

Touo: An Exploration of Grammar through Narration

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Abstract

Touo is an endangered language spoken in Rendova, an island of the Solomon Islands. There are an estimated 2,000 speakers of this language, and there are two known dialects of the language, Baniata and Lokuru. There has been very little documented of this language, and there is no descriptive grammar as of yet. This thesis has two main purposes: 1) to contribute to the documentation of the Touo language and culture and 2) to attempt to describe how the Tense, Aspect, and Mood/Modality (TAM) functions of the language are utilized in traditional oral narratives. Eight narratives, of varying genre, length, and content, were collected from one native speaker of Touo. Three narratives are analyzed in detail in this thesis. The distribution, narrative function, and patterns of shifting of identified TAM features were analyzed and are discussed.

Introduction

1.1 About This Thesis

This thesis is concerned with the documentation and analysis of the endangered Papuan language Touo. I am investigating how a speaker of the language utilizes the Tense, Aspect, Mood, and Modality (TAM) functions of the language to tell stories relevant to the culture of the Touo people. There is no formal grammar of the language as of yet, and very little research in general has been done on this language. Because of this, collecting knowledge from a direct source in the language is an important undertaking, and will contribute to the depth of knowledge concerning the Touo language and culture. The appendices contain all of the transcribed narratives collected from the language informant, and will contribute to the overall documentation of this language for future generations of speakers. I hope that this research will benefit future researchers of Touo and will uncover new questions that will result in fascinating and illuminating research.

Using narratives as data collection is extremely useful in uncovering morphological, syntactic, and semantic functions of a language. Narrative and discourse analysis have been used extensively to study language, sociology, and even tourism (Tomassini, 2019). The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to this ever-expanding area of research, as well as aid in the documentation and understanding of this under-documented language by providing novel data in the form of narratives.

This thesis will be organized into three sections: the introduction will include methodology, a geographical and typological background on Touo, and an overview of the phonology of Touo and the orthographic conventions that I will be following. The second section will be a sketch of the grammar of Touo, focusing on verbal morphology, and will include a description of the TAM features and functions found in the narratives. The third section will be an analysis of TAM features in the context of three traditional narratives, and illustrate how the speaker utilizes functions of TAM to convey meaning in his narration. Appendix A contains the three narratives that are analyzed in section three, while Appendix B contains the rest of the narratives and elicited data collected.

1.2 Methodology

I collected the bulk of my data in Summer and Fall of 2021, meeting the language informant, Cornelius Donga, weekly for about an hour and a half each meeting. All of our meetings were through video conferencing. On his own time, he would record himself speaking in Touo, usually telling a narrative of some type— stories about cultural practices, events that happened to him or his family, folktales, and in one case, a poem. Mr. Donga would then send me files of his recordings, which I would transcribe in Elan, a transcription software, before our video meetings. During our video meetings, we would go through a recording, in Elan, word by word, so that he could clarify the grammar, describe tone, word meaning, and give more information of the semantics. The video meetings also involved me asking questions regarding constructions and eliciting further data on the language. I recorded all of these meetings to listen back to while analyzing the language data on my own time. The methodology concerning the narrative analysis is described in Section 3.1.

In total, there are eight brief narrative recordings and two recordings that are focused on elicited data.

1.3 About Touo

Touo is a Papuan language spoken in the Western Solomon Islands. More specifically, on the Southern half of the island of Rendova. It was previously called Baniata, or Mbaniata, after a region in which it is spoken (Frahm, 1998). It is now called Touo, after the endonym of the community of speakers (Terrill, 2011). According to Frahm (1998), Touo belongs to the Central Solomon Language family, though it also is described as an isolate by other sources, as well as by the language informant, Cornelius Donga. There has been work done by scholars (primarily Terrill and Dunn) to establish a genealogical connection between the four Papuan languages spoken in the Solomon Islands—Touo, Bilua, Savosavo, and Lavukaleve— but thus far, no definitive connections providing evidence of a language family have been found (Terrill, 2011). There is also a variation on the number of speakers of the language— 900 (Frahm, 1998) to around 1,800 (Endangered Languages Project). There is no official writing system for Touo.

Most speakers who write use the Latin alphabet and spell words phonemically, though mutual intelligibility is difficult.

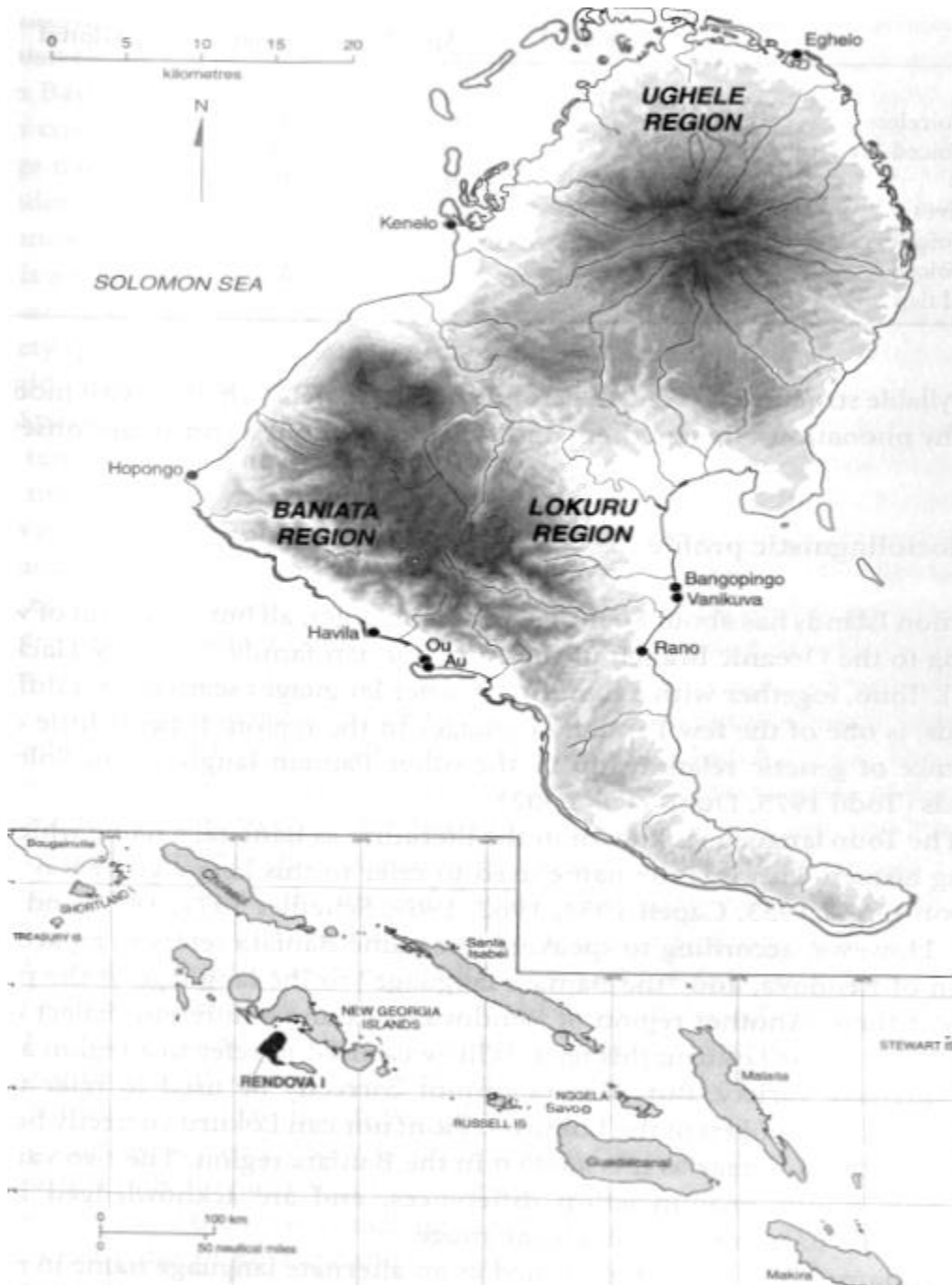
It is noted in Palmer, ed. (2018) that “the only information available on Touo is a short description in Todd (1975); a Masters thesis on serial verb constructions (Frahm, 1998) and unpublished field-notes from fieldwork carried out between 2000 and 2002 by Michael Dunn and Angela Terrill” (p. 868). The majority of information in this thesis is also from these sources, in addition to my own data. It is my hope that this thesis will contribute greatly to the small pool of knowledge that currently exists about Touo.

1.4 Geography

As stated above, Touo is spoken in the island of Rendova, in the Western Solomon Islands. The closest island to Rendova is Tetepare, the largest uninhabited island in the South Pacific (Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th ed.). Tetepare is culturally significant to the individuals of Rendova, and appears in one of the narratives collected (see Appendix B).



Map of Rendova in relation to New Georgia and the rest of the New Georgia Group.



Map of Rendova Island (Terrill & Dunn, 2003)

1.5 About the Language Informant and Speakers of Touo

I met a native speaker of Touo, Mr. Cornelius Donga, in the Spring of 2021, who graciously agreed to help me with this project. I met his niece by chance online, and she put us into contact with one another. While it will not be touched on further in this paper, there is something to be said for the opportunities that online interactions can provide for language documentation and preservation.

Mr. Donga grew up in the village of Rano, in Rendova, and is the fifth of six children. He learned English when he was sent to primary school, located about one mile from his village. Because his parents were very keen on education, Mr. Donga and his siblings attended a secondary school located on another island, and all of them attended universities in Australia or New Zealand. Incidentally, his brother, David Donga, assisted Roxanne Margaret Frahm with her master's thesis on Touo, a work that is cited extensively in this thesis.

Mr. Donga now lives in Honiara, the capital island of Solomon Islands, and works as a government administrator. According to Mr. Donga, Touo as a language is changing rapidly as individuals from Southern Rendova increasingly marry individuals from other islands, or speakers of Ughele, spoken in the Northern half of Rendova.

According to the Endangered Languages Project, there are approximately 1,870 native speakers of the language, though that number is taken from a census from 1999. Rendova's population is 3,679, as of 1999. By these numbers, Touo speakers make up almost exactly half of Rendova's population. Rendova is home to not only Touo speakers, who inhabit the southern half of the island, but also to Ughele speakers, who live in the northern half of the island (Terrill, 2011). Ughele is an Oceanic language (Frostad, 2012). Roviana, another Oceanic language, is widely spoken in the Western Solomons (Surrey Morphology Group). According to Terrill (2011), Touo speakers are frequently multilingual, often speaking Ughele and Roviana in addition to Touo, as well as Solomons Pijin and English. Mr. Donga is not fluent in Ughele, but can understand it due to its proximity to Roviana. Mr. Donga is fluent in Touo, Roviana, Solomons Pijin, and English.

As previously mentioned, according to Terrill and Dunn (2003), and Frahm (1998), Touo was known as Baniata until relatively recently. Terrill and Dunn (2003) expand on this, explaining that Baniata as described in the literature reflected a dialect of Touo that is spoken in

the Baniata region of Rendova. Another region in Rendova, Lokuru, has its own dialect of Touo. Mr. Donga, being from Rano village, speaks the Lokuru dialect. According to Terrill and Dunn (2003), the two dialects have only minor pronunciation differences, though ideologically, it appears that Lokuru is viewed as the more prestigious dialect, being called ‘more pure’ than the Baniata dialect by both groups of speakers (Terrill and Dunn, 2003). This ideology is reflected in Mr. Donga’s view of Touo, as he has explained that he speaks ‘pure Touo’.

2. Sketch Grammar of Touo

In order to describe how the grammar functions are employed in narratives in Touo, I will give a brief overview of the grammar of Touo, from basic phonology to an overview of tense, aspect, and mood.

2.1 Phonology and Orthography of Touo

As previously mentioned, there is no writing system in Touo. Terrill and Dunn (2003) have given a proposed orthography for Touo, which was overall accepted by speakers. I will be using their proposed orthography system in the transcriptions, to maintain cohesion in further research regarding Touo. An explanation of the orthography system and how it correlates to the phonology of Touo will follow henceforth:

Touo has six vowels: /i/, /e/, /a/, /ɔ/, /o/, and /u/. Terrill and Dunn note that the /ɔ/ vowel is unusual typologically, as the most common system in Papuan languages is the five phonemic vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/. Only Touo of the four Papuan languages in the Solomon Islands has the phonemic /ɔ/ in its vowel inventory (Terrill, 2018). The syllable structure of Touo is (C)V. In their proposed orthography for Touo, Terrill and Dunn make note of breathy voice vowels as a phonemic contrast to modal voice vowels, and give an orthographic designation for breathy voice vowels. However, in more recent publications on Touo (Terrill, 2011, 2018), only tense and lax vowels are described and detailed, and there are no mentions of breathy voice vowels. Terrill (2018) notes that tense vowels are marked with the diacritic for creaky voice. Tense vowels occur only without a C onset, according to Terrill. Tense and lax vowels are

phonemic in Touo (see Table 2), though there appears to be no orthographic designation, outside of a diacritic. Table 1 illustrates the consonant inventory for Touo. The bold characters are the orthographic designation for their corresponding phoneme. Note in particular that /ɔ/ is orthographically represented as ‘w’. Terrill and Dunn (2003) report that to some surprise, this suggestion was largely accepted by Touo speakers.

Table 1. Vowels and Vowel Orthography

Lax Vowels	Orthography	Tense Vowels	Orthography
i	i	ĩ	ĩ
e	e	ɛ	ɛ
a	a	ã	ã
ɔ	w	—	—
o	o	ɔ	ɔ
u	u	ũ	ũ

(Terrill and Dunn, 2003 & Terrill, 2018)

Table 2. Minimal pairs in regard to tense and lax vowels.

<i>e</i>	road	ɛ	oven
<i>avo</i>	garden	<i>avo</i>	four
<i>ua</i>	who?	<i>ua</i>	eat
<i>isi</i>	small	<i>isi</i>	Sleep

(Terrill, 2018)

While Terrill and Dunn (2003) do not note the tense and lax vowels in their proposed orthography, they state that “in careful speech, vowels (whether with modal or breathy

phonation) are lengthened in syllables without a consonant onset” (p.180). This could be referring to the tense and lax vowel distinction, and their more recent conclusion is that outside of careful speech, there is indeed a tense/lax phonemic distinction in some word-onset vowels. I have found this to be the case with my own data, and have seen all minimal pairs described in Table 2, taken from Terrill (2018). Terrill and Dunn (2003) note that generally the individuals of Rendova who they consulted while constructing the Touo orthography preferred no IPA symbols for ease of copying texts. When distinguishing tense and lax vowels with Mr. Donga, I usually defaulted to duplicating or underlining the tense vowel. For ease of reading, I will use the diacritic for tense vowels in all transcriptions presented in this thesis.

Table 3 illustrates the consonant inventory of Touo. Bold characters are the corresponding orthographic representations. It may be worth noting that there are two proposed orthographies for the consonants /ŋ/, /g/, /ⁿg/, as Terrill and Dunn explain that two different groups of speakers used different orthographies depending on their religious (church) affiliations, which in turn depends on their geography. Because Mr. Donga is more familiar with one style, I will be using that, and only give one character for the above consonants to avoid confusion. The only sound that has two characters is the lateral flap, /ɾ/. Mr. Donga tends to use the symbol <r>, which fits with Terrill and Dunn’s finding of Touo speakers’ preferences, but using <l> in some cases causes no ambiguity with understanding (Terrill and Dunn, 2003).

Table 3. Touo Consonant Inventory and Corresponding Orthographies

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive	^m b b		t t	ⁿ d d		k k g g, ⁿ g q	? ‘
nasal	m m			n n		ŋ ng	
trill							
tap			ɾ r/l				
fricative		f f v v	s s z z			y gh	h h
approximant					j j		

(Terrill and Dunn, 2003)

2.2 Ordering of Constituents, Grammatical Structure

Touo is an agglutinating language. The word order is most commonly SOV (Subject-Object-Verb), though many of the elements in a sentence may be flexible with no overt changes in meaning. The verb remains in the final position, except in a few cases (e.g., informal/casual speech). Articles precede modifiers and nouns (Terrill, 2011). Sentences (2.1), (2.2), and (2.3) all have identical meanings, but the argument (including a serialized verb, *tuese*) [*zo tebo dare tuese*], and the adjuncts [*mia vo semi endo*], and [*isi*] have flexible locations within the sentence, as long as the main verb, [*tafatafara*] remains in the final position in the sentence.

(2.1) ‘*tue tue, zo tebo dare tuese isi mia vo semi endo tafatafara.*’

tue-tue zo tebo dare tu-e-se isi mia vo semi endo tafatafa-r-a
 be[+time] ART.M big sibling be-IRR-PL small across ART.F swamp in difficult-M.O-REAL

‘After he remained for some time, the big brother’s stay in the swamp (across from Rano) was a little difficult.’

(2.2) ‘*tue tue, zo tebo dare tuese mia vo semi endo isi tafatafara.*’

tue tue zo tebo dare tu-e-se mia vo semi endo isi tafatafa-r-a
 be[+time] ART.M big sibling be-IRR-PL across ART.F swamp in small difficult-M.O-REAL

‘After he remained for some time, the big brother’s stay in the swamp (across from Rano) was a little difficult.’

(2.3) ‘*tue tue, mia vo semi endo zo tebo dare tuese isi tafatafara.*’

tue tue mia vo semi endo zo tebo dare tu-e-se isi tafatafa-r-a
 be[+time] across ART.F swamp in ART.M big sibling be-IRR-PL small difficult-M.O-REAL

‘After he remained for some time, the big brother’s stay in the swamp (across from Rano) was a little difficult.’

Possession in Touo is differentiated by Terrill (2011) as general possession and part-whole possession. The possessor comes between the article and the noun being possessed (Terrill, 2011). Overall, the possessor precedes the element being possessed.

(2.4) ‘*Vo ei ina.*’
Vo ei ina
 ART.F 1SG mother
 ‘My mother’

In part-whole possession, the whole precedes the part via juxtaposition (Terrill, 2011).

(2.5) ‘*va fea.*’
va fea
 House door
 ‘The door of the house’

Discontinuous morphemes are employed in Touo to express tense, negation, and conditionals. These will be described in more detail in their respective sections.

2.3 Pronouns, Nouns, and Noun Phrases

Frahm’s thesis (1998) follows Todd’s (1975) noun classification for pronouns, definite articles, and noun suffixes. There are four genders, feminine, masculine, neuter I, and neuter II. In the first person dual and enumerated numbers, there is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive (Terrill, 2018), though I have seen this only once in my own data, possibly due to the context of narrative discourse. Touo includes a dual, and according to Terrill, enumerated and non-enumerated numbers. This is at odds with Frahm and Todd’s paucal number— Terrill argues that the enumerated number can include high numbers (thus not warranting a paucal designation), so long as they are numerically specified (Terrill, 2018). The non-enumerated number, also called a plural by Terrill, “refers to numbers greater than three which are not numerically specified” (2018, p. 870). The distinction between enumerated and non-enumerated may be more clearly designated as ‘known-quantity plural’ and ‘unknown-quantity plural’ (Terrill and Dunn, 2002). Table 4 is a copy of Touo free pronouns, compiled from Terrill and Dunn field notes, Frahm (1998), and Todd (1975). Table 5 is a copy of Frahm’s table of gender-object agreement adapted from Todd’s. The two neuter classes are only distinguished in the singular. Pronouns and definite articles are the same for the masculine, feminine, and neuter I

classes. Neuter II is an interesting class, particularly in the way the suffix appears on verbs, which will be discussed later.

Noun phrases consist of an article, followed by a modifier and head noun (Terrill, 2018). Nouns often occur with a suffix that describes number and gender, usually agreeing with the article preceding it.

Table 4. Touo Free Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Enumerated	Non-Enumerated
1 EXCL. M	<i>ei</i>	<i>ere</i>	<i>ebenw</i>	<i>ebw</i>
1 EXCL. F	<i>ei</i>	<i>erebe</i>	<i>ebenu</i>	<i>ebw</i>
1 INCL. M	<i>ei</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>menw</i>	<i>memw</i>
1 INCL. F	<i>ei</i>	<i>bebe</i>	<i>menu</i>	<i>memw</i>
2 M	<i>noe</i>	<i>bere</i>	<i>mebenw</i>	<i>mebw</i>
2 F	<i>noe</i>	<i>berebe</i>	<i>mebenu</i>	<i>mebw</i>
3 M	<i>zo</i>	<i>zere</i>	<i>nwmw</i>	<i>mw</i>
3 F	<i>vo</i>	<i>robe</i>	<i>numw</i>	<i>mw</i>
3 N1	<i>na</i>	<i>rede</i>	<i>nafi</i>	<i>nw</i>
3 N2	<i>ngw</i>	<i>rede</i>	<i>nafi</i>	<i>nw</i>

(Terrill, 2018)

Table 5. Definite Articles and Noun Suffixes

Number	Class	Definite Article	Noun Suffix
Singular	masculine	<i>zo</i>	<i>-zo</i>

	feminine	<i>vo</i>	<i>-ma</i>
	neuter I	<i>na</i>	<i>-na</i>
	neuter II	<i>ngw</i>	<i>-ngw</i>
Dual	masculine	<i>zere</i>	<i>-zere</i>
	feminine	<i>robe</i>	<i>-robe</i>
	neuter	<i>rede</i>	<i>-rede</i>
Paucal	masculine	<i>nw</i>	<i>-nw</i>
	feminine	<i>nu</i>	<i>-nu</i>
	neuter	<i>na</i>	<i>-fio</i>
Plural	masculine/feminine	<i>mw</i>	<i>-mw</i>
	neuter	<i>no</i>	<i>-so/-se</i>

(Frahm, 1998)

Table 6 depicts indefinite articles and their noun suffix agreements. The indefinite also follows the noun classes found in the singular of the definite article.

Table 6. Indefinite Articles and Noun Suffixes

Number	Class	Indefinite Article	Noun Suffix
Singular	masculine	<i>gzo</i>	<i>-zo</i>
	feminine	<i>gma</i>	<i>-ma</i>
	neuter 1	<i>gna</i>	<i>-na</i>
	neuter 2	<i>gngw</i>	<i>-ngw</i>

(2.6) ‘*qma nirove manoma.*’
qma *ni-rove* *mano-ma*
 INDF.F good-appearance bird-F
 ‘A pretty (female) bird.’

(2.7) ‘*qzo nirove manozo.*’
qzo *ni-rove* *mano-zo*
 INDF.M good-appearance bird-M
 ‘A pretty male bird.’

(2.8) ‘*qna hisona.*’
qna *hisona*
 INDF.N1 coconut
 ‘A coconut.’

(2.9) ‘*qngw isi orongw.*’
qngw *isi* *oro-ngw*
 INDF.N2 small tree-N2
 ‘A small tree.’

The above sentences illustrate the standard form of a noun phrase with the indefinite article and subsequent agreement on the noun. In sentence (2.9), *qngw* is not only neuter, but it implies size in this case. In the case of *oro*, the unmarked form is plural, ‘a grove of trees’, and ‘a big tree’ is in the masculine, *oro-zo*. However, when discussing a specifically small tree, *oro-ngw*, neuter II is the chosen suffix and indefinite article. This could imply a classification system that distinguishes neuter I from neuter II, and size appears to be the distinguishing feature. Neuter II being implemented to distinguish size has come up repeatedly in my data. There is no mention of this in Frahm (1998), Terrill (2011), or Terrill (2018). Some nouns have inherent gender, as in *hisona*, in (2.8)– it is an inherently neuter I noun. *Tu* ‘lake’ and *g* ‘oven’ are inherently feminine nouns. In (2.6), *manoma* is an inherently feminine noun, and while it is suffixed with the feminine object suffix, all birds are usually described as *manoma*, and the phrase in (2.7) would be used only for a bird that an observer knew was male, or for a particularly large bird.

Transitive verbs occasionally contain an object agreeing affix, taking a medial position between the end of the verb and the mood suffix. The mood suffix almost always (if not

obligatorily) occurs in this construction so that the object affix may be labeled as an infix. Frahm notes that only some transitive verbs may contain an object affix, which may indicate that in addition to noun classes, Touo may have verb classes as well. Table 7 illustrates the object affixes, adopted from Frahm. Frahm states that the *-n* affix is polysemous, as it may refer to any number and gender of a first or second person object, as well as a dual or paucal/enumerated third person object that is of any gender. Additionally, I have found *-n* to occur with singular neutral objects, as in (2.12). In (2.11), *bwro*, ‘ball’, is a feminine object, thus the feminine object affix. In (2.12), *varande*, ‘veranda’, is a neutral object, thus the neutral object affix.

Table 7. Object Agreement Affixes on Verbs

Number	Person	Gender	Affix
–	1 & 2	–	<i>-n</i>
Singular	3	F	<i>-v</i>
Singular	3	M	<i>-r</i>
Singular	3	N	<i>-n</i>
Dual & Paucal (Enumerated)	3	–	<i>-n</i>
Plural (Non-Enumerated)	3	–	<i>-m</i>

(Frahm, 1998)

(2.10) ‘*ɛi zo hariba ha tiora yangw.*’
ɛi zo hariba ha tio-r-a yangw
 1SG ART.M man child search-M-REAL PROG
 ‘I am searching for the boy.’

(2.11) ‘*vo bwro takava yangw.*’
Vo bwro taka-v-a yangw
 3SG.F ball kick-F-REAL PROG
 ‘She is playing soccer.’ (lit. ‘she is kicking the ball.’)

- (2.12) ‘*gna varande eta gna isi avo rofena.*’
gna varande eta gna isi avo rofe-n-a
 INDF.N1 veranda and INDF.N1 small garden around-N-REAL
 ‘...a veranda and a small garden around it.’

2.4 Tense

Tense in Touo is distinguished as future and non-future, with non-future being unmarked (Frahm, 1998), and future tense being marked with a discontinuous morpheme, *ba ...vea/vengw*. (2.13) is an example of a non-future tense, contrasted with (2.14) and (2.15), which are in the future tense.

- (2.13) ‘*ebw qizoa yangw.*’
ebw qizo-a yangw
 2PL sing-REAL PROG
 ‘We are singing.’

- (2.14) ‘*mw ba qizo vea.*’
mw ba qizo vea
 3PL FUT sing FUT
 ‘They will sing.’

- (2.15) ‘*ei ovenae, qea himutara zo ba tiqa vengw.*’
ei ov-e-nae qea himutara zo ba tiqa vengw.
 1SG know-IRR-SEQ later evening 3SG.M FUT finish FUT
 ‘I know he will finish it [cutting down the tree] later in the evening.’

The distinction between *vea* and *vengw* is complex. Terrill (2011) labels *vengw* simply as a future marker, but there are nuances in meaning between *vengw* and *vea*. There will be a more in-depth analysis of this issue in section 2.7, on Topic Marking. Additionally, the morpheme *qea* also appears frequently in future tense construction, often without the presence of *ba*, which Frahm (1998) argues is optional, and Terrill (2011) *implies* is obligatory, though Terrill’s description is very brief and in the context of typological comparison. In the data I have collected, I have found *ba* to almost always occur together with *vea* or *vengw*, or else *qea* in place of *ba*. There is one instance in a narrative in which a future tense construction does not

contain *ba* or *qea*. In the case of *qea*, it seems to distinguish a stronger sense of temporal remoteness for a future event, whereas *ba* is more vague in terms of time or intent.

(2.16) 'zo *qea* *azafe* *vea*.'
 zo **qea** *azaf-e* **vea**
 3SG.M later eat-IRR FUT
 'He will eat later on.'

(2.17) 'zo *ba* *azafe* *vea*.'
 Zo **ba** *azaf-e* **vea**
 3SG.M FUT eat-IRR FUT
 'He will eat.'

Listener understanding of tense in Touo is highly reliant on context and mood marking, which will be discussed in section 2.6.

2. 4.1 Tense and Negation

The negative discontinuous morpheme occurs in two forms, depending on tense, which is why it will be discussed in this section. In the non-future tense, the form is *sa...efe*, which is structured in the same way as the future discontinuous morpheme— according to Frahm (1998), “the optional initial part precedes the first non-subject element of the clause, while the obligatory final part follows the verb” (1998, p.13).

(2.18) '*sa* *azafe* *efe*.'
sa *azaf-e* **efe**
 NEG eat-IRR NEG
 'Don't eat.'

(2.19) '*sa* *sorry* *hau* *efe*.'
sa *sorry* *hau-e* **efe**
 NEG sorry say-IRR NEG
 'Don't say sorry.'

(2.20) ‘*zo sa uta fizu hariba efe.*’
zo sa uta fizu hariba efe
 3SG.M NEG still adult male NEG
 ‘He is not an adult man yet.’

(2.21) ‘*dena anena endo ɛi sa ɔna ni maka oefe.*’
Dena anena endo ɛi sa ɔna ni maka o-efe.
 DEF.N1 race in 1SG NEG INDF.N1 good mark receive-NEG
 ‘I didn’t receive a good grade in this test.’

While the negative obligatorily occurs with the irrealis mood (discussed further in Section 2.6.1), phonological constraints seem to allow for the irrealis marker to be eliminated in cases such as (2.21). Frahm (1998) notes this in her analysis as well. Additionally, in (2.22), the *efe* becomes *ese*, which could illustrate some of the phonotactics of Touo, describing a process of long-distance dissimilation with /v/ and /f/ in certain environments. More data is necessary to make this claim definitive, however.

(2.22) ‘*ɛi onohorese nae ɛi sa tumuvese eta eta ɔro duo e nogo.*’
ɛi onohore-se nae ɛi sa tumuv-ese eta eta ɔro duo-e nogo
 1SG wish-PL SEQ 1SG NEG wet-NEG COND rain fall-IRR COND
 ‘My wish is that I won’t get wet if the rain falls.’

In the negative future tense, the initial element of the negative discontinuous morpheme becomes *sira*, and the future discontinuous morpheme is not included.

(2.23) ‘*mw sira qizo efe.*’
mw sira qizo efe
 3PL FUT.NEG sing NEG
 ‘They will not sing.’

(2.24) ‘*sira mw qea nae ivori mw teo noote efe.*’
Sira mw qea nae ivori mw teo noot-e efe
 FUT.NEG 3PL later SEQ quickly 3PL to settle;tame-IRR NEG
 ‘They will not quickly get to know them.’ (lit. ‘They will not quickly tame them.’)

Compare (2.23) with (2.25):

- (2.25) ‘*mw ba qizo vea.*’
mw ba qizo vea
 3PL FUT sing FUT
 ‘They will sing.’

2.5 Aspect

Frahm (1998) argues that there are markings for continuous, progressive, completive, and iterative aspects in Touo. The continuous, completive, and iterative aspects are expressed via a serialized verb, while the progressive aspect is indicated through a main verb (Frahm, 1998). There are a few more aspectual categories that I have identified in my own data, the proximative, and experiential perfect. Touo is a language that utilizes serial verb constructions (SVCs), as discussed by Frahm, and as such, aspect and modality/mood are often expressed through them (Aikhenvald, 2018). Because SVCs are considered ‘monoclausal’, one TAM feature applies to all the verbs in the series (Owens, 2011).

2.5.1 Continuous Aspect

Tu-, the verb meaning ‘to be’, when occurring as a serial verb, expresses the continuous aspect in a phrase. Sentence (2.26) is the standard form of the verb *tu-*, which is suffixed with the realis marker. As a serialized verb, *tu-* marks the continuous aspect as in sentences (2.27), (2.28), and (2.29).

- (2.26) ‘*muriw, gma gohe fizu gna foena rivw va endo tua.*’
muriw gma gohe fizu gna foena rivw va endo tu-a
 Long ago INDF.F woman old INDF.N1 very bad house in be-REAL
 ‘A long time ago, an old woman lived in a very bad house.’

- (2.27) ‘*Zavo, mia vo vuto haurw, gmo gohe nwmw tuma foso daua tuengw.*’
zavo mia vo vuto haurw gmo gohe nwmw tuma fo-so dau-a tu-e-ngw
 But at ART.F river mouth INDF.PL woman 3EN.M grass skirt-PL soak-REAL be-IRR-N2
 ‘But at the river estuary, some women were soaking grass skirts [traditional costume].’

- (2.28) ‘*Zo tebo dare uta tovea tua.*’
*Zo tebo dare **uta** tove-a **tu-a***
 DEF.M big sibling still alive-REAL be-REAL
 ‘The big brother was still alive.’

- (2.29) ‘*mw uta rutua tuena.*’
*mw **uta** rutu-a **tu-e-na***
 3PL still practice-REAL be-IRR-N1
 ‘They are still practicing (it).’

Frahm (1998) notes that *uta*, ‘still’, often occurs with the continuous aspect.

2.5.2 Progressive Aspect

Yangw is the marker for the progressive aspect, according to Frahm (1998). It occurs immediately after the verb, like the continuous aspect marker *tu-*, though it does not appear to be affixed in the same way *tu-* is. This is perhaps due to *tu-*’s double function as a standard verb, while *yangw* seems to have only one function.

- (2.30) ‘*gbw na voafu teo teza reua yangw.*’
*gbw na voafu teo tez-a reu-a **yangw***
 IPL ART.N1 wharf to run-REAL go-REAL PROG
 ‘We are running to the wharf.’

- (2.31) ‘*Zon raroa yangw.*’
*Zon raro-a **yangw***
 John cook-REAL PROG
 ‘John is cooking (and has been for some time).’

- (2.32) ‘*vo bwro takava yangw.*’
*Vo bwro taka-v-a **yangw***
 3SG.F ball kick-F-REAL PROG
 ‘She is playing soccer.’

Frahm (1998) distinguishes the continuous and progressive aspects by the types of verbs they modify; continuous aspect typically occurs with stative verbs, while progressive occurs with dynamic verbs. While all examples for the progressive include dynamic verbs, only sentence (2.28) contains a stative verb along with the continuous aspect marker. Frahm (1998) states that

this distinction is not absolute, and the aspect markers are not strictly for modifying stative verbs in the continuous aspect and dynamic verbs in the progressive aspect. In my own data, I have found that the contrast could be due to contextual differences relating to evidentiality. Sentence (2.31) can be stated as:

(2.33) ‘*Zon raroa tua.*’
Zon raro-a tu-a
 John cook-REAL be-REAL
 ‘John is cooking (at this very moment).’

In (2.33), use of the continuous aspect marker with the verb ‘cook’, refers to a momentary point in time, with no end or beginning. All the speaker knows is that at this moment, John is cooking. This is then contrasted with (2.31), which implies speaker knowledge about the event and temporal consciousness, that John is cooking now and has been for some time. This seems to indicate that the serial verb *tu-* has a present ongoing quality to it, while the morpheme *yangw* contrastively has a durative quality. (2.27) is an exception in that is past ongoing, rather than present ongoing, though due to Touo’s tense restrictions, outside of the context of narrative, the sentence could be understood as: “but at the river mouth, some women are soaking grass skirts”. The frequent inclusion of *uta*, ‘still’, in sentences with the serialized *tu-*, lends itself to understanding the construction as continuative, emphasizing a duration, though without *uta*, the serialized *tu-* expresses the momentary action of a situation, with no evidence of it happening before or after the moment of utterance.

2.5.3 Completive Aspect

Frahm (1998) claims that the verb *tiqua*, ‘finish’, expresses the completive aspect. My own understanding of the word is that it is not a verb, but rather a conjunction or adverb, though there are only two instances of it occurring in my own data. I will include examples from Frahm in contrast to my own.

(2.34) ‘*zo uze nae tiqa nangw semi vari gura.*’

Zo uz-e nae tiqa nangw semi vari gur-a
 3SG.M die-IRR SEQ finish there swamp cause form;birth-REAL
 ‘He died, and it caused the birth of a swamp.’

(2.35) ‘*vo tu tiqa zere teo isita.*’

Vo tu tiqa zere teo isi-ta
 ART.F pool finish 3DU.M have small-too
 ‘The pool had become too small for both of them.’

(2.36) ‘*yei ia no hiso zungia tiqa.*’

Yei ia no hiso zungi-a tiqa
 1SG already ART:PL:N coconuts move-REAL finish:REAL
 ‘I have already moved all the coconuts.’

(Frahm, 1998).

(2.37) ‘*no yozoso uta tiqaefe.*’

No yozo-so uta tiqa -e -fe
 the:PL:N work-PL:N still finish-IRR-NEG
 ‘The work still isn’t finished.’

(Frahm, 1998).

(2.38) ‘*ede nae zere tiqa na hugina oe nae zere mw aovoma.*’

ede nae zere tiqa na hugi-na o-e nae zere mw aovo-m-a
 Shoot-IRR SEQ 3DU.M finish 3SG.N1 string-N1 take-IRR SEQ 3DU.M 3PL thread-3PL-REAL
 ‘They speared them, then they took a string and threaded them on.’

(Terrill, 2011) (Terrill/Dunn field notes)

The differences in (2.34) & (2.35) compared with (2.36) & (2.37) are interesting and somewhat striking—Frahm’s examples reflect a standard verb in Touo, being sentence-final and affixed with realis and irrealis markers. The examples in my data do not reflect a standard verb; *tiqa* occurs medially, and indeed, Mr. Donga stated that *tiqa* is never affixed with realis or irrealis. (2.38) is an example from Terrill (2011), and seems to align more with my data. I have included this section and comparison of glosses in order to highlight the work still needing to be done on this language. Additionally, *tiqa* may be a type of aspectual particle that functions in a serial verb construction to express completion. More discussion on this particular morpheme will follow in the narrative analysis, in section 3.2.

2.5.4 Iterative/Durative Aspect

Frahm describes the iterative aspect as being expressed by the verb *reu-*, ‘go’. It is a serial verb that expresses the aspect of the verb it follows (Frahm, 1998).

(2.39) ‘*mw vo sikuru teo atia reua yangw.*’
mw vo sikuru teo ati-a reu-a yangw
 3PL ART.F school to walk-REAL go-REAL PROG
 ‘They are walking until they reach the school’.

(2.40) ‘*gbw na voafu teo teza reua yangw.*’
gbw na voafu teo tez-a reu-a yangw
 1PL ART.NI wharf to run-REAL go-REAL PROG
 ‘We are running until we reach the wharf.’

(2.41) ‘*mw gohe ienae, mw teza reu zo vorore nae, ...*’
mw gohe i-e-nae mw tez-a reu zo voro-r-e nae
 3PL women say-IRR-SEQ 3PL run-REAL go 3SG.M overtake-M-IRR SEQ
 ‘They said and, they ran until they overtook him and, ...’

Frahm (1998) has an example of an instance *reu* is used with the verb ‘to eat’, though it appears in my data to be mainly used with verbs of movement. ‘Iterative’ is Frahm’s designation, though it may be better described as durative. ‘Iterative’ does not seem to fit as an aspectual designation for this morpheme, as none of the verbs (walk, run, eat) shown to occur with this verb are punctual events, which are what make up the iterative aspect (Payne, 1998).

Though the data is limited, the difference between the durative *reu* and the durative *yangw* appears to do with *reu* appearing when there is a target for the action, implying that the action finishes after the goal has been reached, whether that be a location or state.

2.5.5 Proximative Aspect

A morpheme that is not described in Frahm (1998), nor found in any of Terrill and Dunn’s publications is *enengw*, which seems to express a proximative aspect. This morpheme is the most like *yangw*, in that it has no other verbal function besides expressing temporal proximity to an action. *Enengw* appears directly after the verb it modifies.

(2.42) ‘*na vaqaza ofea enengw.*’
na vaqaza ofe-a enengw
 ART.N1 dawn arrive-REAL PROX
 ‘The dawn is about to arrive.’

(2.43) ‘*zo vo nebi-ve nogo zo ia fizu hariba ba edw ofea enengw.*’
Zo vo nebi-v-e nogo zo ia fizu hariba-ba endo ofe-a enengw
 3SG.M 3SG.F catch-F-IRR COND 3SG.M already adult male-hood in reach-REAL PROX
 ‘If he catches her, he has just reached adulthood.’

Enengw works as a proximal marker on either side of a timeline— that is, past or future. It appears to be rather like the Burmese *pi*, which Allott (1965) describes as having a precise, punctual reference. Allott states, “it indicates that at the moment of speaking the point of realization of the action or state indicated by the verb has been reached. It may have been reached just at the moment of speaking or sometime previously” (1965, p. 290). Romero (2008) refers to the Burmese *pi* as a ‘currently relevant state’ marker, marking “events as having attained or being in the process of attaining their point of realization” (2008, p.75), which also appears to suit *enengw*. For this project, I will continue to label *enengw* as a proximative, but the analysis from Burmese is helpful in the classification of this morpheme.

2.5.6 Experiential Perfect

Another previously undescribed morpheme is *veangw*, which seems to describe a kind of experiential perfect aspect. This morpheme is translated as “have/has been”, and describes the speaker’s or topic’s action as an experience that occurred prior to the moment of utterance. Contrasting slightly with the standard definition of the experiential perfect, *veangw* specifically describes an experience that has occurred over a lengthy period of time. To describe a singular experience, *tuengw* is used, as in (2.45).

(2.44) ‘*ɛi veangw noqo.*’
ɛi veangw noqo
 1SG EXP.PERF there
 ‘I have been there (and I was there for a while).’

(2.45) ‘*gi tuengw noqo.*’

Ei tu-e-ngw noqo
 1SG be-IRR-N2 there
 ‘I have been there (once)’

(2.46) ‘*gnozw, fino kureha mw ofe finwmw veangw.*’

gnozw fino kureh-a mw of-e finw-mw veangw
 Sometimes very ashamed-REAL 3PL arrive-IRR person-PL EXP.PERF
 ‘Sometimes, those who arrived have been very ashamed.’

Unlike some of the aspectual markers in Touo, it is not obligatory that *veangw* directly follow the verb it describes. Additionally, there are several examples of *veangw* occurring without a verb, as in (2.44).

While *veangw* appears similar to the final element of the discontinuous future marker, *vea*, there does not seem to be a connection between the two words. Mr. Donga’s intuition as a native speaker confirms this, as he believes there is no relation between the two words, diachronically or otherwise.

2.6 Mood

Mood is a grammatical category that reflects speakers’ attitudes about the nature of what they are saying. There are a few moods in Touo, the two most prevalent and important being the irrealis *-e* and realis *-a*. The irrealis suffix is used in future tense, imperative mood, and negatives. The realis suffix occurs on all other verbs, and in verbs preceding the main verb in serial verb constructions (Frahm, 1998). Terrill (2018) states that it may be better to be thought of as an unmarked suffix. According to Frahm and Terrill (2018), possible and conditional clauses do not contain irrealis or realis marking, although I have found this to not be the case in my data. Conditional clauses are marked by discontinuous morphemes and follow the irrealis. Another mood not discussed in previous research is the hortative, which occurs frequently in my data.

2.6.1 Irrealis Mood

As stated above, the irrealis mood marks the future tense, imperative, and negatives with the verb final suffix *-e*. While future tense and negatives additionally are marked with discontinuous morphemes the imperative is only marked with the irrealis.

(2.47) ‘*zo ba azafe vea.*’
zo ba azaf-e vea
 3SG.M FUT eat-**IRR** FUT
 ‘He will eat.’

(2.48) ‘*zo sira azafe efe.*’
zo sira azaf-e efe
 3SG.M NEG.FUT eat-**IRR** NEG
 ‘He won’t eat.’

(2.49) ‘*morufemw, emaso oa hiame.*’
Morufe-mw ema-so o-a hiam-e
 hungry-3PL food-PL take-REAL feed-**IRR**
 ‘The hungry, take food and feed them.’

Additionally, irrealis seems to always precede the sequential marker *nae*, the hortative *ia*, and the conditional *eta eta... nogo*, which are not detailed in other descriptions of Touo.

(2.50) ‘*zo uze nae tiqa nangw semi vari gura.*’
Zo uz-e nae tiqa nangw semi vari gur-a
 3SG.M died-**IRR** SEQ finish there swamp caused form;birth-REAL
 He died, and it caused the birth of a swamp.

(2.51) ‘*ori me reu zo vari gr-e ia.*’
Ori me reu zo vari gr-e ia
 EXCLAM. 1PL go 3SG.M go stop-**IRR** HORT
 “Let us go stop him!”

While use of the irrealis with hortative and conditional constructions are expected, use of it with the sequential marker is unexpected and warrants further research.

2.6.2 Realis Mood

The realis mood is used outside of future, negative, and imperative constructions. It therefore marks all non-future, positive events.

- (2.52) ‘*zo gezo mw amagome nae nangw area.*’
Zo gezo mw amagom-e nae nangw are-a
 3SG.M then 3PL hear-IRR SEQ there stop-REAL
 ‘He then heard them and stopped in that place.’

- (2.53) ‘*Dena na va tani fa nagiti va gura.*’
Dena na va tani fa nagiti va gur-a
 DEM.N1 ART.N1 house suddenly just beautiful house appear-REAL
 ‘This house suddenly became a very beautiful house.’

2.6.3 Possible and Conditional Moods

The conditional mood is encoded with the discontinuous morphemes *eta eta ... nogo*. The initial morpheme, *eta eta*, is not obligatory in the sentence while the final morpheme, *nogo*, is. Frahm (1998) and Terrill (2018) state that no realis or irrealis marking is used with conditional, though I have found the irrealis to be obligatory in conditional constructions. *Nogo* follows the verb it is modifying which is marked by irrealis.

- (2.54) ‘*eta eta qmw roe finwmw nangw ofe nogo...*’
eta eta qmw roe finw-mw nangw of-e nogo
 COND INDF.PL different person-PL there arrive-IRR COND
 ‘If someone different arrives there [the village]...’

- (2.55) ‘*nae ienae, eta eta mw hariba nanu inote huze nogo...*’
Nae-ie-nae eta eta mw hariba nanu inote huz-e nogo
 That is why COND 3PL male young marriage want-IRR COND
 ‘That is why if the boys want to get married...’

- (2.56) ‘*zo vo nebive nogo zo ia fizu hariba ba endo ofea enengw.*’
Zo vo nebi-v-e nogo zo ia fizu hariba-ba endo ofe-a enengw
 3SG.M 3SG.F catch-F-IRR COND 3SG.M already adult male-hood in reach-REAL PROX
 ‘If he catches her, he has just reached adulthood.’

I have not encountered the possible mood as described by Frahm (1998) in my data, so I cannot make my own conclusions regarding it. I will include discussion of it here using her examples and explanations.

(2.57) ‘*oro ni ba qea duo vea.*’
Oro ni ba qea duo vea
 Rain POSS FUT later fall FUT
 ‘It may rain later.’
 (Frahm, 1998)

(2.58) ‘*Hore ba ni lodu vea.*’
Hore ba ni lodu vea
 canoe FUT POSS sink FUT
 ‘The canoe may sink.’
 (Frahm, 1998)

Frahm (1998) describes a possible future event as being marked with the morpheme *ni* as well as the future discontinuous morpheme. In (2.57) and (2.58), taken from Frahm, there is no irrealis marker, which would normally occur with the future tense, though it does not appear that the irrealis is actually obligatory with the future tense, as seen in previous examples.

2.6.4 Hortative Mood

The hortative in Touo is expressed with the final morpheme *ia*, which occurs with the irrealis. This construction can often be mistaken for *ia*, ‘already’, or the verb *i-*, which means ‘say’. *Ia*, ‘say’ plus the realis marker, seems to be used to mark quotations made by characters in a narration, though more evaluation and exploration is needed before stating this as a rule in the language.

(2.59) ‘*ei, noe aifi reu roode ia.*’
ei noe aifi reu rood-e ia
 Hey 2SG REFLX go fish-IRR HORT
 ‘Hey, why don’t you go fishing by yourself.’”

- (2.60) ‘*ori me reu zo vari gre ia.*’
Ori me reu zo vari gr-e ia
 EXCLAM. 1PL go 3SG.M go stop-IRR HORT
 ‘Let us go stop him!’

2.7 Topic Marking

In Section 2.4, on Tense, I briefly discussed the final elements of the discontinuous future tense, *vengw* and *vea*. These morphemes appear to be different, though they seem to code the same meaning in the sentence. Readers of the grammar section of this thesis may notice that most verbs end with *-ngw*, or else have an affixed a mood marker, followed by an aspectual marker. However, through conversations with Mr. Donga and in eliciting more sentences, this appears to not always be the case in Touo. It appears that on occasion, verbs take gender-agreement suffixes, indicating topicality. I will present some minimal pairs to illustrate this, and then discuss this to the best of my ability. There is no discussion of this in Frahm (1998), and from personal discussions with Dr. Angela Terrill, it is clear that this element of the language needs further exploration in order to be more fully understood.

- (2.61) ‘*gna eri isi idw oangazere mia ama isi tu endo tuengw.*’
gna eri isi idw oanga-zere mia gma isi tu endo tu-e-ngw
 INDF.N1 two small eel sibling-3DU.M across INDF.F small pool in be-IRR-N2
 ‘Two small eel brothers lived in a small pool across (from Rano Village).’

- (2.62) ‘*gna eri isi idw oangazere mia ama isi tu endo tuezere.*’
Ana eri isi idw oanga-zere mia gma isi tu endo tu-e-zere
 INDF.N1 two small eel sibling-3DU.M across INDF.F small pool in be-IRR-3DU.M
 ‘It was two small eel brothers who were living in a small pool across (from Rano Village).’

- (2.63) ‘*Keni fa mia zo teota era enengw.*’
Keni fa mia zo teo-ta er-a enengw
 Keni just across 3SG.M to-ABL come-REAL PROX
 ‘Keni just came (from across the way).’

(2.64) ‘*Keni fa mia zo teota era enezo.*’

Keni fa mia zo teo-ta er-a ene-zo
 Keni just across 3SG.M to-ABL come-REAL PROX-3SG.M
 ‘It was Keni who just came (from across the way).’

(2.65) a. ‘*yo mahoana?*’

yo maho-a-na
 Who cut with axe-REAL-N1
 ‘Who is it who is cutting?’

b. ‘*John mahoazo.*’

John maho-a-zo
 John cut with axe-REAL-3SG.M
 ‘It’s John who is cutting.’

c. ‘*ozo zo mahora yazo.*’

ozo zo maho-r-a ya-zo
 What 3SG.M cut with axe-M-REAL PROG-3SG.M
 ‘What is it that he is cutting (it seems like a large thing)?’

d. ‘*Revota zo fiia mahoengw?*’

Revo-ta zo fi-a maho-e-ngw
 When-ABL 3SG.M start-REAL cut with axe-IRR-N2
 ‘When did he start cutting?’

Based on these examples, it appears that use of *-ngw*, thought of as the neuter II pronoun and subsequent gender agreement suffix, at the end of a verb constitutes a sentence that does not have restricted focus. This appears to be the ‘unmarked’ form in Touo, making up the majority of clauses found in the data. For example, sentences (2.61), (2.63) and (2.65d) appear to lack restricted focus, in contrast to sentences (2.62), (2.64), and (2.65a, b, c) which have restricted focus, specifically on the topic of the sentence that the final suffix agrees with in gender. When restricted focus on the topic occurs, the final verb takes a suffix that agrees in gender with the topic of the sentence (see Table 5 for a list of these suffixes, labeled ‘Noun Suffixes’). When the focus of the topic is not restricted, the verb takes the unmarked, or neuter II suffix. Almost exclusively, every sentence in every narrative collected contains the *-ngw* ending, or does not have any gender agreement suffix at all. However, when discussing this with Mr. Donga, he stated that instead of (2.61), (2.62) would be more appropriate. Through more discussion, we came to the conclusion that when the final verb in the clause takes a gender agreement suffix, the

focus of the topic of the sentence is restricted, while the *-ngw* ending tends to be the default, at least in Mr. Donga's speech. While similar to, but not necessarily falling into a Philippines-style system of topic marking (also known as Austronesian alignment), Touo appears to have an interesting system of topic marking that warrants more attention and exploration. It is worth noting that Dr. Terrill believes that these gendered suffixes mark topic, but may also lend themselves to an aspectual category as well. Additionally, it is unclear if those sentences with *-engw* (2.61), (2.63), and (2.65d) are actually the neuter II ending suffixed on the irrealis *-e*, or if *-engw* is a separate morpheme in and of itself. Because of the presence of the realis marker in (2.65a) and (2.65b), I will operate under the assumption that there are three different morphemes involved: the main verb, a mood affix, and an object-agreement suffix. Since the data is limited, this assumption may be proven to be incorrect in the future. In a language with as little documentation and current published research as Touo has, these questions cannot be answered as fully or as detailed as one would like. However, questions like these present fascinating and important topics for future research.

This section concludes the discussion and description of Touo grammar, focusing on how tense, aspect, and mood are expressed in the language. The next section will detail my approach to narrative analysis, based on Labov (1972), Lee (2020), and Stirling (2012).

3.1 Narrative Analysis

According to Lee (2020), narratives are defined as “a representation of a series of connected events in which a verbal sequence of clauses matches the order in which those events take place” (2020, p.11). This definition is an amalgamation of many different scholars' definitions, including Labov and Weltzky's (1967). Because of the linear nature of narratives, in which one event follows another systematically, studying a language through narratives can reveal aspects of grammar that may not be as evident through elicitation. Additionally, as Gimenez (2009) quotes Webster and Mertova (2007), “narrative records human experience through the construction and reconstruction of personal stories”. By collecting stories from a speaker of Touo, I am not only attempting to document a language, but a culture and worldview

as well. While this analysis will be more technical than sociolinguistic in nature, I hope that the documentation of these stories will contribute to a wider understanding of storytelling from the Touo culture.

3.1.1 Narrative Organization

Within a narrative, the skeleton consists of narrative clauses (Labov, 1972), or foreground (Hopper, 1979). These are temporally ordered event clauses (Lee, 2020). In addition to foreground, there are free clauses (Labov) or background (Hopper). Lee describes background as any clause that elaborates, evaluates, or comments on the narrated main events. Foreground belongs to the temporal progression of the narrative and the narrative's timeline, while background lies outside of the temporal progression. Background clauses tend to contain stative, imperfective, and irrealis predicates. Labov (1972) argues that clauses containing *used to*, *would*, and the general present are not narratives, because they do not lie on a single timeline. Additionally, subordinate clauses are judged by Labov as not serving as narrative clauses because reversing the order of the clauses does not change the reader or listener's interpretation.

Labov identifies six elements of a “fully-formed narrative”—*abstract*, *orientation*, *complicating action*, *evaluation*, *result* or *resolution*, and *coda*. Lee (2020) argues that *abstract* and *coda* are optional elements, and include introductory and concluding remarks such as ‘once upon a time’ or ‘the end’. *Orientation* is what provides the reader or listener with the means to identify the time, setting, and characters of the story. It is composed of background or free clauses (Labov, 1972). *Complicating action* is what Lee describes as “the nucleus of the narrative, composed of episodes” (p.15). Lee then quotes Chafe (1987), clarifying that an episode boundary occurs where there is a ‘significant change in sense, time, character configuration, event structure, and the like’. *Evaluation* is what Labov argues as “perhaps the most important element in addition to the basic narrative clause” (p.366). It is the explanation and commentary by the narrator on the *complicating action* of the narrative (Lee, 2020). Finally, Lee describes the *result* as “the resolution of the complicating action, which is the ultimate goal and purpose of the narrative” (p.15). Together, all of these elements make up a full and complete narrative, according to Labov. Based on Labov's criteria, only half of the eight stories I have collected in Touo would be considered ‘narratives’.

Stirling (2012) refers to Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (SDRT) to analyze tense/aspect shifting in Kala Lagaw Ya, an Austronesian language. SDRT, according to Stirling, is a theory that suggests that “many linguistic phenomena can be explained in terms of a hierarchical analysis of the rhetorical relations holding between propositions in the discourse, and each proposition is related to the previous discourse by one or more discourse relations” (p.168). Lascarides, one of the principal authors of SDRT, explains that speech acts are treated as “anaphoric relations between utterances” (2003). The ‘discourse relations’ derived from SDRT that are implemented in Stirling’s analysis coincide in many respects to Labov’s and Hopper’s components of narratives. Stirling lists *Narration*, *Result*, *Background*, *Elaboration*, and *Repeat* as the most frequently used relations. Examples of each will proceed:

Narration, or temporally ordered events, is labeled as a clause that represents a new event or development of the plot of the story. Importantly, it is temporally ordered after the event it attaches to. *Complicating actions* would fall into the *Narration* category, as would of course, any narrative or foreground clauses. Stirling (2012) includes *Result* in this relation as well, arguing that this relation “also entails a temporal ordering of events, but only as a consequence of the primary causal relationship” (p.169). Examples (3.1), (3.2), and (3.3) illustrate a sequence of *Narration* episodes in the same story:

(3.1) ‘*zo iviri nw isafe oro zaote nae hiro rutua.*’

Zo iviri nw isafe oro zaot-e nae hiro rutu-a
 3SG.M every ART.PL.N soft wood gather-IRR SEQ fire build-REAL
 ‘He gathered all the softwood and built a fire.’

(3.2) ‘*iovo zo zo tebo dare rofura.*’

Iovo zo zo tebo dare rofu-r-a
 Next 3SG.M ART.M big sibling roast-M-REAL
 ‘Next, he roasted the big brother.’

(3.3) ‘*isia orofia.*’

Isi-a orofia
 sleep-REAL daybreak
 ‘He slept (until) daybreak.’

Background, or temporally overlapping states or events, is likened to Labov's *orientation*. Clauses linked to this relation do not move the narrative temporally. (3.4) and (3.5) illustrate the *Background* relation.

- (3.4) 'na va ha nae oro duo nogo te'ena.'
 Na va ha nae oro duo-e nogo te'en-a
 ART.SG.N1 house roof SEQ rain fall-IRR COND leak-REAL
 'The roof leaked if it rained.'

- (3.5) vo zwo vuue rigi nw tafoso fare nae
 Vo zwo vuue-e rigi nw tafo-so far-e nae
 ART.F wind blow-IRR when ART.PL.N wall-PL bang-IRR SEQ
 'When the wind blows, the wall bangs.'

Elaboration is just that— additional information about an event, in which the timeline does not move forward. I argue that Labov's *evaluation* can be included in this category as well, though where *Elaboration* still concerns the context of the story, Labov's criteria includes the narrator's commentary about the narrative. Additionally, *evaluation* includes represented speech, where Stirling (2012) excludes it in *Elaboration*. Because my focus is also on tense/aspect/mood functions, I will do the same here, although represented speech in narratives in Touo should be further explored in the future. Examples (3.6) and (3.7) illustrate *Elaboration* clauses.

- (3.6) 'ene gna tebo singi eta modezo nozo'
 Ene gna tebo singi eta mod-e-zo nozo
 Because INDF.N1 big tide with travel-IRR-M 3SG.M
 'Because a big tide traveled with him...'

- (3.7) 'ena nogo vo tebo semi enava tuengw.'
 Ena-nogo vo tebo semi enava tu-e-ngw
 Now ART.F big swamp nowadays be-IRR-N2
 'The big swamp still exists now.'

Stirling also includes *Repeat* as a discourse relation category, in which a statement is repeated exactly in the narrative, without the addition of new information. I do not have any examples of full repetitions in my data, so it is unnecessary to consider it here.

The following sections will be concerned with the narrative analysis of three stories in Touo, ‘*Busuma Semi*’ (‘Busuma Swamp’), ‘*Rano Tu*’ (‘Rano Lake’), and ‘*Na Gohe Fizu Va*’ (‘The Old Woman’s House’). Another story that can be considered as a narrative according to Labov’s definition, one of personal experience, was left out due to the similarity between these three narratives– they are all folktales from the Rano Village area, and represent classic storytelling in the Touo culture, according to Mr. Donga. Narratives of personal experience in Touo would be another interesting and important topic to consider for future research.

I will analyze the occurrence of TAM markers within the narrative context of each of the stories and discuss any patterns (or outliers) that may arise. I will link these patterns with the forms of narrative organization described by Stirling (2012), Labov (1972), and Lee (2020). I will also consider Ozerov’s (2015) perspectives concerning narrative analysis of Burmese, a language more similar to Touo than any European language or even Kala Lagaw Ya.

3.2 Narrative Analysis of ‘*Busuma Semi*’ (Busuma Swamp Story)

Appendix A includes a full transcribed narrative of *Busuma Semi*. This story is a legend, describing how a location, Busuma Swamp, known to the people of Rano Village, came into being. Overall, there are a total of 15 clauses (excluding represented speech, making up 5 additional clauses or 33% of the narrative) that function within the narrative and will be analyzed. Of those, 20%, or 3 clauses, are classified as background or free clauses, fitting into either the *Background* relation, or the *Elaboration* relation. 80%, or 12 clauses are foreground or narrative clauses, fitting into the *Narrative* and *Result* relations. For clarification: Touo clauses often contain many serialized verbs, which Frahm (1998) analyzed under the Mono-Clausal Hypothesis proposed by Foley and Olson (1985). Therefore, the clauses that I am analyzing here contain multiple serial verbs.

Table 8. Distribution of TAM functions in ‘*Busuma Semi*’

TAM	Backgrounding relations			Foregrounding relations		
Functions	<i>Background</i>	<i>Elaboration</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Narration</i>	<i>Result</i>	<i>Total</i>
-e (IRR)	2 (13%)	1 (8.3%)	3 (21.3%)			
-a (REAL)				8 (66%)	1 (8.3%)	9 (75%)
PROX				1 (8.3%)		1 (8.3%)
CONT					1 (8.3%)	1 (8.3%)
COMPL.					1 (8.3%)	1 (8.3%)

Of the *Narrative* relation clauses, 8 clauses are in the non-future tense with realis mood, while one clause is non-future with proximative aspect. Of the three *Result* relation clauses, all are in non-future tense and realis mood. One *Result* clause is somewhat problematic:

(3.8) ‘*zo isi dare ia uza*’
Zo isi dare i-a uz-a
 ART.M small sibling has-REAL die-REAL
 ‘The small brother had died.’

The *ia* in this clause is not the hortative, nor is it a speech marker. In translating this sentence, the translation for *ia* is ‘had’, which appears to resemble the English pluperfect in translation. Additionally, the morphological analysis of this word is an issue. Is it a verb, with a realis morpheme attached, or is it one morpheme? I have glossed it as a verb and a realis suffix, but it could be a single morpheme that is a perfect aspectual particle. While Mr. Donga’s translation preference is that of ‘had’, it is very likely that this *ia* is the same as Terrill and Dunn’s (2002) *ia*, which is glossed as ‘already’:

(3.8.1) ‘*vo yuse ia baeva.*’

Vo yuse ia bae-v-a
3SG.F bottle already break-3SG.F-REAL

‘(someone) broke the bottle.’

(Terrill and Dunn 1995 fieldnotes, Terrill and Dunn, 2002)

This small morpheme is the subject of many unanswered questions, and warrants more exploration in the future. While (3.8) is a narrative or foreground clause, as it moves the timeline forward, its narrative relation is that of *Result*, as it is a temporally ordered event but creates a causal relationship between itself and the event it is attached to (Stirling, 2012). Stirling designates *Narration* relations as encompassing *Result* relations, though when analyzing ‘*Busuma Semi*’, *Result* clauses, while structurally similar to *Narration* clauses, do tend to contain more aspectual components than *Narration* clauses. In (3.9), the continuous aspect is marked:

(3.9) ‘*zo tebo dare uta tovea tua.*’

Zo tebo dare uta tove-a tu-a
ART.M big sibling still alive-REAL be-REAL:CONT

‘The big brother was still living.’

Additionally, the final *Result* relation clause contains the questionable completive aspect:

(3.10) ‘*zo uze nae tiqa nangw semi vari gura.*’

Zo uz-e nae tiqa nangw semi vari gur-a
3SG.M die-IRR SEQ finish there swamp cause form;birth-REAL

‘He died, and it caused the birth of a swamp.’

While previously, I did not agree with Fram (1998) that *tiqa* is a verb, the appearance of it in this clause does give some credence to its aspectual function. In a serial verb construction, *tiqa* may function as a completive aspectual marker, as according to Aikenvald (2018, p. 48), every serializing language has aspectual constructions that include the verb ‘finish’. In this sentence, it modifies the verb *uze*, ‘die’, giving the more nuanced meaning of: ‘He died, and when he finished dying, (his death) caused the formation of the swamp.’

The shift from *Narration* to *Result* is subtle, but still evident. The forms of *ia* and *tiqa* are not well-defined enough to label them without question, but their presence marks a semantic shift in the narrative. As Fludernik (2011) writes, “since tense inflections are used to insist on the

continuity of a given perspective, it is the shift in tense that is semantically significant” (p. 82). While this observation (developed by Weinrich (1972)) is based on tense shifting in French literary narratives, I believe that both aspect and modality work in the same way, given the amorphous boundaries between tense, aspect, and modality, especially in non-Indo-European languages (Payne, 1998). If this statement were extended to include ‘TAM inflections’ as opposed to simply ‘tense inflections’, the statement could also be reverse-engineered— semantic shifts can indicate shifts in TAM inflection, which for the purpose of analyzing a grammar of a language is invaluable. However, the language of oral narratives— especially folklore— is a creative performance or action (Bauman, 2007), and the use of certain linguistic elements in a language may be extended beyond their base or denotative functions in order to entertain an audience and “transform” the story into something more.

The only *Narration* relation clause that stands apart from the rest is the moment before a monologue by one of the characters:

- (3.11) ‘*zo fizute dare zo rou dare teo ja enengw.*’
zo fiuz-te dare zo lou dare teo i-a enengw
 ART.M old-er sibling ART.M young sibling to say-REAL PROX
 ‘Now, the older brother said to the younger brother, ...’ or; ‘the other brother says to the younger brother.’

Here, the proximative aspect marker *enengw* appears. I do not think it trivial to note that this is the first true foregrounding clause in the story. Because Touo has only future and non-future tenses, use of aspect (and mood) may work in place of tense to frame the story, as well as mark turns. In this case, the proximative aspect acts as a kind of ‘historical present’ to set a scene in the temporal context of the story (Fludernik, 1991). Ozerov (2015) notes that the Burmese ‘currently relevant state’ (CRS) marker that is similar to the function of *enengw* (see section 2.5.5) marks the ‘here-and-now’, which can be likened to the ‘historical present’ of European narratives (Ozerov, 2015). Ozerov further argues that like the historical present, the ‘here-and-now’ marked by the CRS marker in Burmese narratives metaphorically carries the listener into the story, as if it were their own reality. This highlights the section of the story and activates the listeners’ attention to that particular point, which is usually a turning point in the plot (Fludernik, 2012). It appears that *enengw* in Touo works in much the same way. (3.11) is the point in the story right before the Older Brother Eel character’s speech reveals the direction the rest of story

will take. By using *enengw*, the narrator is placing the Older Brother’s speech in the ‘here-and-now’, marking a pivotal point in the story.

The rest of the *Narration* clauses in ‘*Busuma Semi*’ consist of clauses with the final verb marked with the realis marker, *-a*. This marker, as stated previously in section 2.6.2, marks non-future tense (i.e., past and present) in Touo. (3.12)a-c illustrates a sequence of foregrounding narrative clauses:

- (3.12) a. ‘*zo iviri nw isafe oro zaote nae hiro rutua.*’
Zo iviri nw isafe oro zaot-e nae hiro rutu-a
 3SG.M every ART.PL.NI soft wood gather-IRR SEQ fire build-REAL
 ‘He gathered all the softwood and built a fire.’
- b. ‘*Iovo zo zo tebo dare rofura.*’
Iovo zo zo tebo dare rofu-r-a
 Next 3SGM ART.M big sibling roast-M-REAL
 ‘Next, he roasted the big brother.’
- c. ‘*isia orofia.*’
isi-a orofia
 sleep-REAL daybreak
 ‘He slept (until) daybreak.’

Not including the *Result* clauses, there are nine purely narrative clauses in the tale. Of those nine, eight are in the realis mood. This gives some evidence that the realis functions in narratives primarily as a marker of foregrounding. Interestingly, Ozerov (2015) finds that the realis in Burmese narratives functions in the same way. To quote; “a consecutive list of [realis]-marked sentences merely represents a sequence of objectively narrated facts; this is a monotonous unevaluated narration (Labov and Waletzky, 1967)” (p. 1181). This appears to be the case with realis in Touo narratives as well.

Moving now to the *Background* and *Elaboration* relations, both consisting of background or free clauses (Labov, 1972), there is an interesting occurrence of *tuengw* framing the entire story. The first *Background* clause in the story, functioning as Labov’s *orientation*, contains *tuengw*, while the last clause in the story, one of *Elaboration*, also contains *tuengw*:

(3.13) *gna eri isi idw oangazere mia ama isi tu endo tuengw.*
gna eri isi idw oanga-zere mia gma isi tu endo tu-e-ngw
 INDF.N1 two small eel sibling-3DU.M across INDF.F small pool in be-IRR-N2
 ‘Two small eel brothers lived in a small pool across (from Rano Village).’

(3.14) *‘ena nogo vo tebo semi enava tuengw.*
Ena-nogo vo tebo semi enava tu-e-ngw
 Now ART.F big swamp nowadays be-IRR-N2
 ‘The big swamp still exists now.’

This occurrence of the verb *tu-*, along with the irrealis suffix *-e*, appears to fit into Lee’s (2020) summary of backgrounding in that these clauses are stative and irrealis. However, sentence (3.14) shifts the story back into the ‘here-and-now’, which is marked with a shift in TAM, but perhaps not the shift that is expected. While the fact that the big swamp exists *now* is a fact, and intuitively should be in the realis mood, it could be argued that because this clause exists outside of the narrative timeline, the shift from realis to irrealis is warranted. The fact that the story begins and ends with *tuengw* should not be overlooked as well. Perhaps the irrealis is utilized in Touo narratives to frame the narrative within its own factual world, and to place the listener inside that world. Finishing the story with the irrealis can highlight the end of the tale, and shift the listener’s perspective to the world outside the narrative. This analysis fits with Labov’s (1972) description of codas (which (3.14) falls into), that codas “have the property of bridging the gap between the moment of time at the end of the narrative proper and the present. They bring the narrator and listener back to the point at which they entered the narrative” (p.365). With the analysis of two more narratives, perhaps more light can be shed on this hypothesis.

3.3 Narrative Analysis of ‘*Rano Tu*’ (Rano Lake Story)

Appendix A includes a full transcribed narrative of ‘*Rano Tu*’. Contextually, this story is a kind of sequel to the events of ‘*Busuma Semi*’, featuring the Older Brother Eel character as the ‘protagonist’ in the tale. It is also a legend, also describing how another geographical feature, Rano Lake, came into being. This is the longest of the narratives, at 21 clauses. 14%, or 3 clauses out of the 21 fall into the *Background* relation. 76%, or 16 clauses are *Narration*. There is one *Elaboration* clause in this narrative.

Table 9. Distribution of TAM functions in ‘*Rano Tu*’

TAM	Backgrounding relations			Foregrounding relations		
	<i>Background</i>	<i>Elaboration</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Narration</i>	<i>Result</i>	<i>Total</i>
-e (IRR)	1 (4.7%)	1 (4.7%)	(9.4%)	5 (23.8%)		(23.8%)
-a (REAL)	1 (4.7%)		(4.7%)	9 (42.8%)		(42.8%)
PROX				1 (4.7%)		(4.7%)
CONT	1 (4.7%)		(4.7%)			
FUT				1 (4.7%)		(4.7%)

Like ‘*Busuma Semi*’, most of the *Narration* clauses in ‘*Rano Tu*’ are in the realis mood—9 out of 16 clauses, or 56%. These clauses in the realis mood follow the pattern found in ‘*Busuma Semi*’, that of an unelaborated and unevaluated narration.

There is one iteration of *enengw*, the proximative aspect, occurring in a very similar context as it does in ‘*Busuma Semi*’:

- (3.15) ‘*zo mw teo ia enengw,*’
Zo mw teo i-a enengw
 3SG.M 3PL to say-REAL PROX
 ‘He said to them (now),’

Similar to (3.11) in section 3.3, *enengw* marks dialogue, though this is after represented speech by the character, as opposed to the beginning of a speech. This works in much the same way as (3.11) does, marking the ‘here-and-now’ or ‘historical present’ in the story, and framing the dialogue that takes place. The listener is brought into the tale by the feeling of immediacy *enengw* gives to the clause. Based on these two examples, as well as input from Mr. Donga, it appears that *enengw* is used as a storytelling device to bring dialogue in a narrative to the ‘here-and-now’.

On the other hand, ‘*Rano Tu*’ is unlike ‘*Busuma Semi*’ in that it also contains several instances of the irrealis in *Narration* clauses. Four of these five clauses are contained in a sequence:

- (3.16) a. ‘*Hieu zo mw teo nungiengw.*’
Hieu zo mw teo nungi-e-ngw
 Three times 3SG.M 3PL to ask-IRR-N2
 ‘Three times he asked them.’
- b. ‘*fa hieu mena mw hausengw.*’
fa hieu mena mw haus-e-ngw
 also three times also 3PL refuse-IRR-N2
 ‘Also three times they refused.’
- c. ‘*gro, zo gezo vo vuto endo eroezo.*’
gro zo ge-zo vo vuto endo ero-e-zo
 Okay 3SG.M then-M ART.F river in enter-IRR-M
 ‘Okay, then he enters the river.’ or ‘Okay, then it is he who enters the river.’
- d. ‘*Zo mw horafo me rubovo,*’
zo mw horafo-m-e rubovo
 3SG.M 3PL pass-PL-IRR at the time
 ‘At the time that he passed them’

These four clauses present some complications. While they are all in the irrealis mood, they are not backgrounding clauses (Lee, 2020), and none of them reflect the imperative, future, or negatives. This could be related to the yet-unanswered question of topic marking, discussed in section 2.7. Because there are questions that remain unanswered regarding *-engw/e-ngw*, it is difficult to state what exactly the function these four sentences present in the narrative.

In the context of the narrative, they follow a dialogue exchange between characters. The ‘protagonist’ of the story, the Older Brother Eel from ‘*Busuma Semi*’, requests for a group of women by the river to move aside to let him past. They refuse in a dialogue, and what follows is the above sequence. (3.16a) and (3.16b) represent a kind of ‘summary’ of the events of asking and refusal, which stands apart from the standard narration of the rest of the story.

(3.16c) begins with *gro*, ‘okay’, a discourse marker that appears to shift the topic of the narrative. This is also the only clause in this sequence that contains a gendered topic marker

suffix. Narratively, this clause also stands apart from the standard narration, as it contains a discourse marker that is not found in the other narratives. The effect this has on the flow of the story is that it appears to be disrupted, and takes the listener out of the tale. It appears that (3.16c) is the narrator reorienting themselves to the rest of the story, as if remembering the events that occur after this exchange between characters.

Overall, it appears that the irrealis continues to be a marker of stepping outside the reality of the story, whether it be due to summary, remembering the context of the story, or framing the entire tale for an audience. Within narratives, the irrealis could be said to code ‘off-line’ information– the narrator is still performing the narrative, though the audience is cued to notice that this information is not as important or relevant to the main story.

(3.16d) is a subordinate clause that connects to a clause that falls into the *Elaboration* relation. Interestingly, (3.16d) can be restated as:

(3.17) ‘*zo mw horafo-m-a tuovo*’
Zo mw horafo-m-a tuovo
 3SG.M 3PL pass-PL-REAL while
 ‘As he passed them,’

Note the realis ending with the alternative temporal adverb, ‘*tuovo*’, instead of ‘*rubovo*’. ‘*Rubovo*’ contains the root ‘*rubo*’, meaning ‘time’. While both ‘*tuovo*’ and ‘*rubovo*’ mark simultaneous action between two clauses, ‘*rubovo*’ focuses on the temporality of the action, while ‘*tuovo*’ emphasizes the action itself. (3.18) is ungrammatical.

(3.18) *‘*zo mw horafo-m-e tuovo.*’
Zo mw horafo-m-e tuovo
 3SG.M 3PL pass-PL-IRR while

(3.16d) appears again, in identical form, in another sequence of *Narration* clauses, this time between two *Narration* clauses, both in the realis mood. Temporal adverbs affecting the modality of the clause is an issue that requires further investigation in future research.

There is one more *Narration* clause that warrants discussion:

- (3.19) *'zo vo zo avoro edo rutu vengw'*
Zo vo zo avoro edo rutu vengw
 3SG.M ART.F 3SG.M new home build FUT
 'He would build his new home (in that place).'

This clause contains the future tense marker *vengw*, yet the verb it is attached to, *rutu*, does not have the irrealis *-e*, which is usually expected in future constructions. According to Mr. Donga, in the context of the story, attaching the irrealis to the verb would be incorrect, though he cannot give a reason why this would be. In a situation set in the real world, (3.19.1) is correct.

- (3.19.1) *'zo vo avoro edo rutue vengw.'*
Zo vo avoro edo rutue vengw
 3SG.M ART.F new home build-IRR FUT
 'He will build his new home (in that place).'
- (‘He intends to build his new home (in that place).’)

The difference between these two sentences is the matter of context. (3.19) is set within the narrative, while (3.19.1) is based in the real world (granted, in an imaginary situation). (3.19) is the second-to-last clause in the narrative, and is still ‘on-line’, or in the flow of the narrative reality. There is no intentionality behind the character’s action, as there is in (3.19.1). It is a fact in the narrative that the character built his home, and that place became Rano Lake. Much like the ‘historical present’, this could be referred to as the ‘historical future’. The deviation from standard future construction is perhaps a creative choice on the part of the narrator, working within the tense confines of the language.

The *Background* and *Elaboration* clauses follow a similar pattern to those relations in ‘*Busuma Semi*’. Specifically, the irrealis being used to frame the entire story. Consider (3.20) and (3.21), the first and last clauses, respectively:

- (3.20) *'ienae vo Rano Tu qurengw.'*
Ienae vo Rano Tu qur-e-ngw
 This is how ART.F Rano Lake form;birth-IRR-N2
 'This is how Rano Lake originated.' (lit. ‘was formed/birthed’)

- (3.21) ‘*vo navo Rano Tu enanva mia tuema.*’
Vo navo Rano Tu enava mia tu-e-ma
 ART.F ART.F Rano Lake nowadays across be-IRR-F
 ‘That is the Rano Lake that is there today (across from Rano Village).’

While unlike ‘*Busuma Semi*’, ‘*Rano Tu*’ begins with the verb ‘*our-*’, ‘to form/be born’, it takes the same form as the *tuengw* in ‘*Busuma Semi*’ (sentence (3.13) in section 3.2), that of irrealis *-e* and the neuter II suffix. Sentence (3.21) is structurally very similar to sentence (3.14), especially with the final verbs, apart from the feminine-object agreement/topic marker *-ma* in (3.21). Clause (3.21) is another Labovian *coda*, finishing out the story, and bringing the narrator back into the present time. While the exact morphological breakdown of these topic markers and agreement suffixes are still not well defined, these pairings in both stories provide some evidence that the irrealis may be a framing device for Touo narratives, and it is due to the narrative form that it can function outside of the ‘standard’ mode of the irrealis.

3.4 Narrative Analysis of ‘*Na Gohe Fizu Va*’ (‘The Old Woman’s House’)

See Appendix A for the full transcribed narrative. This final narrative is the most brief at 12 clauses, perhaps because it is a folktale told to younger children. It is a highly descriptive narrative. The breakdown between background and foreground clauses is evenly divided, with 6 clauses each being either background or foreground. There is some represented speech in this narrative as well, but as with the other narratives, those clauses will not be discussed in this research. There are two *Background* clauses, comprising 16% of the tale, and four *Elaboration* clauses, making up about 33%. *Narration* relation clauses make up a slight majority of the narrative, at 42%, or 5 clauses. There is one *Result* relation clause.

TAM	Backgrounding relations			Foregrounding relations		
Functions	<i>Background</i>	<i>Elaboration</i>	Total	<i>Narration</i>	<i>Result</i>	Total
<i>-e</i> (IRR)						
<i>-a</i> (REAL)	2 (16%)	3 (25%)	41%	5 (42%)	1 (8.3%)	50%
CONT		1 (8.3%)	(8.3%)			

This narrative, while being the shortest, is also the simplest of the three narratives being considered here. There is a great deal of description regarding the setting and situation of the main character, the Old Woman, and her plight regarding the terrible home she lives in. While the background is fairly detailed, the narration is quite straightforward— there are no simultaneous events, the narrator does not step out of the story, nor is the listener brought into the ‘here-and-now’ at any point. In fact, over 83% of the story is told in the realis mood, reflecting the progression of ‘objectively narrated facts’ described by Ozerov (2015) from sections 3.2 and 3.3. Indeed, even the first and the last clauses, both background clauses (one a *Background* relation and one an *Elaboration* relation), are in the realis mood. This causes a slight problem for the hypothesis proposed earlier, that the irrealis mood frames the narrative.

(3.22) ‘*murio gma gohe fizu gna foena rivo va endo tua.*’

Murio gma gohe fizu gna foena rivo va endo tu-a
 Long ago INDF.F woman old INDF.NI very bad house in be-REAL
 ‘A long time ago, an old woman lived in a very bad house.’

(3.23) ‘*ene nw vo onohorese iafi gura.*’

Ene nw vo onohore-se iafi gur-a
 Because ART.PL 3SG.F wish-PL already form;birth-REAL
 ‘Because her wishes had already happened.’

Sentences (3.22) and (3.23) are the initial and final clauses in question. Initially, the observation that these clauses are in the realis pose a problem for the irrealis-as-framing-device hypothesis. However, this issue is not as confounding as it initially appears— (3.23) is fundamentally different from the final clauses of ‘*Rano Tu*’ (sentence (3.21) in section 3.3) and

'Busuma Semi' (sentence (3.14) in section 3.2). While (3.21) and (3.14) are clauses that shift from the narrative to reality, (3.23) is still centered in the narrative, and there is no semantic shift that occurs between this clause and the ones that precede it. Because there is no semantic shift, it follows that there is no TAM shift (see section 3.2). Sentence (3.22) is a bit of an outlier, as it is quite similar to (3.13), but obviously differs in the mood marking. The only difference of consequence is that in (3.13), the locative marker *mia*, 'across', positions the story as taking place nearby the narrator's (and listeners') location, positioning it firmly in reality, rather than in a fictional narrative location. In *'Na Gohe Fizu Va'*, there is no mention of where the story takes place. While it is counterintuitive to think that the irrealis marks the *real* world, while the realis marks the *fictional*, this could be a grammaticalized storytelling device that allows the fictional world to supersede the real world.

The proposition that the irrealis indicates background information in Touo narratives is not so different from what happens in Arapaho narratives. In Arapaho, when verbs with a certain habitual mode prefix take the subjunctive form in narratives, they indicate "habitual, background information in relation to the overall narrative" (Cowell, 2021) (p. 92). The subjunctive is a kind of irrealis, which lends some credence to the hypothesis posed in this thesis. That being said, much more data and analysis is necessary to back up this claim effectively, and it is simply one way to attempt to explain the grammatical patterns that occur in these narratives.

3.5 Summary and Conclusions

Overall, the three stories discussed here – *'Busuma Semi'*, *'Rano Tu'*, and *'Na Gohe Fizu Va'* – are structured similarly to one another. The realis, much like in Burmese narratives (Ozerov, 2015), appears to code an objective 'narration mode', an 'on-line', in-story sequence of events. The proximative marker, *enengw*, highlights a 'here-and-now', or 'historical present' shift in the story, which allows the listener to be brought into the tale as if it is happening in the moment. The grammatical act of engaging a listener to be in the 'here-and-now' also occurs with Burmese (Ozerov, 2015). The irrealis appears to frame or highlight the entering and exiting of the performance of the narrative, which Bauman (2007) might call "keying the performance" (p.171). Similar to Arapaho narratives with the subjunctive, the irrealis in Touo narratives appears to depart from its standard function in the language, or its denotation, and take on a new

function in the narrative, that of ‘off-line’ backgrounding, or alternatively, highlighting of information. As mentioned previously, Fludernik emphasizes that it is the shift in form that is significant, rather than the function of the form. Additionally, if that shift in grammatical form is accompanied by a shift in narrative form (for example, backgrounding to foregrounding, or vice versa), then the attention called to the receiver is further emphasized (Fludernik, 2011). These coordinating shifts in grammatical form and narrative form are prevalent in the analyzed Touo narratives, allowing for this data to contribute to cross-linguistic understanding of these theories on narrative analysis and TAM inflections. The outliers in the data should be considered as well, which may similarly contribute to understanding of theories on narrative analysis. Additionally, while narrative analysis can clarify the meaning and functions of TAM inflections in a language, it can also lead to conflation between creative, artistic use of language and precise, denotative use of language, especially in a language such as Touo, which has not been fully formally described. The narratives collected in this data contribute to the documentation of Touo, and the narrative analysis may illustrate cultural folklore performance strategies, but these may depart from the forms of conversational, everyday Touo. Both aspects of the language are of equal importance to document, but for descriptive purposes, the latter may arguably be more useful.

The logistical issues with this data should also be considered. To say that this data depicts an idiolect rather than an entire language would not be hyperbolic. Using one speaker to attempt to describe a language and a method of storytelling is highly limiting, and reduces the data collected here to a single point on a much larger map. Additionally, not being able to collect the data in the community of speakers further limits the scope and instructiveness of the data. In the analysis of oral narratives, audience interaction with and reactions to the narratives are just as informative as the narratives themselves. Because these narratives were recorded by Mr. Donga alone, with no communicatively competent audience physically present, the ethnographic information on how folktales are performed (Bauman, 2007) in Touo culture is missing from this research. Despite these shortcomings, this research has yielded a multitude of topics for future study; from the analysis of personal narratives, represented speech, dialogue, to the description of the performance of oral narratives, there is clearly more to investigate regarding the Touo language and culture. As I have said before, it is my hope that this research will provide interesting avenues for future studies regarding Touo, in addition to contributing to the existing information about this under-documented and endangered language.

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Appendix A

Narrative 1: Busuma Semi – The Story of Busuma Swamp

‘Vo Busuma Semi fizuiviri.’

vo Busuma Semi fizuiviri
 ART.F Busuma swamp tale;story
 ‘The Busuma Swamp story.’

‘Muriw, mia Busuma endo,’

muriw mia busuma endo
 Long time ago across Busuma in
 ‘A long time ago, straight across (from Rano village) in Busuma,’

‘gna eri isi idw oanga-zere mia gma isi tu endo tuengw.’

gna eri isi idw oanga-zere mia gma isi tu endo tu-e-ngw
 INDF.N1 two small eel sibling-DU.M across INDF.F small pool in be-IRR-N2
 ‘Two small eel brothers lived in a small pool across (from Rano Village).’

‘Vo rubo horafa modovo,’

vo rubo horaf-a modovo
 ART.F time pass by-REAL while
 ‘As time passed by,’

‘Vo tu tiqa zere teo isita.’

Vo tu tiqa zere teo isi-ta
 ART.F pool finish 3DU.M had small-too
 ‘The pool had become too small.’

‘gna musona endo,’

gna musona endo
 INDF.N1 day in
 ‘On one day,’

‘zo fiuzte dare zo rou dare teo ja enengw,’

zo fiuz-te dare zo rou dare teo ja enengw
 ART.M old-er sibling ART.M young sibling to say-REAL PROX
 ‘The older brother said to the younger brother (now),’

“‘Demi be o ia isita nae be gzo ba zungie vea.’”

demi be o ia isi-ta nae be gzo ba zungie-e vea

This IDU.INCL.M home has small-too SEQ IDU.INCL.M INDF.M FUT move-IRR FUT
 “Our home has become too small, so one of us will move.”

“Zavo, ie nae be gzo ba zungie vengw.”
 zavo ie nae be gzo ba zungie-e vengw
 But this is SEQ IDU.INCL.M INDF.M FUT move-IRR FUT
 “But, this is how one of us will move out.”

“Be ba afi be rofun-e vea.”
 Be ba afi be rofun-e vea
 IDU.INCL.M FUT RFLX.M IDU.INCL.M roast-IRR FUT
 “We will roast ourselves.”

“Zo tove zo ba nangw tuevezo.”
 zo tove zo ba nangw tue-ve-zo
 ART.M alive ART.M FUT there stay-FUT-M
 ‘The one alive will stay here.’

“Nae zo rou dare ba iati zo fizu dare rofun-e vea.”
 nae zo rou dare ba iati zo fizu dare rofun-e vea
 SEQ ART.M young sibling FUT first ART.M old sibling roast-IRR FUT
 “So, the younger brother will roast the older brother first.”

‘Zo iviri nw isafe oro zaote nae hiro rutua.’
 Zo iviri nw isafe oro zaot-e nae hiro rutu-a
 3SG.M every ART.PL.N1 soft wood gather-IRR SEQ fire build-REAL
 ‘He gathered every (piece of) softwood and built a fire.’

‘Iovw zo zo tebo dare rofura.’
 Iovw zo zo tebo dare rofu-r-a
 Next 3SG.M ART.M big sibling roast-M-REAL
 ‘Next, he roasted the big brother.’

‘Isia orofia.’
 isi-a orofia
 sleep-REAL daybreak
 ‘He slept (until) daybreak.’

‘Zo vo e feava iro,’
 zo vo e fea-v-a iro

3SG.M ART.F oven open-F-REAL when
 ‘When he opened the oven,’

‘*Zo tebo dare uta tovea tua.*’

Zo tebo dare uta tove-a tu-a
 ART.M big sibling still alive-REAL be-REAL:CONT
 ‘The big brother was still living.’

‘*Iovw zo tebo dare iviri nw fiq̄u oro oenae,*’

iovw zo tebo dare iviri nw fiq̄u oro o-e-nae
 Next ART.M big sibling every ART.PL.N1 hard wood take-IRR-SEQ
 ‘Next, the big brother took every hard wood (and),’

‘*Hiro rutue nae zo isi dare rofura.*’

Hiro rutu-e nae zo isi dare rofu-r-a
 Fire build-IRR SEQ ART.M small sibling roast-M-REAL
 ‘He built a fire and roasted the small brother.’

‘*Isia orofia.*’

isi-a orofia
 sleep-REAL daybreak
 ‘He slept (until) daybreak.’

‘*Zo vo ɛ feava iro,*’

Zo vo ɛ fea-v-a iro
 3SG.M ART.F oven open-F-REAL when
 ‘When he opened the oven door,’

‘*Zo isi dare ia uza.*’

Zo isi dare ia uz-a
 ART.M small sibling had die-REAL
 ‘The small brother had died.’

‘*Zo uze nae tiqa nangw semi vari qura.*’

Zo uz-e nae tiqa nangw semi vari qur-a
 3SG.M die-IRR SEQ finish there swamp cause form;birth-REAL
 ‘He died, and it caused the birth of a swamp.’

‘*Ena noqo vo tebo semi enava tuengw.*’

Ena noqo vo tebo semi enava tu-e-ngw

now ART.F big swamp nowadays be-IRR-N2
 ‘The big swamp still exists now.’

Narrative 2: Rano Tu – The Story of Rano Lake

‘Ienae vo Rano Tu ɔurengw.’

Ienae vo Rano Tu ɔur-e-ngw

This is how ART.F Rano Lake form;birth-IRR-N

‘This is how Rano Lake originated.’ (lit. ‘this is how Rano Lake was born.’)

‘Tue tue, zo tebo dare tuese isi mia vo semi endo tafatafara.’

tue tue zo tebo dare tu-e-se isi mia vo semi endo tafatafa-r-a

be[+time] ART.M big sibling be-IRR-PL small across ART.F swamp in difficult-M-REAL

‘After he remained for some time, the big brother’s stay inside the swamp was a little difficult.’

‘Nae ɔngw ganago zo teo ofea.’

Nae ɔngw ganago zo teo ofe-a

SEQ INDF.N2 thought 3SG.M to arrive-REAL

‘And so an idea came to him.’

“*Oa ɛi zungi ia.*”

Oa ɛi zungi ia

Should 1SG move HORT.

“Should I move?”

‘Ei zungi-e nogo, ɔngw ɛi ba reu vengw.’

ɛi zungi-e nogo ɔngw ɛi ba reu-e vengw

1SG move-IRR COND INDF.N2 1SG FUT go-IRR FUT

‘If I move, where will I go?’

‘Zo afi zo teo ia.’

zo afi zo teo i-a

3SG.M RFLX.M 3SG.M to say-REAL

‘He said to himself.’

‘Nita, ɛi fa reuia.’

nita ɛi fa reu-ia

Good 1SG just go-HORT.

‘alright, I will just go.’

‘Zo ie nae, zo nangwta fei endo eorofe nae vazoe nae reua.’

zo i-e nae zo nangw-ta fei endo eorof-e nae vazo-e nae reu-a
 3SG.M say-IRR SEQ 3SG.M there-from ocean in reach-IRR SEQ SWIM-IRR SEQ GO-REAL
 ‘He said, and he managed to reach the sea from that place and swam away.’

‘Zo vazoa modovo zo nango gma vutohauro ofea.’

Zo vazo-a modovo zo nango gma vuto-hauro ofe-a
 3SG.M SWIM-REAL until 3SG.M finally INDF.F river-mouth reach-REAL
 ‘He swam until he finally reached the river estuary.’

‘Zavo mia vo vutohauro gmw gohe nwmw tuma foso daua tuengw.’

Zavo mia vo vuto-hauro gmw gohe nwmw tuma fo-so dau-a tu-e-ngw
 But at ART.F river-mouth INDF.PL woman 3EN.M grass skirt-PL SOAK-REAL be-IRR-N2:CONT
 ‘But at the river mouth, some women were soaking grass skirts [traditional costume].’

‘Ita gohe, bebw zungi rovw.’

ita gohe bebw zungi rovw
 hey women 2PL.F move aside
 ‘Hey women, can you move aside?’

‘gi horafe ia.’

gi horaf-e ia
 1SG pass by-IRR want
 ‘I want to go past.’

‘Zo mw teo ia enengw.’

zo mw teo i-a enengw
 3SG.M 3PL to say-REAL PROX
 ‘He said to them (now).’

‘Oe horace noenea.’

oe horaf-e noe-nea
 oh pass by-IRR 2SG-PEJ
 ‘Oh, go past if you want.’

‘Zavo ebw qeanae zungi efe mw ia’

Zavo ebw qea-nae zungi efe mw i-a

But 1PL later-SEQ move NEG 3PL say-REAL
 “‘But we won’t move”, they said’

‘Hieu zo mw teo nungiengw.’

Hieu zo mw teo nungi-e-ngw

Three times 3SG.M 3PL to ask-IRR-N2

‘Three times he asked them.’

‘Fa hieu mena mw hausengw.’

fa hieu mena mw haus-e-ngw

Also three times also 3PL refuse-IRR-N2

‘Also three times they refused.’

‘Qro zo ge-zo vo vuto endo eroezo.’

gro zo ge-zo vo vuto endo ero-e-zo

Okay 3SG.M then-M ART.F river in enter-IRR-M

‘Okay, so he enters the river.’

‘Zo mw horafome rubovo,’

zo mw horafo-m-e rubovo

3SG.M 3PL pass by-PL-IRR at the time

‘At the time that he passed them,’

‘Ene gna tebo singi eta modezo nozo,’

Ene gna tebo singi eta mod-e-zo nozo

Because INDF.N1 big tide with travel-IRR-M 3SG.M

‘Because a big tide traveled with him,’

‘Na singi dena iviri nwmw tuma foso oenae zo eta vuto gro oza reua.’

Na singi dena iviri nwmw tuma fo-so o-e-nae zo eta vuto gro oza reu-a

ART.N tide then every 3EN.M grass skirt-PL carry-IRR-SEQ 3SG.M with river upstream up go-REAL

‘The tide then carried every costume upstream with him.’

‘‘Oe, itamw!’’

Oe ita-mw

EXCLAM. woman-PL

‘‘oh women!’’

‘‘Ori me reu zo vari gre ia!’’

Ori me reu zo vari gr-e ia

Let 2PL.INCL.F go 3SG.M cause stop-IRR HORT
 “‘Let us go stop him!’”

‘Mw gohe ienae, mw teza reu zo vorore nae,’
mw gohe i-e-nae mw tez-a reu zo voro-r-e nae
 3PL women say-IRR-SEQ 3PL run-REAL go 3SG.M overtake-M-IRR SEQ
 ‘They said and, they ran and overtook him and,’

‘Bua vuto gro zo overa.’
Bua vuto gro zo ove-r-a
 Above river upstream 3SG.M wait-M-REAL
 ‘(they) waited upstream for him.’

‘Zo mw horafome rubovo,’
Zo mw horafo-m-e rubovo
 3SG.M 3PL pass by-PL-IRR at the time
 ‘At the time he passed them,’

‘Mw qzo tebo orozo qso eboru guua.’
Mw qzo tebo oro-zo qso eboru guu-a
 3PL INDF.M big tree-M root side bang-REAL
 ‘They banged on the side of a big tree root.’

‘Zo gezo mw amagome nae nangw qrea.’
Zo ge-zo mw amagom-e nae nangw gre-a
 3SG.M then-M 3PL hear-IRR SEQ there stop-REAL
 ‘He then heard them and stopped in that place.’

‘Fa nangw mena,’
Fa nangw mena
 Also there also
 ‘(In) that place also,’

‘Zo vo zo avoro edo rutu vengw.’
Zo vo zo avoro edo rutu vengw
 3SG.M ART.F 3SG.M new home build FUT
 ‘He would build his new home.’

‘Vo navo Rano Tu enava mia tuema.’
Vo navo Rano Tu enava mia tu-e-ma

ART.F is Rano Lake nowadays across be-IRR-F
 ‘That is the Rano Lake that is there today.’

Narrative 3: ‘Na Gohe Fizu Va’

‘*muriw gma gohe fizu gna foena rivo va endo tua.*’
Muriw gma gohe fizu gna foena rivo va endo tu-a
 Long ago INDF.F woman old INDF.NI very bad house in stay-REAL
 ‘A long time ago, an old woman lived in a very bad house.’

‘*Na va ha nae oro duoe nogo te’ena,*’
na va-ha nae oro duo-e nogo te’en-a
 ART.NI house-roof SEQ rain fall-IRR COND leak-REAL
 ‘The roof leaked if it rained,’

‘*Na va fea nae baera rivote nae zo fahi emboro lukisa gena.*’
Na va-fea nae baera rivote nae zo fahi emboro lukis-a gena
 ART.NI house-door SEQ broken badly SEQ ART.M rope side hang-REAL CONT?
 ‘The door was badly broken and was hanging on a rope.’

‘*Vo zoo vuue rigi nw tafoso fare nae,*’
Vo zoo vuu-e rigi nw tafo-so far-e nae
 ART.F wind blow-IRR when ART.PL wall-PL bang-IRR SEQ
 ‘When the wind blows, the walls bang,’

‘*Vo gohe fizu vari angotora isirera.*’
vo gohe fizu vari angotora isi-rera
 ART.F woman old CAUSE unable.NEG sleep-NEG
 ‘so that the woman cannot sleep.’

‘*Rio, foenae rivo tua ei yangw!*’
rio foenae rivo tu-a ei yangw
 EXCLAM. really bad be-REAL 1SG PROG
 ‘What a mess I am living in!’ or ‘I’m living a really bad life!’

‘*Vo aifi vo teo u’ua.*’
vo aifi vo teo u’u-a
 3SG.F REFLX.F 3SG.F toward complain-REAL
 ‘She complained to herself.’

‘Ei foena haoe va gena.’

ei foena haoe va gena
1SG really hate house this.N1
‘I really hate this house.’

‘Ei imbota onohorese nae ei gna ni isi va endo tue ia.’

ei imbota onohore-se nae ei gna ni isi va endo tu-e ia
1SG EMPH. wish-PL SEQ 1SG INDF.N1 good small house in live-IRR HORT
‘My greatest desire is to live in a good small house.’

‘Ana varande eta gna isi avo rofena.’

gna varande eta gna isi avo rofe-n-a
INDF.N1 veranda and INDF.N1 small garden around-N-REAL
‘With a veranda and a small garden around it.’

‘Ei onohorese nae ei sa tumuvese eta eta oro duo-e nogo.’

ei onohore-se nae ei sa tumuv-ese eta eta oro duo-e nogo
1SG wish-PL SEQ 1SG NEG wet-NEG COND rain fall-IRR COND
‘My wish is that I don’t get wet if the rain falls.’

‘Vo gohe fizu va tararo,’

vo gohe fizu va tararo
ART.F woman old house near
‘Near the old woman’s house,’

‘Azo hufirisi tue finozo tuengw.’

azo hufirisi tu-e finozo tu-e-ngw
INDF.M magic/VOODOO be-IRR person be-IRR-N2
‘A magician lives’ (lit. ‘A voodoo owning person lives’)

‘Zo vo amagova.’

zo vo amago-v-a
3SG.M 3SG.F hear-F-REAL
‘He heard her.’

‘Ana hiu endo vo isia tuovo,’

gna hiu endo vo isi-a tuovo
INDF.N1 night in 3SG.F sleep-REAL while
‘One night while she was sleeping,’

Zo gngw hufiringw oenae na va esa.’

Zo gngw hufiri-ngw o-e-nae na va es-a

3SG.F INDF.N2 magic-N2 take-IRR-SEQ ART.N1 house pierce-REAL

‘He took some (small) magic and hit the house.’

Dena na va tani fa nagiti va qura.’

Dena na va tani fa nagiti va qur-a

this.N1 ART.N1 house suddenly just beautiful house form;birth-REAL

‘The house suddenly became a very beautiful house.’

Vo gohe fizu oenae na va arenae foenae vurovuroa.’

vo gohe fizu o-e-nae na va ar-e-nae foenae vurovuro-a

ART.F woman old woke-IRR-SEQ ART.N1 house found-IRR-SEQ very happy-REAL

‘The old woman woke up and found her house and she was very happy.’

Ene no vo onorhorese iafi qura

ene nw vo onorhore-se iafi qur-a

Because ART.PL 3SG.F wish-PL already form;birth-REAL

‘Because her wish had already happened.’

Appendix B

Narrative 1: Coming of Age

'dena na gna Touo tovena mw isi murio rutuanw ebw tebota modovo,'
dena na gna Touo tovena mw isi murio rutu-a-nw ebw tebot-a modovo
 DEF.N1 ART.N1 INDF.N1 Touo tradition 3PL small long time practice-REAL-PL 1PL grow-REAL while
 'This is one of the Touo traditions they practiced not so long ago while we were growing up,'

'Mw uta rutua tuena.'
mw uta rutu-a tu-e-na
 3PL still practice-REAL be-IRR-N1
 'They were still practicing it.'

'Murio nae eta eta zo hariba tebota modovo,'
Murio nae eta eta zo hariba tebot-a modovo
 Long time SEQ COND 3SG.M man growing-REAL while
 'A long time ago, while the man is growing up,'

'Zo fizu hariba ba endo ofe rubovo,'
Zo fizu hariba ba endo of-e rubovo
 3SG.M adult man -hood in arrive-IRR at the time
 'At the time he reaches adulthood,'

'Ana e mw rutuana nae iena,'
gna e mw rutu-a-na nae iena
 INDF.N1 way 3PL practice-REAL-N1 SEQ this
 'one way they practice,'

'mw ba mo hariba nanu oareu gonu sulea.'
mw ba mw hariba nanu o-a-reu gonu sule-a
 3PL FUT 3PL male young.PL take-REAL-GO turtle catch-REAL
 'They will take the young boys turtle hunting.'

'Tetefale nuzana endo,'
Tetefale nuzana endo
 Tetepare island in
 'In Tetepare island,'

'Mw bazo mw hariba nanu oe nae no boese horafaso.'

mw bazo mw hariba nanu o-e nae nw boe-se horafa-so
 3PL FUT 3PL male young.PL take-IRR SEQ PL.N lagoon-PL entrance-PL
 'They will take the young boys to the entrances of the lagoons.'

'gro mw ba mw vari a'a vengw.'

gro mw ba mw vari a-a vengw
front 3PL FUT 3PL CAUSE stand-REAL FUT

‘They will make the boys stand in front (of the lagoon entrance).’

‘*mw fizu hariba ba bua boe endo reue nae mw gonu eroma.*’

mw fizu hariba ba bua boe endo reu-e nae mw gonu ero-m-a
3PL adult male FUT upwards lagoon in GO-IRR SEQ 3PL turtle disturb-PL-REAL

‘The older men will go upwards (from the sea to the land) and disturb the turtles.’

‘*mw gonu e nae eta eta gma gonu vo horafa endo vo eroe noqo,*’

mw gonu e nae eta eta gma gonu vo horafa endo vo ero-e noqo
3PL turtle way SEQ COND INDF.N1 turtle ART.F entrance in 3SG.F enter-IRR COND

‘The turtles’ habits (lit.ways) are if a turtle goes in the entrance,’

‘*fa nangw vo ba hura anufe vengw.*’

fa nangw vo ba hur-a anufe vengw
is there 3SG.F FUT run away-REAL out FUT

‘That is where she will run out.’

‘*eta eta mw vo zaqave nogo nae nangw mw hariba nanu ba a’a ove vengw.*’

eta eta mw vo zaqa-v-e nogo nae nangw mw hariba nanu ba a-a ov-e vengw
COND 3PL 3SG.F chase-F-IRR COND SEQ there 3PL male young.PL FUT stand-REAL wait-IRR FUT

‘If they chase her, that it is where the boys will stand and wait (for the turtle).’

‘*mw hariba nanu ba rubo oe nae mw ba mw gonu olu soole vengw.*’

mw hariba nanu ba rubo o-e nae mw ba mw gonu olu sool-e vengw
3PL male young.PL FUT time take-IRR SEQ 3PL FUT 3PL turtle top jump-IRR FUT

‘The boys will take turns to jump on top of the turtles.’

‘*mw gonu mia vo horafa teo hura anufe rigi endo,*’

mw gonu mia vo horafa teo hur-a anufe rigi endo
3PL turtle ahead ART.F entrance towards run away-REAL out SIMULT in

‘At the time the turtle is running away through that entrance,’

‘*Zo namatue hariba ha ba soole nae vo gonu nebiva.*’

Zo namatue hariba ha ba sool-e nae vo gonu nebi-v-a
ART.M prepared male child FUT jump-IRR SEQ ART.F turtle catch-F-REAL

‘The prepared boy will jump and catch the turtle.’

‘*Vo gonu nebivese nae... eme...*’

Vo gonu nebi-v-ese nae -eme-
ART.F turtle catch-F-PL.N SEQ FILL

‘The turtle catching is.. um..’

‘*mw oveno qngw vo gonu e vengw ie nae vo vari gre vengw.*’

mw ov-e-no qngw vo gonu e vengw ie nae vo vari gr-e vengw

3PL KNOW-IRR-PL where ART.F turtle hold FUT that is how ART.F CAUSE stop-IRR FUT
 ‘They will know where to hold the turtle so that the turtle will stop.’

‘*Zo vo nebive nogo zo ia fizu hariba ba endo ofea enengw.*’
 zo vo nebi-v-e nogo zo i-a fizu hariba ba endo ofe-a enengw
 3SG.M 3SG.F catch-F-IRR COND 3SG.M has-REAL adult male -hood in reach-REAL PROX
 ‘If he catches her, he has just reached adulthood.’

‘*Zavo, zo sa vo gonu nebive fenja, vo hura anufe reue nogo,*’
 zavo zo sa vo gonu nebi-v-e fenja vo hur-a anufe reu-e nogo
 But 3SG.M NEG ART.F turtle catch-F-IRR NEG 3SG.F run away-REAL out GO-IRR COND
 ‘But, if he doesn’t catch the turtle, if she runs away outside,’

‘*Zo sa uta fizu hariba efe.*’
 zo sa uta fizu hariba efe
 3SG.M NEG still adult male NEG
 ‘He is not an adult yet,’

‘*Nae zo sa uta zo mw fizu hariba ba endo reu fenja.*’
 Nae zo sa uta zo mw fizu hariba ba endo reu fenja
 SEQ 3SG.M NEG still 3SG.M 3PL adult man hood in go NEG
 ‘And he still hasn’t gone into adulthood.’

‘*Nae ie nae, eta eta mw hariba nanu inote huze nogo.*’
 Nae-ie-nae eta eta mw hariba nanu inote huz-e nogo
 That is why COND 3PL male young.PL marriage want-IRR COND
 ‘That is why if the boys want to get married,’
 ‘*Mw foenae endo rau huze e dena.*’
 mw foenae endo rau huz-e e dena
 3PL really in participate want-IRR tradition DEF.N1
 ‘They enthusiastically want to participate in this tradition.’

Narrative 2: Marriage Story

‘*Ana Touo e nae,*’
 gna Touo e nae
 INDF.N1 Touo practice SEQ
 ‘Another Touo cultural practice is that,’

‘*Eta eta gma gohe ha eta gzo hariba ha hita nogo,*’
 eta eta gma gohe ha eta gzo hariba ha hita nogo
 COND INDF.F female child CONJ INDF.M male child friendship COND
 ‘If a girl and a boy have a friendship,’

‘*Fino nambongw nae mw vo mimomw roe finwmw teota nw amagese oese.*’
 Fino nambo-ngw nae mw vo mimo-mw roe finw-mw

EMPH forbidden;taboo-N2 SEQ 3PL 3SG.F brother-PL different person-PL
teo-ta nw amage-se o-e-se

to-ABL ART.PL news;information-PL receive-IRR-PL

‘It is a big taboo that the girl’s brothers receive the information from a different person,’

‘*Nw vavase nae,*’

nw vava-se nae

ART.PL meaning-PL SEQ

‘The reason is that,’ or ‘that means that,’

‘*Vo mw vo mimomw teo uruena auta.*’

vo mw vo mimo-mw teo uruena auta

3SG.F 3PL 3SG.F brother-PL to respectful none

‘She does not have respect for her brothers.’

‘*Zavo, zo hariba vo ganave nogo,*’

zavo zo hariba vo gana-v-e nogo

but ART.M man 3SG.F like-F-IRR COND

‘But if the boy likes her,’

‘*Na ovete e nae zo reu vo mama teo nungie.*’

na ovete e nae zo reu vo ma-ma teo nungi-e

ART.NI correct practice SEQ 3SG.M go 3SG.F father-F to ask-IRR

‘The accepted culture is that he will go ask her father.’

‘*Zo vo mama ba qzo vo tuo hirore.*’

zo vo ma-ma ba qzo vo tuo hiro-r-e

3SG.M 3SG.F father-F FUT INDF.M 3SG.F uncle send-M-IRR

‘The father will send an uncle,’

‘*Vero zo reu mw vo mimomw vari amaga.*’

vero zo reu mw vo mimo-mw vari amag-a

So that 3SG.M go 3PL 3SG.F brother-PL CAUSE inform-REAL

‘So that he will go inform the brothers.’

‘*Ie nogo mw vo mimomw bazo foenae roque vezo zo hariba.*’

Ie nogo mw vo mimo-mw ba-zo foenae roqu-e ve-zo zo hariba

That COND 3PL 3SG.F brother-PL FUT-M EMPH love-IRR FUT-M 3SG.F man

‘If so, her brothers will really love the husband.’

Narrative 3: The Youths of Rano

‘*Mw Rano rou finwmw nae afi gna e teo tuemw.*’

mw rano rou finw-mw nae afi gna e teo tue-mw

3PL Rano young person-PL SEQ unique INDF.NI culture to be-IRR-PL

‘The youths of Rano have a unique culture.’

‘Eta eta gmw roe finwmw nangw ofe nogo,’
eta eta gmw roe finw-mw nangw of-e nogo
 COND INDF.PL different person-PL there arrive-IRR COND
 ‘If someone different arrives there (the village)’

‘Sira mw qea nae ivori mw teo noote efe.’
Sira mw qea nae ivori mw teo noot-e efe
 NEG 3PL later SEQ quickly 3PL to settle;tame-IRR NEG
 ‘They (Rano youths) will not quickly get to know them (visitors).’

‘Hongota mw ba ae nae totome vengw.’
Hongota mw ba a-e nae totom-e vengw
 From a distance 3PL FUT stand-IRR SEQ stare-IRR FUT
 ‘From a distance, they would just stand and stare.’

‘Anozo fino kureha mw ofe finwmw veangw.’
anozo fino kureha mw of-e finw-mw veangw
 Sometimes very ashamed 3PL arrive-IRR people-PL EXP.PERF
 ‘Sometimes those who arrived have become very ashamed.’

Narrative 4: Earthquake

‘gna zeta,’
gna zeta
 INDF.N1 morning
 ‘One morning,’

‘gbw namae nae nw vovoto ozoso teo reu ienae tuovo...’
gbw nama-e nae nw vovoto ozo-so teo reu ie-nae tuovo
 1PL prepare-IRR SEQ ART.PL various task-PL to go process of doing-IRR-SEQ while
 ‘We were preparing to go to our various tasks when...’

‘Azo tebo rive tani te-a.’
azo tebo rive tani te-a
 INDF.M huge earthquake suddenly land-REAL
 ‘...A big earthquake landed.’

‘Vo rubo Lineva ia to ovozo ea.’
vo rubo Lineva ia to ovozo e-a
 ART.F time Lineva already ten year reach-REAL
 ‘Lineva had reached 10 years old.’

‘Riina bihio ovozo ea.’
Riina bihio ovozo e-a

Riina eight year reach-REAL
 ‘Riina, eight years,’

Eta Joana ia eri ovozo ea.
eta Joana ia eri ovozo e-a
 And Joana already two year reach-REAL
 ‘And Joana had reached two years old.’

‘Vo ɛva endo ɛbw zaatora tuovo.’
Vo ɛ-va endo ɛbw zaotor-a tuovo
 ART.F cooking-house in IPL gather-REAL while
 ‘we were gathered in the kitchen house [while/when the earthquake struck]’

‘Vo ɛi ina Joana henava boeve nae tafo ziraia anufa reua.’
Vo ɛi ina Joana hena-v-a boe-v-e nae tafo zirai-a anufa reu-a
 3SG.F 1SG mother Joana pick-F-REAL carry-F-IRR SEQ wall tear-REAL outside go-REAL
 ‘My mom lifted Joana and ran outside through the kitchen wall.’

‘ɛbw ivirimw fa ɛva endo tuovo zo rive horafengw.’
ɛbw iviri-mw fa ɛ-va endo tuovo zo rive horaf-e-ngw
 IPL all-PL just cooking-house in while ART.M earthquake pass by-IRR-N2
 ‘All of us remained just sitting in the kitchen while the earthquake passed by.’

Narrative 5: Poem for Women

‘Na vaqaza ofea enengw,’
na vaqaza ofe-a enengw
 ART.N1 dawn arrive-REAL PROX
 ‘The dawn is about to arrive (it is almost here),’

‘Vo himubofu eafa yangw,’
Vo himubofu eaf-a yangw
 ART.F darkness subside-REAL PROG
 ‘The darkness is subsiding,’

‘Zo ui farofa yangw,’
zo ui farof-a yangw
 ART.M sun emerge-REAL PROG
 ‘The sun is rising,’

‘Mw manomw qizoa yangw,’
mw mano-mw qizo-a yangw
 ART.PL bird-PL sing-REAL PROG
 ‘The birds are singing,’

‘Nw nuzaso oea mosa yangw,’

nw nuza-so oe-a mosa yangw
 ART.PL island-PL wake-REAL slowly PROG
 ‘The islands are slowly awakening,’

‘*Mw morufe mw oea yangw,*’
mw morufe mw oe-a yangw
 ART.PL hungry 3PL wake-REAL PROG
 ‘The hungry are awakening,’

‘*Na fesuw ola yangw,*’
na fesuw ol-a yangw
 ART.NI earth;soil call-REAL PROG
 ‘The ground is calling,’

‘*Ita, fizu inamw, inamw, gohe nanumw,*’
ita fizu ina-mw ina-mw gohe nanu-mw
 hey.PL old mother-PL mother-PL woman young-PL
 ‘Hey, grandmothers, mothers, daughters,’

‘*Ito, fizu ina,*’
Ito fizu ina
 Hey.SG old mother
 ‘Hey, grandmother,’

‘*Oenae nw memw ozoso e,*’
o-e-nae nw me-mw ozo-so e
 wake-IRR-SEQ ART.PL 1PL.INCL duty-PL hold
 ‘Rise up and get hold of our work,’

‘*Vero mw angosore mw, anue,*’
Vero mw angosore mw anu-e
 So that 3PL thirsty 3PL drink-IRR
 ‘So that those who are thirsty, drink,’

‘*Morufemw, emaso oa hiame,*’
Morufe-mw ema-so o-a hiam-e
 hungry-3PL food-PL take-REAL feed-IRR
 ‘The hungry, feed them with food,’

‘*Buouzemw eta venohoremw ni tue,*’
buouze-mw eta venohore-mw ni tu-e
 fear-3PL and poor-3PL good be-IRR
 ‘The frightened and impoverished live well’

‘*Nw me[mw] tuese ea ove ia,*’
nw me[mw] tue-se ea ov-e ia

1PL 1PL.INCL life-PL straighten-IRR HORT
 ‘Let’s straighten our way of living,’

‘*Vero mw me nodona ovone ia,*’
vero mw me nodon-a ovon-e ia
 So that 3PL 1PL.INCL observe-REAL follow-IRR HORT
 ‘So that they observe and follow us,’

‘*Vero dena me ene Solomon Islands ba na bule, alotena, eta gogoena endo tue.*’
vero de-na me ene solomon islands ba
 So that DEF.N1 1PL.INCL home solomon islands FUT

na bule alotena eta gogoena endo tu-e
 ART.N1 peace harmony and prosperity in be-IRR
 ‘So that our home, Solomon Islands, will live in peace, harmony, and prosperity.’

Elicited Data 1: Basics

‘*Mw qti-a yangw.*’
mw qti-a yangw
 3PL walk-REAL PROG
 ‘They are walking.’

‘*gbw qizoa yangw.*’
gbw qizo-a yangw
 1PL sing-REAL PROG
 ‘We are singing.’

‘*Vo ficta yangw.*’
vo fict-a yangw
 3SG.F jump-REAL PROG
 ‘She is jumping.’

‘*John raroa yangw.*’
John raro-a yangw
 John cook-REAL PROG
 ‘John is cooking (and has been for a while).’

John raroa tua.’
John raro-a tu-a
 John cook-REAL be-REAL
 ‘John is cooking (at the moment).’

‘*mw vo sikuru teori qti-a reua yangw.*’
mw vo sikuru teo-ri qti-a reu-a yangw
 3PL ART.F school to-DIR walk-REAL go-REAL PROG

‘They are walking towards the school.’

‘Mw sikuru teo qtia reua yangw.’

mw vo sikuru teo qti-a reu-a yangw

3PL ART.3 school to walk-REAL go-REAL PROG

‘They are walking to school (and have been for a while).’

‘gbw na voafu teo teza reua yangw.’

gbw na voafu teo tez-a reu-a yangw

1PL ART.N1 wharf to run-REAL go-REAL PROG

‘We are running to the wharf.’

‘Vo bwro takava yangw’

Vo bwro taka-v-a yangw

3SG.F ball kick-F-REAL PROG

‘She is playing soccer.’

‘Ei zo hariba ha tiora yangw.’

ei zo hariba ha tio-r-a yangw

1SG ART.M man child search-M-REAL PROG

‘I am searching for the boy.’

‘ei vo gohe ha tiova yangw.’

ei vo gohe ha tio-v-a yangw

1SG ART.M woman child search-F-REAL PROG

‘I am searching for the girl.’

‘Ni hariba ha’

ni hariba ha

good man child

‘A good boy.’

‘Ni hiu’

Ni hiu

good night

‘Good night.’

‘Zo dou orozo.’

zo dou oro-zo

ART.M big tree-M

‘The big tree.’

‘Angw isi orongw.’

angw isi oro-ngw

INDF.N2 small tree-N2

‘A small tree.’

‘Ana hofu vuto.’
gna hofu vuto
 INDF.N1 long river
 ‘A long river.’

‘Ama hofu vuto.’
gma hofu vuto
 INDF.F long river
 ‘A long river.’

‘Vo vuto.’
Vo vuto
 ART.F river
 ‘The river.’

‘gma nirove manoma’
gma ni-rove mano-ma
 INDF.F good-appearance bird-F
 ‘A pretty (female) bird.’
gzo nirove manozo.’
gzo ni-rove mano-zo
 INDF.M good-appearance bird-M
 ‘A pretty male bird.’

‘Sa azafe efe.’
sa azaf-e efe
 NEG eat-IRR NEG
 ‘Don’t eat.’

‘qizoe.’
qizo-e
 Sing-IRR
 ‘Sing’ (imperative)

‘Sa qizoe efe.’
sa qizo-e efe
 NEG sing-IRR NEG
 ‘Don’t sing.’ (imperative)

‘Sa sorry haue efe.’
sa sorry hau-e efe
 NEG sorry say-IRR NEG
 ‘Don’t say sorry.’

‘Zo ba azafe vea.’

zo ba azaf-e vea
 3SG.M FUT eat-IRR FUT
 ‘He will eat.’

‘*Zo qea azafe vea.*’
zo qea azaf-e vea
 3SG.M later eat-IRR FUT
 ‘He will eat (later).’

‘*Zo qea nae azafe efe.*’
Zo qea nae azaf-e efe
 3SG.M later SEQ eat-IRR NEG
 ‘He won’t eat (later on).’

‘*Zo sira azafe efe.*’
zo sira azaf-e efe
 3SG.M NEG.FUT eat-IRR NEG
 ‘He won’t eat.’

‘*Mw ba qizo vea.*’
mw ba qizo vea
 3PL FUT sing FUT
 ‘They will sing.’

‘*Mw qea qizo vea.*’
mw qea qizo vea
 3PL later sing FUT
 ‘They will sing (later on).’

‘*Mw qea nae qizo efe.*’
mw qea nae qizo efe
 3PL later SEQ sing NEG
 ‘They will not sing (later on).’

‘*Mw sira qizo efe.*’
mw sira qizo efe
 3PL NEG.FUT sing NEG
 ‘They will not sing.’

‘*Zo ba sorry haue vea.*’
zo ba sorry hau-e vea
 3SG.M FUT sorry say-IRR FUT
 ‘He will say sorry.’

‘*Zo qea nae sorry haue efe.*’
zo qea nae sorry hau-e efe

3SG.M later SEQ sorry say-IRR NEG
 ‘He will not say sorry later.’

‘*Zo sira sorry hau efe.*’
zo sira sorry hau efe
 3SG.M NEG.FUT sorry say NEG
 ‘He will not say sorry.’

‘*Ia ɛi veangw.*’
Ia ɛi veangw
 this is how 1SG EXP.PERF
 ‘That’s how I have been doing [it].’

‘*Ǝi veangw noqo.*’
ɛi veangw noqo
 1SG EXP.PERF there
 ‘I have been there (for a long time).’

‘*Ǝi tuengw noqo.*’
ɛi tu-e-ngw noqo
 1SG be-IRR-N2 there
 ‘I have been there (once).’

‘*John veangw nangw.*’
John veangw nangw
 John EXP.PERF there
 ‘John has been there.’

‘*Angw noe veangw?*’
angw noe veangw?
 INDF.N2 2SG EXP.PERF
 ‘Where have you been?’

‘*ɛi murio veangw nae noqo.*’
ɛi murio veangw nae noqo
 1SG long ago EXP.PERF SEQ there
 ‘I have been there a long time ago.’

‘*John murio veangw nae mia na nuzana endo.*’
 John murio veangw nae mia na nuzana endo
 John long ago EXP.PERF SEQ ahead ART.N1 island in
 ‘A long time ago, John was on that island straight ahead.’

‘*Bua na nuzana.*’
Bua na nuzana
 Upstream ART.N1 island
 ‘Upstream (from) the island.’

‘*Miga na nuzana.*’

Miga na nuzana

Downstream ART.N1 island

‘Downstream (from) the island.’

Elicited Data 2: Situations

‘*Ozo farazo?*’

O-zo fara-zo

What.M bang-M

‘What is banging?’

‘*Ozo eneazo.*’

Ozo ene-a-zo

What.M hear-REAL-M

‘What am I hearing?’

‘*Maho fara yazo.*’

Maho fara ya-zo

Axe bang CONT-M

‘Axe is banging.’

‘*Uo mahoana?*’

yo maho-a-na

Who cut with axe-REAL-N1

‘Who is cutting?’

‘*John mahoazo.*’

John maho-a-zo

John cut with axe-REAL-M

‘John is cutting.’

‘*Ozo zo mahora yazo?*’

Ozo zo maho-r-a ya-zo

What 3SG.M cut with axe-M-REAL CONT-M

‘What is he cutting?’

‘*qzo tebo orozo mia na zoavo roveto tuez.*’

qzo tebo oro-zo mia na zoavo roveto tu-e-zo

INDEF.M big tree-M across ART.N1 garden in front to be-IRR-M

‘A big tree standing in front of his garden.’

‘*Revota zo fiia mahoengw?*’

Revo-ta zo fiia maho-e-ngw

When-ABL 3SG.M start-REAL cut with axe-IRR-N2

‘From when did he start cutting?’

‘Ia enava ze’eta ta zo mahoangw.’

Ia enava ze’eta ta zo maho-a-ngw?

Already this morning ABL 3SG.M cut with axe-REAL-N2

‘He has been cutting since this morning.’

‘Uo noe teo hauengw?’

uo noe teo hau-e-ngw

Who 2SG to tell-IRR-N2

‘Who told you?’

‘gnie nae noe ovengw?’

gnie nae noe ov-e-ngw

How SEQ 2SG know-IRR-N2

‘How do you know?’

‘Keni fa mia zo teota era enengw.’

Keni fa mia zo teo-ta er-a enengw

Keni just across 3SG.M to-ABL come-REAL PROX

‘Keni just came from (across the way).’

‘Keni era enezo.’

Keni er-a ene-zo

Keni come-REAL PROX-M

‘It is Keni who is just coming (or has just come)’

‘Qa, isi isafa mahore orozo?’

qa, isi isafa maho-r-e oro-zo

What small soft cut with axe-M-IRR tree-M

‘What, is the tree a little soft to cut? (Is it easy to cut?)’

‘Au, iviri na musona ovo zo duengw.’

Au iviri na musona ovo zo duo-e-ngw

No every ART.N1 day take 3SG.M fall-IRR-N2

‘No, it took the whole day to fell the tree.’

‘gi ovenae, qea himutara zo ba tiqa vengw.’

gi ov-e-nae, qea himutara zo ba tiqa vengw

1SG know-IRR-SEQ later evening 3SG.M FUT finish FUT

‘I know he will finish it (cutting down the tree) later in the evening.’

‘Lineva nw havoro vovoho ea ovea tuovo.’

Lineva nw havoro vovoho e-a ove-a tuovo

Lineva ART.PL hedge line hold-REAL straighten-REAL while

‘While Lineva was straightening up the hedges,’

‘Iovo zo vo poni iaia vo grenae zo orangwra.

Iovo zo vo poni iai-a vo gr-e-nae zo orangw-r-a
And then ART.M 3SG.F phone cry-REAL 3SG.F stop-IRR-SEQ ART.M respond-M-REAL
‘Her phone rang and she had to stop and respond.’

‘Zo uta eqitiraveova ivi nw idi utese, zo Munda ofeangw.’

Zo uta eqitira-veovo ivi nw idi ute-se, zo Munda ofe-a-ngw.
3SG.M still strong-still every ART.PL month end-PL 3SG.M Munda arrive-REAL-N2
‘While he was still strong, every end of the month, he would arrive at Munda.’

‘Ei nangw (eta eta) ofe nongo sira gi zo sievora.’

gi nangw (eta eta) of-e nongo sira gi zo sievo-r-a.
1SG there COND arrive-IRR COND FUT.NEG 1SG 3SG.M miss-M-REAL
‘If I arrived there, I wouldn’t miss him.’

‘Nw horafe ruboso endo, Jone au vo bero isazo ja vo zo gohe hauengw.’

Nw horaf-e ruboso endo Jone au vo bero isa-zo i-a vo zo gohe hau-e-ngw
ART.PL pass by-IRR times in Jone used to ART.F bell hit-M say-REAL 3SG.F 3SG.M woman tell-IRR-N2
‘“In the past times (days, years, months), Jone used to ring the bell”, said his wife.’

‘Jone, oria be reu vutorw fahire.’

Jone, oria be reu vuto-rw fahir-e
Jone HORT 1DU.M go river-to fish-IRR
‘Jone, let us go to the river and fish.’

‘Ei, noe aifi reu roode ia.’

Ei noe aifi reu rood-e ia
Hey 2SG REFLX go fish-IRR HORT
‘Hey, go to fishing by yourself.’

‘Ei, eta eta be reu roode ia, hou viki.’

Ei eta eta be reu rood-e ia, hou viki
Hey COND 1DU.M go fish-IRR HORT next week
‘Hey, how about the two of us go fishing next week?’

‘Qa be hou viki reu roode ia.’

qa be hou viki reu rood-e ia
What 1DU.M next week go fish-IRR HORT
‘What if the two of us go fishing next week?’

‘Dena anena endo gi sa gna ni maka oefe.’

Dena anena endo gi sa gna ni maka oef-e.
DEF.N1 race in 1SG NEG INDF.N1 good mark receive-IRR
‘I didn’t receive a good grade on this test.’

‘Ei fa hindi eqiti tive atiri.’

ei fa hindi eqiti tiv-e atiri

1SG just yesterday harder read-IRR should have

‘I should have studied harder yesterday.’