped from the tree’ or ‘An acorn was dropped from the tree’
- (9.214) *Kepehotse palahtau tsan tiausyi*
 acorn.DAT tree.ABL self fall/drop.PV
 ‘An acorn fell/dropped from the tree’

Reflexivization of Class III verbs

Class III verbs are those which can take up to three core arguments (ergative, dative, and nominative). With Class III verbs expressing the transmission of an object, image, idea, etc., from one individual to another, *tsan* typically replaces the nominative argument. Here, either the ergative or the dative argument can be interpreted as the antecedent in the reflexive relation, depending on which one functions as the topic. Compare the following:

- (9.215) *Sakialma Eleim pyie kilyi*
 Sakial.ERG Elim.DAT child.NOM show.PV
 ‘Sakial showed the child to Elim’
- (9.216) *Sakialma Eleim tsan kilyi*
 Sakial.ERG Elim.DAT self show.PV
 ‘Sakial showed himself to Elim’
- (9.217) *Eleim Sakialma tsan kilyi*
 Elim.DAT Sakial.ERG self show.PV
 ‘Elim was shown himself by Sakial’

With verbs denoting an action whereby an agent (in the ergative case) brings about a change of state in a patient (in the dative case), *tsan* normally stands in for the dative argument, with the ergative argument acting as its antecedent. Compare:

- (9.218) *Ihama kail kahtyi*
 woman.ERG man.DAT hit.PV
 ‘The woman hit the man’
- (9.219) *Ihama tsan kahtyi*
 woman.ERG self hit.PV
 ‘The woman hit herself’
- (9.220) *Pyima totsait mulme patlyi*
 child.ERG table.DAT cloth.INST cover.PV
 ‘The child covered the table with a cloth’
- (9.221) *Pyima mulme tsan patlyi*
 child.ERG cloth.INST self cover.PV
 ‘The child covered herself with a cloth’

However, it is also possible for *tsan* to replace the ergative argument, with the dative argument acting as the antecedent. In this construction, the speaker indicates that the dative-marked undergoer (rather than some other individual) is ultimately responsible for the action coming about. Compare the following sentences, for example: (9.222) is a regular transitive clause with actor and undergoer both expressed overtly and the undergoer functioning as the topic of the clause. In (9.223) and (9.224) the actor is unspecified, causing the ergative noun phrase to be omitted. These sentences differ in that (9.224) implies that the dog played a crucial role in its own death, whereas (9.223) carries no such implication.

(9.222) *Elima ikei sishankama kaihyi*
 Elim.ALL dog.DAT rattlesnake.ERG kill.PV
 ‘Elim’s dog was killed by a rattlesnake’

(9.223) *Elima ikei kaihyi*
 Elim.ALL dog.DAT kill.PV
 ‘Elim’s dog was killed’

(9.224) *Elima ikei mitunke tsan kaihyi*
 Elim.ALL dog.DAT somehow self kill.PV
 ‘Elim’s dog got itself killed somehow’

Compare also the examples below. In (9.225), where *Sakial* is in the ergative case, it is implied that *Sakial* is performing a deliberate action on himself. Here, the focus is on *Sakial* as the initiator of the action. In (9.226) *Sakial* is in the dative case, and the focus is on *Sakial* as the undergoer of the action. In the latter sentence, the presence of *tsan* signals that, although *Sakial* did not intend the event to happen, his actions are nonetheless responsible for bringing it about.

(9.225) *Sakialma tsan kahtyi*
 Sakial.ERG self hit.PV
 ‘Sakial (deliberately) hit himself’

(9.226) *Sakiail tsan kahtyi*
 Sakial.DAT self hit.PV
 ‘Sakial (accidentally) hit himself’ or ‘Sakial got himself hit’

Occasionally a Class III change-of-state verb will take *tsan* in addition to an overt ergative argument and an overt dative argument, as in the examples below. Here, the presence of the reflexive element specifies that the actor is exerting him/herself, or acting for his/her own benefit. In other words, *tsan* emphasizes that the individual performing the action is also affected by the action. Verbs of ingestion such as *iasa* ‘eat’ and *sepa* ‘drink’ often appear with *tsan*, since the action has an effect not only on the substance being ingested, but also on the person doing the ingesting.

(9.227) *Ihama satei tsan iepamat*
 woman.ERG meal.DAT self PRG.prepare.IPV.PL
 ‘The women are preparing themselves a meal’

(9.228) *Na homai tsan iasyi*
 3aERG bread.DAT self eat.PV
 ‘He ate (himself) some bread’

Although it normally appears in its unmarked form, *tsan* occasionally takes core case marking, especially when it is being used contrastively. Note the example below, where *tsan*, marked with the ergative case ending *-ma*, is contrasted with the ergative argument *inmot* ‘everyone’.

(9.229) *Sakiale inmot ufonane, ohkina tsanma*
 Sakial.NOM everyone:ERG PF.praise.IPV.EPL including self.ERG
 ‘Sakial was praised by everyone, including himself’

Tsan can also appear in one of the oblique cases, used when an oblique argument is coreferential with a core argument in the same clause. In the following examples, *tsan* appears in the allative case, taking the ergative argument as its antecedent. In the first sentence, *tsan* expresses the topic or subject matter of the event denoted by *kyitsa* ‘talk about, discuss’, while in the second sentence it functions as a possessor. Used as a possessor, *tsan* corresponds to ‘(one’s) own’ in English (e.g., *tsana kotu* ‘one’s own house’, *tsanu pyimit* ‘one’s own children’).

(9.230) *Sakialma tsana ikyitsanka*
 Sakial.ERG self.ALL PRG.talk:about.IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial was talking about himself’

(9.231) *Sakialma ymiohpa tsana kotoi ukiospikin?*
 Sakial.ERG why self.ALL house.DAT PF.burn.COND.QU
 ‘Why would Sakial have burned down his own house?’

In addition to occurring as a noun phrase by itself, *tsan* can also appear as an emphatic modifier within a larger noun phrase, as illustrated below. Emphatic *tsan* follows a noun (e.g., *talo tsan* ‘the chief himself’) but precedes a pronoun, which takes the non-clitic form (e.g., *tsan nin* ‘they themselves’).

(9.232) *Hynukiale talo tsanma ukia*
 play.NOM chief self.ERG perform.IPV
 ‘The chief himself will perform (in) the play’

Used as a noun modifier, *tsan* often has the sense of English ‘the same’.⁵ In combination with a following demonstrative, *tsan* may be translated ‘that very’ (or, in a larger sentence, ‘that’s the same...’):

(9.233) *Sa mekul tsanu sepat*
 13ERG bowl self.ABL drink.IPV.PL
 ‘We drink from the same bowl’

(9.234) *Mo koin tsan nan sasyi*
 1sRDAT person self that:NOM meet.PV
 ‘I met that very person’ or ‘That’s the same person I met’

(9.235) *Kuo es koine usase, tsan nan husu umai*
 2RDAT one person.NOM PF.meet.PT self that:NOM also 1sRDAT
 ‘I met the same person that you met’
 lit. ‘You having met a person, that same one I also (met)’

A pronoun modified by *tsan* can be used as a sort of long-distance reflexive, explicitly marking a coreference relation between an argument of an embedded clause and an argument of a higher clause. This is illustrated below. The first sentence, like its English counterpart, is ambiguous: the embedded pronoun *na* may refer to Sakial, or to some other individual not named in the sentence. On the other hand, when *na* is replaced by *tsan inà*, as in the second sentence, the only interpretation is that Sakial said that he, Sakial, would write the letter.

(9.236) *Sakialma etsyi na kihoin esiehpè*
 Sakial.ERG say.PV 3aERG letter.DAT SBJ.write.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘Sakial said that s/he would write the letter’

(9.237) *Sakialma etsyi tsan inà kihoin esiehpè*
 Sakial.ERG say.PV self 3asERG letter.DAT SBJ.write.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘Sakial said that he himself would write the letter’

⁵Another way of expressing ‘the same’ is with *kelefe* or *keliale* preceding the noun. Both *kelefe* and *keliale* mean ‘shared one’, but the former is used of objects that can be possessed (e.g., *Sa kelefe kotuna tsuhpat* ‘We live in the same house’), while the latter is used of people, animals, and attributes (e.g., *Ne keliale amema upaksonat* ‘They were raised by the same mother’).

9.4.4 Reciprocal clauses

Reciprocal ('each other') clauses are formed by suffixing the reciprocal morpheme *-(u)o* (glossed RECIP) to the verb. This morpheme takes the form *-o* after a glide and *-uo* elsewhere, as illustrated below. In (9.238) the reciprocal suffix follows the imperfective suffix *-a*, while in (9.239) it follows the perfective suffix *-yi*, which ends in a glide:

(9.238) *Pyie kilauot*
 child.DAT see.IPV.RECIP.PL
 'The children will see each other'

(9.239) *Pyie kilyiot*
 child.DAT see:RES.PV.RECIP.PL
 'The children saw each other'

The reciprocal marker occupies the same suffix slot as the nominative, dative, and ergative plural agreement suffixes (see §7.2), and is thus mutually exclusive with them. Compare:

(9.240) *Kalma pyie iksonat*
 man.ERG child.NOM PRG.look:at.IPV.PL
 'The men are looking at the child'

(9.241) *Kalma pyie iksonauat*
 man.ERG child.NOM PRG.look:at.IPV.NPL.PL
 'The men are looking at the children'

(9.242) *Kalma iksonauot*
 man.ERG PRG.look:at.IPV.RECIP.PL
 'The men are looking at each other'

The examples above show that when the antecedent of the reciprocal is the topic of the clause, and appears in one of the core cases (nominative, dative, ergative), the verb takes the plural topic suffix *-t* in addition to *-(u)o*. Compare these examples with (9.243) below: in the latter case, *-t* is absent because *kalma* 'the men' is not the topic of the clause, but is instead interpreted contrastively or as providing new information.

(9.243) *Kalma iksonauo*
 man.ERG PRG.look:at.IPV.RECIP.PL
 'There are some men looking at each other'
 or 'It's THE MEN who are looking at each other'

A reciprocal-marked verb is sometimes augmented by the collective particle *kele* 'all, together', or the distributive particle *la* 'each, in turn'. Adding *kele* emphasizes that the participants are acting on each other simultaneously, while adding *la* emphasizes that they are acting separately or in succession. For example, (9.244) would be used if the men hit each other at the same time, while (9.245) would be used if A hit B first, after which B hit A:

(9.244) *Kalma kele kahtyiot*
 man.ERG together hit.PV.RECIP.PL
 'The men hit each other' or 'The men fought / came to blows'

(9.245) *Kalma la kahtyiot*
 man.ERG each hit.PV.RECIP.PL
 'The men each hit the other (in turn)'

Adding reciprocal morphology to the verb usually reduces its valence, with the reciprocal marker ‘standing in for’ one of the core arguments in the clause. With Class I verbs, reciprocal morphology replaces the nominative (theme) argument, and the antecedent for the reciprocal is a noun phrase in one of the oblique cases (typically denoting an experiencer):

(9.246) *Isane Sakiale niokoihtyi*
 13ALL Sakial.NOM recognize.TINC.PV
 ‘We recognized Sakial’

(9.247) *Isane niokoihtyio*
 13ALL recognize.TINC.PV.RECIP
 ‘We recognized each other’

With Class II verbs, the nominative argument is again suppressed while the ergative argument functions as the antecedent for the reciprocal:

(9.248) *Me lhatima tsulyine*
 1sNOM children.ERG visit.PV.EPL
 ‘The children visited me’

(9.249) *Lhatima tsulyiot*
 children.ERG visit.PV.RECIP.PL
 ‘The children visited each other’

With Class III verbs, either the nominative or the dative argument is usually suppressed, with one of the other core arguments acting as antecedent (typically the one functioning as the topic). In (9.251), for example, reciprocal morphology replaces a nominative argument with a dative topic as antecedent, while in (9.253) it replaces a dative argument with an ergative topic as antecedent.

(9.250) *No es tsokoimpà sasyit Uilumaua tulona*
 3aRDAT one stranger.NOM meet.PV.PL Uiluma.ALL road.LOC
 ‘They met a stranger on the road to Uiluma’

(9.251) *No Uilumaua tulona sasyiot*
 3aRDAT Uiluma.ALL road.LOC meet.PV.RECIP.PL
 ‘They met (each other) on the road to Uiluma’

(9.252) *Na Sakiail kytu uktyit*
 3aERG Sakial.DAT gift give.PV.PL
 ‘They gave gifts to Sakial’

(9.253) *Na kytu uktyiot*
 3aERG gift give.PV.RECIP.PL
 ‘They gave each other gifts’

Occasionally the reciprocal suffix is added to a Class II or Class III verb without replacing any of its core arguments. Here the presence of reciprocal morphology may indicate that two or more individuals are acting for one another’s benefit:

(9.254) *Ihama iase ititankauot*
 woman.ERG food PRG.gather.IPV:PST.RECIP.PL
 ‘The women were gathering each other food’

Compare also the examples below, where reciprocal marking alternates with an instrumental noun phrase:

- (9.255) *Sa Sakialme isokastankat itè*
 13ERG Sakial.INST PRG.argue.IPV:PST.PL that:ALL
 ‘We were arguing with Sakial about that’
- (9.256) *Sa isokastankauot itè*
 13ERG PRG.argue.IPV:PST.RECIP.PL that:ALL
 ‘We were arguing (with each other) about that’
- (9.257) *Elim ka imà efosa so kuname kyitsampyit*
 Elim and 1sERG problem.ALL 13RDAT friend.INST mention.ACT.PV.PL
 ‘Elim and I talked over the problem with our friends’
- (9.258) *Elim ka imà efosa kyitsampyiot*
 Elim and 1sERG problem.ALL mention.ACT.PV.RECIP.PL
 ‘Elim and I discussed the problem’ or ‘... talked with one another about the problem’

Note that reciprocal marking is optional in (9.256) and (9.258). For example, *Elim ka imà efosa kyitsampyit* is also an acceptable way to say ‘Elim and I discussed the problem’. The presence of the reciprocal suffix in (9.258) serves to emphasize that Elim and the speaker both participated actively in the discussion (and implies that nobody else participated). In other cases, however, reciprocal marking is not optional: Note that there are several verbs in English which describe reciprocal actions when used intransitively (e.g., ‘meet’, ‘fight’). Their Okuna counterparts, however, must take the reciprocal suffix in such cases:

- (9.259) *So laisne utsokuauot*
 13RDAT just PF.meet.IPV.RECIP.PL
 ‘We just met (each other)’

Reciprocal clauses with *la iap* and *la iahte*

When a core argument bears a reciprocal relation to an argument in a more peripheral function (e.g., verb modifier, possessor), the latter may be expressed using the noun phrase *la iap* (lit. ‘each the other’) or *la iahte* (lit. ‘each the others’) inflected for oblique case, rather than by adding reciprocal morphology to the verb. Often the antecedent noun phrase contains a distributive universal quantifier meaning ‘each’ (see §5.6). Examples are given below. The form *la iap* is used in contexts where two individuals stand in a relation to one another, while *la iahte* is used when more than two individuals each stand in a relation to the others.

- (9.260) *Na la iapa ikyitsankat*
 3aERG each other:ALL PRG.mention.IPV:PST.PL
 ‘They were talking about each other’
- (9.261) *Ne la iapa kotuna tehyit*
 3aNOM each other:ALL house.LOC stay.PV.PL
 ‘They stayed at each other’s houses’
- (9.262) *Lhati nket la iahteu amema fonyinit*
 children 3a:each:NOM each others:ABL mother.ERG praise.PV.EPL.PL
 ‘The children were praised by each other’s mothers’ or ‘... each praised by the others’ mothers’
 more lit. ‘Each child was praised in turn by the others’ mothers’

La iap and *la iahte* can also appear as core arguments, together with reciprocal marking on the verb, when it is necessary to place special emphasis on the reciprocal nature of the event. Compare the examples below, where (9.263) is focus-neutral, while (9.264) features narrow focus on the delimiter participant. In the latter case, the dative noun phrase *la iaip* is included in order to give the focus particle *tiefu* something to take scope over. (If *la iaip* were omitted from (9.264), giving *Pyima tiefu kahtyiot*, the sentence would mean that hitting each other is the only thing that the children did.)

(9.263) *Pyima kahtyiot*
child.ERG hit.PV.RECIP.PL
'The children hit each other'

(9.264) *Pyima tiefu la iaip kahtyiot*
child.ERG only each other.DAT hit.PV.RECIP.PL
'The children only hit EACH OTHER' (not anyone else)

Chapter 10

Nominalization and Complex Clauses

10.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss various ways of forming complex sentences by embedding one clause inside another. In Okuna, as in many head-final languages, subordinate clauses are not marked by a separate class of function words—e.g., there are no complementizers comparable to English ‘that’. Instead, subordinate clauses are formed by adding special morphology to the verb.

For example, compare the main clause in (10.1) with its subordinate clause counterparts in (10.2)–(10.4). In (10.2) the verb stem *ital-* ‘be reading’ carries the nominalizing suffix *-a*, which marks the so-called DEPENDENT (DEP) form. The dependent clause, which patterns like a noun phrase, inflects for nominative case and is selected as the complement of the verb *iona* ‘know’. Here the dependent clause functions as a theme argument, denoting the proposition known by Sakial. In (10.3) and (10.4) the verb appears in two of its PARTICIPLE (PT) forms, marked by the suffixes *-e* (for the indicative mood) and *-ai* (for the subjunctive mood). Indicative participles form adverbial clauses which provide a temporal context for the event in the main clause, while subjunctive participles form conditional (‘if’) clauses.

(10.1) *Pyima halmai italanka*
child.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.IPV:PST
‘The child was reading the book’

(10.2) *Sakialna ionanka pyima halmai italà*
Sakial.LOC know.IPV:PST child.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.DEP.NOM
‘Sakial knew that the child was reading the book’

(10.3) *Pyima halmai itale, no amema sati ipamyi*
child.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.PT 3aRDAT mother.ERG meal prepare.PV
‘While the child was reading the book, her mother made dinner’

(10.4) *Pyima halmai italai, no amena kestampa*
child.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.PT:SBJ 3aRDAT mother.LOC happy.ACT.IPV
‘If the child is reading the book, her mother will be pleased’

The dependent form and its uses are discussed in §10.2, while participles are discussed in §10.3. The remaining sections of this chapter deal with other kinds of verb inflection for deriving subordinate verbs and clauses. In §10.4 I discuss the formation of CONVERBS, which modify another verb by specifying the means or manner in which the event denoted by the verb is carried out (e.g., from *tlynk-* ‘push’ we can form the converb *tlynke* ‘by pushing’, which can then combine with the main verb *lima* ‘open’ to form the compound predicate *tlynke lima* ‘open by pushing, push open’). Nominalized verbs denoting types of events,

called GERUNDS, are discussed in §10.5. Finally §10.6 deals with PARTICIPANT NOMINALS, nominalized verbs referring to individuals involved in actions or states (people, objects, places, times, etc.). These include agentive nouns, formed by adding the suffix *-ka* to the dependent form of the verb (e.g., *muelha* ‘sleep’ > *muelhaka* ‘sleeper, one who sleeps’). Participant nominals play a crucial role in Okuna grammar, since they constitute the main class of noun modifiers, functioning much as adjectives and relative clauses do in English (e.g., *muelhaka pyi* ‘sleeping child’ or ‘child who sleeps’).

10.2 The dependent form

There are various types of subordinate clauses in Okuna which are characterized by the appearance of special aspect/mood/polarity inflection on the verb, largely distinct from the inflection found on verbs in main clauses (see §7.4 for discussion). Verbs which carry this special inflection are said to be in the DEPENDENT form (abbreviated DEP in the examples). Clauses headed by a verb in the dependent form are called DEPENDENT CLAUSES. Example (10.5) below gives an ordinary main clause, which can stand on its own as a complete sentence, while (10.6) gives its dependent counterpart. Notice that these clauses differ solely in the form of the verb: *palyiat* versus *apalauata*.

(10.5) *Lhatima kahò palyiat*
 children.ERG fish.NOM catch.PV.NPL.PL
 ‘The children caught the fish’

(10.6) *lhatima kahò apalauata*
 children.ERG fish.NOM PV.catch.DEP.NPL.PL
 ‘(the fact that) the children caught the fish’
 or ‘(the event where) the children caught the fish’

Verbs in the dependent form behave just like verbs in main clauses, in that they can combine with arguments and modifiers and assign case in the same way as main clause verbs. However, dependent clauses as a whole behave like noun phrases, in that they can inflect for case and act as arguments of a verb. They can also combine with certain types of nouns to form adverbial clauses denoting time, reason, manner, etc. Before discussing these functions, I give an overview of dependent verb morphology.

Suffixal morphology

Verbs in the dependent form are characterized by special inflectional suffixes, used in place of the suffixes found on main clause verbs for marking tense, aspect, mood, and polarity. Like verbs in main clauses, dependent verbs inflect for polarity, with separate suffixes for positive and negative clauses (the latter being those that contain negation: see §7.3). In addition, dependent verbs inflect for mood, making a two-way distinction between INDICATIVE and SUBJUNCTIVE (the differences between these two moods are discussed later in this section). The following table gives the dependent verb suffixes. For each suffix, the abbreviation used in the example sentences is given in parentheses.

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
DEPENDENT INDICATIVE	<i>-a</i> (DEP)	<i>-u</i> (DEP:NEG)
DEPENDENT SUBJUNCTIVE	<i>-i</i> (DEP:SBJ)	<i>-oi</i> (DEP:SBJ:NEG)

In accordance with the vowel hiatus rules given in §3.5.3, the suffixes *-i* and *-u* undergo lowering (becoming *-e* and *-o*, respectively) when immediately preceded or followed by a glide: e.g., *e.tsoku.i* > *etsokue* ‘meet.SBJ’, *m.tsoku.u* > *ntsokuo* ‘meet.DEP:NEG’.

In most constructions involving dependent verbs, the verb agrees in number (singular versus plural) with its nominative, dative, and ergative arguments, if any (see §7.2 for more on number agreement). Number agreement inflection on dependent verbs is the same as on main clause verbs, except that the plural topic

marker has a slightly different form: on main clause verbs plural topic agreement is marked by the suffix *-t*, whereas for dependent verbs the suffix is *-ta*. For reference, the following table lists all of the possible combinations of dependent endings with agreement marking.

	SG	PL	NPL	NPL+PL	DPL	DPL+PL	EPL	EPL+PL
DEP	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ata</i>	<i>-aua</i>	<i>-auata</i>	<i>-ama</i>	<i>-amata</i>	<i>-ane</i>	<i>-anita</i>
DEP:NEG	<i>-u</i>	<i>-uta</i>	<i>-oua</i>	<i>-ouata</i>	<i>-uma</i>	<i>-umata</i>	<i>-une</i>	<i>-unita</i>
DEP:SBJ	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ita</i>	<i>-eua</i>	<i>-euata</i>	<i>-ima</i>	<i>-imata</i>	<i>-ine</i>	<i>-inita</i>
DEP:SBJ:NEG	<i>-oi</i>	<i>-oita</i>	<i>-oia</i>	<i>-oiata</i>	<i>-oima</i>	<i>-oimata</i>	<i>-oine</i>	<i>-oinita</i>

In addition, verbs in the dependent form can take the reciprocal suffix *-(u)o* (see §9.4.4), either by itself or in combination with the plural topic marker *-ta*:

	RECIP	RECIP+PL
DEP	<i>-auo</i>	<i>-auota</i>
DEP:NEG	<i>-ouo</i>	<i>-ouota</i>
DEP:SBJ	<i>-euo</i>	<i>-euota</i>
DEP:SBJ:NEG	<i>-oio</i>	<i>-oiota</i>

Prefixal morphology

Verbs in the dependent form also take prefixes to mark mood and aspect, and can host the bound negative marker *m(a)-* (see §7.3). Like verbs in main clauses, dependent verbs inflect for one of four aspects: IMPERFECT, PROGRESSIVE (PRG), PERFECT (PF), and PERFECTIVE (PV) (see §7.4 for discussion of the meanings of these terms). However, unlike verbs in main clauses, all four aspects are marked by prefixes. There are separate prefixes depending on whether the dependent verb is in the indicative or subjunctive (hence mood is redundantly marked on dependent verbs by prefixation and suffixation). The following table gives the mood/aspect prefixes, both separately and in combination with the negative marker *m(a)-*:

	INDIC	NEG+INDIC	SBJ	NEG+SBJ
IMPERFECT	—	<i>m(a)-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>me-</i>
PROGRESSIVE (PRG)	<i>i-</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>ie-</i>	<i>mie-</i>
PERFECT (PF)	<i>u-</i>	<i>mo-</i>	<i>io-</i>	<i>mio-</i>
PERFECTIVE (PV)	<i>a-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ia-</i>	<i>mia-</i>

To illustrate these prefixes, in combination with the dependent suffixes discussed above, the complete set of dependent forms for *ma tupa* ‘I walk’ is given below. I also include rough English equivalents for each form:

<i>ma tupa</i>	‘(that) I walk, (that) I will walk’
<i>ma itupa</i>	‘(that) I am/was walking, (that) I have/had been walking’
<i>ma utupa</i>	‘(that) I have/had walked’
<i>ma atupa</i>	‘(that) I walked, (that) I had walked’
<i>ma ntupu</i>	‘(that) I don’t/won’t walk’
<i>ma metupu</i>	‘(that) I am/was not walking, (that) I have/had not been walking’
<i>ma motupu</i>	‘(that) I have/had not walked’
<i>ma matupu</i>	‘(that) I didn’t/hadn’t walked’
<i>ma etupi</i>	‘(that) I would walk, for me to walk’
<i>ma ietupi</i>	‘(that) I would be walking, (that) I would have been walking, for me to be walking’
<i>ma iotupi</i>	‘(that) I would have walked (at some point), for me to have walked’
<i>ma iatupi</i>	‘(that) I would have walked (then)’
<i>ma metupoi</i>	‘(that) I wouldn’t walk, for me not to walk’
<i>ma mietupoi</i>	‘(that) I wouldn’t be walking, (that) I wouldn’t have been walking’
<i>ma miotupoi</i>	‘(that) I wouldn’t (ever) have walked, for me not to have walked’
<i>ma miatupoi</i>	‘(that) I wouldn’t have walked (then)’

When the aspect/mood prefixes attach to a verb beginning with a vowel, certain phonological changes take place in accordance with the vowel hiatus rules outlined in §3.5.3:

1. When progressive *i-* and perfect *u-* attach to stems beginning with a non-glide high vowel, that vowel undergoes lowering (e.g., *i-* + *ipama* ‘prepare’ > *iepama*; *u-* + *uktia* ‘give’ > *uoktia*). When *i-* and *u-* attach to a stem beginning with a glide, the prefixes themselves undergo lowering (e.g., *i-* + *uohta* ‘sit’ > *euohta*; *u-* + *uohta* > *ouohta*).
2. When negative progressive *me-* and negative perfect *mo-* attach to a stem beginning with a non-glide vowel, they become *mi-* and *mu-*, respectively (e.g., *me-* + *olu* ‘hear’ > *miolu*, *mo-* + *olu* > *muolu*). When the stem begins with a high vowel, that vowel undergoes lowering, as in (1) above (e.g., *me-* + *ipamu* ‘prepare’ > *miepamu*). Note that these rules apply to the negative progressive *me-*, but not to the homophonous negative subjunctive imperfect *me-*, which follows the rules in (4) below.
3. When a prefix ending in *a* attaches to a stem beginning with *a*, the two vowels fuse into a single vowel (e.g., *a-* + *atia* ‘approach’ > *atia*; *mia-* + *atiai* > *miatiai*).
4. If a prefix ending in *a*, *e*, or *o* attaches to a stem beginning with a non-glide vowel, and rules (2) and (3) do not apply, then a glide is inserted between the prefix and the stem. When one or both of the vowels is rounded, a *u* glide is inserted between them; and if the stem-initial vowel is *i* or *u*, it undergoes lowering (e.g., *a-* + *otsa* ‘dig’ > *auotsa*; *io-* + *atia* ‘approach’ > *iouatia*; *ie-* + *uktie* ‘give’ > *ieuoktie*, *mio-* + *ipama* ‘prepare’ > *miouepama*). Otherwise an *i* glide is inserted between the prefix and the stem, and if the stem vowel is *i* it lowers to become *e* (e.g., *a-* + *elila* ‘hug, embrace’ > *aielila*; *mia-* + *ylhoi* ‘defeat’ > *miaiyylhoi*; *ie-* + *imla* ‘smile’ > *ieiemla*).

The following eight verbs constitute an exception to the above rules:

<i>ekpa</i>	‘carry, bring/take, hold’
<i>eska</i>	‘ask, request’
<i>esta</i>	‘reach, succeed’
<i>eta</i>	‘go, come’
<i>etsa</i>	‘say, tell’
<i>etskana</i>	‘arrive, appear’
<i>etskasta</i>	‘summon, call, produce’
<i>etskopa</i>	‘realize’

For these verbs, the initial *e* of the stem is dropped (except in the imperfect indicative) and replaced with the appropriate aspect/mood prefix. This is illustrated by the following partial paradigm for *ekpa*:

<i>ma ekpa</i>	‘(that) I carry, (that) I will carry’
<i>ma ikpa</i>	‘(that) I am/was carrying, (that) I have/had been carrying’
<i>ma ukpa</i>	‘(that) I have/had carried’
<i>ma akpa</i>	‘(that) I carried, (that) I had carried’
<i>ma mekpu</i>	‘(that) I don’t/won’t carry’
<i>ma mekpu</i>	‘(that) I am/was not carrying, (that) I have/had not been carrying’
<i>ma mokpu</i>	‘(that) I have/had not carried’
<i>ma makpu</i>	‘(that) I didn’t/hadn’t carried’
<i>ma ekpi</i>	‘(that) I would carry, for me to carry’
<i>ma iekpi</i>	‘(that) I would be carrying, (that) I would have been carrying, for me to be carrying’
<i>ma iokpi</i>	‘(that) I would have carried (at some point), for me to have carried’
<i>ma iakpi</i>	‘(that) I would have carried (then)’

The dependent forms for the copula *he* (§9.3.1), which has a highly irregular conjugation, are listed below. Note that this verb makes only a two-way aspectual distinction, between imperfect and perfect, and can host the agreement suffixes *-ta* (plural topic) and *-(u)a* (nominative plural).

	IMPERFECT			PERFECT		
	SG	PL	NPL	SG	PL	NPL
DEP	<i>ha</i>	<i>hata</i>	<i>haua</i>	<i>heua</i>	<i>heuata</i>	<i>heuaua</i>
DEP:NEG	<i>hu</i>	<i>huta</i>	<i>houa</i>	<i>heuo</i>	<i>heuota</i>	<i>heuoua</i>
DEP:SBJ	<i>hi</i>	<i>hita</i>	<i>heua</i>	<i>heue</i>	<i>heueta</i>	<i>heueua</i>
DEP:SBJ:NEG	<i>hoi</i>	<i>hoita</i>	<i>hoia</i>	<i>heui</i>	<i>heuoita</i>	<i>heuoia</i>

The deictic verbs *tsà* ‘be here (near me)’ and *kà* ‘be here/there (near us/you)’ (discussed briefly in §5.3.2) also show irregular dependent inflection. The table below gives the dependent forms for *tsà* and *kà* in the imperfect aspect; to express the progressive and perfect aspects, the appropriate prefixes are added to these forms.

	SG	PL	NPL	SG	PL	NPL
	DEP	<i>tsaua</i>	<i>tsauata</i>	<i>tsauaua</i>	<i>kaua</i>	<i>kauata</i>
DEP:NEG	<i>tsauo</i>	<i>tsauota</i>	<i>tsauoua</i>	<i>kauo</i>	<i>kauota</i>	<i>kauoua</i>
DEP:SBJ	<i>etsaie</i>	<i>etsaieta</i>	<i>etsaieua</i>	<i>ekaie</i>	<i>ekaieta</i>	<i>ekaieua</i>
DEP:SBJ:NEG	<i>etsauoi</i>	<i>etsauoita</i>	<i>etsauoia</i>	<i>ekauoi</i>	<i>ekauoita</i>	<i>ekauoia</i>

Although they inflect for aspect and mood, dependent verbs are not marked for TENSE. No morphological distinction is made between past and non-past (except indirectly: verbs in the perfective aspect receive a past tense interpretation by default). Consequently, the time of the event denoted by a dependent clause must usually be inferred from the context in which that clause appears. Typically, the tense of a dependent clause is calculated relative to the tense of the main clause in which it appears. Compare the examples below, where the dependent clause *Sakialma losak itaka* ‘(that) Sakial is/was chopping firewood’ combines with the relational noun *himna* ‘while’ (lit. ‘inside’) to form a temporal modifier:

- (10.7) *Sakialma losak itaka himna, ma sati ipanta*
 Sakial.ERG firewood PRG.cut.DEP inside.LOC 1SERG meal prepare.TINC.IPV
 ‘While Sakial is chopping firewood, I’ll begin preparing dinner’
- (10.8) *Sakialma losak itaka himna, ma sati ipantyi*
 Sakial.ERG firewood PRG.cut.DEP inside.LOC 1SERG meal prepare.TINC.PV
 ‘While Sakial was chopping firewood, I began preparing dinner’

In (10.7) the dependent clause is translated using the present tense (‘is chopping’) because it combines with a main clause in the non-past imperfect; whereas in (10.8) it combines with a main clause in the perfective and receives a past tense translation (‘was chopping’). However, the form of the dependent verb is the same in both sentences. Progressive aspect marking on *taka* indicates that the time of the chopping event overlaps with the time of the event denoted by the main clause, but without specifying whether the chopping event occurs in the past, present, or future.

The various uses of the dependent form are discussed below. In §10.2.1 I discuss case marking on dependent verbs and the use of dependent clauses as arguments of verbs and modifiers of main clauses. In §10.2.2 I discuss dependent clauses as complements of relational nouns (such as *himna* in (10.7) and (10.8) above). In §10.2.3 I discuss the elements *aun* and *alh*, which also combine with dependent clause complements. Finally, §10.2.4 deals with verbs which can select a dependent subjunctive verb (without case marking) as their complement to form complex predicates.

Note that dependent verb inflection also provides the stems from which gerunds and most participant nominals are constructed. Gerunds and participant nominals are discussed in §10.5 and §10.6, respectively.

10.2.1 Dependent clauses as arguments

Verbs in the dependent form behave syntactically like nouns, insofar as they can inflect for case. Case endings attach to the end of the dependent verb, following the dependent suffix and any number agreement suffixes which come after it.

Dependent verbs inflect like regular nouns, according to the rules summarized in §4.2. Some sample case paradigms, featuring dependent verbs formed from the stem *kaht-* ‘hit’, are given in the table below. The first four columns show the paradigms for singular verbs in the dependent indicative (positive and negative) and the dependent subjunctive (positive and negative), respectively. The fifth column gives the case paradigm for *kahtuta* (*kaht-* ‘hit’ + *-u* ‘DEL:NEG’ + the plural topic agreement suffix *-ta*). Finally, the sixth column gives the case paradigm for *kahtane* (*kaht-* + *-a* ‘DEP’ + the ergative plural agreement suffix *-ne*, which becomes *-ni* when followed by a consonant).

	<i>kahta</i> (DEP)	<i>kahtu</i> (DEP:NEG)	<i>ekahti</i> (DEP:SBJ)	<i>ekahtoi</i> (DEP:SBJ:NEG)	<i>kahtuta</i> (DEP:SBJ.PL)	<i>kahtane</i> (DEP.EPL)
NOM	<i>kahtà</i>	<i>kahtò</i>	<i>ekahtè</i>	<i>ekahtoiè</i>	<i>kahtutà</i>	<i>kahtanè</i>
DAT	<i>kahtai</i>	<i>kahtoi</i>	<i>ekahtei</i>	<i>ekahtoiè</i>	<i>kahtutai</i>	<i>kahtanei</i>
LOC	<i>kahtana</i>	<i>kahtuna</i>	<i>ekahtina</i>	<i>ekahtoina</i>	<i>kahtutana</i>	<i>kahtanina</i>
ALL	<i>kahtaua</i>	<i>kahtoua</i>	<i>ekahteia</i>	<i>ekahtoiä</i>	<i>kahtutaua</i>	<i>kahtaneia</i>
ABL	<i>kahtau</i>	<i>kahtou</i>	<i>ekahteu</i>	<i>ekahtoiö</i>	<i>kahtutau</i>	<i>kahtaneu</i>
INST	<i>kahtame</i>	<i>kahtume</i>	<i>ekahtime</i>	<i>ekahtoiime</i>	<i>kahtutame</i>	<i>kahtanime</i>

Notice that dependent verbs do not take the ergative case ending *-ma*: dependent clauses never play the actor role. In addition, some of the forms which do occur are quite rare. For example, dependent indicative verbs rarely appear in the allative case, while dependent subjunctive verbs rarely appear in the ablative.

The functions of the different case forms are summarized and illustrated below.

Dependent clauses in the nominative

Dependent clauses appear most often in the nominative case. A dependent clause is marked for nominative case when it acts as the (theme) argument of a higher predicate in place of a regular noun phrase. For example, compare the following sentences, featuring the Class I verb *oukuta* ‘be troubling’, which takes a nominative argument denoting the object or source of the troubling feeling. In (10.9) the nominative role is filled by the noun *kefihusot* ‘news’, while in (10.10) the same role is filled by the dependent clause *Elim eima imouta* ‘(the fact) that Elim is still sick’, denoting a proposition and referring to a particular state of affairs.

(10.9) *Kefihusote oukuta imè*
 news.NOM troubling.IPV 1sALL
 ‘The news troubles me’

(10.10) *Elim eima imoutà oukuta imè*
 Elim.NOM still PRG.sick.DEP.NOM troubling.IPV 1sALL
 ‘(The fact) that Elim is still sick troubles me’ or ‘It troubles me that Elim is still sick’

Typically dependent clauses in the nominative function as complements of verbs like *iona* ‘know’, *etsa* ‘say, tell’, *opa* ‘believe’, *tiyla* ‘seem, appear’, etc. Like noun phrase complements, a dependent clause may precede the verb that selects it. This is especially common when the dependent clause is being topicalized or contrastively focused, as in (10.11):

(10.11) *Pyima halmai italà iona iman*
 child.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.DEP.NOM know.IPV 1sLOC
 ‘(The fact) that the child is reading the book (is what) I know’

Much more frequently, the dependent clause is postposed, and follows the verb that selects it (cf. §9.2.3). Examples of sentences with postposed dependent clauses include:

(10.12) *Iman iona pyima halmai italà*
 1sLOC know.IPV child.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.DEP.NOM
 ‘I know that the child is reading the book’

- (10.13) *Tiyła pyima halmai italà*
 appear.IPV child.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.DEP.NOM
 ‘It appears that the child is reading the book’

- (10.14) *Ma Sakiail etsyi pyima halmai metalò*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT tell.PV child.ERG book.DAT NEG.PRG.read.DEP:NEG.NOM
 ‘I told Sakial that the child was not reading the book’

As shown below, postposition of dependent clauses can be iterated. That is, a postposed dependent clause complement may itself contain an postposed dependent clause complement.

- (10.15) *Ma etsyi Motlana ionà pyima halmai italà*
 1sERG say.PV Motla.LOC know.DEP.NOM child.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.DEP.NOM
 ‘I said that Motla knows that the child is reading the book’

In all of the examples above, the complement clause is in the indicative mood. Complement clauses can also be formed from dependent verbs in the subjunctive mood. The subjunctive is used when the event or situation referred to by the dependent clause is hypothetical (possible, counterfactual, contingent, etc.) rather than actual or expected. Many verbs regularly select a subjunctive dependent clause complement. These include modal verbs (expressing possibility, necessity, desirability, etc.) such as *okfa* ‘wish, want’, *tiuha* ‘be needed, necessary’, and so on. Other verbs which take a subjunctive complement include *eska* ‘ask, request’ and *sohempa* ‘order’, where the complement denotes a wished-for event. Examples:

- (10.16) *Itiuha Elime elohfoi enkihè*
 PRG.needed.IPV Elim.NOM tomorrow SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ
 ‘It is necessary that Elim leave tomorrow’ or ‘It is necessary for Elim to leave tomorrow’

- (10.17) *Itiuha elohfoi enkihè*
 PRG.needed.IPV tomorrow SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ
 ‘It is necessary to leave tomorrow’ or ‘It is necessary that (one) leave tomorrow’

- (10.18) *Iman okfa Elime elohfoi enkihè*
 1sLOC want.IPV Elim.NOM tomorrow SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ
 ‘I wish that Elim (would) leave tomorrow’ or ‘I want Elim to leave tomorrow’

- (10.19) *Ma Eleim eskyi ne elohfoi enkihè*
 1sERG Elim.DAT ask.PV 3aNOM tomorrow SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ
 ‘I asked Elim to leave tomorrow’ (more lit. ‘I asked Elim that he should leave tomorrow’)

- (10.20) *Aniohta Elime elohfoi enkihè*
 best.IPV Elim.NOM tomorrow SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ
 ‘It would be best if Elim left tomorrow’

As these examples show, clauses in the dependent subjunctive correspond closely to embedded subjunctive or conditional clauses in English (‘that Elim leave’, ‘that Elim would leave’). Often they are most naturally translated using an infinitive construction (‘to leave’, ‘for Elim to leave’). In a few cases, as with *aniohta* ‘be best’, a subjunctive dependent clause corresponds to a conditional clause (‘if Elim left’).

Certain verbs can select either an indicative or a subjunctive dependent clause. For example, the dependent clause complement of *etsa* ‘say, tell’ is in the indicative when it denotes a reported event, and in the subjunctive to express an indirect command:

- (10.21) *Ma Sakiail etsyi kimima ihisà*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT say.PV baby.ERG PRG.cry.DEP
 ‘I told Sakial that the baby is/was crying’

- (10.22) *Ma Sakiail etsyi losak etitiè*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT say.PV firewood SBJ.gather.DEP:SBJ
 ‘I told Sakial to gather firewood’ or ‘... that (he) should gather firewood’

Consider also the following minimal pair, showing that the verb *uota* ‘feel, sense, perceive’ can take either an indicative or a subjunctive complement. As the translations of these sentences show, the indicative is used when the clause denotes an actual perceived event, while the subjunctive is used when it denotes a non-actual or possible event (note that the first sentence entails that somebody did in fact touch the speaker’s arm, while the second sentence does not):

- (10.23) *Mo uotyi mo nailh miohma silh iteunà*
 1sRDAT feel.PV 1sRDAT arm.DAT someone.ERG finger PRG.put.DEP
 ‘I felt someone touch my arm’ or ‘I felt that someone was touching my arm’

- (10.24) *Mo uotyi mo nailh miohma silh ieteunè*
 1sRDAT feel.PV 1sRDAT arm.DAT someone.ERG finger SBJ:PRG.put.DEP:SBJ
 ‘I felt as though someone were touching my arm’

Recall that, in addition to distinguishing indicative and subjunctive mood, verbs in the dependent form inflect for aspect (imperfect, progressive, perfect, or perfective). When a dependent clause in the nominative case is selected by a higher verb, the choice of aspect depends on whether the state of affairs denoted by the dependent clause temporally precedes, follows, or overlaps with the state of affairs denoted by the main clause. For instance, if the progressive aspect is used, this indicates that the state of affairs denoted by the dependent clause overlaps with the state of affairs denoted by the main clause. This is true regardless of the tense/aspect of the main clause verb. Compare the following:

- (10.25) *Sakialna iona Elime imoutà*
 Sakial.LOC know.IPV Elim.NOM PRG.sick.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial knows that Elim is sick’

- (10.26) *Sakialna ionanka Elime imoutà*
 Sakial.LOC know.IPV:PST Elim.NOM PRG.sick.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial knew that Elim was sick’

These sentences are identical except for the tense of the main verb ‘know’: *iona* (non-past) versus *ionanka* (past). In both sentences, the time at which Sakial knows Elim to be sick overlaps with the time at which Elim is sick. Because of the difference in the tense of the main clause, the dependent clause is translated ‘that Elim is sick’ in (10.25), but ‘that Elim was sick’ in (10.26).

Likewise, when the dependent verb appears in the perfect or perfective aspect, this signals that the event or situation denoted by the dependent clause properly precedes the event or situation denoted by the main clause—again, regardless of whether the main clause is in the past or the non-past tense (perfect aspect is generally used when the dependent clause denotes a previous state or habitual action, while the perfective is used when it denotes a single completed event). In the following examples, perfect marking on the dependent verb indicates that Sakial’s knowledge of Elim’s sickness came about only after Elim had recovered:

- (10.27) *Sakialna iona Elime umoutà*
 Sakial.LOC know.IPV Elim.NOM PF.sick.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial knows that Elim was sick’ or ‘... that Elim has/had been sick’

- (10.28) *Sakialna iontyi Elime umoutà*
 Sakial.LOC know.TINC.PV Elim.NOM PF.sick.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial found out that Elim had been sick’

Compare also the following examples, which differ in the aspect of the dependent verb. In (10.29), with the dependent verb in the imperfect, it is understood that the woman witnessed the pot being smashed—i.e. the seeing event and the smashing event occurred simultaneously. In (10.30), with the dependent verb in the perfective, it is understood that the woman witnessed the consequences of the action (say, a smashed pot lying on the ground) rather than the action itself. Here, the smashing event properly precedes the seeing event.

(10.29) *Ihai kilyi mikalma kopoi tsitspà*
 woman.DAT see.PV boy.ERG pot.DAT smash.DEP.NOM
 ‘The woman saw the boy smash the pot’

(10.30) *Ihai kilyi mikalma kopoi atsitspà*
 woman.DAT see.PV boy.ERG pot.DAT PV.smash.DEP.NOM
 ‘The woman saw that the boy (had) smashed the pot’

As an additional example, observe the three-way contrast below. In (10.31), where the dependent verb is in the imperfect, it is understood that Elim witnessed the entire mending event from beginning to end: the temporal span of the seeing event coincides with the temporal span of the mending event. In (10.32), by contrast, with the dependent verb in the progressive, the meaning is that Elim saw the man engaged in the activity of mending the net, but may not have witnessed the complete event: in other words, the seeing event merely overlaps with the mending event. Finally, in (10.33), with the dependent verb in the perfect, it is understood that Elim observed the after-effects of the mending event (and was thus able to conclude that the event had taken place at some earlier point in time), but did not witness the event itself.

(10.31) *Elim kilyi kalma niloi namuohtà*
 Elim.DAT see.PV man.ERG net.DAT mend.DEP.NOM
 ‘Elim saw the man mend the net’

(10.32) *Elim kilyi kalma niloi inamuohtà*
 Elim.DAT see.PV man.ERG net.DAT PRG.mend.DEP.NOM
 ‘Elim saw the man mending the net’

(10.33) *Elim kilyi kalma niloi unamuohtà*
 Elim.DAT see.PV man.ERG net.DAT PF.mend.DEP.NOM
 ‘Elim saw that the man had mended the net’

When the state of affairs expressed by the dependent clause is interpreted as following the state of affairs expressed by the main clause, the dependent verb appears in the imperfect aspect, usually accompanied by an adverb expressing futurity, such as *efoi* ‘later’ or *oke* ‘by and by’ (‘be going to’):

(10.34) *Sakialna iona Elime oke nkihà*
 Sakial.LOC know.IPV Elim.NOM going:to leave.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial knows that Elim will leave’

(10.35) *Sakialna ionanka Elime oke nkihà*
 Sakial.LOC know.IPV:PST Elim.NOM going:to leave.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sakial knew that Elim was going to leave’

Dependent clauses in the dative and oblique cases

Dependent clauses can appear in other cases besides the nominative. For instance, dependent indicative clauses may inflect for dative case to express the resulting state, or temporal ‘cut-off point’, for some state of affairs. They often correspond to ‘until’ clauses in English. As the example below illustrates, dependent clauses in the dative are often followed by the particle *sikà*, roughly equivalent to ‘as far as’.

- (10.36) *Se kauotat lhatè nioktatai sika*
 13NOM be:here.DUR.IPV.PL children.NOM return.DEP.PL.DAT as:far:as
 ‘We will stay here until the children return’

Besides the nominative and the dative, dependent clauses can appear in one of the four oblique cases: locative, allative, ablative, instrumental. Oblique case-marked dependent clauses have various adverbial functions, many of which can also be expressed in other ways—e.g., by using a participial clause (§10.3), or with a constituent consisting of a relational noun (§10.2.2) or *aun* (§10.2.3) taking a dependent clause (unmarked for case) as its complement.

A dependent indicative clause in the locative case denotes an event which acts as a temporal reference for the event expressed by the main clause. Such expressions, which function similarly to indicative participial clauses (§10.3.1), are equivalent to ‘when/while/as’ clauses in English:

- (10.37) *Ne ma imuelhana nkilhyit*
 3aNOM 1sERG PRG.sleep.DEP.LOC leave.PV.PL
 ‘They left while I was sleeping’

When inflected for the allative case, a dependent subjunctive clause indicates the purpose or goal of an action—expressed in English using ‘so that’, ‘in order for/to/that’, or a bare infinitival clause. Dependent subjunctive clauses also take the allative when they co-occur with degree markers like *tsuo* ‘too’ and *muhpi* ‘enough’.

- (10.38) *Na makai ksapathyi tuhsaua elanteia*
 3aERG meat.DAT salt.PV winter.ALL SBJ.preserve.DEP:SBJ.ALL
 ‘She salted the meat (in order) to preserve (it) for the winter’

- (10.39) *Elim keuli tolhyi isane ekuleia*
 Elim.NOM chair.DAT stand.PV 13ALL SBJ.see:RES.DEP:SBJ.ALL
 ‘Elim stood on a chair so that we could see (him)’
 or ‘... in order for us to see (him)’

- (10.40) *Kohote tsuo alhuta (Sakialma) etiyiseia*
 chest.NOM too REL.heavy.IPV Sakial.ERG SBJ.lift.DEP:SBJ.ALL
 ‘The chest is too heavy (for Sakial) to lift’

Dependent indicative clauses in the ablative case express the cause or reason for an event, or the beginning point of an event or state, and are equivalent to ‘since’ or ‘because’ clauses in English. When expressing a beginning point, the dependent clause may be followed by the emphatic particle *su*, here equivalent to ‘ever’ (e.g., *iome alimau su* ‘ever since the world began’).

- (10.41) *Tomla tin ieuolhat iome alimau*
 mountain those:NOM PRG.be:there.IPV.PL world.NOM PV.begin.DEP.ABL
 ‘Those mountains have been there since the world began’

- (10.42) *Pyie Elimma meun uktiyi inan ihalhkonau*
 child.DAT Elim.ERG milk give.PV 3asLOC PRG.thirsty.DEP.ABL
 ‘Elim gave the child milk because she was thirsty’

Finally, dependent clauses (both indicative and subjunctive) can inflect for instrumental case. In the indicative mood, an instrumental dependent clause denotes a secondary event or state which co-occurs with the event denoted by the main clause. This is illustrated in (10.43), where *thisame* describes an action which accompanies the event of the child running out of the room. More commonly, secondary events are expressed using a participial clause (§10.3), as in (10.44):

- (10.43) *Pyie halou kiompe suhyi ihisame*
 child.NOM room.ABL run.CV go:out.PV PRG.cry.DEP.INST
 ‘The child ran out of the room crying’ (lit. ‘with crying’)

- (10.44) *Pyie halou kiompe suhyi ihise*
 child.NOM room.ABL run.CV go:out.PV PRG.cry.PT
 ‘The child ran out of the room crying’

Indicative clauses in the instrumental case can also express the action by means of which a given result is achieved:

- (10.45) *Na nasats tafyi lhute nakà tiyisame*
 3aERG strength show.PV heavy.TNZR rock.NOM lift.DEP.INST
 ‘He showed his strength by lifting a heavy rock’

When combined with a stative verb in the dependent form, instrumental case forms the equivalent of a manner adverb in English: e.g., *kiota* ‘be quick’ > *kiotame* ‘quickly, by being quick’. (Manner modification can also be done with converbs; see §10.4 for discussion.)

- (10.46) *Pyie halou kiotame kiompe suhyi*
 child.NOM room.ABL quick.DEP.INST run.CV go:out.PV
 ‘The child ran quickly out of the room’

Subjunctive dependent clauses can also combine with instrumental case to express a hypothetical condition, corresponding to a conditional (‘if’) clause in English—or, when the dependent verb is negated, an ‘unless’ clause. This is illustrated in (10.47) and (10.48). (Conditional clauses can also be formed using *aunme* or a subjunctive participle, as discussed in §10.2.3 and §10.3.2, respectively). The locative case can also be used in place of the instrumental, as in (10.49), but this is less common.

- (10.47) *Ma aleut uktia etihime*
 1sERG help give.IPV SBJ.necessary.DEP:SBJ.INST
 ‘I will help if necessary’

- (10.48) *Lhatè ntse tehefoi enioktoitame, inane ekpihoksa le*
 children.NOM NEG soon SBJ.return.DEP:SBJ:NEG.PL.INST 3apALL search.must.IPV it:seems
 ‘If the children don’t return soon, I guess (we) will have to go look for them’
 or ‘Unless the children return soon...’

- (10.49) *Sù ekahpina, kim Kemotlasei metot*
 rain SBJ.fall.DEP:SBJ.LOC 12NOM Kemotlasi.DAT NEG.go.IPV:NEG.PL
 ‘If it rains, we won’t go to Kemotlasi’

10.2.2 Dependent clauses as complements of relational nouns

As discussed in §6.5, relational nouns are a special class of nouns which express a spatio-temporal or abstract relation between two or more objects, locations, or events. These nouns normally carry dative or oblique case marking, and combine with a preceding noun or noun phrase complement to form a larger noun phrase. In the following example, *him* ‘interior’ is a relational noun (inflected for locative case), and *tohmi kotu* is its complement:

- (10.50) *tohmi kotu himna*
 large:one house inside.LOC
 ‘inside the large house’ (lit. ‘at the large house[’s] interior’)

In addition to noun phrase complements, a number of relational nouns can take dependent clause complements to form adverbial modifiers. The most common of these are listed below, suffixed with the appropriate case ending (note that *talhkou* and *ohpeu* are essentially synonymous):

<i>elhkoua</i>	‘in order to/that, so that’
<i>hekuna</i>	‘because, since, given that; when’
<i>himna</i>	‘while’
<i>isna</i>	‘after’
<i>kamna</i>	‘before’
<i>ohpeu</i>	‘because’
<i>talhkou</i>	‘because’
<i>usna</i>	‘instead of’

Elhkoua, which forms purpose clauses, selects a complement containing a verb in the dependent subjunctive, as does *usna*:

- (10.51) *kihoin esiephi elhkoua...*
 letter.DAT SBJ.write.DEP:SBJ in:order:to.ALL
 ‘in order to write the letter...’
- (10.52) *Sakialma kihoin esiephi elhkoua...*
 Sakial.ERG letter.DAT SBJ.write.DEP:SBJ in:order:to.ALL
 ‘in order for Sakial to write the letter...’ or ‘in order that Sakial (would) write the letter...’
- (10.53) *Sakialma kihoin esiephi usna, na atuyi*
 Sakial.ERG letter.DAT SBJ.write.DEP:SBJ instead.LOC 3aERG rest.PV
 ‘Instead of writing the letter, Sakial took a nap’
 more lit. ‘Instead of Sakial writing the letter, he took a nap’

The other relational expressions normally select complements with a verb in the dependent indicative:

- (10.54) *sù ikahpa talhkou...*
 rain PRG.fall.DEP cause.ABL
 ‘because it is/was raining...’
- (10.55) *no amè atioka isna...*
 3aRDAT mother.NOM PV.die.DEP after.LOC
 ‘after her mother died...’
- (10.56) *Kima hauat pusukata kamna, losak titioksa*
 12ERG fire make.DEP.PL before.LOC firewood gather.must.IPV
 ‘Before we build a fire, (we) have to gather firewood’

The relational noun *heku*, inflected for locative case, corresponds to English ‘when’ (expressing a time) or ‘since, given that’ (expressing a presupposed state of affairs). Note also the expression *hulne hekuna*, meaning ‘by the time that...’, where *hulne* is literally ‘no more, no later (than)’:

- (10.57) *Me niokta hulne hekuna, ne uta unkilhankat*
 1sNOM return.DEP no:later when.LOC 3aNOM already PF.leave.IPV:PST.PL
 ‘By the time I returned, they had already left’

In the examples above, the dependent clause complement immediately precedes the relational noun and is unmarked for case. It is also possible for the dependent verb to take ablative case marking:

(10.58) *sù ikahpau talhkou...*
 rain PRG.fall.DEP.ABL cause.ABL
 ‘because it is/was raining...’

(10.59) *Elimè Kemotlasei eteu usna...*
 Elim.NOM Kemotlasi.DAT SBJ.go.DEP:SBJ.ABL stead.LOC
 ‘instead of Elim going to Kemotlasi...’

Ablative marking on the complement is rare when the dependent clause immediately precedes the relational noun. However, when the two are separated by intervening material, ablative marking becomes obligatory. For instance, the dependent clause must take ablative marking when it is separated from *kamna* ‘before’ or *isna* ‘after’ by an adverb or instrumental noun phrase expressing temporal duration (e.g., *etsipi* ‘a little while’, *ilme henme* ‘for two months’):

(10.60) *no amè atiokau etsipi isna...*
 3aRDAT mother.NOM PV.die.DEP.ABL for:a:while after.LOC
 ‘a little while after her mother died...’

(10.61) *no amè atiokau ilme henme kamna...*
 3aRDAT mother.NOM PV.die.DEP.ABL moon two.INST before.LOC
 ‘two months before her mother died...’

It is likely that the elements *aun* and *alh*, which inflect for case and select dependent clause complements, also belong to the class of relational nouns. However, since these elements require special discussion, I deal with them in a separate subsection.

10.2.3 Dependent clauses as complements of *aun* and *alh*

Dependent clauses may be selected as complements by the noun-like elements *aun* and *alh*. The former is used to form conditional clauses and related constructions, while the latter forms concessive clauses and related constructions. I discuss these elements in turn. For the sake of consistency, *aun* will be glossed ‘if’ in the examples, while *alh* will be glossed ‘though’. Note, however, that ‘if’ and ‘though’ are not fully equivalent to *aun* and *alh*, so these glosses are only approximate.

Clauses with *aun*

An important function of *aun* is to form indirect questions. Indirect questions are embedded clauses expressing a hypothetical proposition, which are selected by verbs such as *nesapa* ‘ask’, *untsapa* ‘wonder’, and *iona* ‘know’. When the dependent verb in the *aun* clause is in the subjunctive mood, the clause is interpreted as an indirect yes/no question. Here, *aun* corresponds to ‘if’ or ‘whether’ in English. As the examples below show, indirect questions are normally postposed to the right of the verb that selects them:

(10.62) *Ma untsapa elohfoi sù ekahpi aun*
 1sERG wonder.IPV tomorrow rain SBJ.fall.DEP:SBJ if
 ‘I wonder if/whether it will rain tomorrow’

(10.63) *Ma Sakial nesapyi Motlama kihoin iosiehpi aun*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT ask.PV Motla.ERG letter.DAT SBJ:PF.write.DEP:SBJ if
 ‘I asked Sakial if/whether Motla had written the letter’

Aun also forms indirect content questions by combining with a dependent indicative clause. Here the clause contains one or more of the indefinite/interrogative correlative elements discussed in §6.7.1 (e.g., *mà* ‘what’, *mið* ‘who’, *emi* ‘when’, *ymiohpa* ‘why’, etc.). In such cases, *aun* serves merely to indicate that the clause is an indirect question and has no direct English equivalent.

(10.64) *Ma untsapa Motlama mai isiehpa aun*
 1sERG wonder.IPV Motla.ERG what.DAT PRG.write.DEP if
 ‘I wonder what Motla is writing’

(10.65) *Ma Sakiail nesapyi Motlama kihoin emi usiehpa aun*
 1sERG Sakial.DAT ask.PV Motla.ERG letter.DAT when PF.write.DEP if
 ‘I asked Sakial when Motla wrote / had written the letter’

Besides expressing indirect questions, clauses headed by *aun* have other functions as well. For example, an *aun* clause with the verb in the dependent subjunctive can be selected by the relational noun *elhko* ‘purpose’, inflected for allative case. The resulting expression is equivalent to English ‘just in case’:

(10.66) *ne menioktoita aun elhkoua...*
 3aNOM NEG:SBJ.return.DEP:SBJ:NEG.PL if purpose.ALL
 ‘just in case they don’t return ...’

Being itself a noun-like element, *aun* can be suffixed with a case ending under certain circumstances. For example, *aun* can take the allative case ending *-a*. Clauses headed by *auna*, meaning roughly ‘about (whether)’, are used with verbs of thinking and saying to indicate a question which is being debated:

(10.67) *Sa ikyitsampauot elohfoi elakieta auna*
 13ERG PRG.talk:about.ACT.IPV.RECIP.PL tomorrow SBJ.hunt.DEP:SBJ.PL if.ALL
 ‘We’re talking about whether to go hunting tomorrow’

(10.68) *Na sokastyiot ineu miò anasohta auna*
 3aERG argue.PV.RECIP.PL 3aABL who REL.strong.COMP.DEP if.ALL
 ‘They argued about which of them was stronger’

Dependent indicative *aun* clauses can also take the ablative case ending *-u*. Ablative *aun* clauses occur in comparative constructions (§7.6), where they express the standard of comparison, especially when making comparisons of manner or amount. Typically the *aun* clause contains a correlative such as *miai* ‘how’, *mian* ‘how much’, *miante* ‘how many’. As example (10.71) shows, the verb may be omitted from the *aun* clause when it is the same as the verb in the main clause.

(10.69) *Ma akut halma anihte uktiama ikune miante moituha aunu*
 1sERG 2pDAT book as:many give.IPV.DPL 2pALL how:many get.want.DEP if.ABL
 ‘I’ll give you as many books as you want’ (lit. ‘... as how many you want to get’)

(10.70) *Imem halma anohte he miante ekpyipa aunu*
 1sINST book more be:IPV how:many carry.able.DEP if.ABL
 ‘I have more books than I can carry’ (lit. ‘... than how many are carryable’)

(10.71) *Na ueho ifei sepyit ikima miain aunu*
 3aERG wine as:much.DAT drink.PV.PL 12ERG how:much.DAT if.ABL
 ‘They drank as much wine as we did’ (lit. ‘... as how much we [drank]’)

Finally, *aun* can take the instrumental case ending *-me*. As shown below, *aunme* can select a dependent indicative complement to form a temporal (‘when’) clause, or a conditional (‘if, whenever’) clause expressing a general precondition for some event. Alternatively, *aunme* can select a dependent subjunctive complement to form a conditional (‘if’) clause expressing a hypothetical or counterfactual condition. When introduced by an *aunme* clause, the main clause often includes the particle *temai* ‘then’. (Note that *aunme* clauses have many of the same functions as participial clauses, discussed in §10.3.)

- (10.72) *Sù kahpa aunme, me mokna teha*
 rain fall.DEP if.INST 1sNOM home.LOC stay.IPV
 ‘When(ever) it rains, I stay at home’ or ‘If it rains...’
- (10.73) *Elohfoi sù ekahpi aunme, me temai mokna teha*
 tomorrow rain SBJ.fall.DEP:SBJ if.INST 1sNOM then home.LOC stay.IPV
 ‘If it rains tomorrow, then I’ll stay at home’
- (10.74) *Sù ekahpi aunme, me mokna tehike*
 rain SBJ.fall.DEP:SBJ if.INST 1sNOM home.LOC stay.COND
 ‘If it rained, I would stay at home’
- (10.75) *Elohka sù iokahpi aunme, me mokna utehike*
 yesterday rain SBJ:PF.fall.DEP:SBJ if.INST 1sNOM home.LOC PF.stay.COND
 ‘If it had rained yesterday, I would have stayed at home’

When an indicative *aunme* clause contains an indefinite/interrogative correlative, it functions as a type of adverbial clause known as an ADJUNCT FREE RELATIVE. Adjunct free relatives in English are introduced by a WH-element suffixed with ‘-ever’ (‘whoever’, ‘whatever’, ‘whenever’, etc.). The main clause often contains a pronoun or demonstrative correlative (see §6.7.2) which refers back to the proposition expressed by the *aunme* clause.

- (10.76) *Na mà sukata aunme, na etsuali lehuat*
 3aERG what:NOM do.DEP.PL if.INST 3aERG SBJ.careful.DEP:SBJ should.IPV.PL
 ‘Whatever they do, they should be careful’
 more lit. ‘When(ever) they do something, they should be careful’
- (10.77) *Ku miei eta aunme, tiei husu man eta*
 2NOM where.DAT go.DEP if.INST there.DAT also 1sNOM go.IPV
 ‘Wherever you go, I will go there too’
 more lit. ‘When(ever) you go somewhere, I will go there too’
- (10.78) *Hitolna miò auotiohta aunme, hi inà muke eskuke*
 door.LOC who:NOM REL.close.COMP.DEP if.INST 3iNOM 3aERG close.CV please
 ‘Whoever is closest to the door, please close it’
 more lit. ‘When(ever) someone is closest to the door, will that (person) please close it’

The verb *hutopa* ‘depend on, be based on, be linked with’ often selects an *aunme* clause:

- (10.79) *Sonioktè hutopa mioi nesapa aunme*
 answer.NOM depend.IPV who.DAT ask.DEP if.INST
 ‘The answer depends on who one asks’

Aunme clauses can include a quantifier, such as *ante* ‘many’, *sepyi* ‘a few’, *tsomote* ‘most’, etc., which quantifies over the set of events or cases denoted by the clause. When a quantifier is present, it follows *aun* and carries the case ending. The following combinations are particularly common:

<i>aun anteme</i>	‘often when, in many cases when/where’
<i>aun ikyime</i>	‘always when, whenever’
<i>aun sepyime</i>	‘sometimes when, in some cases when/where’
<i>aun tsomoteme</i>	‘usually when, in most cases when/where’

Examples:

(10.80) *Sakialma ueho sepa aun tsomoteme, ne munteta*
 Sakial.ERG wine drink.DEP if most.INST 3aABS drunk.TINC.IPV
 ‘When Sakial drinks wine, he usually gets drunk’
 more lit. ‘In most (cases) when Sakial drinks wine, he gets drunk’

(10.81) *Ma imuelhta aun sepyime, iman opa lohan ulà*
 1sERG PRG.sleep.TINC.DEP if some.INST 1sLOC believe.IPV voice hear:RES.DEP.NOM
 ‘Sometimes when I’m going to sleep, I think (I can) hear voices’

Note finally that, in addition to combining with a dependent clause, *aunme* can follow a noun phrase (unmarked for case) to mark that noun phrase as a contrastive topic. The contrastive topic construction is used to introduce a new (or newly relevant) participant into the discourse, and is more or less equivalent to English ‘as for X’ or ‘as far as X is concerned’:

(10.82) *Elim aunme, na peutoksa kim nioktutaua*
 Elim if.INST 3aERG wait.must.IPV 12NOM return.DEP:SBJ.PL.ALL
 ‘As for Elim, he will have to wait for us to return’

Clauses with *alh*

Like *aun*, *alh* is a nominal element which normally selects a dependent clause as its complement. Unlike *aun*, which can appear in various cases, *alh* always takes the instrumental ending *-me*. When *alhme* combines with a dependent clause in the indicative mood, the result is a concessive clause, equivalent to a clause headed by ‘although’, ‘(even) though’, or ‘despite (the fact that)’. The main clause often includes the contrastive particle *anin* ‘still, nevertheless, even so’.

(10.83) *Hi teusu lhutata alhme, anin tekelyipankat iman*
 3iNOM very heavy.DEP.PL though.INST still pick:up.able.IPV:PST.PL 1sLOC
 ‘Although they’re quite heavy, I was still able to pick (them) up’

(10.84) *Mi Motlà motsokuo alhme, inè han iona iman*
 1sDAT Motla.NOM NEG.PF.meet.DEP:NEG though.INST 3aALL much know.IPV 1sLOC
 ‘Even though I’ve never met Motla, I know a lot about him’

When the *alhme* clause includes an indefinite correlative (§6.7.1), it usually corresponds to an indirect question introduced by ‘despite, in spite of’ or ‘no matter’:

(10.85) *Ikuna mà opa alhme, suklute ntsemiai nukano*
 2pLOC what:NOM believe.DEP though.INST work.NOM not:so dangerous.IPV:NEG
 ‘Despite what you think, the work is not so dangerous’

(10.86) *Na miampi nika alhme, na manamuohito*
 3aERG how:much try.DEP though.INST 3aERG NEG.succeed.IPV:NEG
 ‘No matter how hard she tries, she won’t succeed’

When the dependent verb is in the subjunctive mood, the *alhme* clause is interpreted as a concessive conditional, corresponding to a clause with ‘even if’ or ‘whether (or not)’. Sometimes the *alhme* clause contains two predicates combined using the repeated coordinator *lo* ‘or’, as in (10.88) and (10.89) below. Here, the concessive clause indicates that the choice among alternative situations makes no difference to the situation denoted by the main clause.

(10.87) *Na hampi ioiespi alhme, nesaip mosonioktyipoike*
 3aERG much SBJ:PF.study.DEP:SBJ though.INST question.DAT NEG.PF.answer.able.COND:NEG
 ‘Even if he had studied hard, (he) would not have been able to answer the question’

(10.88) *Lo sù ekahpi lo aho elaini alhme, topuole elohfoi nkilha*
 or rain SBJ.fall.DEP:SBJ or sun SBJ.shine.DEP:SBJ though ship.NOM tomorrow leave.IPV
 ‘Whether it rains or shines, the ship will depart tomorrow’

(10.89) *Ikoï lo euokfi lo ntsune alhme, hi anin sukoksa*
 2ALL or SBJ.want.DEP:SBJ or not though.INST 3iNOM still do.must.IPV
 ‘Whether you want to or not, (you) still have to do it’

Finally, like *aunme*, *alhme* can combine with an unmarked noun phrase in place of a dependent clause, in which case it corresponds to English ‘in spite of’ or ‘notwithstanding’:

(10.90) *Sù alhme, otieuni seuki tifoksa hialò*
 rain though.INST garden.DAT weed remove.must.IPV today
 ‘In spite of the rain, (we) need to weed the garden today’

10.2.4 Restructuring: Bare dependent complements of verbs

As discussed in §4.4.1, a number of Class I verbs can take a dependent clause as their nominative argument. These include verbs like *otsena* ‘be likely’, where the dependent clause is headed by a verb in the subjunctive mood. In the examples below, *etokè* consists of *etoki* (the dependent subjunctive form of *toka* ‘fix’), plus the nominative case ending *-e*; *ietokè* and *iotokè* are the progressive and perfect forms, respectively. As these examples show, dependent clauses in the nominative are normally postposed after the verb that selects them (cf. §9.2.3).

(10.91) *Otsena Elimma mutoi etokè*
 likely.IPV Elim.ERG fence.DAT SBJ.fix.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘It is likely that Elim will fix the fence’

(10.92) *Otsena Elimma mutoi ietokè*
 likely.IPV Elim.ERG fence.DAT SBJ:PRG.fix.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘It is likely that Elim is fixing the fence’

(10.93) *Otsena Elimma mutoi iotokè*
 likely.IPV Elim.ERG fence.DAT SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘It is likely that Elim has fixed the fence’

An alternative to this construction is shown below. Here, the dependent subjunctive verb and its dependents immediately precede *otsena*, and the dependent verb is not marked for nominative case, but appears instead in its ‘bare’ form, without any case marking (e.g., *etoki* instead of *etokè*).

(10.94) *Elimma mutoi etoki otsena*
 Elim.ERG fence.DAT SBJ.fix.DEP:SBJ likely.IPV
 ‘Elim is likely to fix the fence’

(10.95) *Elimma mutoi ietoki otsena*
 Elim.ERG fence.DAT SBJ:PRG.fix.DEP:SBJ likely.IPV
 ‘Elim is likely to be fixing the fence’

(10.96) *Elimma mutoi iotoki otsena*
 Elim.ERG fence.DAT SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ likely.IPV
 ‘Elim is likely to have fixed the fence’

In this construction, the selecting verb and the dependent verb form a kind of complex predicate heading a single clause, a phenomenon known as RESTRUCTURING. Here the selecting verb rather than the dependent verb carries the tense and mood inflection for the clause, and can also take other morphology available to Class I predicates—e.g., it can inflect for the comparative/superlative degree (see §7.6), as in (10.98) below.

- (10.97) *Elimma mutoi etoki otsenanka*
 Elim.ERG fence.DAT SBJ.fix.DEP:SBJ likely.IPV:PST
 ‘Elim was likely to fix the fence’

- (10.98) *Elimma mutoi etoki auotsenohta imò*
 Elim.ERG fence.DAT SBJ.fix.DEP:SBJ REL.likely.COMP.IPV 1sABL
 ‘Elim is more likely than me to fix the fence’

Crucially in restructuring, the arguments and modifiers of the dependent verb behave as part of the main clause. Consequently, the predicate as whole can be thought of as inheriting its argument structure properties from the dependent verb. For instance, although *otsena* ‘be likely’ belongs to Class I, *etoki otsena* ‘be likely to fix’ behaves as a Class III predicate because *toka* ‘fix’ is a Class III verb. One piece of evidence to show that the arguments of the dependent verb are part of the main clause comes from number agreement (cf. §7.2): if one of the core arguments of the dependent verb is plural, the number agreement suffixes attach not to the dependent verb itself, but to the verb that selects it:

- (10.99) *Elimma mutoi iotoki otsenama*
 Elim.ERG fence.DAT SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ likely.IPV.DPL
 ‘Elim is likely to have fixed the fences’

- (10.100) *Elim ka Sakialma mutoi iotoki otsenammat*
 Elim and Sakial.ERG fence.DAT SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ likely.IPV.DPL.PL
 ‘Elim and Sakial are likely to have fixed the fences’

Compare (10.99) and (10.100) with the non-restructuring examples below, where *otsena* takes a (postposed) dependent subjunctive clause complement in the nominative case. Here the plural noun phrases are properly part of the dependent clause, and number agreement shows up on the dependent verb rather than on *otsena*:

- (10.101) *Otsena Elimma mutoi iotokimà*
 likely.IPV Elim.ERG fence.DAT SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ.DPL.NOM
 ‘It is likely that Elim has fixed the fences’

- (10.102) *Otsena Elim ka Sakialma mutoi iotokimatà*
 likely.IPV Elim and Sakial.ERG fence.DAT SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ.DPL.PL.NOM
 ‘It is likely that Elim and Sakial have fixed the fences’

An additional piece of evidence for restructuring comes from the fact that a verb and its bare dependent complement can act as a single unit in the formation of a participant nominal (see §10.6), with participant nominal morphology appearing on the selecting verb. Compare:

- (10.103) *Elimma iotokil mutu*
 Elim.ERG SBJ:PF.fix.DEP.DNZR fence
 ‘(the) fence that Elim has/had fixed’

- (10.104) *Elimma iotoki otsenal mutu*
 Elim.ERG SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ likely.DEP.DNZR fence
 ‘(the) fence that Elim is/was likely to have fixed’

- (10.105) *mutoi utokaka koin*
 fence.DAT PF.fix.DEP.ANZR person
 ‘(the) person who has/had fixed the fence’
- (10.106) *mutoi iotoki otsenaka koin*
 fence.DAT SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ likely.DEP.ANZR person
 ‘(the) person who is/was likely to have fixed the fence’

There are two possible ways to negate a clause containing a restructuring predicate: either the clause as a whole can be negated, including the selecting verb, or just the dependent verb can be negated. When just the dependent verb is negated, the negative marker *ntse* attaches to it as a prefix (*m-*) if the two are adjacent. This is illustrated in (10.107). When the entire clause is negated, both verbs inflect for negative polarity; the negative marker *ntse* again precedes the dependent verb, but does not attach to it as a prefix, even when the two are adjacent. This is illustrated in (10.108). Notice how these sentences are translated, reflecting a subtle difference in interpretation: in the latter sentence negation scopes over ‘likely to have fixed’, while in the former sentence it only scopes over ‘to have fixed’.

- (10.107) *Elimma mutoi miotokoi otsena*
 Elim.ERG fence.DAT NEG.SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ:NEG likely.IPV
 ‘Elim is likely not to have fixed the fence’
- (10.108) *Elimma mutoi ntse iotokoi otseno*
 Elim.ERG fence.DAT NEG SBJ:PF.fix.DEP:SBJ:NEG likely.IPV:NEG
 ‘Elim is not likely to have fixed the fence’

Verbs like *otsena*, which can select a bare dependent subjunctive verb to form a restructuring predicate, all belong to Class I. They include the modal verbs, listed below (see §7.7.2 for additional discussion). The glosses give the most literal English equivalents of each verb, while more idiomatic translations are given in parentheses.

<i>alha</i>	‘be allowed, permissible’ (‘can, may, be allowed to’)
<i>aniohta</i>	‘be better, preferable’ (‘better, it would be better/best if...’)
<i>etaupa</i>	‘be predicted’ (‘be supposed to’)
<i>ksafa</i>	‘be desired, wished for’ (‘want to, wish for’)
<i>kuia</i>	‘be certain, definite’ (‘be sure’)
<i>lehua</i>	‘be advisable’ (‘should, ought to, be supposed to’)
<i>lyihpa</i>	‘be possible’ (‘can, may, might’)
<i>okfa</i>	‘be desired/desirable’ (‘want’)
<i>tima</i>	‘be likely, common’ (‘tend to; be liable to’)
<i>tiuha</i>	‘be necessary, needed’ (‘need to, have to, must’)
<i>toupa</i>	‘be presumable, apparent’ (‘must’)

Examples:

- (10.109) *Sù ekahpi etaupa elohfoi*
 rain SBJ.fall.DEP:SBJ predicted.IPV tomorrow
 ‘It’s supposed to rain tomorrow’
- (10.110) *Ne hatlam etioki kuia*
 3aNOM soon SBJ.die.DEP:SBJ certain.IPV
 ‘He is certain to die soon’
- (10.111) *Ma kielna iotupi toupa*
 1sERG dream.LOC SBJ:PF.walk.DEP:SBJ must.IPV
 ‘I must have been dreaming’ (lit. ‘walking in a dream’)

- (10.112) *Ko kaine halma atat etali lehuamat mo*
 2ERG first book these:DAT SBJ.read.DEP:SBJ advisable.IPV.DPL.PL in:my:opinion
 ‘I think you (pl) should read these books first’

The following examples, featuring *tiuha* ‘be necessary’, show how the placement of negation affects the interpretation of sentences with modal predicates. When the entire sentence is negated, the meaning is ‘not have to’, but when only the dependent verb is negated, the meaning is ‘must not’. A more literal translation of (10.114) would be ‘For you it is not necessary to leave now’, while (10.115) may be paraphrased ‘For you it is necessary to not leave now’.

- (10.113) *Ikune takan enkilhi tiuha*
 2pALL now SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ necessary.IPV
 ‘You (pl) must leave now’
- (10.114) *Ikune ntse takan enkilhoi tiuho*
 2pALL NEG now SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ:NEG necessary.IPV:NEG
 ‘You (pl) don’t have to leave now’
- (10.115) *Ikune takan menkilhoi tiuha*
 2pALL now NEG.SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ:NEG necessary.IPV
 ‘You (pl) must not leave now’

The following examples further illustrate the interaction between modal verbs and negation in restructuring predicates:

<i>ntse enkilhoi alho</i>	‘not allowed to leave’	<i>menkilhoi alha</i>	‘allowed not to leave’
<i>ntse enkilhoi lyihpo</i>	‘can’t leave’	<i>menkilhoi lyihpa</i>	‘might not leave’
<i>ntse ionkilhoi toupa</i>	‘can’t have left’	<i>mionkilhoi toupa</i>	‘must not have left’

Other Class I verbs which form restructuring predicates are listed below. Most of these are the resultative forms of dynamic perception verbs such as *kila* ‘see, notice’, *ola* ‘hear’, etc., to which the relative prefix *a-* has been added (see §7.5.1 for more on the resultative aspect, and §7.6 for more on the relative marker).

<i>akula</i>	‘look, appear’
<i>alohtsa</i>	‘smell’
<i>amaihtla</i>	‘taste’
<i>aseifa</i>	‘feel (to the touch)’
<i>auoita</i>	‘feel, seem’
<i>auola</i>	‘sound’
<i>iala</i>	‘know how’
<i>koluma</i>	‘be difficult’
<i>malha</i>	‘be worthwhile, worth (doing)’
<i>tiapa</i>	‘be easy’
<i>tiyla</i>	‘seem, appear’
<i>tuosa</i>	‘it’s time that...’ (lit. ‘be ripe’)

Examples:

- (10.116) *Mase hampi eiahenki ialohtsa*
 soup.NOM very SBJ.REL.enjoyable.DEP:SBJ PRG.REL.smell:RES.IPV
 ‘The soup smells very good’
- (10.117) *Halma tan iman emutli teusu koluma*
 book this:NOM 1sLOC SBJ.understand.DEP:SBJ very difficult.IPV
 ‘This book is very difficult for me to understand’

- (10.118) *Mo Motlà empekamna akile, inan iekesti tiylanka*
 1sRDAT Motla.NOM most:recently PV.see.PT 3asLOC SBJ:PRG.happy.DEP:SBJ seem.IPV:PST
 ‘The last time I saw Motla, he seemed to be happy’
- (10.119) *Kim enkilhi ituosat*
 12NOM SBJ.leave.DEP:SBJ PRG.be:time.IPV.PL
 ‘It’s time for us to leave’
- (10.120) *Halma tan etali malha*
 book this:NOM SBJ.read.DEP:SBJ worthwhile.IPV
 ‘This book is worth reading’

The verb *iala* ‘have, be responsible for’ normally combines with a noun phrase complement and denotes inalienable possession (e.g., *Sakialu suhpa iala* ‘Sakial has a brother’). However, *iala* can also combine with a bare dependent subjunctive complement, in which case it means ‘know how’. The individual who possesses the knowledge is referenced by a noun phrase in the ablative case:

- (10.121) *Sakialu etali tena esiehpi iala*
 Sakial.ABL SBJ.read.DEP:SBJ and SBJ.write.DEP:SBJ have.IPV
 ‘Sakial knows how to read and write’

As with other restructuring predicates, either the selecting verb or the dependent verb can be negated, depending on the scope of negation. Compare the following examples, where the second and third sentences differ subtly in meaning:

- (10.122) *Ikun ytapi ekesti iakula*
 2sLOC certainly SBJ.happy.DEP:SBJ PRG.REL.look.IPV
 ‘You certainly look happy’
- (10.123) *Ikun ytapi ntse ekestoi iakulo*
 2sLOC certainly NEG SBJ.happy.DEP:SBJ PRG.REL.look.IPV:NEG
 ‘You certainly don’t look happy’
- (10.124) *Ikun ytapi mekestoi iakula*
 2sLOC certainly NEG.SBJ.happy.DEP:SBJ:NEG PRG.REL.look.IPV
 ‘You certainly look unhappy’

Note that restructuring predicates like *ekesti akula* ‘look happy’ are somewhat formal. A more colloquial alternative would be to use a stative verb preceded by an unmarked noun denoting an abstract quality: e.g., *akiel kesta*, literally ‘be happy (in) appearance’. Compare the pairs of sentences below, where the second sentence in each pair is the more common variant:

- (10.125) *Ohuè eseimi amaihtla*
 fruit.NOM SBJ.sweet.DEP:SBJ REL.taste:RES.IPV
 ‘The fruit tastes sweet’
- (10.126) *Ohuè amahtle seima*
 fruit.NOM flavour sweet.IPV
 ‘The fruit tastes sweet’ (lit. ‘is sweet in flavour’)
- (10.127) *Elime ehakti iakula hialò*
 Elim.NOM SBJ.tired.DEP:SBJ PRG.REL.look.IPV today
 ‘Elim is looking tired today’

(10.128) *Elima akiel ihakta hialò*
 Elim.NOM appearance PRG.tired.IPV today
 ‘Elim is looking tired today’ (lit. ‘is tired in appearance’)

(10.129) *Sakialna ehotsmi iauola*
 Sakial.LOC SBJ.angry.DEP:SBJ PRG.REL.sound.IPV
 ‘Sakial sounds angry’

(10.130) *Sakialna aule ihotsma*
 Sakial.LOC sound PRG.angry.IPV
 ‘Sakial sounds angry’ (lit. ‘is angry in sound’)

Finally, evaluative Class I verbs like *henka* ‘be enjoyable’ and *huata* ‘be appreciated’ can take a bare dependent subjunctive complement denoting a type of activity. The experiencer is expressed by a noun phrase in the allative case.

(10.131) *Imè esihpi henka*
 1sALL SBJ.swim.DEP:SBJ enjoyable.IPV
 ‘I like to swim’

10.3 Participial clauses

The term PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE refers to a type of subordinate clause in Okuna headed by a PARTICIPLE. Participles are untensed verbs marked with one of a set of special suffixes, listed and discussed below. A participial clause acts as an adjunct, and names an event or state of affairs which provides the temporal or logical context for the event or state of affairs denoted by the main clause. In discourse-functional terms, participial clauses express ‘background’ (presupposed or scene-setting) information, while main clauses generally express ‘foregrounded’ (asserted) information. In narratives, for example, the sequence of events which constitutes the plot line is encoded by a succession of main clauses, while participial clauses serve to clarify, modify, or set the scene for events in the plot line. Put another way, the main clauses describe what happened, while participial clauses describe when it happened or under what conditions.

Consider the following example, where *Elimma imuelhe* is the participial clause (marked by the suffix *-e* on the verb), and *Sakiale moktyi* is the main clause. Here the participial clause provides context for the main clause by expressing an event which was ongoing at the time when the main clause event occurred.

(10.132) *Elimma imuelhe Sakiale moktyi*
 Elim.ERG PRG.sleep.PT Sakial.NOM come:home.PV
 ‘While Elim was sleeping, Sakial came home’

Participles are formed by adding an ending on the verb stem, which replaces the tense/aspect/mood/polarity endings found in main clauses (cf. §7.4). Like verbs in the dependent form (§10.2), participles make a two-way mood distinction between indicative and subjunctive, with separate endings in each mood for positive and negative participles. Participles also take the same aspectual prefixes found on verbs in the dependent indicative form (regardless of whether the particle is indicative or subjunctive): progressive *i-*, perfect *u-*, and perfective *a-*, with the imperfect marked by the absence of an aspect prefix on the participle.

The endings for forming participles are listed in the table below, together with the abbreviations used for these endings in the glosses. Note that *-u* becomes *-o* when preceded by a glide: e.g., *m.o.pau.u* > *mopauo* ‘not having washed’.

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
INDICATIVE PARTICIPLE	<i>-e/-i</i> (PT)	<i>-u</i> (PT:NEG)
SUBJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE	<i>-ai</i> (PT:SBJ)	<i>-au</i> (PT:SBJ:NEG)

Participles agree in number with their subjects and objects, with plural number agreement marked by suffixes that follow the participial ending. These suffixes are the same as the ones used for verbs in main clauses (see discussion in §7.2). The complete set of number agreement forms for the participles is given in the following table. As this table shows, the positive indicative ending, which otherwise takes the form *-e*, surfaces as *-i* when preceded and followed by a consonant.

	SG	PL	NPL	NPL+PL	DPL	DPL+PL	EPL	EPL+PL
PT	<i>-e</i>	<i>-it</i>	<i>-eua</i>	<i>-euat</i>	<i>-ima</i>	<i>-imat</i>	<i>-ine</i>	<i>-init</i>
PT:NEG	<i>-u</i>	<i>-ut</i>	<i>-oua</i>	<i>-ouat</i>	<i>-uma</i>	<i>-umat</i>	<i>-une</i>	<i>-unit</i>
PT:SBJ	<i>-ai</i>	<i>-ait</i>	<i>-aia</i>	<i>-aiat</i>	<i>-aima</i>	<i>-aimat</i>	<i>-aine</i>	<i>-ainit</i>
PT:SBJ:NEG	<i>-au</i>	<i>-aut</i>	<i>-aua</i>	<i>-auat</i>	<i>-auma</i>	<i>-aumat</i>	<i>-aune</i>	<i>-aunit</i>

Participles can also take the reciprocal suffix *-(u)o*, either by itself or in combination with the plural topic suffix *-t* (see §9.4.4 for more on reciprocal clauses):

	RECIP	RECIP+PL
PT	<i>-euo</i>	<i>-euot</i>
PT:NEG	<i>-ouo</i>	<i>-ouot</i>
PT:SBJ	<i>-aio</i>	<i>-aiot</i>
PT:SBJ:NEG	<i>-auo</i>	<i>-auot</i>

The copula *he* (§9.3.1) has an irregular conjugation. The participial forms for the copula are listed below. As discussed in §7.4.1, the copula makes only a two-way aspectual distinction, between imperfect and perfect, and can host the agreement suffixes *-t* (plural topic) and *-(u)a* (nominative plural).

	IMPERFECT			PERFECT		
	SG	PL	NPL	SG	PL	NPL
PT	<i>hi</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>heia</i>	<i>heue</i>	<i>heuet</i>	<i>heueia</i>
PT:NEG	<i>hu</i>	<i>hut</i>	<i>houa</i>	<i>heuo</i>	<i>heuot</i>	<i>heuoua</i>
PT:SBJ	<i>hai</i>	<i>hait</i>	<i>haia</i>	<i>heuai</i>	<i>heuit</i>	<i>heuaia</i>
PT:SBJ:NEG	<i>hau</i>	<i>haut</i>	<i>haua</i>	<i>heuai</i>	<i>heuit</i>	<i>heuaia</i>

The deictic verbs *tsà* ‘be here (near me)’ and *kà* ‘be here/there (near us/you)’ (§5.3.2) also form their participles irregularly. The table below gives the imperfect participles for *tsà* and *kà*; the prefixes *i-* and *u-* are added to these forms to give the corresponding progressive and perfect participles, respectively. For these verbs, the indicative participles and their subjunctive counterparts are homophonous.

	SG	PL	NPL	SG	PL	NPL
PT	<i>tsai</i>	<i>tsait</i>	<i>tsaia</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>kait</i>	<i>kaia</i>
PT:NEG	<i>tsau</i>	<i>tsaut</i>	<i>tsaua</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>kaut</i>	<i>kaua</i>
PT:SBJ	<i>tsai</i>	<i>tsait</i>	<i>tsaia</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>kait</i>	<i>kaia</i>
PT:SBJ:NEG	<i>tsau</i>	<i>tsaut</i>	<i>tsaua</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>kaut</i>	<i>kaua</i>

Indicative participial clauses generally express a temporal context (‘when/while’) or the presupposed cause or reason for the event denoted by the main clause (‘because/since/given that’). Subjunctive participial clauses express a hypothetical condition on which the event in the main clause depends, making them functionally equivalent to conditional (‘if’) clauses. Indicative participles are discussed and illustrated further in §10.3.1, while subjunctive participles are dealt with in §10.3.2.

10.3.1 Indicative participles

As noted above, indicative participles are formed by adding the suffix *-e* (or *-i* between two consonants) to the verb stem when the clause is positive, and *-u* when the clause is negative. The indicative participial form may be unprefixated, or it may carry the progressive prefix *i-*, the perfect prefix *u-*, or the perfective prefix *a-*.

Examples of indicative participial clauses are given here (formed from *na muelha* ‘s/he sleeps’, *na muelhat* ‘they sleep’), while the functions of the different aspectual forms are discussed below.

<i>na muelhe</i>	‘when s/he sleeps’	<i>na mamuelhu</i>	‘when s/he doesn’t sleep’
<i>na imuelhe</i>	‘while s/he is/was sleeping’	<i>na memuelhu</i>	‘without him/her sleeping’
<i>na umuelhe</i>	‘once s/he has/had slept’	<i>na momuelhu</i>	‘without him/her having slept’
<i>na amuelhe</i>	‘when s/he slept’	<i>na mamuelhu</i>	‘when s/he didn’t sleep’
<i>na muelhit</i>	‘when they sleep’	<i>na mamuelhut</i>	‘when they don’t sleep’
<i>na imuelhit</i>	‘while they are/were sleeping’	<i>na memuelhut</i>	‘without them sleeping’
<i>na umuelhit</i>	‘once they have/had slept’	<i>na momuelhut</i>	‘without them having slept’
<i>na amuelhit</i>	‘when they slept’	<i>na mamuelhut</i>	‘when they didn’t sleep’

The progressive participle

Progressive participles generally express an event which is or was ongoing, or a state of affairs which is/was in effect, at the time when the event denoted by the main clause takes place. The following examples show a progressive participial clause juxtaposed with a main clause in the perfective aspect. As the glosses for these sentences indicate, progressive participial clauses are typically translated using a subordinate clause with ‘while’ (Okuna also has other ways of forming ‘while’ clauses, as discussed in §10.2.1 and §10.2.2, but these are less common). The participial clause and the main clause may occur in either order, though it is most common for the participial clause to precede the main clause.

- (10.133) *Elimma imuelhe Sakiale moktyi*
 Elim.ERG PRG.sleep.PT Sakial.NOM come:home.PV
 ‘While Elim was sleeping, Sakial came home’

- (10.134) *Sakialma kamala ikpihe no utsape tloke tlehyi*
 Sakial.ERG knife.ALL PRG.search.PT 3aRDAT PF.lose.TNZR shoe.NOM find.PV
 ‘While Sakial was looking for a/the knife, he found the shoe that (he) had lost’

Below, a progressive participial clause is juxtaposed with a main clause in the imperfect or progressive aspect. Notice that how the participial clause is translated (with ‘is asleep’ versus ‘was asleep’) depends on whether the main clause is in the past tense or the non-past tense. The participle itself does not show any tense distinctions.

- (10.135) *Elimma imuelhe ma suka*
 Elim.ERG PRG.sleep.PT 1SERG work.IPV
 ‘While Elim is asleep, I (will) work’
- (10.136) *Elimma imuelhe ma isuka*
 Elim.ERG PRG.sleep.PT 1SERG PRG.work.IPV
 ‘I am working while Elim sleeps / is asleep’
- (10.137) *Elimma imuelhe ma isukanka*
 Elim.ERG PRG.sleep.PT 1SERG PRG.work.IPV:PST
 ‘I was working while Elim slept / was asleep’

Progressive participial clauses can also correspond to bare participial modifiers in English, especially when they share a referent with the main clause:

- (10.138) *Mikale halou kiompe suhyi ihise*
 boy.NOM room.ABL run.CV go:out.PV PRG.cry.PT
 ‘The boy ran out of the room crying’

In the examples presented above, the participle is an eventive (Class II or Class III) verb. Stative (Class I) verbs can also form progressive participles, expressing a condition or state of affairs holding at the time when the main clause event occurs. Stative progressive participles often correspond to secondary predicates in English:

- (10.139) *Sakiale moktyi muohpi iahakte*
 Sakial.NOM come:home.PV completely PRG.REL.tired.PT
 ‘Sakial came home completely exhausted’

A progressive participle is often used to express a situation involving two or more actions performed together, where English would be more likely to use two tensed predicates or clauses conjoined with ‘and’:

- (10.140) *Lhatima iohnit hostyit*
 children.ERG PRG.sing.PT.PL dance.PV.PL
 ‘The children sang and danced’ (lit. ‘danced while singing’)

Although progressive participial clauses usually provide a temporal context for the event denoted by the main clause, they can also express the cause, reason, or rationale for that event:

- (10.141) *Sakialna teusu iekone, na iase maha ekpihtyi*
 Sakial.LOC very PRG.hungry.PT 3aERG food some.ALL search.TINC.PV
 ‘Sakial being very hungry, he began to look for something to eat’
 or ‘Since/given that Sakial (was) very hungry...’

Notice that when the main clause and the participial clause share a referent, any full noun phrase which picks out that referent will appear in the first clause, regardless of whether it is the participial clause or the main clause. In the second clause, that referent will be picked out by the appropriate pronoun. Compare the following sentences, which have the same meaning, but with the order of the participial clause and the main clause reversed: in each case the noun *iha* ‘woman’ occurs in the first clause, while the second clause contains a clitic pronoun which refers to the same referent.

- (10.142) *Ihama kopò inakpe ne haloi lhyuyi*
 woman.ERG pot.NOM PRG.carry:in:hands.PT room.DAT 3aNOM enter.PV
 ‘The woman, carrying the pot, came into the room’
 more lit. ‘While the woman (was) carrying a pot, she came into the room’

- (10.143) *Ihà haloi lhyuyi na kopò inakpe*
 woman.NOM room.DAT enter.PF 3aERG pot.NOM PRG.carry:in:hands.PT
 ‘The woman came into the room carrying a pot’
 more lit. ‘The woman came into the room while she (was) carrying a pot’

When the progressive participial clause is negated, it may be translated into English using a ‘without’ clause:

- (10.144) *Ne euolhna euohtanka inme meksonu*
 3aNOM there.LOC PRG.sit.IPV:PST 3aERG.1sNOM NEG.PRG.look:at.PT:NEG
 ‘He sat there without looking at me’ or ‘He sat there, not looking at me’

The progressive participle is also used in the construction illustrated below, where the participial clause is introduced by the conjunction *ka* ‘and, such that’. Here the participial clause provides background information about one of the entities mentioned in the preceding clause. In the English counterpart of this sentence, the noun in question is modified by a non-restrictive (or ‘appositional’) relative clause.

- (10.145) *Me Uilumai etyi, ka itan amema kas ulhmo antei itsuhpe*
 1sNOM Uiluma.DAT go.PV and 3iLOC mother.ERG so:far year many.DAT PRG.live.PT
 ‘I went to Uiluma, where my mother has been living for many years’
 more lit. ‘I went to Uiluma, and in it (my) mother living for many years’

Finally, note the examples below. Here Okuna uses a progressive participle construction where English would employ a preposition or subordinating conjunction. The progressive participial form of *tiyla* ‘seem’ (which in turn selects a dependent subjunctive clause marked for nominative case) is the equivalent of ‘as if’ or ‘as though’. In addition, ‘without’, when used of an instrument, can be expressed using a negative participial clause headed by a verb like *nyipa* ‘use’.

- (10.146) *Na imè kuhinie etyi, itiyle inan mi ekahtihè*
 3aERG 1sALL dirty:look put.PF PRG.seem.PT 3asLOC 1sDAT SBJ.hit.intend.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘She glared at me as though she intended to hit me’
 more lit. ‘She gave me a dirty look, (it) seeming that she intended to hit me’

- (10.147) *Ama easoksanka ntse taus inyipu*
 3iDAT.1sERG PRG.eat.must.IPV:PST NEG spoon PRG.use.PT:NEG
 ‘I had to eat it without a spoon’ (lit. ‘not using a spoon’)

The perfect participle

As with progressive participial clauses, a perfect participial clause typically provides a temporal context for the clause it modifies. When the perfect participle is used, the contextualizing event properly precedes the main event, rather than overlapping with it, as in the case of the progressive participle. As the examples below illustrate, the main clause can refer to a past or non-past event or state. In either case, the perfect participle expresses an event/state which properly precedes it. A perfect participial clause is often used where English would employ a subordinate clause with ‘when’, ‘once’, or ‘after’.

- (10.148) *Sakiale umokte sa sati iasyit*
 Sakial.NOM PF.come:home.PT 13ERG meal eat.PV.PL
 ‘Sakial having come home, we ate dinner’ or ‘After Sakial had come home...’

- (10.149) *Sakiale umokte sa sati iasat*
 Sakial.NOM PF.come:home.PT 13ERG meal eat.IPV.PL
 ‘When Sakial comes home, we will eat dinner’ or ‘Once Sakial has come home...’

Sometimes there is an implied cause-and-effect relation between the two clauses, where the perfect participial clause describes an event which acts as a necessary precondition to the event denoted by the main clause:

- (10.150) *Ihama ahotsine tlule uoslit, homai pusuktyit*
 woman.ERG corn.NOM grind.CV PF.finish.PT.PL bread.DAT make.TINC.PV.PL
 ‘The women having finished grinding the corn, (they) began to make the bread’
 or ‘Since the women had finished grinding the corn...’

When the perfect participle is negated, as in the examples below, the participial clause is roughly equivalent to a ‘before’, ‘without’, or ‘until’ clause in English, depending on the tense/aspect and polarity of the main clause:

- (10.151) *Sakiale ntsuta umoktu sa sati iasyit*
 Sakial.NOM not:yet PF.come:home.PT:NEG 13ERG meal eat.PV.PL
 ‘Before Sakial got home, we ate dinner’ (lit. ‘Sakial having not yet come home...’)

- (10.152) *Sakiale momoktu sa ntse sati iasot*
 Sakial.NOM NEG.PF.come:home.PT:NEG 13ERG NEG meal eat.IPV:NEG.PL
 ‘Until Sakial comes home, we won’t eat dinner’
 or ‘We won’t eat dinner without Sakial having (first) come home’

As with progressive participial clauses, perfect participial clauses may be introduced by the conjunction *ka* ‘and, such that’, as in the example below. Here the participial clause provides background information about one of the participants mentioned in the main clause—specifically, by mentioning an event involving that participant which had occurred at some point prior to the event in the main clause:

- (10.153) *Ma Elimme laisne etsampyi, ka nami ntsemihka usasu*
 1SERG Elim.INST just say.ACT.PV and 3aNOM.1sDAT never:before PF.meet.PT:NEG
 ‘I just spoke to Elim, who I had never met before’
 lit. ‘I just spoke with Elim, and I never having met him before’

The imperfect participle

The imperfect participle is marked by the absence of an aspectual prefix on the verb. It is similar in meaning to a progressive participle, but is used when the participial clause denotes a generic or habitual event, a future event, or a permanent or integral property of an individual. A participial clause in the imperfect nearly always correspond to an English ‘when’ or ‘since’ clause with the verb in the simple present, or (when expressing a cause or reason) a bare participial modifier.

- (10.154) *Sakiale mokte sa sati iasat*
 Sakial.NOM come:home.PT 13ERG meal eat.IPV.PL
 ‘When Sakial gets home, we (will) eat dinner’
- (10.155) *Sakiale nase, te inà kotà ekpi lehuaua*
 Sakial.NOM strong.PT FOC 3aERG brick.NOM SBJ.carry.DEP:SBJ should.NPL
 ‘Since Sakial is strong, he should be the one to carry the bricks’ or ‘Sakial being strong...’

The perfective participle

The perfective participle is marked by the prefix *a-*. Perfective participial clauses normally combine with a main clause in the past progressive or the past perfect, as shown below. Here the participial clause provides a temporal context for the main clause by identifying a (usually punctual) event which occurred while the main clause event was ongoing. Normally the perfective participial clause may be translated into English using a ‘when’ clause in the simple past.

- (10.156) *Ma Uilumana itsuhpanka Motlà atioke*
 1SERG Uiluma.LOC PRG.live.IPV:PST Motla.NOM PV.die.PT
 ‘I was living in Uiluma when Motla died’
- (10.157) *Uta aho ukahpanka lakiakà paloi anioktit*
 already sun PF.descend.IPV:PST hunter.NOM village.DAT PV.return.PT.PL
 ‘The sun had already set when the hunters returned to the village’

Note also the following example, where the perfective participial clause is introduced by *ka* ‘and, such that’. Here the participial clause names a (single) past event which provides background or identifying information on one of the individuals named in the main clause.

- (10.158) *Sakial, ka nima ukoi laisne asotsokue, ne mo suhpa*
 Sakial and 3aNOM.1SERG 2SRDAT just PV.introduce.PT 3aNOM 1sRDAT brother
 ‘Sakial, who I just introduced to you, is my brother’
 more lit. ‘Sakial, and I having just introduced him to you, he is my brother’

As a final illustration of the indicative participial construction, compare the examples below. These sentences describe the same temporal relation between two events, but differ in which event is expressed by the main clause and which event is expressed by the participial clause:

- (10.159) *Sakiale moktyi Elimma imuelhe*
 Sakial.NOM come:home.PV Elim.ERG PRG.sleep.PT
 ‘Sakial came home while Elim was sleeping’
- (10.160) *Elimma imuelhanka Sakiale amokte*
 Elim.ERG PRG.sleep.IPF:PST Sakial.NOM PV.come:home.PT
 ‘Elim was sleeping when Sakial came home’

10.3.2 Subjunctive participles

The subjunctive participle is formed by adding the suffix *-ai* to the verb stem when the clause is positive, and *-au* when the clause is negative. Like indicative participles, subjunctive participles may be unprefixated, or may carry the progressive prefix *i-*, the perfect prefix *u-*, or the perfective prefix *a-*. Examples of subjunctive participial inflection are given below (*na muelha* ‘s/he sleeps’):

<i>na muelhai</i>	‘if s/he sleeps’	<i>na mamuelhau</i>	‘unless s/he sleeps’
<i>na imuelhai</i>	‘if s/he is/was sleeping’	<i>na memuelhau</i>	‘unless s/he is/was sleeping’
<i>na umuelhai</i>	‘if s/he has/had slept’	<i>na momuelhau</i>	‘unless s/he has/had slept’
<i>na amuelhai</i>	‘if s/he slept’	<i>na mamuelhau</i>	‘unless s/he slept’

Clauses headed by a subjunctive participle denote a precondition for the event denoted by the main clause—that is, a hypothetical state of affairs which must be realized in order for the main event to occur. Subjunctive participial clauses thus correspond roughly to conditional (‘if’) or means (‘by’) clauses in English. (For other ways of forming conditional clauses in Okuna, see §10.2.1 and §10.2.3.)

- (10.161) *Ko kamala kotuna epihai, tiena etlehi otsena*
 2ERG knife.ALL house.LOC search.PT:SBJ there.LOC SBJ.find.DEP:SBJ likely.IPV
 ‘If you look for your knife in the house, (you) are likely to find it there’
 or ‘By looking for your knife in the house...’
- (10.162) *Sù ikahpai, me mokna utehike*
 rain PRG.fall.PT:SBJ 1sNOM home.LOC PF.stay.COND
 ‘Had it been raining, I would have stayed at home’
- (10.163) *Ko kamala kotuna ukpihai, tiena utlelhike*
 2ERG knife.ALL house.LOC PF.search.PT:SBJ there.LOC PF.find.COND
 ‘If you had looked for your knife in the house, (you) would have found it there’

As the following examples illustrate, how the participial clause is translated depends on the tense (non-past versus past) and mood (indicative versus conditional) of the verb in the main clause:

- (10.164) *Me ihaktai, ma muelha*
 1sNOM PRG.tired.PT:SBJ 1sERG sleep.IPV
 ‘If I’m tired, I (will) sleep’
- (10.165) *Me ihaktai, ma muelhike*
 1sNOM PRG.tired.PT:SBJ 1sERG sleep.COND
 ‘If I were tired, I would sleep’
- (10.166) *Me ihaktai, ma umuelhike*
 1sNOM PRG.tired.PT:SBJ 1sERG PF.sleep.COND
 ‘If I were tired, I would have slept’ or ‘Had I been tired...’

When the participial clause is negated, it can often be translated using ‘unless’ or ‘without’ in English:

- (10.167) *Sakialma ntse aleut uktiau, hi ntsoke sukyipo iman*
 Sakial.ERG NEG help give.PT:SBJ:NEG 3iNOM not:going:to do.able.IPV:NEG 1sLOC
 ‘Unless Sakial helps, I won’t be able to do it’ or ‘Without Sakial helping...’

10.4 The converb construction

In the CONVERB CONSTRUCTION, a verb carrying the suffix *-e* modifies a following verb, with the two verbs forming a kind of complex predicate expressing a single event or type of action. The verb marked with *-e* is called the CONVERB (abbreviated CV in the examples), while the verb which it modifies is called the HEAD verb. An example is *lihke tifa* ‘cut off, remove by cutting’, where the head verb *tifa* ‘remove’ is modified by the converb *lihke* ‘cutting’. Note that converb modification can be iterated, meaning that a converb modifier may itself consist of a head verb modified by a converb: e.g., *kiote kiompe mokta* ‘run home quickly’, where *kiote* ‘being quick’ modifies *kiompe* ‘running’, and *kiote kiompe* ‘running quickly’ in turn modifies *mokta* ‘go home’.

The converb must be adjacent to the head verb, and the two behave as a single syntactic unit. The head verb carries all tense/aspect/mood/polarity inflection (§7.4), number agreement (§7.2), and the nominalizing morphology discussed elsewhere in this chapter. Consider the following examples, featuring *lihke tifa* ‘cut off’:

- (10.168) *Na lotsane lihke itifahpauat*
 3aERG branch.NOM cut.CV PRG.remove.ICPL.IPV.NPL.PL
 ‘They are trying to cut the branches off’
- (10.169) *Inan lotsane lihke tifuhohtanka*
 3iLOC 3asALL cut.CV remove.want.COMP.IPV:PST
 ‘She preferred to cut the branch off’
- (10.170) *Iman iona na lotsane lihke utifatà*
 1sLOC know.IPV 3aERG branch.NOM cut.CV PF.remove.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘I know that they (had) cut the branch off’

When a clause containing a converb is negated, the negative particle takes the form *ntse*, and precedes the converb, while the head verb takes the negative form of the tense/aspect/mood suffix. Note that *ntse* never attaches directly to the converb (in its bound form *m(a)-*) even when it immediately precedes the converb.

- (10.171) *Na lotsane eima ntse lihke utifo*
 3aERG branch.NOM still NEG cut.CV PF.remove.IPF:NEG.
 ‘S/he hasn’t cut off the branch yet’

A complex predicate containing a converb is assigned to the same verb class as the head verb (cf. §4.4). For example, *lihke tifa* ‘cut off’ is a change-of-location predicate belonging to Class III (see §4.4.3) by virtue of the fact that *tifa* ‘remove’ is a Class III change-of-location verb.

Converbs expressing means or manner

Predicates consisting of a head verb modified by a converb express a single unified event. Typically the converb denotes an activity while the head verb denotes a change of state, and the construction as a whole expresses an activity that brings about or culminates in the change of state. Consider the examples given below. In (10.172), with *tlynke lima* ‘push open’ (lit. ‘open by pushing’), the pushing activity brings about the opening event; while in (10.173), with *solhe kahta* ‘pelt, bombard’ (lit. ‘hit by throwing’), the throwing activity results in the hitting event.

(10.172) *Sakialma hitole tlynke limyi*
 Sakial.ERG door.NOM push.CV open.PV
 ‘Sakial pushed the door open’

(10.173) *Sakialma sekeit naka solhe ikahtama*
 Sakial.ERG rat.DAT stone throw.CV PRG.hit.IPV.DPL
 ‘Sakial is pelting the rats with stones’

English resultative constructions, such as ‘hammer the metal flat’, may be rendered in Okuna using a converb construction where the head verb denotes the entry into a state (often formed from a stative verb stem using the telic inchoative suffix *-(e)t*, discussed in §7.5.3):

(10.174) *Motlama lhote konom tlule tsaltyi*
 Motla.ERG metal.NOM hammer pound.CV flat.TINC.PV
 ‘Motla hammered the metal flat’
 more lit. ‘Motla flattened the metal by pounding (it with a) hammer’

In the examples above, the converb is a Class II verb denoting an activity which modifies a Class III verb. The converb can also be (headed by) a stative Class I verb modifying a Class II or Class III verb, as shown below. Given that converbs express the manner or means by which an action is carried out, stative converbs correspond closely to manner adverbs in English (‘quickly’, ‘beautifully’, etc.):

(10.175) *Na kiote etsampyiot*
 3aERG quick.CV speak.ACT.PV.RECIP.PL
 ‘They spoke to one another quickly’

(10.176) *Motlama elife uhna*
 Motla.ERG beautiful.CV sing.IPV
 ‘Motla sings beautifully’

Class II verbs expressing the manner in which something is done appear frequently as converbs modifying other verbs. Examples of Class II manner verbs include *kapua* ‘be skillful/accomplished, act with skill’, *kela* ‘be together, act as a group’, and *sukana* ‘act/happen suddenly or abruptly’.

(10.177) *Elimma kapue siehpa*
 Elim.ERG skillful.CV write.IPV
 ‘Elim writes well’ or ‘Elim is a good writer’

(10.178) *Lhatima kele eiasat*
 children.ERG be:together.CV PRG.eat.IPV.PL
 ‘The children are eating together’

(10.179) *Mo Elimma sukane kahtyi*
 1sRDAT Elim.ERG be:abrupt.CV hit.PV
 ‘Elim suddenly hit me’ (lit. ‘hit me by acting abruptly’)

Particularly prevalent are cases where the converb denotes a manner of motion (‘run’, ‘walk’, ‘swim’, ‘fly’, ‘dance’, ‘crawl’, ‘jump’, etc.) and the head verb denotes a trajectory of motion (‘go to’, ‘come from’, ‘enter’, ‘exit’, ‘insert’, ‘remove’, etc.). Examples are given below, showing the converbs *iante* ‘by jumping’ and *heulhte* ‘by being pulled’ in combination with various trajectory verbs. *Iante atia* ‘jump towards’ is literally ‘approach by jumping’, *heulhte ota* ‘pull apart’ is literally ‘separate by being pulled’ (or ‘cause to separate by pulling’), and so on.

<i>atia</i>	‘approach’	<i>iante atia</i>	‘jump towards’
<i>eta</i>	‘go to’	<i>iante eta</i>	‘jump to’
<i>hita</i>	‘come over here’	<i>iante hita</i>	‘jump over here’
<i>kloha</i>	‘go through’	<i>iante kloha</i>	‘jump through’
<i>tlisa</i>	‘cross, traverse, go over’	<i>iante tlisa</i>	‘jump across/over’
<i>tsypa</i>	‘enter [a body of water]’	<i>iante tsypa</i>	‘jump into [a body of water]’
<i>elha</i>	‘put into, insert’	<i>heulhte elha</i>	‘pull into’
<i>kloha</i>	‘go through’	<i>heulhte kloha</i>	‘pull through’
<i>nkilha</i>	‘leave, go away’	<i>heulhte nkilha</i>	‘pull away’
<i>otla</i>	‘separate’	<i>heulhte otla</i>	‘pull apart’
<i>teuna</i>	‘put, place’	<i>heulhte teuna</i>	‘pull into place’
<i>tolha</i>	‘stand up’	<i>heulhte tolha</i>	‘pull up, pull into a standing position’

Example sentences with motion-denoting converb constructions include:

- (10.180) *Ikè halou kiompe suhyi*
 dog.NOM room.ABL run.CV go:out.PV
 ‘The dog ran out of the room’ (lit. ‘exited by running’)
- (10.181) *Hastine mutume iante tlisyi*
 deer.NOM fence.INST jump.CV go:over.PV
 ‘The deer jumped over the fence’ (lit. ‘crossed by jumping’)
- (10.182) *Hesa naumà klalpe iatia*
 rabbit.ALL cougar.NOM move:stealthily.CV PRG.approach.IPV
 ‘The rabbit is being stalked by a cougar’ (lit. ‘approached by moving stealthily’)
- (10.183) *Hanè teneme lokai kiompe kelhyi*
 fox.NOM hill.INST forest.DAT run.CV ascend.PV
 ‘The fox ran up the hill (and) into the woods’ (lit. ‘ascended by running’)
- (10.184) *Na ketoi maka heulhte itifama*
 3aERG bone.DAT meat pull.CV PRG.remove.IPV.DPL
 ‘She is pulling meat off the bones’ (lit. ‘removing by pulling’)
- (10.185) *Hutà sukuma lhope puhtlyi*
 basket.NOM wind.ERG blow.CV overturn.PV
 ‘The wind blew the basket over’ (lit. ‘overturned by blowing’)

Some trajectory verbs in Okuna refer to a particular direction or type of goal—e.g., *ilalta* ‘go to the shore (from inland)’, *mokta* ‘go home’, *palhta* ‘come ashore’, *sihafa* ‘go downstream’. These can also combine with converbs denoting manner of motion to express complex movement events:

<i>tatane ilalta</i>	‘wander down to the shore’	(lit. ‘go to the shore by wandering’)
<i>tupe palhta</i>	‘wade ashore’	(lit. ‘come ashore by walking’)
<i>sihpe sihafa</i>	‘swim downstream’	(lit. ‘go downstream by swimming’)

Additional examples:

- (10.186) *Ma nakà sikhunoi tiause tsypy*
 1sERG stone.NOM river.DAT drop.CV submerge.PV
 ‘I dropped the stone into the river’

- (10.187) *Lhatè kiompe imoktat*
 children.NOM run.CV PRG.go:home.IPV.PL
 ‘The children are running home’

Note also the following example, where the converb is selected by the stative verb *ohkla* ‘resemble’. *Ohkla* expresses a comparison, and takes a nominative noun phrase denoting the subject of comparison and an allative noun phrase denoting the object/standard of comparison. Here, the converb expresses a type of action with respect to which the comparison holds. A more literal translation of this example might be ‘She resembles a bird by (or with respect to) singing’.

- (10.188) *Ne pilaua uhne ohkla*
 3a.NOM bird.ALL sing.CV resemble.IPV
 ‘She sings like a bird’

Other functions of the converb construction

In the examples above, the converb indicates the manner in which, or means by which, the action denoted by the main verb is carried out. The converb construction also has a handful of other uses. In certain cases, for instance, the head verb expresses aspectual modification of the event denoted by the converb. Verbs which can appear as the head verb in this construction include:

<i>atia</i>	‘come close to, almost/nearly do’
<i>esta</i>	‘manage to, succeed in doing’
<i>niokta</i>	‘redo, do again, repeat’
<i>sehta</i>	‘continue, go on; resume, start again’
<i>tima</i>	‘tend to; be liable to, be likely to’
<i>uata</i>	‘stop, cease’
<i>usla</i>	‘finish’
<i>ylpa</i>	‘undo’

Examples:

- (10.189) *Ma ahotsine nalhe uslyi*
 1s.ERG corn.NOM plant.CV finish.PV
 ‘I finished planting the corn’
- (10.190) *Sakialma halmai tale sehtyi*
 Sakial.ERG book.DAT read.CV go:on.PV
 ‘Sakial resumed/continued reading his book’
- (10.191) *Motlai itiause nakà kahte atiyi*
 Motla.DAT PRG.fall.TNZR rock.NOM hit.CV approach.PV
 ‘Motla was nearly hit by a falling rock’
 more lit. ‘A falling rock approached hitting Motla’

When used in this construction, the motion verb *niokta* ‘return, go back’ indicates repetition of the action denoted by the converb, and often translates the English prefix ‘re-’: e.g., *siehpa* ‘write’ > *siehpe niokta* ‘rewrite’. Similarly, predicates formed with *ylpa* (glossed ‘undo’) express an action which reverses or undoes the effects of the action denoted by the converb; hence, *ylpa* corresponds fairly closely to the English prefixes ‘un-’ and ‘de-’: e.g., *patla* ‘cover’ > *patle ylpa* ‘uncover’; *tiespa* ‘build, construct’ > *tiespe ylpa* ‘unbuild, deconstruct, disassemble’. Compare also:

- (10.192) *Na ikei sò hotyi*
 3a.ERG dog.DAT rope attach.PV
 ‘He tied up the dog’

(10.193) *Na ikei sò hote ylpyi*
 3aERG dog.DAT rope attach.CV undo.PV
 ‘He untied the dog’ (lit. ‘He undid tying up the dog’)

(10.194) *Na ikei sò hote nioktyi*
 3aERG dog.DAT rope attach.CV return.PV
 ‘He retied the dog’ (lit. ‘He redid tying up the dog’)

Crucially, an aspectual verb can select a converb just in case both verbs share the same core arguments. For instance, the converb construction is allowed in (10.195) because the ergative noun phrase functions as the actor argument for both verbs: the musicians are responsible for carrying out both the playing event and the stopping event. In (10.196), by contrast, the playing event and the stopping event have different actors (the musicians and Sakial, respectively), and so the converb construction is not allowed: *uata* instead selects as its complement a postposed dependent clause marked with nominative case, and *atlpaka* ‘musicians’ functions as the ergative argument of the dependent verb:

(10.195) *Atlpakama sukane atlpe uatyit*
 musician.ERG sudden.CV play.CV stop.PV.PL
 ‘The musicians suddenly stopped playing’

(10.196) *Sakialma sukane uatyi atlpakama atlpatà*
 Sakial.ERG sudden.CV stop.PV musician.ERG play.DEP.PL.NOM
 ‘Sakial suddenly stopped the musicians from playing’

Causative verbs, such as one of the ones listed below, can also select a converb. These verbs take an ergative argument denoting the causer, with the converb and its dependents indicating the event that is being caused. Crucially, the converb must be a Class II or Class III verb which does not take an ergative argument; otherwise, the causative verb must select a dependent clause marked with nominative case.

<i>aktapa</i>	‘help, aid (in); let, enable, facilitate’
<i>kina</i>	‘let, enable’
<i>lohka</i>	‘make, cause’
<i>mehka</i>	‘have, cause, let happen’
<i>nana</i>	‘allow, let, permit; leave’
<i>solohka</i>	‘order, command, demand’
<i>somita</i>	‘persuade, convince’
<i>teuohka</i>	‘force, compel’
<i>tsuhka</i>	‘have, cause, let happen (s.th. bad)’

Examples:

(10.197) *Me Sakialma nkilhe lohkyi*
 1sNOM Sakial.ERG leave.CV make.PV
 ‘Sakial made me leave’

(10.198) *Moihama ikè suhe kingyia*
 girl.ERG dog.NOM go.out.CV let.PV.NPL
 ‘The girl let the dogs out’

Finally, when a Class I verb expressing a property is modified by certain degree words (such as *tsuo* ‘too’, *mu* ‘enough’, etc.), the degree word can be preceded by a converb denoting the (type of) action with respect to which the property holds to the degree indicated.

- (10.199) *Tomlà kule tsuo alamat*
 mountain.NOM see:RES.CV too REL.far.IPV.PL
 ‘The mountains are too far away to see’
- (10.200) *Ohui tin kas iase mu iatuosat ne?*
 fruit those:NOM already eat.CV enough PRG.REL.ripe.IPV.PL QU
 ‘Is that fruit ripe enough to eat yet?’

10.5 Gerunds

Gerunds are nominalizations denoting a type of action or state, or an abstract property or characteristic. Gerunds are formed by suffixing *-ts* (glossed GER) to a verb stem in the dependent indicative form, which is marked by the suffix *-a* in the positive and *-u* in the negative (see §10.2):

<i>kesta</i>	‘be happy’	<i>kestats</i>	‘being happy, happiness’
<i>nkestu</i>	‘not be happy’	<i>nkestuts</i>	‘not being happy, unhappiness’

The formation of gerunds with *-ts* is completely productive: any verb is capable of taking this suffix, even if it also has an irregular nominal form (see §11.2). Examples:

<i>esta</i>	‘reach, succeed at’	<i>estats</i>	‘success’
<i>fiha</i>	‘be young’	<i>fhats</i>	‘being young, youth’
<i>huetla</i>	‘be afraid’	<i>huetlats</i>	‘fear’
<i>kiota</i>	‘be fast’	<i>kiotats</i>	‘speed, quickness’
<i>kuola</i>	‘meet’	<i>kuolats</i>	‘meeting, appointment, rendezvous’
<i>lalia</i>	‘play, have fun’	<i>laliats</i>	‘playing, game, fun, amusement’
<i>lomua</i>	‘crash on shore’	<i>lomuats</i>	‘wave(s)’
<i>mehka</i>	‘happen, occur’	<i>mehkats</i>	‘event, occurrence’
<i>mouta</i>	‘be sick’	<i>moutats</i>	‘sickness, illness, being sick’
<i>tioka</i>	‘die’	<i>tiokats</i>	‘dying, death’
<i>usla</i>	‘end, finish’	<i>uslats</i>	‘end, conclusion’

Gerunds do not inflect for the tense/aspect categories discussed in §7.4. However, gerunds can be formed from resultative stems (see §7.5.1): e.g., *kula* ‘be visible’ (resultative form of *kila* ‘see’) > *kulats* ‘visibility’. In addition, gerunds can be formed from stems which include the aspectual and modal suffixes discussed in §7.5 and §7.7.1: e.g., *munta* ‘be drunk’ + active aspect *-amp* > *muntampa* ‘act drunk’ > *muntampats* ‘acting drunk, drunken behaviour’; *iona* ‘know’ + *-uh* ‘want’ > *ionuha* ‘want to know’ > *ionuhats* ‘wanting to know, curiosity’.

Gerunds formed with *-ts* are capable of taking arguments, unmarked noun phrase dependents, and other modifiers to form complex phrases, just like ordinary verbs. However, phrases headed by gerunds cannot include a topic. Gerunds may be taken to belong to the same argument structure class (I, II, or III) as the verb from which they are derived, and case-mark their noun phrase arguments accordingly. Examples of complex gerunds include:

- (10.201) *hastin lakiats*
 deer hunt.DEP.GER
 ‘hunting deer, deer-hunting’
- (10.202) *Sakialma mestuts*
 Sakial.ERG NEG.succeed.DEP:NEG.GER
 ‘Sakial’s not succeeding’ or ‘Sakial’s lack of success’

- (10.203) *iman lianka huetlats*
 1sLOC snake afraid.DEP.GER
 ‘my being afraid of snakes’ or ‘my fear of snakes’

When plural, ergative, dative, and nominative dependents can even trigger number agreement on the gerund (cf. §7.2). The number agreement suffix immediately precedes *-ts*. Compare:

- (10.204) *pyima hakatlats*
 child.ERG laugh.DEP.GER
 ‘the child’s laughter’
- (10.205) *pyima hakatlanits*
 child.ERG laugh.DEP.EPL.GER
 ‘the children’s laughter’

In terms of their syntactic distribution, gerunds behave like noun phrases, and hence can inflect for case. In the first example below, the gerund *Elime muntats* ‘Elim’s drunkenness’ functions as the theme argument of the verb *oukuta* ‘bother’, and thus carries the nominative case suffix *-e*. In the second example, the gerund *ikema lakats* ‘the dog’s barking’ bears the actor relation with respect to the causative verb *lohka*, and hence appears in the ergative case:

- (10.206) *Elime muntatse mulhe oukuta imè*
 Elim.NOM drunk.DEP.GER.NOM always bother.IPV 1sALL
 ‘Elim’s drunkenness always bothers me’
- (10.207) *Ikema lakatsma lohkyi kimima ailà*
 dog.ERG bark.DEP.GER.ERG make.PV baby.ERG cry.DEP.NOM
 ‘The dog’s barking made the baby cry’

Gerunds occasionally appear as non-case-marked complements of verbs, as in (10.208). Here the gerund alternates with a complement consisting of a verb (phrase) in the dependent subjunctive form, as in (10.209).

- (10.208) *Inè sihpats henka*
 3aALL swim.DEP.GER enjoyable.IPV
 ‘He likes swimming’ (lit. ‘For him, swimming is enjoyable’)
- (10.209) *Inè esihpi henka*
 3aALL SBJ.swim.DEP:SBJ enjoyable.IPV
 ‘He likes to swim’

Note that gerunds differ semantically from case-marked dependent clauses, discussed in §10.2.1. Dependent clauses express propositions or events, and normally pick out a particular situation or state of affairs (whether actual or hypothetical). Gerunds, on the other hand, usually denote general types of actions or properties as opposed to specific incidents. Compare the examples below. In (10.210) the (nominative case-marked) dependent clause *ihama homa ipusukà* refers to a particular instance where the woman was making bread; whereas in (10.211) the gerund *homa pusukats* refers to the act of bread-making in general.

- (10.210) *Imè ikulanka ihama homa ipusukà*
 1sALL PRG.see:RES.IPV:PST woman.ERG bread PRG.make.DEP.NOM
 ‘I saw the woman making bread’ or ‘I saw that the woman was making bread’
- (10.211) *Homa pusukatse koluma*
 bread make.DEP.GER.NOM difficult.IPV
 ‘Making bread is difficult’

10.6 Participant nominals

Okuna has productive morphology for taking a verb, a verb phrase, or a clause denoting an event and converting it into a noun phrase denoting one of the participants in—or circumstances of—that event, such as the agent, patient, instrument, setting, etc. I will refer to nominalizations of this type as PARTICIPANT NOMINALS. There are four types of participant nominals:

1. ACTOR NOMINALS are formed by adding the suffix *-ka* (glossed ANZR) to the dependent form of the verb. They denote the actor of the event expressed by the verb/clause.
2. THEME NOMINALS are normally formed by adding *-e* (*-o* in the negative) directly to the verb stem (these suffixes are glossed TNZR). In certain cases the suffix *-i* is added to the dependent form of the verb. Theme nominals denote the participant to which a property is attributed, or which occupies a location or undergoes a change of location (certain theme nominals also denote the event itself).
3. DELIMITER NOMINALS are formed by adding the suffix *-l* (glossed DNZR) to the dependent form of the verb. Delimiter nominals denote the recipient, goal, or affected participant of the event expressed by the verb/clause.
4. CIRCUMSTANTIAL NOMINALS are formed by adding the suffix *-nen* (glossed CNZR) to the dependent form of the verb. Circumstantial nominals denote some aspect of the event named by the verb/clause (such as the time, place, manner, etc., in which it takes place), or else some individual peripherally involved in that event (such as a recipient, beneficiary, instrument, etc.).

Consider the following examples, formed from the verb *uktia* ‘give’:

Actor nominal	<i>uktiaka</i>	‘giver, one who gives’
Theme nominal	<i>uktie</i>	‘gift, thing which is given’
Delimiter nominal	<i>uktial</i>	‘recipient, person to whom something is given’
Circumstantial nominal	<i>uktianen</i>	‘time, place, manner, etc., of giving’

Participant nominalization plays a central role in the grammar of Okuna by providing the principal means of modifying nouns. As mentioned elsewhere, Okuna does not have a distinct category of ADJECTIVES; instead, states and properties are expressed for the most part using Class I verbs: e.g., *pata* ‘be tall’, *eka* ‘be empty’. One of the primary functions of adjectives in English is to modify a noun. However, their verb counterparts in Okuna cannot modify nouns directly. Instead, a verb must first be converted into a participant nominal, which is then juxtaposed with the noun to form a compound-like structure (see §6.4 on noun-noun compounding). For example, *pata* ‘be tall’ can be converted into the theme nominal *pate* ‘tall one, person or thing which is tall’. This nominal can then be placed in front of another noun to modify it: *pate palahta* ‘tall tree’.

Participant nominals can take the form of larger phrases. Compare the clause in (10.212), for example, with the corresponding delimiter nominal phrase in (10.213). When modifying a following noun, participant nominal phrases function much like relative clauses. In (10.214), for instance, the participant nominal in (10.213) modifies *kihun* ‘letter’, specifying which letter is being referred to, and is translated into English using a relative clause construction.

(10.212) *Kalma elohka siehpyi*
 man.ERG yesterday write.PF
 ‘The man wrote (something) yesterday’

(10.213) *kalma elohka asiehpal*
 man.ERG yesterday PF.write.DEP.DNZR
 ‘thing written yesterday by the man’ or ‘what the man wrote yesterday’

- (10.214) *Ma kalma elohka asiehpal kihoin talyi*
 1s.ERG man.ERG yesterday PF.write.DEP.DNZR letter.DAT read.PF
 ‘I read the letter that the man wrote yesterday’

Participant nominals have a rich morphology. Like dependent verbs and participles, they inflect for mood and polarity, show number agreement, and carry prefixes for marking aspect (e.g., the perfective prefix *a-* in (10.213) above). Being derived nouns, participant nominals can also inflect for case. Participant nominal morphology is discussed in §10.6.1.

In §10.6.2–§10.6.5 I provide additional examples and discussion of each of the four types of participant nominals. As this discussion shows, participant nominalization parallels case assignment: briefly, actor nominals, theme nominals, and delimiter nominals refer to the kinds of event participants associated with the ergative, nominative, and dative case roles, respectively, while circumstantial nominals refer to the kinds of participants encoded by oblique noun phrases. Consider the sentence in (10.215):

- (10.215) *Kalma ihaua sutè nauoit uostyi*
 man.ERG woman.ALL clay.NOM cup.DAT shape.PV
 ‘The man made a cup for the woman out of the clay’

The four event participants named in this sentence can each be described by a noun phrase containing a different type of participant nominal modifier, as shown below. In (10.216), the noun *kal* ‘man’ is modified by an actor nominal phrase. Because the actor nominal form is used, the man is understood to be the agent of the action named by the participant nominal. Likewise the noun phrase in (10.217) denotes the theme of the event, (10.218) the delimiter, and (10.219) some peripheral participant (here, the person for whose benefit the action is carried out).

- (10.216) *ihaua sutè nauoit auostaka kal*
 woman.ALL clay.NOM cup.DAT PV.shape.DEP.ANZR man
 ‘the man who made a cup for the woman out of the clay’
- (10.217) *kalma ihaua nauoit auoste sute*
 man.ERG woman.ALL cup.DAT PV.shape.DEP.TNZR clay
 ‘the clay that the man made into a cup for the woman’
- (10.218) *kalma ihaua sutè auostal nauot*
 man.ERG woman.ALL clay.NOM PV.shape.DEP.DNZR cup
 ‘the cup that the man made for the woman out of the clay’
- (10.219) *kalma sutè nauoit auostanen iha*
 man.ERG clay.NOM cup.DAT PV.shape.DEP.CNZR woman
 ‘the woman for whom the man made a cup out of the clay’

10.6.1 Participant nominal inflection

The formation of participant nominals is complicated by the fact that they share properties with both nouns and verbs. In terms of their internal structure, participant nominal phrases look like subordinate clauses. Like dependent verbs, participant nominals inflect for aspect, mood, and polarity, and can take noun phrase arguments with which they agree in number. However, in terms of their distribution, participant nominal phrases pattern like noun phrases, and can thus inflect for case, with the case ending attaching to the participant nominal. I consider case marking on participant nominals first, before turning to aspect, mood/polarity, and agreement inflection.

Case marking

As noted above, a participant nominal phrase will normally appear inside a larger noun phrase, where it acts as a modifier of the head noun (functionally equivalent to an attributive adjective or restrictive relative clause). In (10.220), for example, *kihun* ‘letter’ is modified by the delimiter nominal *Sakialma asiehpal* ‘(thing) written by Sakial’. However, it is also possible for a participant nominal phrase to function by itself as a verb dependent, rather than modifying a following noun, as shown in (10.221). In the latter case, the participant nominal phrase is interpreted somewhat like a free relative in English (‘what Sakial wrote’). Notice that when the participant nominal modifies a noun as part of a larger noun phrase, the modified noun (or some other element following the noun, such as a quantifier; cf. §4.2) will carry the case ending for that noun phrase. However, when there is no following noun, the case ending attaches directly to the participant nominal. Compare the placement of the allative ending *-a* in (10.220) versus (10.221).

(10.220) *Ma Sakialma asiehpal kihuna kyitsampyi*
 1SERG Sakial.ERG PF.write.DEP.DNZR letter.ALL talk:about.ACT.PF
 ‘I talked about the letter that Sakial wrote’

(10.221) *Ma Sakialma asiehpala kyitsampyi*
 1SERG Sakial.ERG PF.write.DEP.DNZR.ALL talk:about.ACT.PF
 ‘I talked about what Sakial wrote’

When hosting a case ending, participant nominals inflect according to the regular pattern for nouns (see §4.2). This is illustrated in the following table, which gives the case declensions for the participant nominals formed from *uktia* ‘give’: *uktiaka* ‘giver, one who gives’, *uktie* ‘thing which is given’, *uktial* ‘recipient, one to whom something is given’, *uktianen* ‘place/time/etc. of giving’.

	<i>uktiaka</i>	<i>uktie</i>	<i>uktial</i>	<i>uktianen</i>
NOM	<i>uktiakà</i>	<i>uktiè</i>	<i>uktiale</i>	<i>uktianene</i>
DAT	<i>uktiakai</i>	<i>uktiei</i>	<i>uktiail</i>	<i>uktianein</i>
ERG	<i>uktiakama</i>	<i>uktiema</i>	<i>uktialma</i>	<i>uktianenma</i>
LOC	<i>uktiakana</i>	<i>uktiena</i>	<i>uktialna</i>	<i>uktianenna</i>
ALL	<i>uktiakaua</i>	<i>uktieia</i>	<i>uktiala</i>	<i>uktianena</i>
ABL	<i>uktiakau</i>	<i>uktieu</i>	<i>uktialu</i>	<i>uktianenu</i>
INST	<i>uktiakame</i>	<i>uktieme</i>	<i>uktialme</i>	<i>uktianenme</i>

Agreement, mood/polarity, and aspect

When a participant nominal takes a nominative, dative, or ergative argument, that argument will trigger agreement on the participant nominal when interpreted as plural (see §7.2 on plural agreement). Examples of agreement are given below. Notice that the agreement suffix immediately precedes the nominalizing suffix—e.g., the dative plural suffix *-ma* precedes the actor nominal suffix *-ka* in (10.223), while the nominative plural suffix *-ua* precedes the delimiter nominal suffix *-l* in (10.225) (number agreement marking on theme nominals is slightly more complicated; see below).

(10.222) *kauein itahaka*
 turkey.DAT PRG.kill.DEP.ANZR
 ‘(the) one who is/was killing the turkey’

(10.223) *kauein itahamaka*
 turkey.DAT PRG.kill.DEP.DPL.ANZR
 ‘(the) one who is/was killing the turkeys’

(10.224) *halmà atlelhal moiha*
 book.NOM PV.find.DEP.DNZR girl
 ‘(the) girl who found the book’

(10.225) *halmà atlelhaul moiha*
 book.NOM PV.find.DEP.DNZR girl
 ‘(the) girl who found the books’

The morphology for participant nominals includes only one ‘slot’ for a number agreement morpheme. Hence, a participant nominal can agree with at most one of its plural arguments. If the participant nominal has two or more plural arguments, speakers have a choice regarding which argument will trigger agreement. In such cases, animate arguments are more likely to trigger agreement than inanimate ones. Compare the examples below: here the participant nominal is marked to show that its animate argument (‘children’) is plural, while the number of the inanimate argument (‘letter’ versus ‘letters’) must be inferred from context.

(10.226) *pyie kihune akilamaka iha*
 child.DAT letter.NOM PV.show.DEP.DPL.ANZR woman
 ‘(the) woman who showed the letter(s) to the children’

(10.227) *pyima kihoin asiehpäninen ohpe*
 child.ERG letter.DAT PV.write.DEP.EPL.CNZR reason
 ‘(the) reason why the children wrote the letter(s)’

When the participant nominal is formed from a reciprocal predicate, the agreement slot is filled by the reciprocal suffix *-uo* (see §9.4.4):

(10.228) *ikahtauoka pyi*
 PRG.hit.DEP.RECIP.ANZR child
 ‘(the) children (who are/were) hitting each other’

(10.229) *pyima akahtauonen ohpe*
 child.ERG PV.hit.DEP.RECIP.CNZR reason
 ‘(the) reason why the children hit each other’

Besides agreeing in number with their arguments, participant nominals inflect for polarity (positive versus negative) and mood (indicative versus subjunctive). The subjunctive mood is used when the nominal denotes a participant in a hypothetical or potential action, while the indicative is used otherwise. The following tables gives the full set of aspect/polarity and agreement endings for actor, delimiter, and circumstantial nominals, which are formed by adding the nominalizing suffixes (*-ka*, *-l*, and *-nen*, respectively) directly to the dependent form of the verb (see §10.2).

ACTOR	SG	NPL	DPL	RECIP
DEP	<i>-aka</i>	<i>-auaka</i>	<i>-amaka</i>	<i>-auoka</i>
DEP:NEG	<i>-uka</i>	<i>-ouaka</i>	<i>-umaka</i>	<i>-ouoka</i>
DEP:SBJ	<i>-ika</i>	<i>-euaka</i>	<i>-imaka</i>	<i>-euoka</i>
DEP:SBJ:NEG	<i>-oika</i>	<i>-oiaka</i>	<i>-oimaka</i>	<i>-oioka</i>

DELIMITER	SG	NPL	EPL	RECIP
DEP	<i>-al</i>	<i>-aual</i>	<i>-anil</i>	<i>-auol</i>
DEP:NEG	<i>-ul</i>	<i>-oual</i>	<i>-unil</i>	<i>-ouol</i>
DEP:SBJ	<i>-il</i>	<i>-eual</i>	<i>-inil</i>	<i>-euol</i>
DEP:SBJ:NEG	<i>-oil</i>	<i>-oial</i>	<i>-oinil</i>	<i>-oiol</i>

CIRCUMSTANTIAL	SG	NPL	DPL	EPL	RECIP
DEP	- <i>anen</i>	- <i>auanen</i>	- <i>amanen</i>	- <i>aninen</i>	- <i>auonen</i>
DEP:NEG	- <i>unen</i>	- <i>ouanen</i>	- <i>umanen</i>	- <i>uninen</i>	- <i>ouonen</i>
DEP:SBJ	- <i>inen</i>	- <i>euanen</i>	- <i>imanen</i>	- <i>ininen</i>	- <i>euonen</i>
DEP:SBJ:NEG	- <i>oinen</i>	- <i>oianen</i>	- <i>oimanen</i>	- <i>oininen</i>	- <i>oionen</i>

In accordance with the phonological rules summarized in §3.5.3, the initial *i* and *u* of the subjunctive and negative endings lower to become *e* and *o* when preceded by a glide: e.g., *pau.ika* > *paueka* ‘one who would wash’, *m.pau.uka* > *mpauoka* ‘one who doesn’t wash’ (from the stem *pau-* ‘wash’); *e.taki.il* > *etakiel* ‘thing to be broken’, *m.taki.ul* > *ntakiol* ‘thing which is not broken’ (from *taki-* ‘break’).

Theme nominals are formed by adding the following mood/polarity and agreement endings to the verb stem. Notice that, when no plural agreement ending is present, the indicative theme nominals are formed by adding *-e* (positive) or *-o* (negative) directly to the stem. However, when an agreement ending is present, the theme nominal takes the form of a dependent verb followed by the suffix *-i*.

THEME	SG	DPL	EPL	RECIP
DEP	- <i>e</i>	- <i>amai</i>	- <i>anei</i>	- <i>auoi</i>
DEP:NEG	- <i>o</i>	- <i>umai</i>	- <i>une</i>	- <i>ouoi</i>
DEP:SBJ	- <i>ei</i>	- <i>imai</i>	- <i>inei</i>	- <i>euoi</i>
DEP:SBJ:NEG	- <i>oie</i>	- <i>oimai</i>	- <i>oinei</i>	- <i>oioi</i>

The following sets of examples illustrate polarity and mood distinctions on participant nominal modifiers. In the first set of examples, *iha* ‘woman’ is modified by an actor nominal formed from *hosta* ‘dance’:

<i>hostaka iha</i>	‘dancing woman, woman who dances, woman who will dance’
<i>nkostuka iha</i>	‘non-dancing woman, woman who doesn’t/won’t dance’
<i>ehostika iha</i>	‘woman who would/could/might dance’
<i>mehostoika iha</i>	‘woman who wouldn’t/couldn’t dance’

Below the noun *halma* ‘book’ is modified by a delimiter nominal formed from *pyima talane* ‘children read; read by children’. Notice that when the delimiter nominal is in the subjunctive mood, it may be translated using an infinitive modifier (‘to [be] read’).

<i>pyima talanil halma</i>	‘book (that is) read by children’
<i>pyima ntalunil halma</i>	‘book that children don’t/won’t read’
<i>pyima etalinil halma</i>	‘book to be read by children; book for children to read’
<i>pyima metaloinil halma</i>	‘book which is not to be read by children’

Finally, the following examples show mood/polarity marking on the circumstantial nominal formed from *Motlama muelha* ‘Motla sleep(s)’, which modifies the noun *eun* ‘place’:

<i>Motlama muelhanen eun</i>	‘place where Motla sleeps / will sleep’
<i>Motlama mamuelhunnen eun</i>	‘place where Motla doesn’t sleep’
<i>Motlama emuelhinen eun</i>	‘place where Motla would sleep, place for Motla to sleep’
<i>Motlama memuelhoinnen eun</i>	‘place where Motla would not sleep’

Like the dependent verbs from which they are formed, participant nominals take (combinations of) prefixes to mark aspect and mood, and can host the bound form of the negative particle *ntse* (namely *m(a)-*). The aspect/mood prefixes, with and without *m(a)-*, are listed in the following table.

	INDIC	NEG+INDIC	SBJ	NEG+SBJ
IMPERFECT	—	<i>m(a)-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>me-</i>
PROGRESSIVE (PRG)	<i>i-</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>ie-</i>	<i>mie-</i>
PERFECT (PF)	<i>u-</i>	<i>mo-</i>	<i>io-</i>	<i>mio-</i>
PERFECTIVE (PV)	<i>a-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ia-</i>	<i>mia-</i>

The progressive aspect is used when the nominal refers to a participant in an ongoing event or situation. Perfect aspect marks the nominal as referring to a participant in a previous event or situation. Perfective marking is added when the nominal denotes a participant in an event which took place on a particular occasion in the past. Finally, the imperfect form is used when the nominal denotes a participant bearing a general property or participating in a habitual or future action. These aspectual contrasts are illustrated below:

<i>pyima kahtal</i>	‘one who is hit by the child, one who will be hit by the child’
<i>pyima ikahtal</i>	‘one who is/was being hit by the child’
<i>pyima ukahtal</i>	‘one who has/had been hit by the child’
<i>pyima akahtal</i>	‘one who was hit by the child (at a certain point)’
<i>uastaka pila</i>	‘flying bird, bird that flies (i.e., is capable of flight) / bird that will fly’
<i>euastaka pila</i>	‘flying bird, bird that is/was flying’
<i>ouostaka pila</i>	‘bird that has/had flown’
<i>auostaka pila</i>	‘bird that flew (at a certain point)’

In the following subsections I discuss each of the participant nominal types in turn, giving examples of their functions.

10.6.2 Actor nominals

Actor nominals denote the doer of the action expressed by the verb. The distribution of actor nominals mirrors the distribution of ergative case: only Class II and Class III verbs, which take an ergative argument to encode an actor participant, may add *-ka* to form a noun referring to that actor participant. Examples:

<i>hosta</i>	‘dance’	<i>hostaka</i>	‘dancer, one who dances’
<i>huatampa</i>	‘be friendly’	<i>huatampaka</i>	‘friendly one’
<i>kahunia</i>	‘catch fish’	<i>kahuniaka</i>	‘fisherman, one who catches fish’
<i>kaiha</i>	‘kill, murder’	<i>kaihaka</i>	‘killer, murderer’
<i>kuntupa</i>	‘walk on four legs’	<i>kuntupaka</i>	‘one who goes on four legs, quadruped’
<i>sihpa</i>	‘swim’	<i>sihpaka</i>	‘swimmer, one who swims’

Actor nominals may function as the head of a noun phrase, in which case they can take modifiers, including another participant nominal (such as *mile* ‘beautiful one’ in (10.230)):

(10.230)	<i>Sa</i>	<i>mile</i>	<i>hostakà</i>	<i>loityiat</i>
	13ERG	beautiful.TNZR	dance.DEP.ANZR.NOM	watch.PV.NPL.PL
	‘We watched the beautiful dancers’			

Alternatively, an actor nominal may be placed before another noun to modify it. Such constructions often correspond to modifying present participles or relative clauses in English, where the relativized noun is interpreted as the agent of the action:

(10.231)	<i>muelhaka</i>	<i>kimi</i>
	sleep.DEP.ANZR	baby
	‘sleeping baby, baby that sleeps’	

(10.232)	<i>hostaka</i>	<i>iha</i>
	dance.DEP.ANZR	woman
	‘dancing woman’ or ‘woman who dances’	

Actor nominals can also be formed from more complex constituents, consisting of a verb and its non-actor arguments and modifiers:

- (10.233) *maka iasaka*
 meat eat.DEP.ANZR
 ‘meat-eater, one who eats meat’
- (10.234) *palahtai naka akahtaka*
 tree.DAT rock PV.hit.DEP.ANZR
 ‘(the) one who hit the tree with a rock’
- (10.235) *yhkunai elohka kytò auoktiamaka*
 guest.DET yesterday gift.NOM PVgive.DEP.DPL.ANZR
 ‘(the) one who gave the gifts to the guests yesterday’

Actor nominalization is further illustrated below. In each pair of examples, the second sentence includes an actor nominal phrase related to the first sentence. Notice how the actor nominal picks out or refers to the ergative argument of the verb from which it is formed. Notice also that although the actor nominal is marked for aspect, it is not marked for tense: often one must infer from context whether the event referenced by the actor nominal precedes, follows, or overlaps with the time when the sentence is uttered.

- (10.236) *Na hastein tahyi*
 3aERG deer.DAT kill.PV
 ‘He killed the deer’
- (10.237) *Ma hastein atahakame etsampyi*
 1sERG deer.DAT PV.kill.DEP.ANZR.INST say.ACT.PV
 ‘I spoke with the one who killed the deer’
- (10.238) *Mikalma nauoit utsitspa*
 boy.ERG cup.DAT PF.break.IPV
 ‘The boy has broken the cup’
- (10.239) *Ma nauoit utsitspaka mikail fentyi*
 1sERG cup.DAT PF.break.DEP.ANZR boy.DAT scold.PV
 ‘I scolded the boy who had broken the cup’
- (10.240) *Ihama pyie iloitaua*
 woman.ERG child.NOM PRG.watch.IPV.NPL
 ‘The woman is watching the children’
- (10.241) *Pyie iloitauaka ihà koipa imè*
 child.NOM PRG.watch.DEP.NPL.ANZR woman.NOM known.IPV 1sALL
 ‘I know the woman who is/was watching the children’
- (10.242) *Ihama tsokoimpai palò kilyimat*
 woman.ERG stranger.DAT village.NOM show.PV.DPL.PL
 ‘The women showed the village to the strangers’
- (10.243) *Tsokoimpai palò akilamaka ihà ikat*
 stranger.DAT village.NOM PV.show.DEP.DPL woman.NOM PRG.be:here.IPV.PL
 ‘Here are the women who showed the village to the strangers’

10.6.3 Theme nominals

Theme nominals may be derived from verbs of any class (see §4.4). For verbs which assign nominative case to one of their arguments, the corresponding theme nominal denotes the kind of participant which bears that case role. For instance, a theme nominal derived from a Class I stative verb denotes an individual to whom the property denoted by that verb is attributed:¹

<i>elifa</i>	‘be beautiful’	<i>elife</i>	‘beautiful one/thing’
<i>kesta</i>	‘be happy’	<i>keste</i>	‘happy thing/event/occasion; (cause of) happiness’
<i>louna</i>	‘be awake’	<i>loune</i>	‘one who is awake’
<i>nasa</i>	‘be strong’	<i>nase</i>	‘strong one, person/thing that is strong’

When the theme nominal is formed from a Class II/III verb denoting a (change of) location or position, it denotes the entity which occupies (or comes to occupy) the position/location in question, whether spontaneously or as a result of physical manipulation by an agent. When formed from a Class II verb denoting a change of state, the theme nominal names the individual undergoing that change of state. By contrast, when formed from Class III verb denoting a change of state, the theme nominal names the instrument which effects that change, or the (type of) material undergoing transformation. Examples include:

<i>ekpa</i>	‘hold, carry’	<i>ekpe</i>	‘thing which is held/carried’
<i>etsa</i>	‘say, tell’	<i>etse</i>	‘speech; thing which is said/told’
<i>lima</i>	‘open’	<i>lime</i>	‘thing which opens, thing which is opened’
<i>patla</i>	‘cover’	<i>patle</i>	‘covering, thing/substance used to cover something’
<i>sasa</i>	‘find, discover’	<i>sase</i>	‘finding(s), discovery, thing which is found’
<i>siehpa</i>	‘write’	<i>siehpe</i>	‘writing instrument’
<i>tapa</i>	‘weave’	<i>tape</i>	‘material from which something is woven’
<i>tioka</i>	‘die’	<i>tioke</i>	‘one who dies, mortal’
<i>uihta</i>	‘sit down’	<i>uihte</i>	‘one who sits down’
<i>uosta</i>	‘shape, fashion’	<i>uoste</i>	‘substance out of which something is fashioned’

Even verbs which do not normally take nominative arguments can form theme nominals. With Class I verbs of this type, the theme nominal names the state denoted by the verb, or else some entity or occasion which brings about that state in some individual—e.g., *ekona* ‘be hungry’ > *ekone* ‘hunger; cause of hunger, fast’. Likewise, Class II verbs which are normally used ‘intransitively’ (taking an ergative argument but no nominative argument: see §4.4.2) may form theme nominals denoting the type of activity referred to by the verb—e.g., *kiompa* ‘run’ > *kiompe* ‘running, chase, race’ (can also mean ‘one who is chased’). Additional examples of this sort include:

<i>atlapa</i>	‘make music’	<i>atlpe</i>	‘music, playing’
<i>ekpiha</i>	‘search, look for’	<i>ekpihe</i>	‘search’
<i>halhkona</i>	‘be thirsty’	<i>halhkone</i>	‘(cause of) thirst’
<i>himeka</i>	‘be hollow’	<i>himeke</i>	‘hollow(ness), empty space’
<i>klalpa</i>	‘move stealthily’	<i>klalpe</i>	‘stealth; ambush’
<i>peuta</i>	‘wait’	<i>peute</i>	‘wait, period of waiting’
<i>puniaka</i>	‘travel’	<i>puniake</i>	‘trip, journey’
<i>uasta</i>	‘fly’	<i>uaste</i>	‘flight’

Theme nominals formed from ‘intransitive’ Class II verbs are similar in meaning to gerunds (§10.5), but tend to refer to particular instantiations of the action denoted by the verb, rather than to the general type of action. For instance, whereas the gerund *atlpats* ‘playing’ denotes the general activity of making music, the

¹Note that the theme nominal *keste* ‘happy one’ would be used to refer to an object or situation which engenders feelings of happiness. To describe the individual in whom a feeling of happiness is engendered, the circumstantial nominal *kestanen* ‘happy one’ is used. E.g., *keste mehkats* ‘a happy event’ versus *kestanen pyi* ‘a happy child’. Likewise for other verbs of emotion, such as *ohiyina* ‘be sad’.

theme nominal *atlpe* ‘music, playing’ usually denotes a specific musical performance. Likewise, the gerund *uastats* ‘flying’ refers to the activity of flying or the ability to fly, whereas the theme nominal *uaste* ‘flight’ refers to a particular trip through the air.

Additional examples of theme nominalization are shown below. The first example of each pair gives a sentence containing a verb which takes a nominative argument, while the second example gives a noun phrase in which that verb (together with its non-nominative dependents, if any) has been converted into a theme nominal and used to modify a noun.

- (10.244) *Mikale ihakta*
 boy.NOM PRG.tired.IPV
 ‘The boy is tired’
- (10.245) *ihakte mikal*
 PRG.tired.TNZR boy
 ‘the tired boy’ or ‘the boy who is/was tired’
- (10.246) *Mikale tonakana euohta*
 boy.NOM rock.LOC PRG.sit:RES.IPV
 ‘The boy is sitting on the rock’
- (10.247) *tonakana euohte mikal*
 rock.LOC PRG.sit:RES.TNZR boy
 ‘the boy (who is/was) sitting on the rock’
- (10.248) *Mo tsul lulna akote tlelhyi*
 1sRDAT bed under.LOC box.NOM find.PV
 ‘I found a box under the bed’
- (10.249) *umai tsul lulna atlelhe akot*
 1sRDAT bed under.LOC PV.find.TNZR box
 ‘the box that I found under the bed’
- (10.250) *Ma es konome nyipike*
 1sERG one hammer.NOM use.COND
 ‘I would/could use a hammer’
- (10.251) *imà enyipei es konom*
 1sERG SBJ.use.DEP:SBJ.TNZR one hammer
 ‘a hammer that I would/could use’ or ‘a hammer for me to use’
- (10.252) *Sakial ka Motlama kytu tin uktiyiot*
 Sakial and Motla.ERG present those:NOM give.PV.RECIP.PL
 ‘Sakial and Motla gave each other those presents’
- (10.253) *Sakial ka Motlama auoktiaoui kytu tin*
 Sakial and Motla.ERG PV.give.DEP.RECIP.TNZR present those:NOM
 ‘those presents that Sakial and Motla gave (to) each other’

Consider also the following examples. These illustrate theme nominals formed from Class III verbs whose (optional) nominative argument denotes the instrument with which the event is carried out, or the amount of time it takes to complete the event (see §4.4.3 for discussion).

- (10.254) *Kalonma kahoi tikò kikahtyima*
 boy.ERG fish.DAT harpoon.NOM pierce.PV.DPL
 ‘The boy speared the fish with a harpoon’
- (10.255) *Ma kalonma kahoi akikahtamai tikò imuohta*
 1sERG boy.ERG fish.DAT PV.pierce.DEP.DPL.TNZR harpoon.NOM PRG.fix.IPV
 ‘I’m fixing the harpoon with which the boy speared the fish’
- (10.256) *Na kotoi ilme kun tiespyit*
 3aERG house.DAT month four:NOM build.PV.PL
 ‘They built the house in four months’ or ‘They took four months to build the house’
- (10.257) *Me inkulhanka inat kotoi atiespanei ilme kunme*
 1sNOM PRG.gone.IPV:PST 3apERG house.DAT PV.build.DEP.EPL.TNZR month four.INST
 ‘I was away during the four months that it took them to build the house’

Note finally that a handful of common stative verbs form irregular theme nominals:

<i>fih</i>	‘be young’	<i>fihu</i>	‘young one’
<i>iena</i>	‘be good’	<i>ian</i>	‘good one’
<i>kefih</i>	‘be new, recent, unfamiliar’	<i>kefihu</i>	‘new/recent/unfamiliar one’
<i>kelhiuna</i>	‘be old, familiar, well-known’	<i>kelhuhme</i>	‘old/familiar one’
<i>kiha</i>	‘be small, little’	<i>kiho</i>	‘small/little one’
<i>liuna</i>	‘be old, aged’	<i>luhme</i>	‘old one’
<i>toha</i>	‘be big, large’	<i>tohmi</i>	‘big/large one’

These nominals can head noun phrases of their own, but more often occur as adjective-like modifiers of other nouns:

<i>fihu pyi</i>	‘young child’
<i>kiho tene</i>	‘small hill’
<i>luhme iha</i>	‘old woman’
<i>kelhuhme kuna</i>	‘old friend’
<i>tohmi kotu</i>	‘large house’

Irregular forms such as *fihu* and *tohmi* are used only when the theme nominal is uninflected for verbal categories such as mood, polarity, degree, etc. When verbs like *fih* ‘be young’ and *toha* ‘be big’ are negated or appear in the subjunctive mood, or when they host degree prefixes, aspectual suffixes, or other derivational markers (cf. §7.5–§7.7), they form theme nominals in the regular manner:

<i>liuna</i>	‘is old’	<i>luhme</i>	‘old one’
<i>maliuno</i>	‘is not old’ (NEG.old.IPV:NEG)	<i>maliuno</i>	‘one who is not old’
<i>aliunohta</i>	‘is older’ (REL.old.COMP.IPV)	<i>aliunohte</i>	‘older one’

- (10.258) *afihoh* *es pyi*
 REL.young.COMP.TNZR one child
 ‘a younger child’
- (10.259) *itò ntse ihpi atoh* *es kotu*
 this:ABL NEG equally REL.big.NEG:TNZR one house
 ‘a house which isn’t as big as this one’

10.6.4 Delimiter nominals

Delimiter nominals are formed from Class III verbs only, and refer to the type of participant to which the verb would assign dative case (see §4.4.3). If the verb expresses a change of state (e.g., *kahta* ‘hit’, *iasa* ‘eat’), the delimiter nominal denotes the patient of the action. If the verb expresses an event of motion or transmission (e.g., *eta* ‘go’, *lasta* ‘send’), the delimiter nominal denotes the goal or recipient. And if the verb expresses the entry into a cognitive or perceptual state (e.g., *kila* ‘see’, *tsokua* ‘meet, come to know’), the delimiter nominal denotes the individual who enters into that state. Examples of delimiter nominals, and the verbs they are formed from, are given below:

<i>eta</i>	‘go, come’	<i>etal</i>	‘goal, thing/place to which one goes’
<i>etsa</i>	‘say, tell’	<i>etsal</i>	‘addressee, person to whom something is said/told’
<i>hana</i>	‘cut, incise’	<i>hanal</i>	‘person/thing which is cut’
<i>kahta</i>	‘hit, strike’	<i>kahtal</i>	‘one who is hit’
<i>kila</i>	‘see, notice; show’	<i>kilal</i>	‘one who sees; one to whom something is shown’
<i>sasa</i>	‘meet, run across’	<i>sasal</i>	‘one who meets’
<i>tiespa</i>	‘build, construct’	<i>tiespal</i>	‘structure, thing which is built’
<i>uktia</i>	‘give’	<i>uktial</i>	‘recipient, person to whom something is given’

Although delimiter nominals can function as case-marked arguments, more often the delimiter noun (or a larger phrase headed by it) will precede another noun and act as a modifier of that noun. Compare the following pairs of examples: the first example gives a sentence containing a Class III verb with a dative argument, while the second example gives a noun phrase in which the head noun is modified by a delimiter nominal formed from that verb.

- (10.260) *Sakialma kopoi utsitspa*
 Sakial.ERG pot.DAT PF.break.IPV
 ‘Sakial broke the pot’
- (10.261) *Sakialma utsitspal kopo*
 Sakial.ERG PF.break.DEP.DNZR pot
 ‘the pot that Sakial has/had broken’ or ‘the pot broken by Sakial’
- (10.262) *Puniakakà tiesait itat*
 traveller.NOM town.DAT PRG.go.IPV.PL
 ‘The travellers are going to the town’
- (10.263) *puniakakà itauaL tiesat*
 traveller.NOM PRG.go.DEP.NPL.DNZR town
 ‘the town which the travellers are going to’
- (10.264) *Kaloin kietame kilyi*
 boy.DAT picture.NOM see.PV
 ‘The boy saw the picture’
- (10.265) *kietame akilal kalon*
 picture.NOM PV.see.DEP.DNZR boy
 ‘the boy who saw the picture’
- (10.266) *Ma kaloin kietame kilyi*
 1SERG boy.DAT picture.NOM see.PV
 ‘I showed the picture to the boy’

- (10.267) *imà kietame akilal kalon*
 1sERG picture.NOM PV.see.DEP.DNZR boy
 ‘the boy who I showed the picture to’
- (10.268) *Sakialma lhatei meunu nauote natyima*
 Sakial.NOM children.DAT milk.ABL cup.NOM hand.PV.DPL
 ‘Sakial handed cups of milk to the children’
- (10.269) *Sakialma meunu nauote anataual lhati*
 Sakial.NOM milk.ABL cup.NOM PV.hand.DEP.NPL.DNZR children
 ‘the children to whom Sakial handed cups of milk’

Notice the difference in number agreement on the verb in the last pair of examples. In (10.268) the verb *nata* ‘hand’ carries the dative plural suffix *-ma*, in agreement with the dative noun *lhatei* ‘children’. This prevents the nominative argument *meunu nauote* ‘cups of milk’ from triggering agreement: a verb can agree with at most one of its non-topic arguments, and agreement with an animate argument usually pre-empts agreement with an inanimate argument (see §7.2). In (10.269), however, the dative noun phrase is absent from the delimiter nominal phrase (since the latter denotes the recipient of the action). Since there is no dative argument, the verb is free to agree with its nominative argument, and so the nominalized verb carries the nominative plural suffix *-ua*.

10.6.5 Circumstantial nominals

Circumstantial nominals, like theme nominals, may be derived from verbs of any class. Circumstantial nominals generally denote some individual which bears a peripheral relation to the event denoted by the verb—i.e., some relation other than actor, theme, or delimiter. Relations of this sort include experiencer, beneficiary, possessor, instrument, source, or path.

As their name indicates, circumstantial nominals can also refer to some aspect of the circumstances surrounding the event—e.g., the location where the event takes place, the time at which it takes place, the manner in which it is carried out, the reason for which it is carried out, etc. For instance, depending on the context in which it is used, the nominal *atlpānen* (< *atlpā* ‘make music’) can refer to a time or place for making music, the instrument with which the music is made, the person for whom the music is made, and so on. Other examples:

<i>isuhta</i>	‘be born’
<i>isuhtānen</i>	‘place/time/circumstances of one’s birth’
<i>kyitsampa</i>	‘discuss, converse about’
<i>kyitsampānen</i>	‘(time/place of) discussion, topic of conversation’
<i>tshūpa</i>	‘live, reside’
<i>tshūpānen</i>	‘residence, where/when one lives’
<i>hyikpa</i>	‘hold, contain’
<i>hyikpānen</i>	‘container, vessel, place/object which contains’

Like other participant nominals, circumstantial nominals can take arguments and modifiers to form larger phrases. These phrases function either as a verb dependent, in which case the circumstantial nominal usually takes a case ending; or as a modifier of a noun within a larger noun phrase, in which case it acts much like a relative clause. In (10.270), the circumstantial nominal phrase *no amè uesuhānen* carries the locative case ending *-na*, while in (10.271) it modifies the noun *tiesat* ‘town’, and the latter takes the locative ending.

- (10.270) *Sakialma ntsemi no amè uesuhānenna utsulo*
 Sakial.ERG never 3aRDAT mother.NOM PF.be:born.CNZR.LOC PF.visit.IPV:NEG
 ‘Sakial has never visited (the place) where his mother was born’

- (10.271) *Sakialma ntsemi no amè uesuhtanen tiesatna utsulo*
 Sakial.ERG never 3aRDAT mother.NOM PF.be:born.CNZR town.LOC PF.visit.IPV:NEG
 ‘Sakial has never visited the town where his mother was born’

Although a circumstantial nominal can denote various kinds of peripheral roles, its interpretation can usually be determined by the context in which it occurs. For example, *no amè uesuhtanen* can refer to any of a number of factors connected with the birth of Sakial’s mother (place, time, manner, etc.). That it refers to the place of her birth in the examples above is signaled by the fact that it is (a part of) the locative argument selected by the verb *tsula* ‘visit’, as well as by the fact that it modifies the place noun *tiesat* ‘town’ in (10.271). (I return to the ambiguity of circumstantial nominals at the end of this section.)

Circumstantial nominals can refer to any participant in an event which may be expressed using a noun phrase in one of the oblique cases (locative, allative, ablative, or instrumental). For instance, the verb *henka* ‘be enjoyable’ can take an allative noun phrase indicating the experiencer of the enjoyment, in which case it is usually translated as ‘like’ (10.272). A noun phrase denoting the experiencer can be formed with the circumstantial nominal derived from *henka* (10.273).

- (10.272) *Sakiala satè henka*
 Sakial.ALL meal.NOM enjoyable.IPV
 ‘Sakial likes the meal’ (lit. ‘For Sakial, the meal is enjoyable’)

- (10.273) *satè henkanen*
 meal.NOM enjoyable.DEP.CNZR
 ‘(the) one who likes the meal’

The verb *ekpiha* ‘search, look around’ also takes an allative noun phrase, but with this verb the allative noun phrase indicates the goal of the search (10.274). In (10.275) the circumstantial nominal formed from *ekpiha* is used to refer to this goal.

- (10.274) *Elimma kamala ikpiha*
 Elim.ERG knife.ALL PRG.search.IPV
 ‘Elim is looking for a knife’
- (10.275) *Mo Elimma ikpihanen kamale tlelhyi*
 1sRDAT Elim.ERG PRG.search.DEP.CNZR knife.NOM find.PV
 ‘I found the knife that Elim was looking for’

Further examples of circumstantial nominalization are given below. Examples (10.277) and (10.279) show circumstantial nominals which denote the kinds of participants specified by noun phrases in the locative case (cf. (10.276) and (10.278)). The former denotes a location, while the latter denotes the experiencer of a cognitive state.

- (10.276) *Iha inà Tenmotlinna tsuhpa*
 woman that:ERG Tenmotlai.LOC live.IPV
 ‘That woman lives in Tenmotlai’
- (10.277) *iha inà tsuhpanen tiesat*
 woman that:ERG live.DEP.CNZR town
 ‘the town where that woman lives’
- (10.278) *Motlana iona mà esuki aun*
 Motla.LOC know.IPV what SBJ.do.DEP:SBJ if
 ‘Motla knows what to do’

- (10.279) *mà esuki aun ionanen*
 what SBJ.do.DEP:SBJ if know.DEP.CNZR
 ‘(the) one who knows what to do’

In the examples below, the circumstantial nominal denotes a source (10.281) or the possessor of an inalienable property (10.283), both functions of the ablative case role. Likewise in (10.285), the modified noun *moiha* ‘girl’ is interpreted as the possessor of *suhpa* ‘brother’, since the possessor in kinship constructions is marked by ablative case.

- (10.280) *Sakiale Uilumau ehkana*
 Sakial.NOM Uiluma.ABL originate.IPV
 ‘Sakial comes from Uiluma’
- (10.281) *Sakiale ehkananen tiesat*
 Sakial.NOM originate.DEP.CNZR town
 ‘the town that Sakial comes from’
- (10.282) *Moihau ulhmo tam iala*
 girl.ABL year ten have.IPV
 ‘The girl is ten years old’
- (10.283) *ulhmo tam ialanen es moiha*
 year ten have.DEP.CNZR one girl
 ‘a ten-year-old girl’
- (10.284) *Moihau suhpama kaecin tahyima*
 girl.ABL brother.ERG turkey.DAT kill.PV.DPL
 ‘The girl’s brother killed the turkeys’
- (10.285) *suhpama kaecin atahamanen moiha*
 brother.ERG turkey.DAT PV.kill.DEP.DPL.CNZR girl
 ‘the girl whose brother killed the turkeys’
 more lit. ‘the girl, the brother (of whom) killed the turkeys’

Finally, the circumstantial nominal may denote the kind of participant expressed by an instrumental noun phrase (instrument, possessor, etc.):

- (10.286) *Sakialme olh kotu tan efa*
 Sakial.INST DIST house that:NOM own.IPV
 ‘Sakial owns that house over the there’
- (10.287) *olh kotu tan efanen*
 DIST house that:NOM own.DEP.CNZR
 ‘(the) owner of that house over the there’
- (10.288) *Ma sul henme koma*
 1sERG language two.INST speak.IPV
 ‘I speak two languages’
- (10.289) *imà komanen sul hen*
 1sERG speak.DEP.CNZR language two
 ‘(the) two languages that I speak’

As discussed elsewhere (e.g., §2.4, §7.5.1, §7.7.1), adding certain aspectual or modal affixes to the verb can affect case assignment, such that a noun phrase which would normally appear in one of the core cases (nominative, dative, ergative) is instead marked with an oblique case. These case alternations feed the formation of participant nominals. For example, the verb *tala* ‘read’ assigns ergative case to the noun phrase denoting the actor participant (10.290). However, when the potential mood suffix *-yip* is added to the verb to form *talyipa* ‘readable’, the actor noun phrase appears instead in the locative case (10.291). Hence, to derive a noun phrase which describes an individual who reads, an actor nominal is formed from *tala* (*talaka*), but to derive a noun phrase describing an individual who is capable of reading, the circumstantial nominal form is used instead (*talyipanen*).

(10.290) *Mikalma halmai itala*
 boy.ERG book.DAT PRG.read.IPV
 ‘The boy is reading the book’

(10.291) *Mikalma halmai talyipa*
 boy.LOC book.DAT read.able.IPV
 ‘The boy can read the book’

(10.292) *halmai italaka mikal*
 book.DAT PRG.read.DEP.ANZR boy
 ‘the boy who is reading the book’

(10.293) *halmai talyipanen mikal*
 book.DAT read.able.DEP.CNZR boy
 ‘the boy who can read the book’

Consider also the examples below. The Class III verb *tsitspa* ‘break, smash’ assigns dative case to its patient argument (10.294), so when a participant nominal denoting the patient is formed from *tsitspa*, the delimiter nominal form is used (10.295). However, when resultative aspect morphology is added to the stem to derive the Class I verb *tseitspa* ‘be broken, be in a broken state’, dative case is unavailable and the patient instead appears in the locative case (10.296) (see §7.5.1 on resultative aspect). Hence, when a participant nominal denoting the patient is derived from *tseitspa*, the circumstantial form will be used (10.297).

(10.294) *Mikalma kopoì tsitspyi*
 boy.ERG pot.DAT break.PV
 ‘The boy broke the pot’

(10.295) *Mikalma atsitspal kopo ikà*
 boy.ERG PV.break.DEP.DNZR pot PRG.be:here.IPV
 ‘Here is the pot that the boy broke’

(10.296) *Kopona tseitspa*
 pot.LOC break:RES.IPV
 ‘The pot is broken’

(10.297) *Tseitspanen kopo ikà*
 break:RES.DEP.CNZR pot PRG.be:here.IPV
 ‘Here is the broken pot’

Nominalizations like *tseitspanen* ‘broken one’ are rather common. With verbs of creation, for example, a circumstantial nominal derived from the resultative stem typically denotes the object or substance which has been created:

<i>kyuata</i>	‘carve’	<i>kyuaitanen</i>	‘carving’ (lit. ‘carved thing’)
<i>pusuka</i>	‘make, create’	<i>pusoikanen</i>	‘creation, artifact’
<i>siehpä</i>	‘write’	<i>sieihpanen</i>	‘writing(s), written composition’
<i>tapa</i>	‘weave’	<i>taipanen</i>	‘weaving, woven cloth, textile’
<i>tiespä</i>	‘build, construct’	<i>tieispanen</i>	‘structure, construction’

Since a verb can combine with various different types of oblique dependents, circumstantial nominals are underspecified with regard to the type of participant they refer to, as noted above. In many cases, the correct interpretation of a circumstantial nominal can be inferred by looking at the verb from which it is formed, the arguments and modifiers it takes, or the context in which the circumstantial nominal phrase appears. However, often some ambiguity remains. For instance, any semantically appropriate verb can take an animate noun phrase in the allative case denoting the individual(s) on whose behalf the action is being carried out (10.298). Likewise, any semantically appropriate verb can take an animate noun phrase in the instrumental case denoting the individual(s) in whose company the action is being carried out (10.299).

- (10.298) *Motlama kalona piat ipusuka*
 Motla.ERG boy.ALL arrow PRG.make.IPV
 ‘Motla is making arrows for the boy’

- (10.299) *Motlama kalonme piat ipusuka*
 Motla.ERG boy.INST arrow PRG.make.IPV
 ‘Motla is making arrows with the boy’

The circumstantial nominal formed from such a verb can express either of these roles (among others). Consequently, the noun phrase in (10.300) does not specify the precise role that the boy is playing in the arrow-making event. If (10.300) were presented in isolation, all we would know for certain is that the boy should not be interpreted as the actor, theme, or delimiter of the event, but is instead playing some more peripheral role. (If the boy were the actor, theme, or delimiter, *kalon* would be modified by a different type of participant nominal—e.g., an actor nominal in *piat ipusukaka kalon* ‘the boy who is/was making arrows’.)

- (10.300) *Motlama piat ipusukanen kalon*
 Motla.ERG arrow PRG.make.DEP.CNZR boy
 ‘the boy for whom Motla is/was making arrows’
 or ‘the boy with whom Motla is/was making arrows’

Whether (10.300) means ‘the boy FOR whom Motla is/was making arrows’, ‘the boy WITH whom Motla is/was making arrows’, or something else, can usually be determined from the context in which the noun phrase is uttered. When context does not suffice to make the meaning clear, a different construction must be used. For example, as discussed in §10.3, sentences can include a participial clause introduced by the connective *ka* ‘and’, which serves to provide supplementary information about one of the participants referenced in the main clause. The participial clause includes a pronoun which refers back to the participant in question, and the case marking on the pronoun indicates the function it is serving within the participial clause. Compare the following:

- (10.301) *Mo kalone kilyi, ka inè Motlama piat ipusuke*
 1SRDAT boy.NOM see.PV and 3aALL Motla.ERG arrow PRG.make.PT
 ‘I saw the boy for whom Motla is/was making arrows’
 lit. ‘I saw the boy, and for him Motla making arrows’

- (10.302) *Mo kalone kilyi, ka inem Motlama piat ipusuke*
 1SRDAT boy.NOM see.PV and 3aINST Motla.ERG arrow PRG.make.PT
 ‘I saw the boy with whom Motla is/was making arrows’
 lit. ‘I saw the boy, and with him Motla making arrows’

Chapter 11

Derivation and the Lexicon

11.1 Introduction

This chapter covers miscellaneous topics related to the lexicon. §11.2 and §11.3 deal with productive and non-productive morphology for deriving nouns and verbs. The remaining sections cover various lexical classes requiring special discussion. In §11.4.1 I discuss kinship terminology, while §11.4.2 gives an overview of colour terms, and §11.4.3 provides additional discussion of motion verbs. Finally, §11.5 gives a list of greetings and other common phrases.

11.2 Noun derivation

In this section I discuss morphology for deriving nouns. Section §11.2.1 deals with the prefixes used to form diminutive and augmentative noun stems from other noun stems, while §11.2.2 deals with the formation of collective nouns. This morphology is fully productive, meaning that it can be added to any noun stem to derive a new noun stem (subject to semantic plausibility). Then in §11.2.3 I give an overview of various non-productive means for deriving nouns, and give examples of each.

11.2.1 Diminutive and augmentative marking

To form a diminutive noun, the prefix *ki-* (*kih-* before a vowel) may be added to a noun stem; while augmentatives are formed by prefixing *to-* (*toh-* before a vowel) to the noun stem. (These prefixes are transparently related to the verbs *kiha* ‘be small’ and *toha* ‘be big’, as well as the corresponding nominalizations *kiho* ‘small one’ and *tohmi* ‘big one’.) The diminutive and augmentative prefixes are fully productive: they can be added to any semantically appropriate noun. Typically diminutive nouns denote small objects, while augmentative nouns denote large objects. However, with animal names, the diminutive form is often used to denote the offspring of the animal. With kinship terms, the diminutive and augmentative may be used to denote relative age. Examples are given below:

<i>halu</i>	‘room’	<i>kihalu</i>	‘small room, compartment’	<i>tohalu</i>	‘large room, hall’
<i>ike</i>	‘dog’	<i>kihike</i>	‘puppy’	<i>tohike</i>	‘large dog’
<i>kotu</i>	‘house’	<i>kikotu</i>	‘small house, hut, cottage’	<i>tokotu</i>	‘large house’
<i>naka</i>	‘rock’	<i>kinaka</i>	‘small rock, pebble’	<i>tonaka</i>	‘large rock, boulder’
<i>pila</i>	‘bird’	<i>kipila</i>	‘small bird, hatchling’	<i>topila</i>	‘large bird’
<i>sati</i>	‘food, meal’	<i>kisati</i>	‘small meal, snack’	<i>tosati</i>	‘large meal, feast’
<i>suhpa</i>	‘brother’	<i>kisuhpa</i>	‘younger brother’	<i>tosuhpa</i>	‘older brother’
<i>suku</i>	‘wind’	<i>kisuku</i>	‘breeze’	<i>tosuku</i>	‘strong wind’

The diminutive and augmentative prefixes also attach to certain quantifiers to form other quantifiers:

<i>anohte</i>	‘more’	<i>kihanohhte</i>	‘a few more’
<i>sepyi</i>	‘some, a few’	<i>kisepyi</i>	‘very few’
<i>sipe</i>	‘much, a bit’	<i>kisipe</i>	‘a little/tiny bit’
<i>tuhe</i>	‘less, not as much’	<i>kituhe</i>	‘a bit less, not quite as much’
<i>tuhte</i>	‘fewer, not as many’	<i>kituhte</i>	‘somewhat fewer, not quite as many’
<i>ante</i>	‘many’	<i>tohante</i>	‘very many, a great many’
<i>anohte</i>	‘more’	<i>tohanohhte</i>	‘many more, a lot more’
<i>han</i>	‘much, a lot’	<i>tohan</i>	‘very much, a great deal’
<i>ohe</i>	‘more’	<i>tohohe</i>	‘much more, a lot more’
<i>muhte</i>	‘enough’	<i>tomuhte</i>	‘plenty, more than enough’
<i>sepyi</i>	‘some, a few’	<i>tosepyi</i>	‘several, a fair number’
<i>sipe</i>	‘some, a bit’	<i>tosipe</i>	‘a fair bit’
<i>tuhe</i>	‘less, not as much’	<i>totuhe</i>	‘a lot less, not nearly as many’

The augmentative prefix may also be used with stative deverbal nouns—that is, nouns formed from stative verbs, used to modify other nouns (see §10.6.3)—to express ‘very’:

<i>luhme iha</i>	‘old woman’	<i>tohmi kotu</i>	‘large house’
<i>toluhme iha</i>	‘very old woman’	<i>totohmi kotu</i>	‘very large house’

11.2.2 Collective nouns

A collective noun refers to a complete set or collection of entities of a given type, conceived of as a unit. To form collective nouns in Okuna, the suffix *-mit* may be added to any noun denoting the type of entity in question:

<i>ahkunan</i>	‘companion’	<i>ahkunanmit</i>	‘fellowship, group of companions’
<i>his</i>	‘star’	<i>hismit</i>	‘the stars, the night sky’
<i>hostaka</i>	‘dancer’	<i>hostakamit</i>	‘dance troupe’
<i>lakiaka</i>	‘hunter’	<i>lakiakamit</i>	‘hunting party’
<i>puniakaka</i>	‘traveller’	<i>puniakakamit</i>	‘travelling party’
<i>pyi</i>	‘child, offspring’	<i>pyimit</i>	‘(one’s) children, offspring’
<i>suk</i>	‘tooth’	<i>sukmit</i>	‘set of teeth’
<i>tomla</i>	‘mountain’	<i>tomlamit</i>	‘mountain chain/range’
<i>tsan</i>	‘thing, object; body’	<i>tsanmit</i>	‘collection, set’
<i>uhnaka</i>	‘singer’	<i>uhnakamit</i>	‘group of singers, chorus’

The collective suffix can also be attached to proper names to indicate a collection of individuals associated with the person named: e.g., *Sakialmit* ‘Sakial and company’. Finally, *-mit* can be added to the second of a pair of nouns conjoined with *ka* ‘and’, to denote pairs of individuals, groups, or substances that go together: e.g., *iase ka sepemit* ‘food and drink’, *iha ka kalmit* ‘women and men’.

Nouns and noun phrases formed with *-mit* have unusual agreement properties. For purposes of marking number on the verb (see §7.2), inanimate collectives are treated as grammatically singular when denoting a single set, and plural when denoting multiple sets; whereas animate collectives (especially those denoting groups of humans) are almost always treated as plural, regardless of whether they refer to a single set or multiple sets.

- (11.1) *Tomlamite* *ekau* *lama*
 mountain:range.NOM here:ABL far.IPV
 ‘The mountain range is far from here’

- (11.2) *Tomlamite* *ekau* *lamat*
 mountain:range.NOM here:ABL far.IPV.PL
 ‘The mountain ranges are far from here’

- (11.3) *Puniakakamite paloi elohka etskanyit*
 group:of:travellers.NOM village.DAT yesterday arrive.PV.PL
 ‘The group(s) of travellers arrived at the village yesterday’

11.2.3 Other noun derivational morphology

In addition to the regular noun-deriving morphology discussed above, Okuna has a variety of non-productive means for forming nouns from other words. Examples of these are given below. The affixes discussed here are mostly used to derive nouns from verb stems, but a few are used to derive nouns from other noun stems (or from both verb and noun stems).

Property nouns with *a-* + *-i/e*

Various abstract nouns denoting properties are formed from verbs by adding the prefix *a-*, together with the suffix *-e* and/or the infix *-i/-e*. Many of these nouns are derived from Class I scalar verbs, and denote the scale to which the verb refers. Others are derived from Class I and Class III verbs referring to one of the senses, and refer to the aspect(s) of an object which that sense provides information about. Examples include:

<i>kila</i>	‘see’	<i>akiel</i>	‘appearance, looks’
<i>koluma</i>	‘be difficult’	<i>akoloim</i>	‘(level of) effort, difficulty’
<i>kuista</i>	‘be long, last’	<i>akuiset</i>	‘length of time, duration’
<i>lhuta</i>	‘be heavy’	<i>alhoit</i>	‘weight’
<i>liakna</i>	‘be long’	<i>aliaken</i>	‘length, distance, span’
<i>liuna</i>	‘be old’	<i>alioin</i>	‘age’
<i>luhtsa</i>	‘smell’	<i>aluhtse</i>	‘smell, odour, aroma’
<i>mahtla</i>	‘taste’	<i>amahtle</i>	‘taste, flavour’
<i>muohfa</i>	‘be thick/dense’	<i>amuohfe</i>	‘density, consistency’
<i>mutla</i>	‘understand’	<i>amoitl</i>	‘meaning, significance, interpretation’
<i>ola</i>	‘hear’	<i>aule</i>	‘sound’
<i>pata</i>	‘be tall’	<i>apait</i>	‘height’
<i>toha</i>	‘big’	<i>atoihe</i>	‘size, bigness’
<i>uota</i>	‘feel, perceive’	<i>auote</i>	‘feeling, sensation; stimulus; property, trait’

When a noun from this class takes a possessor, the possessor appears in the ablative case: e.g., *Sakialu alioin* ‘Sakial’s age’, *palahtau apait* ‘the height of the tree’.

Directional nouns with *-ut/-ot*

Various nouns denoting a direction, orientation, or limit are formed by adding the suffix *-ut* to a motion verb. A few such nouns are derived from other nouns by adding the related suffix *-ot*.

<i>ahopiau</i>	‘noon, sun zenith’	<i>ahopiaut</i>	‘south’
<i>hepa</i>	‘go along’	<i>hepaut</i>	‘course, route, path’
<i>hita</i>	‘come here’	<i>hitaut</i>	‘heading, destination, goal’
<i>ilalta</i>	‘go down to the shore’	<i>ilalot</i>	‘direction of the shore’
<i>kahpa</i>	‘go down, descend’	<i>kahpaut</i>	‘down, depth; downhill; downstairs’
<i>kelha</i>	‘rise, go up, ascend’	<i>kelhaut</i>	‘up, height; uphill; upstairs’
<i>koset</i>	‘evening’	<i>kosetot</i>	‘west’
<i>kotsim</i>	‘morning’	<i>kotsimot</i>	‘east’
<i>kumita</i>	‘go forward’	<i>kumitaut</i>	‘orientation, direction’
<i>sihafa</i>	‘go downstream’	<i>sihafaut</i>	‘downstream’
<i>sihita</i>	‘go to the river’	<i>sihitaut</i>	‘direction of the river’
<i>sihkasta</i>	‘go upstream’	<i>sihkasout</i>	‘upstream’

<i>tima</i>	‘lie, be situated’	<i>timaut</i>	‘location, placement; situation’
<i>tsypa</i>	‘submerge, go into water’	<i>tsypaut</i>	‘down, depths, under water’
<i>uelalta</i>	‘come up from the shore’	<i>uelalot</i>	‘direction away from shore’
<i>usihta</i>	‘come up from the river’	<i>usihot</i>	‘direction away from the river’
<i>usla</i>	‘end, finish’	<i>uslaut</i>	‘edge, boundary, limit, starting/ending point’

These nouns normally take the allative case when denoting the direction in which something is going (or in which something is facing), and the ablative case when denoting the direction from which something is coming. They take the locative case when picking out a location defined in terms of the direction from some reference point, where the reference point is expressed with a noun phrase in the ablative case.

- (11.4) *Sakiale sihkasouta sikhunume ihepa*
 Sakial.NOM upstream.ALL river.INST PRG.go:along.IPV
 ‘Sakial is going upstream along the river’

- (11.5) *Sakiale sihafauta ikumuta*
 Sakial.NOM upstream.ALL PRG.face:RES.IPV
 ‘Sakial is facing downstream’

- (11.6) *Puniakakamite kotsimotu etyit*
 travelling:party.NOM east.ABL come.PV.PL
 ‘The travellers came from the east’

- (11.7) *Palò ekau kelhautna tima*
 village.NOM here:ABL up.LOC lie.IPV
 ‘The village lies up(hill) from here’

Locational nouns with *-en*

A number of nouns denoting (real or metaphorical) locations, geographical features, or settings are formed from verbs by adding the suffix *-en*. This suffix may be related to the noun *eun* ‘place’, or it might be a variant of the circumstantial nominalizer *-nen* (§10.6.5):

<i>alontsa</i>	‘set up camp’	<i>alontsen</i>	‘camp, campsite’
<i>ehkana</i>	‘come from, originate’	<i>ehkanen</i>	‘origin, source; home, birthplace’
<i>okla</i>	‘hide, conceal’	<i>oklen</i>	‘hiding place; seclusion, refuge’
<i>paksona</i>	‘look after, cultivate’	<i>paksonen</i>	‘garden, nursery’
<i>palhta</i>	‘come ashore, disembark’	<i>palhten</i>	‘landing, mooring’
<i>sì suha</i>	‘stream comes out’	<i>sisuhen</i>	‘spring’
<i>siufa</i>	‘be dense, enclosed’	<i>siufen</i>	‘thicket, dense woods’
<i>suka</i>	‘do, make, work’	<i>suken</i>	‘time and place (for doing something)’
<i>tiausa</i>	‘fall, drop’	<i>tiauen</i>	‘drop, precipice, edge of a cliff’
<i>tiuma</i>	‘be deep’	<i>tiumen</i>	‘depths, bottom (of an enclosed space)’
<i>tlala</i>	‘be wide, open’	<i>tlalen</i>	‘open land, plain(s), prairie’

Abstract nouns with *-hats*

The suffix *-hats* combines with certain nouns, mostly kinship terms (see §11.4.1) and other human-denoting nouns, to form abstract nouns expressing a type of relationship or stage of life. Examples:

<i>ahkunan</i>	‘companion’	<i>ahkunankats</i>	‘companionship, fellowship’
<i>ahte</i>	‘father’	<i>ahtehats</i>	‘fatherhood’
<i>alioin</i>	‘age’	<i>alioinkats</i>	‘age, stage of development, period in one’s life’
<i>ame</i>	‘mother’	<i>amehats</i>	‘motherhood, childbearing’
<i>esian</i>	‘(adult) name’	<i>esiankats</i>	‘adulthood, maturity’

<i>kimi</i>	‘baby’	<i>kimihats</i>	‘infancy’
<i>kuna</i>	‘friend’	<i>kunahats</i>	‘friendship’
<i>luhme</i>	‘old one’	<i>luhmehats</i>	‘old age’
<i>pyi</i>	‘child’	<i>pyihats</i>	‘childhood, youth’
<i>suhpa</i>	‘brother’	<i>suhpahats</i>	‘brotherhood, fraternity’
<i>talo</i>	‘chieftain’	<i>talohats</i>	‘rule, reign, chiefdom, command’

These nouns often take instrumental case marking to express manner: e.g., *ahtehatsme* ‘as a father’; *kunahatsme* ‘as a friend, in friendship’. They can also take locative case marking to form expressions indicating a time of life: e.g., *pyihatsna* ‘during childhood, when [one] was a child’; *Sakiale talohatsna* ‘during Sakial’s chieftainship, when Sakial was chief’.

Collective nouns with *-pa*

The suffix *-pa* attaches to certain noun stems to form nouns denoting a people, tribe, or other social group (e.g., *otan* ‘patrilineal clan’ > *otanapa* ‘patrilineal relatives, the people belonging to one’s patrilineal clan’). When *-pa* is suffixed to a place name or the name of an individual, the resulting noun denotes the people associated with that place or individual:

<i>Ehkantlukan</i>	‘Raven’ (mythical figure)	<i>Ehkantlukampa</i>	‘people of the Raven’
<i>Kemotlasi</i>	(name of a town)	<i>Kemotlasipa</i>	‘people of Kemotlasi’
<i>Okuna</i>	(name of a river)	<i>Okunapa</i>	‘people of the Okuna valley’

These derived nouns can in turn modify a noun denoting an individual, so as to indicate a member of a particular group or native of a particular region: e.g., *Kemotlasipa iha* ‘a woman of/from Kemotlasi’. The suffix *-pa* also appears on nouns like *okapa* ‘member of a community, society, or tribe’ (< *oka* ‘people, ethnicity’), *tsokoimpa* ‘stranger’ (cf. *tsokoia* ‘recently met’), *utempa* ‘neighbour’ (cf. *utena* ‘nearby’).

Miscellaneous noun-deriving affixes

There are a handful of other noun-forming suffixes (*-at*, *-e*, *-lut*, *-oi*, *-ol*, *-on*, *-ot*) and infixes (*-a-*, *-i/e-*), each attested on only a few forms in the language:

<i>aihne</i>	‘golden thing’	<i>aihan</i>	‘gold’ [metal]
<i>aile</i>	‘silvery/metallic thing’	<i>ailot</i>	‘silver; mirror’
<i>elia</i>	‘be easy, relaxed’	<i>eliol</i>	‘ease, comfort’
<i>fana</i>	‘have affection for’	<i>fanol</i>	‘affection’
<i>hana</i>	‘cut (into)’	<i>hanoi</i>	‘gash, wound’
<i>huan</i>	‘mouth’	<i>huanot</i>	‘mouthful’
<i>hotsma</i>	‘be angry’	<i>hotsem</i>	‘anger’
<i>iasa</i>	‘eat’	<i>iase</i>	‘food’
<i>iom tota</i>	‘earth shakes’	<i>iontoton</i>	‘earthquake’
<i>kesta</i>	‘happy’	<i>kestol</i>	‘happiness, joy’
<i>kymainka</i>	‘hold in place’	<i>kymainkon</i>	‘clasp, fastener, brooch, buckle’
<i>kytlana</i>	‘keep straight’	<i>kytlanon</i>	‘brace, splint’
<i>naua</i>	‘palm of the hand’	<i>nauot</i>	‘cup’
<i>paka</i>	‘step, take a step’	<i>pakon</i>	‘bridge’
<i>sepa</i>	‘drink’	<i>sepe</i>	‘drink, beverage’
<i>suka</i>	‘do, make, work’	<i>suklut</i>	‘task, job’
<i>ties</i>	‘structure’ [archaic]	<i>tiesat</i>	‘town, large settlement’
<i>uhna</i>	‘sing’	<i>uhin</i>	‘song, poem’
<i>uila</i>	‘love’	<i>uilol</i>	‘love’

11.3 Verb derivation

Verbs may be derived from other verbs, or from nouns. Morphology for deriving verbs from nouns is much less common than morphology for deriving verbs from verbs. I begin by surveying the former before turning to the latter.

11.3.1 Deriving verbs from nouns

By far the most productive element for deriving verbs from noun stems is the suffix *-t* (or *-it*), perhaps related to the verb *eta* ‘go/take’. This suffix mostly derives motion verbs from nouns denoting body parts and locations. In certain cases (*tasta*, *uosta*, etc.) there is no sense of motion, and the suffix acts merely as a general verb formative. (This might be the same *-t* suffix added to certain stative verbs to form telic inchoative/causative verbs: *kisa* ‘be frozen’ > *kista* ‘freeze’; *tlana* ‘be straight’ > *tlanta* ‘straighten’, etc.)

<i>ampio</i>	‘surrounding area’	<i>ampiota</i>	‘surround’
<i>ihfo</i>	‘area behind/obscured by’	<i>ihfoita</i>	‘be secret, be private’
<i>ilal</i>	‘shore’	<i>ilalta</i>	‘go towards the shore’
<i>kuma</i>	‘face, front’	<i>kumita</i>	‘come/appear before’
<i>lohan</i>	‘voice’	<i>lohanta</i>	‘express, utter, give voice to’
<i>loi</i>	‘eye, opening’	<i>loita</i>	‘watch, look at’
<i>milth</i>	‘shift, transition’	<i>milhta</i>	‘turn, shift; change’
<i>minap</i>	‘bone marrow’	<i>minahta</i>	‘be vital; be powerful, vigorous, dynamic’
<i>mok</i>	‘hearth, home’	<i>mokta</i>	‘go home’
<i>sì</i>	‘stream, flow, current’	<i>sihita</i>	‘go towards the river’
<i>tasi</i>	‘liquid, fluid’	<i>tasta</i>	‘melt, thaw, liquify’
<i>uos</i>	‘shape, form’	<i>uosta</i>	‘shape, give form to; make, create, fashion’

Several verbs denoting bodily emissions are derived from the corresponding nouns by adding the suffix *-k*, with additional idiosyncratic changes in certain cases:

<i>ahim</i>	‘breath, air’	<i>ahinka</i>	‘breathe heavily, pant, be out of breath’
<i>fà</i>	‘feather’	<i>fahka</i>	‘moult, shed feathers’
<i>hiunu</i>	‘tears’	<i>hiunuka</i>	‘weep, shed tears’
<i>nek</i>	‘scales’	<i>nehka</i>	‘moult, shed scales’
<i>semu</i>	‘skin’	<i>semuka</i>	‘shed one’s skin’
<i>san</i>	‘blood’	<i>salhka</i>	‘bleed, shed blood’
<i>tesiek</i>	‘shit, feces’	<i>siehka</i>	‘defecate’
<i>tsinu</i>	‘seed; semen’	<i>tsinuka</i>	‘release seeds; ejaculate’
<i>uake</i>	‘urine’	<i>uahka</i>	‘urinate’
<i>utsas</i>	‘sweat’	<i>utsaska</i>	‘sweat, perspire’

A small number of verbs describing the collection of natural resources are formed by adding the suffix *-(e)ni* to a noun root denoting the resource in question:

<i>kahu</i>	‘fish’	<i>kahunia</i>	‘fish, catch fish’
<i>kepe</i>	‘nut, seed’	<i>kepenia</i>	‘forage for nuts/seeds’
<i>là</i>	‘plant’	<i>lahenia</i>	‘gather plants; graze’
<i>mpetio</i>	‘mushroom’	<i>mpetionia</i>	‘forage for mushrooms’
<i>nà</i>	‘water’	<i>nahenia</i>	‘fetch water (from a stream or well)’
<i>ohui</i>	‘fruit’	<i>ohuinia</i>	‘gather wild fruit or berries’
<i>sohie</i>	‘shellfish’	<i>sohenia</i>	‘gather/harvest shellfish’

Finally, a handful of verbs are formed from nouns using the suffix *-p*, sometimes with a change in the root vowel. These verbs have little in common except that they denote volitional events.

<i>esian</i>	‘name’	<i>esiampa</i>	‘address, call by name’
<i>iahki</i>	‘forceful blow’	<i>iahkipa</i>	‘strike forcefully’
<i>lias</i>	‘throat, neck’	<i>liaspa</i>	‘swallow’
<i>mosie</i>	‘upper back, shoulders’	<i>mosipa</i>	‘carry on one’s back/shoulders’
<i>nalh</i>	‘arm’	<i>nalhpa</i>	‘gesture, gesticulate’
<i>ties</i>	‘building, structure’ [archaic]	<i>tiespa</i>	‘build, construct’
<i>tlap</i>	‘large piece, chunk’	<i>tlehpa</i>	‘break into chunks’
<i>tsets</i>	‘shard, fragment’	<i>tsitspa</i>	‘break into small pieces, smash, shatter’
<i>tuk</i>	‘group’	<i>tukpa</i>	‘collaborate, act as a group’

11.3.2 Deriving verbs from verbs

There are only two widely-occurring suffixes for deriving verb stems from other verb stems. The first of these is *-om*, illustrated below. Verbs formed with this suffix are stative and belong to class I or II. They denote a tendency to possess the characteristic or perform the action named by the stem from which they are derived.

<i>etsa</i>	‘say, tell’	<i>etsoma</i>	‘be talkative’
<i>huata</i>	‘be liked, appreciated’	<i>huatoma</i>	‘be likable, agreeable, congenial’
<i>hehta</i>	‘move, stir’	<i>hehtoma</i>	‘be restless’
<i>kahta</i>	‘hit, strike’	<i>kahtoma</i>	‘be violent’
<i>lalia</i>	‘play, have fun’	<i>lalioma</i>	‘be playful’
<i>mehka</i>	‘happen, occur’	<i>mehkoma</i>	‘be common, likely; tend to occur’
<i>mina</i>	‘think’	<i>minoma</i>	‘be thoughtful, mindful’
<i>sokasta</i>	‘argue’	<i>sokastoma</i>	‘be argumentative, quarrelsome’
<i>suhonta</i>	‘forget’	<i>suhonoma</i>	‘be forgettable; be forgetful, absent-minded’
<i>tiausa</i>	‘fall, drop’	<i>tiausoma</i>	‘tend to fall/drop; be precarious; be clumsy’
<i>tsitspa</i>	‘smash, shatter’	<i>tsitsoma</i>	‘be breakable, fragile’

The other major suffix for deriving verb stems from other verb stems is *-on* (possibly related to *iona* ‘know’). This suffix attaches to stative and motion verb stems—and also to some noun stems—to form verbs denoting abstract states, mental activities, and physical sensations:

<i>eka</i>	‘be empty’	<i>ekona</i>	‘be hungry’
<i>eupa</i>	‘be alone’	<i>eupona</i>	‘be lonely’
<i>halhka</i>	‘be dry’	<i>halhkona</i>	‘be thirsty’
<i>ksohe</i>	‘darkness’	<i>ksohona</i>	‘be mysterious’
<i>muelha</i>	‘sleep’	<i>muelhona</i>	‘be drowsy, sleepy; have the urge to sleep’
<i>niokta</i>	‘return’	<i>niokona</i>	‘remember’
<i>sehta</i>	‘go forward; emerge’	<i>sehtona</i>	‘predict, envision’
<i>suha</i>	‘go out, leave, exit’	<i>suhona</i>	‘forget’
<i>tsatsa</i>	‘be full’	<i>tsatsona</i>	‘be full, sated, no longer hungry’
<i>tunku</i>	‘pain’	<i>tunkona</i>	‘hurt, feel pain’
<i>uake</i>	‘urine’	<i>uakona</i>	‘feel the urge to urinate; have a full bladder’

For the most part, verb stems are derived from other verb stems by adding a prefix. Many of these prefixes are clearly related to nouns, and the verbs derived with them probably arose as a result of noun incorporation, where the incorporated noun underwent phonological reduction and ended up attaching to the verb. For example, the verb *ksapatla* ‘salt, coat with salt (for preservation)’ is transparently derived from the noun *ksas* ‘salt’, reduced to the bound form *ksa-*, combined with the verb *patla* ‘cover’. Another example is *mupatla* ‘dress, put on (clothing)’, derived from *patla* plus *mu-*, a reduced form of *mul* ‘cloth’. This *mu-* formative is also found in *mutifa* ‘undress, take off, remove (clothing)’, from *tifa* ‘remove’.

Many noun-derived prefixes, like *ksa-* and *mu-*, occur on only one or two verbs. Another example like this is the prefix *hi(n)-* (from *ahim* ‘air, breath’), found on the following verbs related to air quality or breathing:

<i>atlpa</i>	‘play, make music’	<i>hinatlpa</i>	‘play a wind instrument’
<i>muka</i>	‘close; put out, extinguish’	<i>himuka</i>	‘blow out (a lamp/candle)’
<i>muohfa</i>	‘be thick, dense’	<i>himuohfa</i>	‘be stuffy’
<i>tika</i>	‘leak, emit’	<i>hintika</i>	‘leak air; be drafty; blow out, whistle’

Other prefixes are somewhat more productive. One example is *so-*, a reduced form of the noun *sot* ‘word’, which forms a large number of verbs expressing verbal activities. Examples of this include:

<i>hompä</i>	‘force, push steadily on’	<i>sohompä</i>	‘order, command’
<i>kasta</i>	‘go against, oppose’	<i>sokasta</i>	‘argue’
<i>lasta</i>	‘send’	<i>solasta</i>	‘send word, send news’
<i>lhila</i>	‘pull, stretch taut’	<i>solhila</i>	‘exaggerate’
<i>lohka</i>	‘cause, make’	<i>solohka</i>	‘order, command’
<i>moita</i>	‘receive’	<i>somoita</i>	‘hear about, get news of’
<i>nkilha</i>	‘leave; take away’	<i>sonkilha</i>	‘call off; dismiss, tell (someone) to leave’
<i>niokta</i>	‘return, go/come back’	<i>soniokta</i>	‘answer, respond, reply’
<i>tsokua</i>	‘meet (for the first time)’	<i>sotsokua</i>	‘introduce’
<i>uata</i>	‘stop, cease’	<i>souata</i>	‘interrupt’
<i>uosta</i>	‘shape, fashion, make’	<i>souosta</i>	‘describe’

The prefix *mi-*, probably from *minu* ‘mind, thoughts’ (cf. *mina* ‘think’), combines with various stems to form verbs denoting cognitive states and activities:

<i>ekona</i>	‘be hungry’	<i>miekona</i>	‘be ignorant’
<i>hepa</i>	‘go along’	<i>mihepa</i>	‘ponder, meditate on’
<i>hyla</i>	‘pass by’	<i>mihyla</i>	‘overlook, ignore’
<i>kloha</i>	‘go through’	<i>mikloha</i>	‘think through, mull over’
<i>kyitsa</i>	‘talk about’	<i>mikyitsa</i>	‘think about, think of’
<i>mota</i>	‘come/bring together’	<i>mimota</i>	‘plan’
<i>nkilha</i>	‘go away, leave’	<i>minkilha</i>	‘be distracted from, lose interest in’
<i>sasa</i>	‘encounter, run across’	<i>misasa</i>	‘find out, discover, hit upon’
<i>tatana</i>	‘wander’	<i>mitatana</i>	‘daydream, let one’s mind wander’
<i>uktia</i>	‘give’	<i>mioktia</i>	‘notice, give thought to; teach’

Several verbs are formed using the prefix *tsa-*, from *tsan* ‘self; thing, body, form’ (in one case with a change in the quality of the root vowel). Verbs formed with *tsa-* denote states or activities which involve, or are directed towards, a person’s entire body.

<i>elia</i>	‘be at ease’	<i>tsalia</i>	‘be healthy, well, in good shape’
<i>hehta</i>	‘move, stir’	<i>tsahihta</i>	‘shiver (all over)’
<i>kahpa</i>	‘descend, go down’	<i>tsakahpa</i>	‘lie back, recline (from a sitting position)’
<i>kanta</i>	‘be vertical, upright’	<i>tsakanta</i>	‘lean against’
<i>kelha</i>	‘ascend, go up’	<i>tsakelha</i>	‘sit up (from a lying position)’
<i>laha</i>	‘release, let go’	<i>tsalaha</i>	‘cremate’
<i>mota</i>	‘join, come together’	<i>tsamota</i>	‘have sex’
<i>paua</i>	‘wash’	<i>tsapaua</i>	‘bathe, wash oneself’

In some cases where a verb-forming prefix is presumably derived from a noun historically, the identity of that noun is now obscure. The prefix *ki-*, for example, combines with a small number of roots to derive verbs expressing actions performed with a sharp, pointed object, such as an awl or harpoon. This prefix is likely derived from a noun referring to a (type of) pointed object, but if so, that noun is no longer in use.

<i>hana</i>	‘cut, make a cut in’	<i>kihana</i>	‘pierce, poke a hole in’
<i>kahta</i>	‘hit, strike’	<i>kikahta</i>	‘poke, prick, jab, stab’
<i>taha</i>	‘kill (for food)’	<i>kitaha</i>	‘stab to death, kill with a harpoon’
<i>tluha</i>	‘push, press’	<i>kitluha</i>	‘drill, bore a hole in’
<i>uosta</i>	‘shape, fashion, make’	<i>keuosta</i>	‘carve, incise, shape with a pointed tool’

The prefix *na-* attaches to a number of stems to derive verbs expressing actions performed with the hands, while *tu-* forms verbs denoting actions performed with the legs or feet. These are unrelated to the current nouns for ‘hand’ and ‘foot’ (*tem* and *kus*, respectively); however, *na-* is likely related to *naua* ‘palm of the hand’, while *tu-* occurs as the root of the verb *tupa* ‘walk, go on foot’.

<i>ekpa</i>	‘carry, bring/take, hold’	<i>nakpa</i>	‘hold/carry in one’s hands’
<i>eta</i>	‘go/come, bring/take, put’	<i>nata</i>	‘hand, pass; handle’
<i>kahta</i>	‘hit, strike’	<i>nakahta</i>	‘hit with one’s hands, punch, slap’
<i>katia</i>	‘make a sharp sound’	<i>nakatia</i>	‘clap one’s hands’
<i>laha</i>	‘stop, relent; release’	<i>nalaha</i>	‘let go of, release one’s grip on’
<i>muohta</i>	‘become whole/complete’	<i>namuohta</i>	‘repair; succeed at; accomplish, attain’
<i>nkilha</i>	‘go away’	<i>nankilha</i>	‘take away, remove, put away’
<i>nyipa</i>	‘use, employ’	<i>nanyipa</i>	‘handle, manipulate, wield’
<i>peta</i>	‘take’	<i>napeta</i>	‘grab, grasp, pick up’
<i>piha</i>	‘follow’	<i>napiha</i>	‘feel (for), search with one’s hands’
<i>tiausa</i>	‘fall; drop’	<i>natiausa</i>	‘drop, let go of, release (causing to fall)’
<i>tlula</i>	‘pound, grind’	<i>natlula</i>	‘pound with one’s hands; beat, throttle’
<i>tlynka</i>	‘push’	<i>natlynka</i>	‘push with one’s hands’
<i>tupa</i>	‘walk’	<i>natupa</i>	‘crawl on one’s hands and knees’
<i>kahta</i>	‘hit, strike’	<i>tukahta</i>	‘kick’
<i>lhanka</i>	‘(make/leave a) mark’	<i>tulhanka</i>	‘leave tracks/footprints’
<i>nyipa</i>	‘use, employ’	<i>tunyipa</i>	‘use, take, follow’ [a path/route]
<i>tlula</i>	‘grind, pound’	<i>tutlula</i>	‘tread, stomp on’
<i>tlynka</i>	‘push’	<i>tutlynka</i>	‘push with one’s legs/feet’

Other verb-deriving prefixes, expressing manner or degree, appear to be related to verbs rather than nouns. Verbs derived with these prefixes may have originated as converb constructions (§10.4), with the converb undergoing phonological reduction over time and attaching to the main verb. The prefix *ka(h)-*, for example, may derive from the verb *kahta* ‘hit, strike’. Attaching *ka(h)-* to a verb stem derives a verb expressing a sudden or unexpected motion, or an action involving particular force or violence:

<i>atia</i>	‘approach, get closer’	<i>kahatia</i>	‘lunge at; thrust’
<i>heulhta</i>	‘pull, draw’	<i>kaheulhta</i>	‘pull hard, yank (on)’
<i>kahta</i>	‘hit, strike’	<i>kakahta</i>	‘hit suddenly; run into, collide with’
<i>liaspa</i>	‘swallow’	<i>kaliaspa</i>	‘swallow quickly, guzzle, gulp down; gorge on’
<i>lohka</i>	‘cause’	<i>kalohka</i>	‘be sudden; happen without warning’
<i>niokta</i>	‘return, come back’	<i>kaniokta</i>	‘reappear unexpectedly’
<i>nkilha</i>	‘go away, leave’	<i>kankilha</i>	‘leave quickly, flee; disappear unexpectedly’
<i>paka</i>	‘take a step’	<i>kapaka</i>	‘stumble, lurch’
<i>patla</i>	‘cover’	<i>kapatla</i>	‘smother; cover quickly/forcefully’
<i>sasa</i>	‘find, encounter’	<i>kasasa</i>	‘stumble upon, encounter unexpectedly’
<i>solha</i>	‘throw’	<i>kasolha</i>	‘throw hard, hurl’
<i>tiausa</i>	‘fall, drop’	<i>katiausa</i>	‘fall/drop unexpectedly; trip’
<i>tsypa</i>	‘go into water, submerge’	<i>katsypa</i>	‘drown’
<i>tluha</i>	‘push down, press (on)’	<i>katluha</i>	‘press firmly’
<i>tlynka</i>	‘push’	<i>katlynka</i>	‘push hard, shove’
<i>uata</i>	‘stop, halt’	<i>kahuata</i>	‘stop abruptly’

The prefix *kel-* is clearly related to the verb *kela* ‘be in a mutual relationship’, which regularly occurs as the converb *kele*, meaning ‘together’. Verbs formed with *kel-* denote collective or reciprocal actions:

<i>efa</i>	‘have, own’	<i>kelefa</i>	‘share, have joint ownership of’
<i>iala</i>	‘have, be responsible for’	<i>keliala</i>	‘share, have/hold in common; be related’
<i>ohhla</i>	‘resemble’	<i>kelohhla</i>	‘be similar, alike; resemble each other’
<i>otla</i>	‘separate’	<i>kelotla</i>	‘come apart; part ways, disband, disperse’
<i>tima</i>	‘lie, be situated’	<i>keltima</i>	‘touch, be in contact, be adjacent’
<i>uktia</i>	‘give’	<i>keluktia</i>	‘exchange, trade (with)’

Another example is the prefix *lia-*, no doubt related to the verb *liakna* ‘be long’. This element is added to a number of stems (many of them in the resultative aspect; cf. §7.5.1) to form verbs expressing an augmented or extended state, or a long distance along some dimension:

<i>hosta</i>	‘be powerful’	<i>liahosta</i>	‘be mighty’
<i>hotsma</i>	‘be angry’	<i>liahotsma</i>	‘be enraged, livid’
<i>kahpa</i>	‘descend, go down’	<i>liakaihpa</i>	‘be low; be a long way down’
<i>kelha</i>	‘ascend, go up’	<i>liakeilha</i>	‘be high; be a long way up’
<i>luma</i>	‘be open; ignited’	<i>lialuma</i>	‘be wide open; be roaring [fire]’
<i>tima</i>	‘lie, be situated’	<i>liatima</i>	‘be remote, distant, far away’

Finally, there are a few verb-forming prefixes whose origin is completely obscure. These include the prefix *un-*, which derives a handful of verbs, mostly involving a circular motion or attention directed at oneself:

<i>eta</i>	‘go/come’	<i>unta</i>	‘come full circle, return to where one began’
<i>fihta</i>	‘become/make new’	<i>umpihta</i>	‘renew; start over, begin again’
<i>milhta</i>	‘turn’	<i>unmilhta</i>	‘twist, wind, coil’
<i>nesapa</i>	‘ask’	<i>untsapa</i>	‘wonder, ask oneself’
<i>suka</i>	‘do; make’	<i>untsuka</i>	‘take on; carry out; perform, enact, bring about’
<i>tapa</i>	‘weave’	<i>untapa</i>	‘twist, braid, weave together’

Verbs formed with the prefix *tsi-* express abrupt, rapid, or brief and uncontrolled actions, usually performed with minimal effort or movement:

<i>etskana</i>	‘arrive, appear’	<i>tsitskana</i>	‘appear for an instant’
<i>hata</i>	‘shout, call out’	<i>tsihata</i>	‘cry out suddenly, exclaim’
<i>kahta</i>	‘hit, strike’	<i>tsikahta</i>	‘jab, prod, poke’
<i>ksona</i>	‘look at’	<i>tsiksona</i>	‘glance at, take a quick look at’
<i>lima</i>	‘open; ignite’	<i>tsilima</i>	‘open and close quickly; flash, glint’
<i>milhta</i>	‘turn’	<i>tsimilhta</i>	‘swerve’
<i>muka</i>	‘close; extinguish’	<i>tsimuka</i>	‘close and open quickly; wink, blink’
<i>peta</i>	‘take’	<i>tsipeta</i>	‘snatch, grab (esp. something small)’
<i>peuta</i>	‘wait’	<i>tsipeuta</i>	‘pause briefly, hesitate’
<i>tsana</i>	‘make a noise’	<i>tsitsana</i>	‘make a sudden, soft sound’

The prefix *ti-* attaches to various motion verb stems (mostly in the resultative aspect) to indicate a small distance along some dimension:

<i>hepa</i>	‘go along’	<i>tiheipa</i>	‘be short’ (opposite of long)
<i>kahpa</i>	‘descend, go down’	<i>tikaihpa</i>	‘be a short way down, not low’
<i>kaila</i>	‘be hot’	<i>tikaila</i>	‘be warm, tepid’
<i>kanta</i>	‘stand, be vertical’	<i>tikanta</i>	‘be short’ (opposite of tall) [inanimates]
<i>kelha</i>	‘ascend, go up’	<i>tikeilha</i>	‘be a short way up, not high’
<i>luma</i>	‘be open; ignited’	<i>tiluma</i>	‘be slightly ajar; be smoldering; be shallow’
<i>nuha</i>	‘be cold’	<i>tinuha</i>	‘be cool’
<i>tolha</i>	‘stand up’	<i>titoilha</i>	‘be short’ (opposite of tall) [animates]

Finally, the prefixes *ky-* and *te-* are used to derive a number of verbs from other verbs (and occasionally from nouns). Verbs formed with *ky-* (or one of its variants, *k-* and *kyi-*) are semantically quite heterogeneous:

many denote actions of holding or keeping in place, or actions involving sustained effort or attention on the part of the actor. This prefix also combines with verbs of thinking or communicating to form verbs which refer to the subject matter or content of the action. Verbs formed with *te-* (and its variants, *t-* and *ti-*) do not seem to form a semantically coherent class, except that they all denote agentive actions.

<i>etsa</i>	‘speak, say’	<i>kyitsa</i>	‘mention, refer to; discuss, talk about’
<i>luma</i>	‘be open’	<i>kyluma</i>	‘hold/keep open; sustain, keep going’
<i>mainka</i>	‘be fixed in place’	<i>kymainka</i>	‘hold/keep in place, support’
<i>moika</i>	‘be closed’	<i>kymoika</i>	‘hold/keep closed; be shut tight’
<i>ohtla</i>	‘resemble’	<i>kyiohtla</i>	‘compare’
<i>peuta</i>	‘wait’	<i>kypeuta</i>	‘anticipate, look forward to’
<i>teha</i>	‘stay; leave behind’	<i>kyteha</i>	‘hold back, detain, delay’
<i>tlana</i>	‘be straight’	<i>kytlana</i>	‘hold straight, keep in alignment’
<i>toilha</i>	‘be standing’	<i>kytoilha</i>	‘be upright, vertical; support, hold up’
<i>untsapa</i>	‘wonder’	<i>kuntsapa</i>	‘ask/inquire about; speculate, wonder about’
<i>usia</i>	‘be warm, cozy’	<i>kyuosia</i>	‘keep warm; cuddle’
<i>ahim</i>	‘air, breath’	<i>tehima</i>	‘breathe’
<i>eun</i>	‘place’	<i>teuna</i>	‘put (down); put in place’
<i>kelha</i>	‘ascend, go up’	<i>tekelha</i>	‘pick up’
<i>luhtsa</i>	‘smell’	<i>teluhtsa</i>	‘smell, sniff, inhale the scent of’
<i>mahtla</i>	‘taste’	<i>temahtla</i>	‘taste, sample, try’ [food]
<i>niokta</i>	‘return, come back’	<i>teniokta</i>	‘return, replace, put back’
<i>ola</i>	‘hear’	<i>teula</i>	‘listen to’
<i>yisa</i>	‘climb/take up’	<i>tiyisa</i>	‘raise, lift, elevate; pick up’

The following list illustrates miscellaneous verb derivation strategies not discussed above, involving prefixes found on at most one or two verbs:

<i>afa</i>	‘come along’	<i>hiafa</i>	‘bring, bring along, include’
<i>ahim</i>	‘breath, air’	<i>kehima</i>	‘breathe in, inhale’
<i>ahim</i>	‘breath, air’	<i>suhima</i>	‘breathe out, exhale’
<i>elia</i>	‘be easy’	<i>luelia</i>	‘relax, put at ease; treat’
<i>fiha</i>	‘be young’	<i>kefiha</i>	‘be new, unfamiliar, recent’
<i>kanta</i>	‘stand, be vertical’	<i>pakanta</i>	‘tower over, loom over’
<i>koipa</i>	‘know, be familiar with’	<i>niokoipa</i>	‘remember, recognize’
<i>koipa</i>	‘know, be familiar with’	<i>sukoipa</i>	‘forget, fail to recognize’
<i>ksona</i>	‘look at’	<i>paksona</i>	‘look after, take care of; tend, cultivate’
<i>liuna</i>	‘be old’	<i>kelhiuna</i>	‘be old, familiar, known’
<i>suka</i>	‘do, work’	<i>pusuka</i>	‘make, create’
<i>uktia</i>	‘give’	<i>hioktia</i>	‘give, bestow, deliver’

11.4 Special lexical classes

In this section I turn to some lexical classes which require special discussion. In §11.4.1 I consider vocabulary related to the complex Okuna kinship system. §11.4.2 gives an overview of basic colour terms. Finally, in §11.4.3 I discuss how verbs lexicalize aspects of motion events such as trajectory, goal, and type of movement.

11.4.1 Kinship terminology

The Okuna reckon kinship according to a bilineal or ‘double-descent’ system. Every individual belongs to two clans or descent groups, called the *mok* (literally ‘hearth’), or ‘home clan’, and the *otana*, or ‘ritual clan’. The *mok* is a matrilineal descent group, while the *otana* is patrilineal: hence, you belong to the same *mok*

as your mother and the same *otana* as your father. Both descent groups are exogamous, and so individuals are prohibited from marrying or having sex with someone from the same *mok* or the same *otana*.

There are five *mok*, whose names are given below. These names are related to the names for five of the six cardinal directions:

<i>Iseunma</i>	<i>iseut</i>	‘northeast’ (< <i>ise</i> ‘snow’)
<i>Kotsimma</i>	<i>kotsimot</i>	‘southeast’ (< <i>kotsim</i> ‘morning’)
<i>Ahopiaunma</i>	<i>ahopiaut</i>	‘south’ (< <i>ahopiau</i> ‘noon’)
<i>Kosenma</i>	<i>kosetot</i>	‘southwest’ (< <i>koset</i> ‘evening’)
<i>Sukunma</i>	<i>sukuot</i>	‘northwest’ (< <i>heut</i> ‘wind’)

With individuals they do not know well, Okuna use their *mok* name as a surname, followed by their given name. For instance, if Sakial is a member of the Iseunma *mok*, he will introduce himself as *Iseunma Sakial*. In dealings with members of other tribes, *Okuna* is added before the *mok* name. Hence, when travelling abroad Sakial would refer to himself as *Okuna Iseunma Sakial*. (Note that there is a sixth surname, *Heunma*, from *heut* ‘north’. This name is used for strangers, as well as foreigners living among the Okuna who have not been adopted into one of the five *mok*.)

Within the Okuna double-descent system, four kinds of kinship are recognized:

1. *Ahkame* ‘siblings’ are individuals who share the same *mok* and the same *otana*. One’s *ahkame* principally include full siblings (children of both one’s parents), but can include other individuals as well.
2. *Mokelhol* ‘hearth relatives’ are individuals who belong to the same *mok* but not the same *otana*. These include one’s mother, maternal grandmother, maternal aunts, and direct descendants of one’s maternal aunts, among others.
3. *Otanalhol* ‘ritual relatives’ are individuals belonging to the same *otana* but not the same *mok*, including one’s father, paternal grandfather, paternal uncles and their direct descendants, etc.
4. Finally, *yhmalhol* ‘outside relatives’ are those to whom one is related by blood or marriage, but with whom one shares neither *mok* nor *otana* membership. These include one’s *kohmi* spouse (see below), as well as (typically) one’s maternal grandfather, paternal grandmother, in-laws and other relations by marriage, and certain cousins.

Note that the incest ban applies to all of one’s *ahkame*, *mokelhol* and *otanalhol*, but only to *yhmalhol* who are blood relations closer than first cousins. Sex between first cousins is permitted so long as they are in an *yhmalhol* relationship.

It is also important to note that the Okuna recognize two different kinds of marriage. A *kohmi* marriage consists of two individuals who have entered into a monogamous (heterosexual or homosexual) pairing for purposes of mutual emotional and economic support. A *sakohmi* marriage consists of two or more individuals, some of whom may be related by clan, who have entered into a partnership for purposes of raising children together. A *sakohmi* marriage typically consists of between one and three *kohmi* partnerships, and sometimes includes unattached siblings or close friends of one or more of the *kohmi* partners. The children might be born into the *sakohmi*, or adopted. It is the *sakohmi* union, together with the children (and often elderly parents or grandparents of *sakohmi* members), which constitutes the basic unit of the Okuna household. Note also that *kohmi* marriages, though culturally important, are somewhat casual, and are entered into and dissolved without much ceremony, whereas the creation of a *sakohmi* marriage—and its obligatory dissolution once the children have moved out of the household—are marked by important formal rituals involving the entire community.

Okuna kinship terms encode the type of relationship involved (*ahkame*, *mokelhol*, *otanalhol*, or *yhmalhol*), the generation of the individual in relation to oneself, and, if the relationship is one of marriage, whether it is a *kohmi* or *sakohmi* marriage. Most kinship terms encode the gender of the individual as well, although there are also gender-neutral terms for many types of relationships.

Ahkame relations

<i>ahkame</i>	‘sibling’
<i>ahkamie</i>	‘(pair of) twins’
<i>lihpa</i>	‘sister’
<i>suhpa</i>	‘brother’

These terms apply to any individuals with whom one shares both descent groups. These are considered one’s closest kin. Most often the *ahkame* terms are used for full siblings (i.e., children of both one’s parents). However, other individuals who happen to share both descent groups will also refer to each other using these terms, regardless of their relative age, generation, or degree of relatedness by blood. For example, if my maternal grandmother’s sister, who belongs to my *mok*, married someone who happened to belong to my father’s *otana*, then their daughter (my first cousin once removed) would share both descent groups with me, and I would refer to her as my *lihpa* ‘sister’.

Mokelhol relations

<i>ame</i>	‘mother’
<i>miame</i>	‘maternal grandmother (mother’s mother)’
<i>kahame</i>	‘maternal aunt (mother’s sister, etc.)’
<i>hotu</i>	‘maternal uncle (mother’s brother, etc.)’
<i>pyi</i>	‘child, offspring’
<i>napè</i>	‘daughter’
<i>tien</i>	‘son’
<i>ahmokame</i>	‘maternal cousin/relative’
<i>kalihpa</i>	‘maternal female cousin’
<i>kasuhpa</i>	‘maternal male cousin’
<i>mokai</i>	‘maternal niece/nephew’
<i>mokanapè</i>	‘maternal niece’
<i>mokatien</i>	‘maternal nephew’
<i>mohkilu</i>	‘maternal grandchild’
<i>mohkiloiha</i>	‘maternal granddaughter’
<i>mohkilukal</i>	‘maternal grandson’

The terms *pyi*, *napè*, and *tien* are sometimes used by men to refer to their children, even though a man and his offspring necessarily belong to different *mok* (the *mok* being matrilineal and exogamous). More often, a man will refer to his children using the *otanolhol* terms, namely *otanai*, *otanapè*, and *otatien* (see below). In all other cases, the terms in the above table are used exclusively for relatives belonging to one’s *mok*.

Note that these terms do not express degree of relatedness by blood. Hence, *miame* is used to refer not only to one’s mother’s mother, but also to other women of the same generation—or previous generations—belonging to one’s *mok*. Likewise, *kahame* and *hotu* are used for all people of one’s mother’s generation belonging to the same *mok*, not just one’s mother’s siblings. *Kasuhpa* and *kalihpa* refer to half-siblings (children of one’s mother, but not one’s father), as well as one’s mother’s sister’s children, and any other relatives of one’s own generation belonging to the same *mok* (other than full siblings). *Mokai*, *mokanapè*, and *mokatien* are used for one’s sister’s children, and any other relatives of the next-younger generation belonging to the same *mok* (other than one’s own children). Similarly, *mohkilu*, *mohkiloiha*, and *mohkilukal* would be used by a woman to refer to her daughter’s children, or any other relatives of her grandchildren’s generation belonging to her *mok*. Finally, *ahmokame* is a generic term for relatives who share the same *mok*, especially (but not exclusively) those of one’s own generation.

Otanalhol relations

<i>ahte</i>	‘father’
<i>tiahte</i>	‘paternal grandfather (father’s father)’
<i>omili</i>	‘paternal aunt (father’s sister, etc.)’
<i>otusu</i>	‘paternal uncle (father’s brother, etc.)’
<i>otanakame</i>	‘paternal cousin/relative’
<i>otalihpa</i>	‘paternal female cousin’
<i>otasuhpa</i>	‘paternal male cousin’
<i>otanai</i>	‘paternal child/niece/nephew’
<i>otanape</i>	‘paternal daughter/niece’
<i>otatien</i>	‘paternal son/nephew’
<i>otakilu</i>	‘paternal grandchild’
<i>otakiloiha</i>	‘paternal granddaughter’
<i>otakilukal</i>	‘paternal grandson’

These terms are used for relatives belonging to one’s *otana*. Their meanings parallel those of the *mokelhol* terms discussed above. *Tiahte* is used for one’s father’s father, and his patrilineal ancestors, as well as any other man of one’s grandparents’ generation (or a previous generation) belonging to one’s *otana*; *otusu* and *omili* are used for one’s father’s siblings, and any other relatives of one’s father’s generation belonging to the same *otana*; and so on. As mentioned above, a man will usually refer to his own children using *otanai*, *otatien*, and *otanape*—terms which he will also use to refer to his brother’s children, and to any other relatives of his children’s generation belonging to his *otana*.

Yhmalhol relations

<i>miahte</i>	‘maternal grandfather’
<i>tiame</i>	‘paternal grandmother’
<i>mili</i>	‘outside aunt, stepmother, mother-in-law’
<i>tusu</i>	‘outside uncle, stepfather, father-in-law’
<i>pahal</i>	‘outside cousin/relative, step-sibling, sister/brother-in-law’
<i>ympyi</i>	‘outside niece/nephew, stepchild, son/daughter-in-law’
<i>ynnape</i>	‘outside niece, stepdaughter, daughter-in-law’
<i>yntien</i>	‘outside nephew, stepson, son-in-law’
<i>ynkilu</i>	‘outside grandchild’
<i>ynkiloiha</i>	‘outside granddaughter’
<i>ynkilukal</i>	‘outside grandson’
<i>kohmi</i>	‘spouse, partner’ (in a <i>kohmi</i> marriage)
<i>sakohmi</i>	‘spouse, partner’ (in a <i>sakohmi</i> marriage)

These terms are used for ‘outside’ relatives—that is, relatives by blood or marriage who do not belong to either of one’s descent groups. *Tusu* and *mili* are used for outside relatives of one’s parents’ generation, including the spouses of one’s parents’ siblings, as well as step-parents and parents-in-law (unless they happen to share a descent group, in which case the terms for maternal or paternal aunt and uncle would be used). Likewise, *pahal* is used for most step-siblings, sisters- and brothers-in-law, and cousins other than one’s mother’s sister’s children and father’s brother’s children. The remaining terms are used in a similar fashion.

Remarks on kinship terminology

When a kinship term heads a noun phrase that includes a possessor noun phrase, the possessor appears in the ablative case: e.g., *Sakialu ahte* ‘Sakial’s father’. When the possessor is a pronoun, that pronoun normally takes the form of a realis dative clitic: e.g., *mo ahte* ‘my father’.

Where relevant, kinship terms referring to siblings and cousins can carry the augmentative and diminutive prefixes *to(h)-* and *ki(h)-* (§11.2.1) to indicate relative age. For example:

<i>tohahkame</i>	‘older sibling’	<i>kihahkame</i>	‘younger sibling’
<i>tolihpa</i>	‘older sister’	<i>kilihpa</i>	‘younger sister’
<i>tosuhpa</i>	‘older brother’	<i>kisuhpa</i>	‘younger brother’
<i>topahal</i>	‘older outside cousin’	<i>kipahal</i>	‘younger outside cousin’

When added to terms for grandparents, aunts, and uncles, *to(h)-* functions similarly to the English prefix ‘great-’: e.g., *tomiamé* ‘maternal great-grandmother’ (mother’s mother’s mother), *tohomili* ‘paternal great-aunt’ (father’s father’s sister), and so on. Similarly, adding *ki(h)-* to terms for grandchildren forms terms for great-grandchildren: e.g., *kihynkilu* ‘outside great-grandson’ (great-grandson unrelated by direct maternal or paternal descent).

The collective suffix *-mit* (§11.2.2) may be added to kinship terms when referring to the total set of people who stand in a particular relationship to a given individual, or to each other: e.g., *ahkamemit* ‘set of siblings’, *mo ahkamemit* ‘(all) my siblings, my sisters and brothers’, *Sakialu otanaimit* ‘Sakial’s children and paternal nieces and nephews’, *ame ka pyimit* ‘mothers and children’.

To form a sentence indicating a mutual relationship, the Class I stative verb *kela* ‘be together, have a relationship, be related (as)’ is used. This term combines with one or more kinship terms (or other relational nouns such as *kuna* ‘friend’) to express the type of relationship. The relational noun(s) appear without any case marking, while a noun phrase in the nominative case denotes the individuals who bear the relationship:

(11.8) *Motla ka Elime suhpa kelat*
 Motla and Elim.NOM brother related.IPV.PL
 ‘Motla and Elim are brothers’

(11.9) *Motla ka Elime ahte otanai kelat*
 Motla and Elim.NOM father child related.IPV.PL
 ‘Motla and Elim are father and son’

(11.10) *Motla ka Elime kelhuhme kuna kelat*
 Motla and Elim.NOM familiar:one friend related.IPV.PL
 ‘Motla and Elim are old friends’

(11.11) *Motla ka Elime sakohmi kelat*
 Motla and Elim.NOM spouse related.IPV.PL
 ‘Motla and Elim are married/spouses’

(11.12) *Motla ka Elime sakohmi keltyit*
 Motla and Elim.NOM spouse related.TINC.PV.PL
 ‘Motla and Elim got married’ (lit. ‘became related as spouses’)

11.4.2 Colour terms

Okuna has eleven basic colour terms, listed below:¹

¹*Sane* is presumably derived from the noun *san* ‘blood’; while *lohne* might contain the root *lo-*, found in a number of words related to trees (e.g., *loka* ‘forest’, *lotsan* ‘wood’, *losak* ‘firewood’, *losemu* ‘bark’, etc.). The origins of the other colour terms is unknown.

<i>aihne</i>	‘golden/amber one’
<i>aile</i>	‘silvery/metallic one’
<i>has</i>	‘white one’
<i>hemak</i>	‘dark grey one’
<i>hiem</i>	‘light grey one’
<i>kote</i>	‘black one’
<i>kulhe</i>	‘green one’
<i>laite</i>	‘yellow one’
<i>lohne</i>	‘brown/earth-coloured one’
<i>lune</i>	‘blue one’
<i>sane</i>	‘red one’

Many of these terms refer to a broader range of the spectrum than their usual English translations suggest. For example, *sane* covers not only ‘true’ red, but also reddish orange, pink, magenta, and reddish purple (burgundy). Likewise, *lune* covers all of the hues from sky blue to indigo to bluish purple and lavender, and *laite* covers yellow-orange and yellow ochre as well as ‘true’ yellow. *Hiem* (defined by speakers as *mohi nalei* ‘the colour of clouds’) is used for shades of pale blue or blue-grey, along with lighter neutral greys, while *hemak* (defined as *moin nalei* ‘the colour of the sea’, or *tasle town nalei* ‘the colour of wet stone’) is reserved for darker neutral greys and blue/green greys. Finally, *lohne* covers a broad range of warm and cool earth tones, including brown, chestnut, copper, tan, olive, and khaki.

Complex colour terms may be formed as necessary by combining basic colour words into compounds. In particular, *kote* may be used to indicate a darker shade of some other colour, and *has* a lighter shade:

<i>has lune</i>	‘light blue one’
<i>kote kulhe</i>	‘dark green one’
<i>kulhe laite</i>	‘greenish-yellow one’
<i>sane lohne</i>	‘reddish-brown one’

As glosses such as ‘red one’ indicate, the colour terms function syntactically as nouns, and usually refer to some entity bearing a particular colour, rather than designating the colour in the abstract. (To express colour in the abstract, the noun *nalei* ‘colour’ is modified by a colour term: e.g., *sane nalei* ‘the colour red’.) Being nouns, colour terms can function by themselves as arguments of verbs, as illustrated in (11.13). Note also the example in (11.14), where the colour term is unmarked for case and denotes a substance (red pigment):

- (11.13) *Mo es sanè tlelhyi*
 1sRDAT one red:one.NOM find.PV
 ‘I found a red one/thing’ or ‘I found something red’

- (11.14) *Sa kotoi sane nepatlyit*
 13ERG house.DAT red:one paint.PV.PL
 ‘We painted the house red’

More often, the colour term modifies a following noun: e.g., *kote naka* ‘black rock’, *kulhe lyip* ‘green leaves’, *hemak hos* ‘dark grey sand’.

- (11.15) *Mo es sane lohne uosò tlelhyi*
 1sRDAT one red:one brown:one round:stone.NOM find.PV
 ‘I found a reddish-brown stone’

To form a predicate indicating class membership, the colour term combines with the copula *he* (optional in the present tense, cf. §9.3.1):

- (11.16) *Kotò sane (he)*
 house.NOM red:one be:IPV
 ‘The house is red’ (lit. ‘The house is a red thing’)

11.4.3 Motion verbs

Motion verbs are those which express movement or displacement of an object from one location to another. The entity undergoing movement/displacement is typically expressed by a noun phrase in the nominative case. If the clause includes a noun phrase expressing the goal or endpoint of motion, this noun phrase is marked with the dative case role; while the ergative case marks the external agent (if any) which manipulates the object in order to set it in motion.

Clauses with motion verbs can also include oblique noun phrases. An allative noun phrase expresses the direction or ultimate goal of motion, an ablative noun phrase expresses the source of motion, and an instrumental noun phrase expresses the path of motion (or an object or place located along that path). Compare:

- (11.17) *Ne tomlai etyi*
 3aNOM mountain.DAT go.PV
 ‘She came/went to the mountain’ (goal)
- (11.18) *Ne tomlaua etyi*
 3aNOM mountain.ALL go.PV
 ‘She came/went towards the mountain’ (direction)
- (11.19) *Ne tomlau etyi*
 3aNOM mountain.ABL go.PV
 ‘She came/went from the mountain’ (source)
- (11.20) *Ne tomlame etyi*
 3aNOM mountain.INST go.PV
 ‘She came/went by way of the mountain’ (path)

Okuna has a large number of motion verbs. These may be grouped into two major classes: TRAJECTORY-OF-MOTION verbs encode the direction, path, or position of the moving object with respect to some other object or location. Verbs of this type often correspond to English ‘go/come’ plus a preposition: e.g., *lhyua* ‘go into’, *suha* ‘come out of’, *kloha* ‘go through’. Some of these verbs, such as *tsypa* ‘go into’ [a body of water] and *uelalta* ‘go/come inland, go/come up from the shore’, also encode the type of source or goal. MANNER-OF-MOTION verbs, by contrast, indicate the kind of activity which the object in motion is engaged in: e.g., *tupa* ‘walk, go on foot’, *ianta* ‘jump’, *sihpa* ‘swim’. I consider these two types of motion verbs in turn.

Trajectory-of-motion verbs

Trajectory-of-motion verbs mostly belong to Class III (see §4.4.3). Some common trajectory-of-motion verbs are listed below (a few of these, like *afa*, *kasta*, and *kloha*, also have figurative uses that do not involve motion):

<i>afa</i>	‘go with, accompany; participate’
<i>ampiota</i>	‘go around, surround, encircle’
<i>atia</i>	‘approach, get closer to’
<i>eta</i>	‘go, come; move’
<i>fuia</i>	‘come out, emerge’ [from a body of water]
<i>hepa</i>	‘go along/beside [the edge of], follow [a path]’
<i>hyla</i>	‘pass, go past; elapse’
<i>ilalta</i>	‘go down towards the shore’
<i>kahpa</i>	‘go/come down, descend; fall’
<i>kasta</i>	‘go against, go in the opposite direction of; oppose’
<i>kelha</i>	‘go up, rise, ascend’
<i>kloha</i>	‘go through; experience, undergo’
<i>kumita</i>	‘go/come before, go/come up to, enter the presence of’
<i>lampa</i>	‘go one after another, go in sequence’
<i>lhyua</i>	‘enter, go into’
<i>mokta</i>	‘go/come home, get come’
<i>mota</i>	‘come together, come into contact with, join with’
<i>niokta</i>	‘go/come back, return’
<i>nkilha</i>	‘leave, depart, go away’
<i>otla</i>	‘leave, separate from, part ways with, come apart’
<i>palhta</i>	‘land, go/come ashore, alight’ [from the water or air]
<i>pasehta</i>	‘go/come before, precede’
<i>piha</i>	‘go/come after, go/come behind, follow, be subsequent to’
<i>saha</i>	‘go/come after, follow, pursue’ [with the intention of catching up to]
<i>sehta</i>	‘go ahead/forward, proceed; go forth, emerge’
<i>sihafa</i>	‘go downstream’
<i>sihita</i>	‘go/come down towards the (nearest) river’
<i>sikhasta</i>	‘go upstream’
<i>suha</i>	‘go/come out, exit, emerge’
<i>tatana</i>	‘go around (from place to place), wander’
<i>tlisa</i>	‘go/come across, cross, traverse, go over’
<i>tsypa</i>	‘go into, enter, be submerged in’ [a body of water]
<i>uelalta</i>	‘go/come inland, go/come up from the coast’
<i>usihita</i>	‘go/come up from the (nearest) river’

Also included among the trajectory-of-motion verbs are the following deictic verbs, which describe motion with respect to the position of the speaker and/or the addressee:

<i>kampa</i>	‘pass by here/there, go/come through here/there’ [where we/you are]
<i>kauta</i>	‘leave here, go away from here’ [where we are]; ‘go/come from there’ [where you are]
<i>keta</i>	‘come here’ [to where we are]; ‘go there’ [to where you are]
<i>olhempa</i>	‘pass by there, go/come through there’ [away from us]
<i>euolhta</i>	‘go over there; go away’ [away from us]
<i>olhuta</i>	‘leave there, go/come from over there’ [away from us]
<i>tseuta</i>	‘leave here, go away from here’ [where I am]
<i>tsimpa</i>	‘pass by here, go/come through here, go/come this way’ [where I am]
<i>tsita</i>	‘come here’ [to where I am]

Sample sentences illustrating trajectory-of-motion verbs are given below. Notice how the noun phrases are case-marked in these examples:

- (11.21) *Moihà kotoi kutsmu hitolme lhyuyi*
 girl.NOM house.DAT back door.INST enter.PV

- ‘The girl came/went into the house through the back door’
- (11.22) *Ne es luhme laume lokai hepyit*
 3aNOM one old:one path.INST woods.DAT go:along.PV.PL
 ‘They followed an old path into the woods’
- (11.23) *Isane puole ula atiyi*
 13ALL boat.NOM island.ALL approach.PV
 ‘Our boat got closer to the island’
- (11.24) *Elime palou teneme kahpyi*
 Elim.NOM village.ABL hill.INST go:down.PV
 ‘Elim came down the hill from the village’
- (11.25) *Sa ilalna losak utitiet paloi uelaltyit*
 13ERG shore.LOC firewood PF.gather.PT.PL village.DAT go:inland.PV.PL
 ‘Having gathered firewood on the shore, we went (back) inland to the village’
- (11.26) *Konò sikhasta seku etikeia*
 salmon.NOM go:upstream.IPV roe SBJ.secrete.DEP:SBJ.ALL
 ‘Salmon swim upstream to spawn’

Most motion verbs can be used transitively as well as intransitively, taking an ergative argument to express an external agent who causes the theme to be in motion, usually by physically manipulating it. Motion verbs used transitively tend to be translated using ‘put’ or ‘bring/take’ rather than ‘go/come’. Compare these pairs of sentences:

- (11.27) *Kimè keuli kelhyi*
 baby.NOM chair.DAT go:up.PV
 ‘The baby got up onto the chair’
- (11.28) *Moihama kimè keuli kelhyi*
 girl.ERG baby.NOM chair.DAT go:up.PV
 ‘The girl lifted the baby up onto the chair’
- (11.29) *Pyie tsityi*
 child.NOM come:here.PV
 ‘The child came here’
- (11.30) *Sakialma halmà tsityi*
 Sakial.ERG book.NOM come:here.PV
 ‘Sakial put/brought the book here’
- (11.31) *Puole Tenmotlαιο sihafyit*
 boat.NOM Tenmotlai.ABL go:downstream.PV.NPL.PL
 ‘The boats went downstream from Tenmotlai’
- (11.32) *Kahuniakama puole Tenmotlαιο sihafyiat*
 fisherman.ERG boat.NOM Tenmotlai.ABL go:downstream.PV.NPL.PL
 ‘The fishermen took/propelled the boats downstream from Tenmotlai’

A handful of trajectory-of-motion verbs are ‘basically’ transitive, in the sense that the ergative argument is almost always present (or implied). These include:

<i>elha</i>	‘put in, insert’
<i>hiafa</i>	‘bring, take; bring along’
<i>nufa</i>	‘take out, extract, remove (from inside)’
<i>tekelha</i>	‘pick up’
<i>teniokta</i>	‘put back, replace, return’
<i>teuna</i>	‘put, put down; take, place’
<i>tifa</i>	‘take off, remove (from the surface of)’
<i>tiyisa</i>	‘lift, raise, pick up’
<i>uktia</i>	‘give, bestow’

With the exception of *hiafa*, these verbs describe events where the actor participant does not (or need not) undergo the same change of location as the theme. By contrast, other motion verbs tend to describe events where the actor and theme move together. Compare the examples below. With (11.33) it is understood that both the girl and the baskets ended up inside the tent; however, (11.34) has no such entailment: the girl may have stayed outside and lifted the baskets in through an opening in the tent. The second pair of sentences show a similar contrast.

(11.33) *Moihama hutà hulhpamoil lhyuyia*
 girl.ERG basket.NOM tent.DAT enter.PV.NPL
 ‘The girl took the baskets into the tent’

(11.34) *Moihama hutà hulhpamoil elhya*
 girl.ERG basket.NOM tent.DAT put:in.PV.NPL
 ‘The girl put the baskets in the tent’

(11.35) *Moihama halmà Sakiail nioktyi*
 girl.ERG book.NOM Sakial.DAT go:back.PV
 ‘The girl took the book back to Sakial’ (or ‘returned the book to Sakial’)

(11.36) *Moihama kamale akoit tenioktyi*
 girl.ERG knife.NOM box.DAT put:back.PV
 ‘The girl put the knife back in the box’

Note finally that combining a motion verb (used transitively) with the unmarked noun *inie* ‘eyes’ yields expressions denoting events of looking, with the choice of motion verb specifying the direction in which the perceiver (marked with ergative case) is looking: e.g., *inie kahpa* ‘look down’ (lit. ‘move eyes down’), *inie suha* ‘look out (of)’ (lit. ‘move eyes out’), *inie nkilha* ‘look away’ (lit. ‘take eyes away’), etc.:

(11.37) *Na akoit inie elhyi*
 3aERG box.DAT eyes insert.PV
 ‘She looked into the box’

(11.38) *Ma huiloime inie iklohanka*
 1sERG window.INST eyes PRG.go:through.IPV:PST
 ‘I was looking through the window’

Likewise, combining *kuma* ‘face’ with a motion verb forms expressions like *kuma kelha* ‘face up’, *kuma kahpa* ‘face down’, *kuma nkilha* ‘face away, turn away’, etc. Here, however, the subject of the motion verb appears in the nominative case:

(11.39) *Ne imò kuma inkulhanka ma itsampa emuohpi*
 3aNOM 1sABL face PRG.go:away:RES.IPV:PST 1sERG PRG.speak.DEP whole:time
 ‘She was facing away from me the whole time I was talking (to her)’

Manner-of-motion verbs

The following verbs all express the manner in which an object moves, or the means by which it moves, rather than the trajectory, direction, goal, or source of motion:

<i>aipa</i>	‘float, drift’ (on air or water)
<i>hentupa</i>	‘walk on two legs, be bipedal’
<i>hiela</i>	‘travel by vehicle’ [esp. boat]
<i>ianta</i>	‘jump, leap’
<i>kaklala</i>	‘scurry, scamper, move quickly on small legs’
<i>kiompa</i>	‘run, move quickly’
<i>klalpa</i>	‘move stealthily, sneak around’
<i>kuntupa</i>	‘walk on four legs, be quadrupedal’
<i>lefa</i>	‘roll (over)’
<i>lhopa</i>	‘flow; blow’ [pertaining to fluid: water, wind, etc.]
<i>mimilha</i>	‘move back and forth, oscillate; move in a serpentine path’
<i>natupa</i>	‘crawl on one’s hands and knees’
<i>paka</i>	‘step, take a step’
<i>piyla</i>	‘slither, crawl on ones belly’
<i>puita</i>	‘ride’ [an animal]
<i>sihpa</i>	‘swim’
<i>talha</i>	‘climb’ [a sloping surface]
<i>tupa</i>	‘walk, go on foot’
<i>uasta</i>	‘fly’
<i>yisa</i>	‘climb’ [a steep/vertical surface]

Manner-of-motion verbs belong to Class II (see §4.4.2). With verbs of this type, the noun phrase denoting the object in motion appears in the ergative case rather than the nominative:

(11.40) *Kimima kas inatupa iam*
 baby.ERG now/already PRG.crawl.IPV it:turns:out
 ‘The baby is crawling now’

(11.41) *Kahuma sihpa le pilama uasta*
 fish.ERG swim.IPV while bird.ERG fly.IPV
 ‘Fish swim and birds fly’

Manner-of-motion verbs generally do not take noun phrases denoting a goal or a source. A Okuna speaker will not say the equivalent of ‘Sakial is walking to the house’, expressing both the manner of motion and the trajectory of motion within a single verb phrase. Instead, s/he will express this idea by saying ‘Sakial is going to the house by walking’, using a combination of a manner-of-motion verb and a trajectory-of-motion verb. In constructions of this sort the manner-of-motion verb precedes and modifies the trajectory-of-motion verb, taking the converb suffix *-e* (cf. §10.4 on the converb construction). Compare:

(11.42) *Sakialma itupa*
 Sakial.ERG PRG.walk.IPV
 ‘Sakial is walking’ or ‘Sakial is going on foot’

(11.43) *Sakiale kotoi ita*
 Sakial.NOM house.DAT PRG.go.IPV
 ‘Sakial is going to the house’

(11.44) *Sakiale kotoi tupe ita*
 Sakial.NOM house.DAT walk.CV PRG.go.IPV
 ‘Sakial is walking to the house’ (lit. ‘is going to the house [by] walking’)

Notice that in the last sentence, the trajectory-of-motion verb determines how the theme is case-marked. So whereas *tupa* ‘walk’ assigns ergative case to the noun phrase denoting the object in motion, the compound predicate *tupe eta* ‘walk to X, go to X by walking’ assigns nominative case to this argument, since that is the case assigned by *eta* ‘go (to)’. Compare also the following pairs of sentences:

- (11.45) *Sakialma otuhna eiantanka*
 Sakial.ERG hole.LOC PRG.jump.IPV:PST
 ‘Sakial was jumping (around) in the hole’
- (11.46) *Sakiale otoi iante lhyuyi*
 Sakial.NOM hole.DAT jump.CV enter.PV
 ‘Sakial jumped into the hole’ (lit. ‘entered [by] jumping’)
- (11.47) *Kamiuama klalpyi*
 lynx.ERG move:stealthily.PV
 ‘The lynx moved stealthily’ or ‘The lynx sneaked around’
- (11.48) *Kamiuà hesa klalpe atiyi*
 lynx.NOM rabbit.ALL move:stealthily.CV approach.PV
 ‘The lynx stalked the rabbit’ (lit. ‘approached [by] moving stealthily’)

Inherently transitive motion verbs such as *elha* ‘put in, insert’ and *tifa* ‘take off, remove’ also routinely take converb modifiers denoting the manner of motion or means by which the motion is accomplished, as shown below.

- (11.49) *Na ahotsine tultsai tlynke elhyi*
 3aERG corn.NOM bag.DAT push.CV insert.PV
 ‘She shoved the corn into the bag’ (lit. ‘inserted [by] pushing’)
- (11.50) *Na hastein kaliale lihke itifa*
 3aERG deer.DAT legs.NOM cut.CV PRG.remove.IPV
 ‘He is cutting the legs off the deer’ (lit. ‘removing [by] cutting’)

11.5 Common expressions

Below is a list of greetings and other common expressions.

<i>Nalla</i>	‘Hello’
<i>Ihuàlan?</i>	‘How are you?’ (lit. ‘Are you well?’)
<i>Ihualat ne?</i>	‘How are you (pl)?’
<i>Ihuala, tianunta</i>	‘I’m well, thank you’
<i>Ku miai tàksan?</i>	‘What is your name?’ (lit. ‘How are you called?’)
<i>Ku miai taksat ne?</i>	‘What are your names?’
<i>Me taksa ia X</i>	‘(My) name is X’
<i>Mieu ehkànan?</i>	‘Where do you come from?’
<i>Mieu ehkanat ne?</i>	‘Where do you (pl) come from?’
<i>Eliampi etskana</i>	‘Welcome’ (lit. ‘Arrive with ease’)
<i>Eliampi eta</i>	‘Good-bye’ (lit. ‘Go with ease’)
<i>Eliampi sehta</i>	‘Farewell, Bon voyage’ (lit. ‘Go on with ease’)
<i>Eskuke</i>	‘Please’
<i>Tianunta</i>	‘Thank you’
<i>Tianunta hok</i>	‘Thank you very much’
<i>Kas uonta la</i>	‘You’re welcome’

<i>Mi mehu skale eskuke</i>	‘Pardon me, Forgive me’ (lit. ‘May shame be removed from me’)
<i>Uta uskala la</i>	‘I forgive you, Don’t mention it’ (lit. ‘It has already be removed’)
<i>Luom mianka hin?</i>	‘What time is it?’ (lit. ‘It’s the how many-th hour?’)

Nalla is a casual greeting, typically used with friends and relatives. A more formal greeting is *Nalla eskuke*, often used between strangers or recent acquaintances (*eskuke* normally means ‘please’, but is here used simply to indicate politeness or deference). Other expressions of greeting and leave-taking are formed by combining the adverb *eliampi* ‘with ease’ with an appropriate verb. These include *Eliampi etskana* and *Eliampi eta*, listed above. *Eliampi* can be combined with other verbs as well, according to the situation. For instance, after visiting someone, one may take one’s leave by saying *Eliampi teha* (literally ‘Stay behind with ease’).

Tianunta ‘Thank you’ is a contraction of the expression *Ikou tiane unta*, meaning ‘May your kindness return (to you)’. Here the verb *unta* means ‘come around, come full circle, return to where one began’. *Tianunta hok* is a more emphatic form. The customary polite reply, *Kas uonta la*, literally means ‘Rest assured (it) has now returned’—in other words, the kindness mentioned by the thanker has returned to the person being thanked. The idea is that the very act of thanking is itself a kindness which amply repays the act for which the thanks was offered.

Chapter 12

Sample Texts

12.1 The North Wind and the Sun

This is a translation of one of Aesop's fables. Notice that the north wind and the sun, being personified characters in a story, are treated as animate.

Heutu suku ka ahoma isokastankat ineu miò anasohta auna, mosiemul imupaitlanen es puniakakà atskane. Ahoma tlai etsyi, "Utskopa ha ikimna sukumampeia euotupinen mitunke. Ikimu ehtsanna lohkyipai olh puniakaka inà mosiemule etifè, temai te nan anasohtà iontike. Elh ikò kai nika nem." Temai ahò mohi ihfoi etyi le sukuma puniakakaua lhope kastyi. Le taualhme enasohte lhope, tlai puniakakama mosiemule ohpi tsan heulhte ampiotyti. Lamuta sukuma lhan lahysi eskyi ahoma enikè. Elh ahò temai mohi ihfou sehtyi na puniakakaua lai uantetyi hostats muoheme. Tehefoi puniakakaua tsuo akailtyi elh na mosiemule tifyi. Tlotunke te ahò anasohtà atafe.

Word-by-word glosses:

- (12.1) *Heutu suku ka ahoma isokastankat*
north.ABL wind and sun.ERG PRG.argue.IPV:PST.PL
'The north wind and the sun were arguing...'
- (12.2) *ineu miò anasohta auna,*
3aPABL who:NOM REL.strong.COMP.DEP if.ALL
'about which (one) of them was stronger...'
- (12.3) *mosiemul imupaitlanen es puniakakà atskane.*
cloak PRG.wear:RES.DEP.CNZR one traveller.NOM PV.arrive.PT
'when a traveller wearing a cloak appeared.'
- (12.4) *Ahoma tlai etsyi,*
sun.ERG thus say.PV
'The sun said (as follows)...'
- (12.5) *Utskopa ha ikimna sukumampeia euotupinen mitunke.*
PF.realize.IPV in:fact 12LOC dispute.ALL SBJ.decide.DEP:SBJ.CNZR some:way
'(I) have realized a way to resolve our dispute.'
- (12.6) *Ikimu ehtsanna lohkyipai olh puniakaka inà mosiemule*
12ABL one.LOC cause.able.PT:SBJ DIST traveller 3aSERG cloak.NOM
etifè,
SBJ.remove.DEP:SBJ.NOM

- ‘If one of us can cause that traveller to remove (his) cloak...’
- (12.7) *temai te nan anasohtà iontike.*
 then FOC 3asNOM REL.strong.COMP.DEP.NOM known.TINC.COND
 ‘then it would become known that that one is the strongest.’
- (12.8) *Elh ikò kai nika nem.*
 and:so 2sERG first try.IPV why:not
 ‘Why don’t you try (it) first?’
- (12.9) *Temai ahò mohi ihfoi etyi*
 then sun.NOM cloud behind.DAT go.PV
 ‘The the sun went behind a cloud...’
- (12.10) *le sukuma puniakakaua lhope kastyi.*
 while wind.ERG traveller.ALL blow.CV go:against.PV
 ‘while the wind blew (itself) against the traveller.’
- (12.11) *Le taualhme anasohte lhope,*
 but despite:that.INST REL.strong.COMP.CV blow.CV
 ‘Nevertheless, the more strongly (it) blew...’
- (12.12) *tiai puniakakama mosiemule ohpi tsan heulhte ampioty.*
 to:that:extent traveller.ERG cloak.NOM more:so self pull.CV surround.PV
 ‘the more (tightly) the traveller pulled the cloak around himself.’
- (12.13) *Lamuta sukuma lhan lahyi eskyi ahoma enikè.*
 at:last wind.ERG resolve release.PV ask.PV sun.ERG SBJ.try.DEP:SBJ.NOM
 ‘At last the wind gave up (lit. let go of its resolve) (and) asked the sun to try.’
- (12.14) *Elh ahò temai mohi ihfou sehtyi*
 and:so sun.NOM then cloud behind.ABL emerge.PV
 ‘So then the sun emerged from behind the cloud...’
- (12.15) *na puniakakaua lai uantetyi hostats muoheme.*
 3aERG traveller.ALL light cast.TINC.PV power whole.INST
 ‘(and) it began to cast (its) light on the traveller with all (its) might.’
- (12.16) *Tehefoi puniakakaua tsuo akailtyi elh na mosiemule tifyi.*
 shortly:after traveller.ALL too REL.hot.TINC.PV and:so 3aERG cloak.NOM remove.PV
 ‘Presently it became to hot for the traveller, and so he removed the cloak.’
- (12.17) *Tlotunke te ahò anasohtà atafe.*
 in:that:way FOC sun.NOM REL.strong.COMP.DEP.NOM PV.show.PT
 ‘In that way it (was) shown that it was the sun that was stronger.’