A COMPARISON OF IMBONGU GRAMMAR WITH THE KAUGEL GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS

By Roman Stefaníw 1987

THIS FILE IS A COMPARISON OF IMBONGU GRAMMAR WITH THE KAUGEL GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS WRITTEN BY R. & J. HEAD

In order to fulfill requirements and demonstrate understanding of fundamental aspects of grammatical construction in the Imbongu language, I am undertaking to write a comparative study of Imbongu with the Kaugel grammar already written by R. & J. Head. Since this is at a grammar essentials level, I will refer to the ESSENTIALS FOR TRANSLATION: GRAMMAR written by them in 1972

This paper will be in prose style. In general, I will keep to comparison, listing those areas which are the same and elaborating areas of variation. When areas are the same, or have no significant variation, I will merely note 'as stated' or 'adequate structural description'. Section numbers are those of the earlier paper, therefore it will be necessary to have a copy of this work alongside in order to understand my comments. Since this is a comparative paper, I will follow the format of the earlier writing.

Imbongu is spoken by approximately 16,000 people in the area roughly triangulated by the Kaugel River, Mt. Giluwe, and the district center of Talibu in the Southern Highlands. The recent update of information regarding this language situated in the TSD offices charts this language as part of the Hagen sub-family of the East New Guinea Highlands stock within the Trans New Guinea Phylum. Further information is cited by Head in the preface of the description of Kaugel.

We have been involved in language study in the area since May of 1986. During this time our location and place of primary linguistic interaction has been Kundipoi village. This location was suggested by local leaders as one that was linguistically central to the language, uncontaminated by influences from surrounding languages. Main contributors of text are three men - two are lineage leaders, and one is a young man of about 22. The two lineage leaders are aged between 60 and 80 years of age. Other casual language data was gathered from speakers, male and female, of a variety of ages. Texts studied included clan history, both legendary and recent history, legends, exhortations, descriptions of processes, retelling of non-cultural material, a geneology, and vivid personal experiences. Over 70K of computer text was studied.

1. STEMS:

1.1. DERIVED STEMS:

The Derivational affix is the same in Imbongu.

1.2. COMPOUND:

1.2.1

Even though the forms are phonologically different, compounding occurs in the same manner and seems to be metaphorically coded and lexicalized.

iye + ambo = imbo
man + woman person

bako + ungulu = bakulu girl boy child

kumbe + kere = kumbekeme
nose mouth face

(A very practical outlook on the face, the nose for beauty and the mouth for food. The word for food and mouth is identical in Imbongu.)

The note on forms that are phonologically fused without great change in meaning is also valid for Imbongu. Phonological variation causes some of these forms to be different.

KAUGEL wal.se = wale + te day one day one

vs.

IMBONGU wail.te = wali + te
 day one day one

I consider that these forms are phonologically fused because they are high use froms that have been lexicalized as a unit.

1.2.2

Repetitive forms occur as stated. Of interest and worth some investigation is the generation of the 1st syllable in the 2nd portion of the word. What phonological operation defines this? Some Imbongu forms are as follows:

topelemapele 'turn (something inanimate) over & over'

tumbirumbi 'prepare'

tikiriki 'shake off (animate)'

1.2.3

As stated, most question words are compounds. Forms are related but different.

KAUGEL 'who' IMBONGU

na.we sg. na.ri

It is interesting to note that at least the dual and plural endings are the same as those for PRESENT TENSE verb endings for 2nd & 3rd persons.

In Imbongu the GENETIVE clitic is added as a suffix to any of the forms without modification of the base. For the phrase 'what thing'

Imbongu speakers use [ambele mele]. This QUESTION WORD [ambe] is used in several other compound constructions.

ambe.te.l.ga = ambe + te.li + nga why what do-NOM GEN

ambe.te.pa = ambe + te.pa
how much how do-3sgMV

ambe.te.mo = ambe + te.mo

how what do-3sgNPST

The discussion of [te] as the base of another set of QUESTION words is adequate to describe their occurence in Imbongu as well.

1.2.4.

Compound verb stems occur as stated.

1.3.

'Morning' is also a result of both derivation and compounding in Imbongu:

otiloi = oti -li -oi
morning tomorrow-NOM-before

2.1

VERBS:

In the discussion of the verb system, I have several variant interpretations from what is offered in the earlier work. As stated, verb roots are joined by verbal affixation, perhaps exclusively following the root. I say perhaps since the VERB NEGATION clitic is open for interpretation as a pre-verb root clitic. It is currently being written [naa], but the high tone signified orthographically by doubling the vowel may be tone raising instead of vowel lengthening. This, however is a phonological/orthographical question and will not be resolved here.

MEDIAL VERBS:

In Imbongu, person endings occur as they do among the Kaugel with the exception that there—are dual endings are not used. I will list forms that show some morphological variation, but these are explainable by the vowel raising and fronting rule or the addition of voicing and prenasalization to the stop active in Imbongu. An explanation of the vowel process is attached.

1st person = -po

2nd person = -ko

3rd person = -pa

4 153 34 p?

Examples from text are as follows:

'I'm telling you how I came to this village and built it.'

1pl: [Te -po] pora [ti -po] ena pepupili
 do -1MV finish give-1MV sun it must go rest

[ni -mbo] nokorumulu.
say-1MV we waited

'Finishing our preparations, we waited till the sun went down.'

2sg: na [ni -ngo] tiwi ninu me say-2MV give you said

tell me! you said

2/3dl: iye wangono talo ni wale kango [me -ko] [o -ngo] man unmarried two AG bilum huge carry-2/3MV come-2/3MV

'two you unmarried men brought a huge bilum'

2/3pl: kola [te-ko] [ando -ko] makai tenderingi confus of the cry do-2/3MV go around-2/3MV circle they made BEN 36N of the stem they circled around it crying!

3sg: unto koropu kola [to -pa] molorumu tree Koropu twig break-3MV she was - ?

'she was gathering Koropu twigs'

The BENEFACTIVE infix occurs as is stated in the earlier description. The Sequential clitic is the same as in Kaugel with this added stipulation. The final vowel harmonizes with the final vowel of the person ending according to the vowel fronting and raising rule. Thus the form that emerges for the 1st and 2nd and Exclusive multiples is [-lio] while the form that emerges for the 3sg is [-lie].

The interpretation of the infix [-li-] as Simultaneous is troublesome to me. If this is Simultaneous and [-lio] is Sequential, what form of the Medial verb occurs when neither of these markers is present. If the action is not simultaneous and not sequential, what is it? However, the forms without the [-li-] are statistically more frequent

than those with it. Taking two random narratives, the breakdown is as follows:

with [-li-] without [-li-]
text 1 3 23
text 2 11 163 similar to -le? (Head, p6)

I interpret this [-li-] as an aspect marker, showing the IMPERFECT. Aspect is expressed at the choice of the speaker, describing the internal structure of the event. Focus is not as much on the notion of being simultaneous as it is on the notion of 'in process' without attention to the beginning or end of the event. Conceptually, this would explain why what is called Simultaneous in the earlier write up is mutually exclusive with Sequential. The main verb determines the tense of the sentence, Therefore if an event is in the process of occurring without focus on its beginning or its end, it would be contrary to any reality that I am aware of if it was possible to sequence it within the time stipulated by the main verb. This also allows the basic form of the MEDIAL VERB (that occuring only with the stem and person markers) to be interpreted as simultaneous action with a PERFECT aspect.

My analysis of the main verb in Imbongu differs from that offered on p.6 of the previous write up. I am not sure whether this is merely a difference in analytical approach or if it is a difference in the conceptual structuring of the language. Regarding the chart on p.6, I find it odd but not impossible that column 2 and column 3 both list categories for TENSE, ASPECT, and IMPERATIVE. The analysis I will present will relegate the 2nd position in the verb construction to ASPECT and MODE and the 3rd position in the earlier analysis to PERSON, NUMBER, AND TENSE.

Imbongu has 4 tenses. These are FAR PAST [FPST], NEAR PAST [NPST], PRESENT [PRES], and FUTURE [FUT]. The first person and all singular endings in each tense are back vowels, while the second and third person dual and plural are marked with front vowels of the same height. Dual and plural forms are identical for the second and third persons. The NEAR PAST is somewhat irregular. First person singular forms in each tense are shortened forms, perhaps abbreviated because of high use.

FAR AST FINAL VERBS:

This tense identifies action having taken place before yesterday. The vowel marking this tense is the high back /u/. As is systematic through most of the verbal organization, the back vowel is fronted when inserted into the dual and plural exclusive person endings. The marker [-rV] is integral to the tense and cannot be substituted with some sort of punctiliar marker as in the present. This marker signals the continuative aspect. The first person is unmarked -

ni -u = I spoke VSt-FPST

lti-u = I took/got/recieved
VSt-FPST

The last two forms are problematic. Perhaps they indicate that the absense of the rV morpheme reflects the view that these activities are considered to be punctiliar by speakers. The verb [niu] 'spoke/made sound' is of extremely high utility and irregularity, while the other verb [ltiu] 'I got' is less irregular.

Regular forms for the Far Past are as follows:

to-r-u

to-rV-n -u = you hit -2sg-FPST

to-rV-m -u = he hit -3sg-FPST

to-rV-mbV-lu = we dl hit -1dl-FPST

to-rV-mV -lu = we pl hit -1pl-FPST

to-rV-ngV -li = you dl hit -2/3dl-FPST to-rV-ngi _L: = you pl hit ? -2/3plFPST

In the case where the stem final vowel is high and front, [-rV] = [-ri] except in the 1sg. In every other case, [V] harmonizes with the final vowel of the person ending.

pu -ru -mu 'he went' why -mu a not m - u 3sgFPST

te -ru -mu 'he did' 3sgFPST

ry → n/=(m)u
i/c:_

du to MP?

to -ru -mu 'he hit' 3sgFPST

ti -ri -mu 'he gave' 3sgFPST

NEAR PAST

This tense indicates the action as having taken place/earlier today or sometime yesterday. The first person singular is unmarked. Except for this person, the vowel identifying the NEAR PAST, PRESENT, and FUTURE is the back mid vowel /o/. Again, the exclusive dual and plural has that vowel fronted and the vowel harmonizes with the final vowel of the person ending.

= I hit to -ndu

-1egNPST

to -ini -o = you sg hit

-2sg -NPST

= he hit to -m -o

-3sg -NPST

to-mbV -lo = we dl hit

-1dl -NPST

to-mV -lo = we pl hit

-1pl-NPST

to-ngV -le = you dl hit

-2/3d1 -NPST

= you pl hit to-nge

-2/3plNPST

PRESENT

This tense denotes action taking place currently with either a Continuous or Temporary aspect. Apparently, most of the verbs that take this Temporary aspect marker [-tV-] are of the form [CV1V-]. Most verbs have a preferred form for general usage, but can assume the other where meaning demands. The marker for the Continuous aspect is [-rV-] and the marker for the Temporary aspect is [-tV-]. The vocoid in [-rV-] or [-tV-] harmonizes with the final stem vowel and the vocoid in the person endings harmonize with the final vowel.

CONTINUOUS:

= I am giving ti -r -o VSt-CONT-1sgPRES

ti -rV -n -o = you sg are giving VSt-CONT-2sg-PRES

ti -rV -m -o = he is givingVSt-CONT-3sg-PRES

ti -rV -bV -lo = we dl are giving VSt-CONT-1dl-PRES

ti -rV -mV -lo = we pl are givingVSt-CONT-1pl-PRES

ti -rV -bV -le= you dl are giving VSt-CONT-2/3d1-PRES

ti -rV -mV -le= you pl are giving VSt-CONT-2/3pl-PRES

The above aspect of the present verb is highly regular.

what we the would?

41. ri . bo. lo

Temporary:

The Temporary aspect marker [-tV-] is associated mostly with verbs denoting temporary activities or events.

pilto = I hear/understand
lobilto = I follow
kalto = I cook
molto = I rest
kolto = I die
ltio = I get
polto = I plant/put
tokilto = I split (firewood)
kulto = I take off (clothes)

existential ub. ?

The verb denoting the state of staying or sitting [molo-] is one verb which regualarly takes either the Continuous or the Temporary Aspect. Compare the following:

moro	18g	molto
morono	2ag	moltono
moromo	3ag	moltomo
morobolo	1dl	moltobolo
moromolo	1pl	moltomolo
morobele	2/3dl	moltobele
moromele	2/3pl	moltomele

It appears that the liquid [r] consumes the preceding vowel and the liquid [l] when added to the stem.

AWARENESS:

Also, within the Present tense is a marker denoting Present Awareness of a current non-viewed event. The marker consists of the medial verb endings for the third person is followed by the PRESENT TENSE person markers. It occurs only in the third person.

tepamo 'he doing currently'
tekobele 'they two doing currently'
tekomele 'they doing curently'

CUSTOMARY:

I include this within the discussion of the PRESENT tense since the Customary Mode would exist primarily in present time. In Imboungu, I am not aware of any forms that carry this content. What I call the HABITUAL or CONTINUOUS aspect seems to include this function as well.

FUTURE

Within the Future tense, I include a DESIRE/IMPERFECT mode, a HORTATIVE/NEAR FUTURE mode, and declarative FUTURE tense. The IMPERATIVE and SUBJUNCTIVE modes will also be discussed here since their time reference is future.

The declarative FUTURE is used to describe action that will take place later.

pu -ny -o = you sg will go

VSt-2šg-FUT

pu -mbe -lo = he will go (the base vowel /a/ is raised

VSt-3sg-FUT to /e/ following high vowels)

pu -mbV -lo = we dl will go

VSt-1dl -FUT

pu - mV - lo = we pl will go

VSt-1pl-FUT

pu -ngV -le = you dl will go

VSt-2/3dl -FUT

pu -nge = you pl will go

VSt-2/3plFUT

marked ?

The Desire/Imperfect and Hortative/Near Future are dominated by the vowel /i/. The Desire/Imperfect is joined to the Present Stem and signifies action which is incomplete and in process with the intent to complete it in focus. The Hortative/Near Future is joined to the Imperative Stem and puts the action a bit further into the future as well as amplifying the intensity of the desire. ?

Desire:

pu -mbo -1 = I want to go

VSt-1sg -DES

pu - n - i = you sg want to go

VSt-2sg-DES

pu -mbe -i = he sg wants to go (base Vowel [a] is

VSt-3sg -DES raised to [e] after high vowels)

pu -mbV -li = we dl want to go

VSt-1dl -DES

pu -mV -li = we pl want to go

VSt-1pl-DES

pu -gV -li = you dl want to go

VSt-2/3dl-DES

pu -nge -i = you pl want to go

VSt-2/3pl -DES

The DESIRE/IMPERFECT is not listed as occuring in Kaugel. This verb is used both sentence internally to modify the action and sentence

finally as a main verb. The HORTATIVE is used in both these ways as well.

HORTATIVE:

p -a -mbo -i = I must go VSt-HORT-1sg -DES

p -a -n -i = you sg must go VSt-HORT-2sg-DES

pu -pV -li = he must go VSt-HORT3sg -DES

p -a -mbV -li = we two must go VSt-HORT-1dl -DES HORT + 1HP DAME.

p -a -mV -li = we pl must go VSt-HORT-1pl-DES

p -a -ngV -li= you dl must go VSt-HORT-2/3dl-DES

p -a -nge -i = you pl must go
VSt-HORT-2/3pl-DES

IMPERATIVE:

There are also some differences in the IMPERATIVE mode which I will note. The chart on p.6 leads me to believe that the 2sgPOLITE Imperative in Kaugel would be [payo]. I will list comparative forms for the Imperatives.

Kaugel Imbongu

payo 2sgPOLITE puyo (or puiyo)

palio 2dlPOLITE pailio

payo 2plPOLITE payo (or paiyo)

The Emphatic Imperatives are unlike English Imperatives since they have first person forms. They are formed by joining the Imperative marker and tense endings similar to the present to the stem.

pu -a -mbo = pambo 'I must go!'
VSt-IMP -1sgPRES

pu -a -mbolo = pambolo 'we dl. must go!' gives endere for VSt-IMP-1dlPRES

pu -a -molo = pamolo 'we pl. must go!'
VSt-IMP-1plPRES

pu -a = pa 'you go!'
VSt-IMP2sg

pu -a -mbele = pambele 'you dl. go!'
VSt-IMP-2/3dlPRES

pu -a -me = pame 'you pl. go!' ([-mele] is the present form)
VSt-IMP-2/3pl

This Mode is used as an injunction to immediate action, with the /a/signalling the Imperative and the suffixes resembling Present Tense signalling immediacy.

The usual form for a quoted IMPERATIVE is of the form [VSt+wi].

"Puwi" nimu.
go! he said

SUBJUNCTIVE:

This mood denotes possible or hypothetical action and is used in conditional sentences. The person endings pattern differently in this verb form than in any of the others. Dual and plural forms are the same for each person, there is no apparent distinction. This is predictable since the /a/ vowel cannot be fronted laterally according to the pattern, having no partner in the fronted position. The first & third person singular forms are also identical. The second singular is marked by the expected [-nV], expected since [n] marks the 2sg in other Tenses. The marker for the mood is [-li-]. The vowel that dominates the system is /a/, the Hortative or Intent vowel.

pu -11 -k -a = pulka 'I would go' VSt-SUBJ-1sg/3sg-SUBJ

pu -li -n -a = pulina 'you sg would go' VSt-SUBJ-2sg-SUBJ

pu -li -mbV -la = pulimbala 'two would go'
VSt-SUBJ-dl -all

When the stem final vowel is non-high, the vowel following the [-1V-] tends to be muted or drop to [-e] from [-i].

TENSE is used to denote both absolute and relative time. I have a text by a great grandfather listing the clan geneology. The verb he uses to denote the birth of his son, his grandson and his greatgrandson is in the NEAR PAST tense after having gone through the last seven generations. If this is not a relative usage of this tense, there are serious problems in how his son became a grandfather overnight.

ASPECT

Some aspect markers occur as verbal infixes, while others occur as clitics in the suffix position. In general, ASPECT markers are used

within the present tense, except of course for questions. Questions are marked with a verb final clitic [ya]. This is the form used for gathering information. Uncertainty is marked with a verb final clitic [nje/intie]. This can also be employed as a question, but focusses on the uncertainty of the speaker, which invites response. Assertion is signified with the suffixing clitic [la].

In Imboungu, the form for Anticipative is verb final [-wa], however this clitic can also be added to nouns of address with a similar function - that of calling attention to upcoming request or comment. The clitic [-wa] may simply be a specialized use of the 2sg Emphatic Imperative form for 'come'. In other words, the anticipation is on the part of the addressed. Likewise in text, its presence seems to generate anticipation in the reader/hearer of an upcoming event.

kombu lo ombai lumu lumu tendekure tirimu <u>wa</u> area rain wanting to come overcast a mass it gave ANTIC

'rain was about to come and the clouds were a dark mass'

The story goes on to talk about the flash of lightning and the crash of thunder, of which the sentence above was in anticipation.

2.1.1.

ADVERBIAL VERBS

This section is confusing to me since I in no way conceptualize the forms they list in the same way. In my view, <u>all</u> the MEDIAL verbs modify the main event signified by the main verb of the clause, hence all would be what Head's call ADVERBIAL VERBS. Some of these verbs have been lexicalized metaphorically when they occur in certain contexts as in the illustration they list of 'eating quickly'.

Some adverbs are inflected with the person endings of medial verbs. I consider these to be adverbs because I have not been able to find forms as final verbs and because of their meaning.

alto -po ombo 'I'll be back later' again-1MV I will come

nondo-pa pumbelo 'He'll go soon' soon -3MV he will go

I interpret the final coment regarding two words which are verbal in form but adverbial in function differently. The comment shows two different semantic orientations. To the western viewpoint, these are modifiers while to the Imbongu viewpoint these are Verbs as shown by their form and their function in the sentence as the main event, for example 'being well'.

2.1.2.

PREDICATE VERBS

Predicate verbs are as stated.

2.1.2.1.

In Imbongu, the 'irregular' medial form [meli] also exists. The question of interest for further exploration is WHY has this evolved in this way. What is the communicative value of this form, what is saved by omitting person endings? Perhaps the subject of this verb is so easily understood that there can be no confusion, so there is no need for person marking.

Other transitive verb examples function in the same manner, but forms vary phonologically and morphologically:

gai noromo ungu nimo sweet potato he is eatingPRES speech/sound he saysPRES

2.1.2.2.

The <u>STATE of BEING VERBS</u> are as listed with some modification and comment of their use in Imbongu. First, the note about customary affixation does not apply in Imbongu. If anything, these forms are somewhat irregular in their construction at first glance.

These verbs divide up reality in Imbongu life, describing the state of existence of various items. To state that one is animate and one is inanimate it not sufficient in Imbongu. Also, there is an additional verb that can be included but it does not have the same extensive usage as the four froms listed.

mai 'ground' imbo 'person' konopu 'thought' no 'water' kupe 'cloud' kera 'bird'

angimo 'it stands' peremo 'it rests/lies'

ulke 'house' gai 'sweet potato'
kongi 'pig' me 'taro'
ena 'sun'

poromo 'it sets'

mulu 'mountain'

These verbs are not absolute in their usage. Instead, what I have stated here is the usual pairing of the state of being verb with the item it describes. Naturally, animate objects can be spoken of as standing or sleeping, as can inanimate objects when they assume an altered state. For example, a tree 'sleeps' after it is cut down.

The first verb [ltemo] has the same root [le-] as in Kaugel. It is largely used with inanimate objects and abstract concepts like thought. The second verb [moromo] also has the same root as that listed in Kaugel [molo-] and is used mostly with animate creatures or those whose motion is viewed as self generating, like water for example. The next [angimo] has the same root as Kaugel. In general

it refers to things which are upright, whether animate or inanimate. The verb [peremo] also has the same root in Imbongu as it does in Kaugel. This verb refers to things that lie on or rest in the ground. The last verb [poromo] has limited usage in describing states. It can be rendered 'rooted' and is used to describe the state of a mountain.

In the PRESENT tense, these verbs occur in the usual present tense form with the aspect marker [-rV-] denoting CONTINOUS, except for [ltemo] which has the TEMPORARY [-tV-] aspect marker.

Compound verbs are classed as stated. In Imbongu also, verbal concepts are expressed by a word used in conjunction with the verb and the actual number of verbs is limited. The number of verbal concepts is not limited.

Regarding verbs with special functions, I am not aware of anything in Imbongu like the ni....mone construction listed. The form correspondent to [le-] is used in factual type constructions but is in also used to signify the firm opinion that this state exists on the part of the speaker, whether the reality matches the statement or is even provable.

For example, in a sample of EXHORTIVE text, the speaker is urging the hearers to stay at home and avoid the dangers and mischance of work in other areas. Within this context, he states regarding their place of habitation:

pulu iyemu oi tepa pantirimu ltemo root man before made planted it is

'the founder (God) made us and put us here to stay'

Clearly, this type of statement is an expression of belief rather than verifiable fact.

2.2. ADVERBS

Adverbs are as stated in the earlier write up. Time words, locationals, and directionals (referencing words) have a high incidence of use in Imbongu.

2.3.

VERB NEGATOR

The usual form for verb negation is for the negator [naa] to immediately precede the clause final verb as stated. Further study is needed to determine whether there is a change in focus when the negator precedes the complete verb phrase. The form where the negator precedes the entire verb phrase is not often used.

Regarding the double negative, another variation of the structure which uses the verbal negative before the verb and the substantive negative following it is to construct a relative phrase after the final verb.

I mu nga naa ombo, aku molo. this DEF GEN NEG I will come that no

'because of this I won't come, definitely not'

2.4.

ADJUNCTS

My understanding of the comment here is unclear. My understanding of words occurring in verb phrases is different. The 'adjuncts' do have an independent meaning of sorts but it is modified when in combination with certain verbs. For example [wapu] is associated with stealing.

wapu ltio 'I steal' steal I get

wapu tero: 'I break and steal' (used to describe steal I do stealing sugarcane)

wapu toro 'I steal pigs'

steal I hit

wapu noro 'I steal & consume' (used to describe
steal eat adultery)

wapu puro 'I go secretly'

steal I go

Another example uses the word [ka] 'rope':

ka tero 'I tie something to a tree'

rope I do

ka ltio 'I tie ropes together in fencebuilding'

rope I get

ka toro 'I hang or fasten to a tree, tie a bundle'

rope I hit

These examples show that adjuncts define a semantic domain.

2.5.

COMMON NOUNS

In Imbongu, the interpretation of the noun phrase [opa nale] is different. This is a description of a specific type of fight, such as an active battle between a husband and wife. Its not a war or an argument, but describes the situation of coming to blows. Other than that, the description is as stated for Imbongu.

PROPER NAMES

As stated.

2.6.1.

<u>Personal Names and Kin Terms</u>: These are as stated. In addition note the following listing of the plurals of kin terms.

REF:	my	his	your
father	ara	lapa	lainye
PL	arakame	lapali	lainyeli
mother	ama	anumu	aminye
PL	amakame	anupili	aminyeli
same sib	ango	angenu	angena
PL	angokame	angenupili	angenali
other sib	ainya/athya	kemulu	kemilye
PL	aya kame	kemulupili	keminyeli
grandfather	kawe	kolipa -	kolina
PL	kawe kame	kolipali	kolinali
grandmother	apo	bamu	bami
PL	apo kame	bamunupili	baminyeli
son	malo	marenu	marena
PL	malopili	marenupil1	marenali
daughter	lemenu	lemenu _	lémena
PL	lemenupili	lemenupili	lemenali
sis.bro.	pali	bilipe	biline
PL	pali kame	bilipeli	bilinyeli
wife	omenu	omenu	omena
PL	omenupili	omenupili	omenali

These plurals and this referencing system (with variant forms rather than just possessive pronouns for 'his', 'my' or 'your') occurs only in the domain of kin terms.

2.6.2.

Place Names and Clan Names are as stated.

2.7.

PRONOUNS

There is one set of pronouns in Imbongu. These pronouns relate to the same persons as the inflected person endings of the verb system. They are easily recognizable as the root of possessive and reflexive forms.

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	na	ilto	lino
2	nu	elo	eno
3	yu		

POSSESSIVE pronouns are formed by joining the GENETIVE clitic [nga] in a suffix position. There is phonological alternation caused by vowel raising and fronting following high vowels.

ilto+nga = iltonga 1 na+nga = nanga lino+nga = linonga

2 nu+nga = nunge eno +nga = enonga

elo +nga = elga . 3 yu+nga = yunge

In the DUAL POSSESSIVE of/the second and third person, the intervening [0] is ejected as the prenasalization of the velar is assimilated into the velar lateral.

REFLEXIVE pronouns are formed by adding the morpheme [nu] suffix position for singular persons and the POSSESSIVE clitic plus [no] for the PLURAL and [-lo] for the DUAL forms. This varies from the Kaugel.

iltonga+lo=iltongalo linonga+no=linongano na + nu = nanu elga +lo=elgalo nu + nu = nunueno +no=enongano yu + nu = yunu

These pronouns can be used as subject, agent, object or indirect object in the same way as nouns as stated in the earlier write up of Examining texts shows that the incidence of their use is not extremely high - in 70 Kilobytes of text, pronominal forms occured less than 400 times. Most occurences were in direct address or Frequently, pronouns immediately follow the noun function to emphasize the identity of the pronominal conversation. referent and referent. Pronouns are also used in idioms.

1. yu te-pili "it must do (rough equivalent of Pidgin MASKI) 3sg do-3sgHORT

In this case, the pronoun referent is indefinite.

2.8.

ADJECTIVES

These are as stated with the following modifications:

Adjectives can be fronted as well. When they are, they function more as titles and assume more of the quality of a modifying noun.

awi tangoli 'sun at its apex' big daylight

kerepoye waru 'steep hill or incline' re ascent/hill INDEF steep

In the following examples of adjectives, I will list only those forms that are different than those employed among the Kaugel.

2.8.1. Quality: [penga] 'good'

2.8.2. Color: [kilu] 'blue'

2.8.3. Size: same can be used

2.8.4. Quantity: same can be used

2.8.5. other/another: same can be used

The suffix [-kango] is an intensifier for size and quantity adjectives as stated.

2.9.

DEMONSTRATIVES

The line between a DEMONSTRATIVE and a DEICTIC is somewhat hazy, DEICTICS I believe being more referential and DEMONSTRATIVES being a bit more pronominal. This group of words functions in both ways in different settings. They are included in sentences and phrases as stated in the previous write up. I do not have evidence that 'any' clitic can be optionally affixed. I do have evidence that any clitic which is primarily affixed to a noun can be joined to one of these words. The words and their basic meanings vary somewhat from those stated for Kaugel.

- [i] 'this within the immediate proximity of the speaker'
- [da] 'this within the immediate proximity of the hearer'
- [neya] 'that at some distance but within the range of vision'
- [aku] 'that, a relative pronoun and a relativizer'
- [kano] 'that, a Back Referencing focalizer'

The first three forms are relatively simple DEMONSTRATIVES/DEICTICS. They are also used textually to emphasize relative proximity of ideas or events.

aku mu -nga i ungu -mu na-ni ambetelga niyo that the-GEN this message-the I -AG why I say

'the reason I say this is ...'

Here [i] refers to the previous message of the speaker.

<u>da</u> te-pa nimu wali that do-3MV he said when

'when he said that'

Here [da] is use as an ANAPHORIC device. The introductory clause of the intervening previous sentence which immediately follows the time of the speech event is the expected form

aku te-pa nimu wali that do-3MV he said when

'when he said that'.

Referring back to the same speech event now requires the use of the deictic [da] which means closeby but not immediate proximity. These deictics are employed throughout Imbongu texts as referencing devices in what I consider to be an extended or metaphorical sense of their basic meaning of referring to objects in the physical world.

Four sentences of text from the retelling of the story of Debora serve to illustrate the differing referents and functions of these DEICTICS.

<u>Kano</u> wali, Israile imboma iye awili munga eno tapopili ningo olo topele toko iye awilimu alako teringi.

'At that time, the people of Israel turned to God and called Him to help them.'

Here [kano] refers back to earlier text describing the oppression of Jabin and Sisera.

Aku wali, Debora nimbe ambote molorumu.

'At that time, a woman called Debora was alive.'

Here [aku] is used in one of its typical functions, heading a phrase that relates this sentence to the previous one. Note also that the main information in the sentence is new information.

Da ambomu Lapi nimbe iye tenga omenu.

'That woman was the wife of a man called Lapi (Lappidoth).'

This sentence is an aside, elaborating on the identity of Debora, and of relative unimportance to the story. The use of [da] puts semantic distance between the information and the main thread of the story.

Aku ambomu yu Gotenga ungu imbo ambomu molorumu.

'That woman was a prophetess'

Here again, [aku] is used to introduce a clause relative to Debora, the woman under discussion. However, this new information is vital to the story line.

<u>Neya aku</u> wali munga, ambomu yu Israile imbo manga ulu teringima moke tepa kanopa kongono <u>akumu</u> teremu.

'At that previous time, the woman judged the people of Israel.'

Now the reference goes back to the time of the peoples' cry to God for deliverence. The word [neya] is used to refer back. The first use of [aku] marks this clause as relative to the other and carrying new information. The second use of [aku] is a DEMONSTRATIVE type usage such as that cited by Heads. Here [aku] is a pronominal form in the OBJECT position as a substitution for the previous clause

^{&#}x27;Israile imboma teringima moke tepa kanopa kongono'

which can be rendered a bit more literally as 'the work of looking over and measuring what the people of Israel did'. So then [akumu teremu] becomes 'that is what she did'.

The DEICTIC [kano] is the most troublesome. I can make some further comments at this time regarding it, but this entire DEICTIC system is one which needs further and extensive study.

Observations of texts shed some light on the use of [kano]. In a letter describing the building of a village house, there are only four occurences while there are twenty seven occurences of [aku]. Each instance of [kano] refers back to a shared experience of the writer and the reciever. This is one common usage of [kano].

In an EXHORTIVE text, there are no instances of the use of [kano] but many of the use of [aku].

In a text relating a previous life experience, [kano] does not occur in either the introduction or the conclusion. In its first occurence, it marks the main character after he has previously been introduced. The second occurence is some sentences later as the introductory Time referencing phrase in a sentence in which the level of action picks up. In this same sentence, [kano] marks the subject of the sentence who is an old woman who vomits because of the roughness of the trip. The woman is not previously mentioned individually as she is here, however, she is included in the group of fellow travellers mentioned earlier. The following sentence has the main character as the subject again, but is not marked with [kano]. This marker reappears in the story as a referent of time and participants previously mentioned at a time when their vehicle is careening down a hill out of control, a time of high tension. It appears in the story again with high frequency of usage in two instances, one where the main character is exhausted and left alone and the other where the main character is being enrolled in a strange school.

To summarize, based on this and other texts which are similar in their construction, [kano] is used as an ANAPHORIC device bringing previously mentioned information or characters into the main story line. Also it marks parts of a story where the level of action is intense, focussing the attention of the reader or hearer on that portion.

2.10.

QUESTION

The introductory comments are also applicable to Imbongu.

2.10.1.

In Imbongu the word signifying 'what' is [ambe].

eno ambe teremele ya I ambe-le mele -mu ya youPL what are doing? this what-NOM thing-the?

'What are you doing?' 'What is this?

In Imbongu, the word signifying 'why' is [ambetelga].

nu ambetelga oinyo ya you why cameNPST ?

Further discussion of QUESTION words ('how' [ambe temo] and 'how much' [ambe tepa]) is found under section 1.2.3. Surface forms are different but construction and usage is the same.

2.10.2.

Forms for the [te-] words are the same with the following exceptions.

KAUGEL

IMBONGU

te.na.ndo pu.ku.nu vs. te.na pu.ru.nu ya

In Imbongu, the question marker is more often retained and the DIRECTIONAL [ndo] is dropped since understood. This is in casual speech, but it can be included as well. The ususal accepted form is without the DIRECTIONAL.

The form [teko] does not occur with this meaning in Imbongu: However, [tenga] does occur and means 'where from' and can also be used to mean 'an area' with an indefinite connotation.

na tenga naa pumboi I somehwere NEG I want to go

'I'm not planning to go anywhere.'

Morpheme by morpheme

tenga = te nga where from which GEN

Also note that in Imbongu, the form 'when' is [te wali] instead of [te.wale]. The final vowel in 'day' is [i] instead of [e].

2.11.

DIRECTIONAL & LOCATIONAL

I do not have evidence that these LOCATIVES may take general clitics in Imbongu. The fourth order suffix listed does not exist in Imbongu. The form [-ndi] is a puzzle to me as well. I am not sure what exactly it signifies, and it is, as stated earlier, a form that seldom occurs.

[-na] is a LOCATIVE meaning 'in, at'

[-ndo] is a DIRECTOR meaning 'to, toward'

I prefer to interpret the second order suffix stated to be [-kV] which

'is never used without the third order suffix' [-ndo] as one form [-kondo]. In Imbongu, [-kV] is [-ko]. I interpret [-na] and [-ndo] as clitics rather than suffixes.

[-kondo] is a LOCATIVE with a restricted usage. This form can only be joined to location/direction roots, while [-ndo] and [-na] can also be joined to place names and other nouns which function as place names such as house or village.

Some words using [kondo] are:

umbulkondo 'behind'

antikondo 'far beyond'

nekondo 'other side'

yakondo 'this side'

In some cases, combinations of directionals have become lexicalized phrases.

nendo yando 'back and forth'
away toward

2.11.1.

<u>Horizontal</u> <u>Directionals</u> are as stated but without the restriction on using the locator clitic.

2.11.2.

<u>Vertical</u> <u>Directionals</u> are as stated.

NOTE: I notice that [wi] and [mere] are not glossed. They are difficult to interpret, but [wi] can be glossed as 'uphill' and [mere] can be glossed as 'downhill'.

2.11.3.

Locationals occur as stated with some difference for Imbongu.

The LOCATIVE clitic may occur on the location word -

yunge ulke tawe -na kere mare koirimulu his house ouside-at food some we cooked by mumuing

'we had a mumu outside his house'

2.12.

TIME WORDS

These also occur as stated, but I am not clear on what is meant by 'general clitics'. Time words may take any clitic

that it is viable to use with a noun.

2.12.1.

Name of Day words are as follows in Imbongu.

bolkena 'two days ago'

olianga 'yesterday'

kinye 'now'

otili 'tomorrow'

akinto 'two days from now'

yuntipe 'three days from now'

2.12.2.

<u>Time of Day Words</u> in Imbongu may occur in time of day phrases as stated or they may occur independently. Many of these are descriptive phrases. A partial list follows.

ena mundi oromo 'dawn, the first rays of the sun come'

otili oi 'morning'

tangoli 'noon'

ipu pene 'afternoon'

ipo ltemo 'dusk'

ena uru pe purumu 'sundown, the sun goes to sleep'

ipu leli 'night'

The above glosses are labelling of referents rather than literal renderings.

2.12.3.

These occur as stated. The word for 'singsing' [mali] is extended to mean year as was the word for 'garden' [poinye] or in Kaugel [pone].

2.12.4.

In Imbongu the forms of these words differ, but the usage is the same.

Kaugel Imbongu ou 'before' oi pe 'later' pele

This combination is also active in Imbongu, but [ou] is transformed into [oi].

2.12.6.

As stated.

2.13.

As stated with some elaboration.

The word [we] has negative and insulting connotations in some contexts.

we ungu nimo useless word he says

'Its empty talk'

It can also carry the notion of 'yet, still' or being unfulfilled. In a story of an old clan war, the women of a dead warrior have not yet recieved any pork. Their advocate says

ambo kano-ma we moromele woman Bref-PL yet they stay

'those women haven't anything'

The INTENSIFIER [paa] is as stated.

The RESTRICTOR is of the form [kau] in Imbongu, but functions in the same manner as [mindi] in Kaugel.

2.14.

CONJUNCTIONS

As stated

2.14.1.

Forms function as stated with some phonological variation. Also, I will note some semantic restrictions on usage.

KAUGEL IMBONGU Meaning kine kinye 'and, with' simple conjunction and accompaniment at phrase & clause level

kepe kape 'too, also'

keme kame 'and some others' restricted to use

with personages, functions to

signify a group

Some forms are variant, but functional integrity exists.

KAUGEL IMBONGU Meaning

kene kani 'therefore, and so'

liemo lemo 'if' It is usual for the condition to be stated in the NPST tense and the consequence in either the FUTURE tense or a MODE associated with the

future (HORTATIVE)

2.14.3.

As stated. 2.15.

RESPONSE WORDS

Function as stated with some variant forms.

Two of the forms listed are not frequently used by Imbongu speakers. These, [owe] and [kapola] are borrowed from Kaugel. In Imbongu, the usual form for 'yes' is [ee] and for OK is [manda]. Other words used in Imbongu, not in answer to a question as [ee] is used, but to assert solidarity or agreement with a statement are [ele] and [pele]. The fine points of usage between these last two forms are not clear. I suspect that they are both metaphorical or extended usages and are worth fruther exploration.

The word [sike] is not used in Imbongu at all. In public speaking, if one wants to 'amen' a comment of the speaker to others, one says [pa nimo] 'he talks truth'. If one directs the comment to the speaker it becomes [pa nino] 'you talk truth'. The word for truth or true is [paimbo]. This also is a fixed metaphor and has two possible breakdowns.

pa imbo or pa imbo (imbo = iye+ambo) true seed true person man+woman

Note also that this same structure can be used to assert a statement that the speaker views his hearers as doubting - [pa nio] 'I talk true'. This assertion is tacked onto the end of the doubted utterance.

2.16.

EXCLAMATIONS

As stated with the following additions.

[ere] used as an expression of amazement

[aiya] used as an expression of upset or unpleasant surprise

[ish] in conversation, used to show disapproval

[K^] a velar click, used by women to denote wonder &
 pleased amazement

[uh] a grunt, used by men instead of the velar click

[uhahuh] with a rising falling rising intonation denotes disagreement with a previous comment. The [a] is nasalized.

[ya] a shout to hush the women and children when the men are talking

2.16.

PAUSE

Kaugel [ndemele] is [nemele] in Imbongu and functions in the same way. The word [omba] does not occur in this manner in Imbongu.

5-10 PHRASES

5

VERB PHRASES

Verb phrases can be structurally interpreted as stated. Taking, as I the view that the structure of language is semantically determined, I interpret the forms labelled as 'adjunct + verb' as dead metaphors, expressions which have been lexicalized in the language to convey the stated meanings and are of the construction 'word + verb' as stated. Many of the adjuncts are used only with certain verbs. there is a specific domain they can be used with and use outside this domain causes confusion at unacceptable times and literal interpretation at acceptable times. Note also that the majority of these constructions occur in conjunction with the most prolific verbs in the language, some of which have a wide semantic range. verbs are a fruitful field inviting further study. A partial listing of these prolific verbs in the 3sgPRESENT tense forms follows.

teremo 'it does'

toromo 'it hits'(actually quite a bit like teremo, but more violent)

tirimo 'it gives'

ltimo 'it gets'

noromo 'it eats'

nimo 'it speaks' (it expresses is a better and more general rendering)

koloromo 'it dies'

Examples given in the previous description have structural integrity

with Imbongu but the words employed vary at times, some phonologically and some lexically.

6.

NON-VERBAL PHRASES

I heartily agree with the introductory note that there are an abundance of phrase types in Imbongu and it may well be the impossible dream to detail them all. The work by R & J Head goes a long way toward doing this.

6.1.

AUGMENTATIVE PHRASE

As stated. The RESTRICTOR, in Imbongu [kau] may also occur clause final in which case it 'restricts' the entire clause. I note this here since it is an elaboration of the use of [kau] even though not at the phrase level.

6.2.

PROPER NAME PHRASE

The description of the PROPER NAME PHRASE is adequate as stated with this modification. The optional DEMONSTRATIVE does not fit in the phrase description since its presence modifies the nature of the phrase, making it a RELATIVE phrase. If [kano] or its equivalent is being used, the DEMONSTRATIVE(?) is part of the ANAPHORIC marking within the discourse system. As such, the presence of the Demonstrative makes a phrase of another type in which a PROPER NOUN phrase is embedded. This again is an interpretive variant rather than a structural change.

6.3.

HEAD NOUN PHRASE

As stated.

6.4.

PRONOUN PHRASE

As stated. The question of interest to me is why are there the two variants, what is the change in meaning suggested by the reversal of the natural order. Based on the fact that the usual order of a NOUN + a MODIFIER is with the modifier following the noun, in which case the NOUN is in focus, I suggest that when the CLARIFIER precedes the PRONOUN, that the identity of the character is in focus. Also, textually, this identification of characters is necessary to establish the pronominal referent. In the case where the PRONOUN is in the Head position in the phrase, the following elements modify or elaborate the nature of the referent as can be seen from the examples given.

My previous note regarding the inclusion of the DEMONSTRATIVE applies here as well.

The construction noted in the earlier write up in which the 3sgPRONOUN is the last element in a PRONOUN PHRASE is worthy of further study to determine more precisely its functional uses.

6.6.

NUMERAL PHRASE

Imbongu is also a base four system reputed to extend to about 200. The old way of counting by labelling points up the arm and shoulder the face and back on down the other arm is dying out. monograph detailing the counting system is planned. The Pidgin counting system is widely used with words being phonologically altered. Also, money is counted in terms of pounds and shillings.

Counting can be done either by units of one or four.

1. tendeku 5. kite pakera

2. talo 6. kite talo pakera yupoko
 kite 7. kite yupoko pakera

8. ki talo

9. ki talo tendeku pakera

10.ki talo talo pakera

11.ki talo vupoko pakera

12.ki yupoko

As stated, the higher numbers follow the same system, only each unit of four has its own base label after 12 is reached.

Counting by fours is done by labelling the relevant parts of the body. This label serves as an index of the number.

There is no extended ORDINAL number system in Imbongu. One word for 'first' [kiyendo/kiyando] means first in location or in eminence. Another [komo], is restricted to birth order, meaning firstborn. Other words used in an ordinal context are [tukuna] meaning something like 'the one inside' (not first and not last), and [akuna] which is used after [tukuna] and means something like 'at that'(next, or following that). Then, the last in the list is labelled [peyalime] 'last'.

6.7.

MODIFIER NOUN PHRASE

The description applies adequately to Imbongu as well. Again, I have differences of interpretation regarding some of the forms but at the level of structural description, which is where this current work is mostly being written, there is no need to elaborate on all of them lest I become too much the critic. There is room for other analysis in the areas for future study that I will detail at the end of paper.

6.8.

CO-ORDINATE NOUN PHRASE

Again, the description applies adequately to Imbongu.

6.9.

APPOSITIONAL PHRASE

This area, as stated needs further study as stated. I do not agree with the definition of appositional phrases as "CONSTITUENTS at the same grammatical LEVEL, and which have an identity or similarity of REFERENCE...and they have the same SYNTACTIC function (as indicated by the omissibility of either..." (CRYSTAL, p18). As description of the form it is adequate, however it conveys nothing of They are omissible if taken from isolated sentences, substance. however when they are omitted the information load of the sentence is changed. These phrases serve to elaborate the identity of their referent and have the same purpose as a RELATIVE phrase or clause. The constituents of the phrase vary with the purpose of the speaker and the information he wishes to impart, the information the speaker views as relevant or important at the time. The referent, the preceding noun phrase, is the element that is essential to the speech event, while the APPOSITIONAL phrase is elaborative and fills in background information needed for a more complete understanding of what is being said. As I said earlier, this area deserves further study and elaboration.

6.10.

LOCATIVE-DIRECTIVE

As stated.

6.11.

TIME PHRASE

6.11.1.

The structures listed apply in Imbongu as well with the addition that a form currently in wide usage is a variant of that listed which combines the word work with a number word. Currently, Imbongu speakers combine Pidgin day names with the word [kongono] work as in -

kongono Mande 'Monday'

6.11.2.

<u>Time of Day phrases occur in Imbongu as well.</u> I have no examples like those listed in part (a). In part (b), I interpret the word [awi] as a form of the word for 'big'. Therefore, I suspect that this expression is a borrowed expression from Pidgin, in which Imbongu words are substituted for the Pidgin and convey the same meaning.

The other comments apply as well to Imbongu.

6.11.3.

Comments on <u>General Time Phrases</u> are adequate to describe what happens in Imbongu with some additions.

Another Time Referencing word is [nende-MV] 'next, following' which is inflected with MEDIAL VERB person endings like some other Adverbial forms.

nendepo koro mu -nga ombo
next week the-GEN I will come

'I will come during next week.'

In texts, one of the main Coherence devices is to introduce a following sentence with a TIME phrase or clause which relates the event of the sentence with that of the preceding sentence. The usual construction is to end the Phrase or clause with the word [wali] 'when', but [kinye] 'when/now' is also an option, though less frequently used. Frequently used forms are -

aku wali 'at that time, then' that-REL when

aku te-pa wali 'at the time of doing that' that do-3MV when

These can be expanded at the speakers descretion as stated in the note at the at the bottom of p.32 in the earlier write up.

6.12.

One form of these <u>Introduction/Conjunction phrases</u> has been briefly discussed in the preceding section. Forms differ phonologically than those used in Kaugel. In Imbongu they are as follows:

aku wali / kano wali / aku kinye / kano kinye 'at that time'

i wali 'at this time' (immediacy is emphasized)

These INTRODUCTORY phrases may also feature logical connection, in which case the RELATOR {aku/kano/da/i/neya} is followed by the GENETIVE clitic [nga], with either a NOMINATIVE clitic, phrase, or clause intervening.

aku munga 'of that' (basic RELATIVE form)

kano munga 'of that' (used when CATAPHORIC reference is in focus)

i munga 'of this' (used when IMMEDIACY is stressed)

da munga 'of this' (used for intermediate distance, something mentioned a short while

ago)

neya munga

or

'of that' (used for something mentioned much earlier)

neya aku munga

7.

POSSESSION

As stated. I have already listed vartiations in kin terms under the discussion of pronouns.

8.

As stated.

9.

LINKING PHRASE

9.1.

WORDS

Imbongu variants of these Kaugel words have already been listed under sections 6 and 8. The word [peya] is also used for accompaniment in Imbongu. Its basic meaning is all, and is used pronominally to group all those involved in a given activity after they have been listed.

9.2.

CLITICS

In Imbongu, there are some variant forms, and some which may be similar to those listed but which I interpret differently. For the sake of simplicity, I will make no attempt here to reinterpret the VERB NEGATOR as a prefixing clitic here, but will let it lie as interpreted at present. Regarding the wider system of clitics, I consider them to be of two types: CASE markers and MOOD markers. CASE marking clitics function at word, phrase, and clause level. There is a rare form that functions at a DISCOURSE level, but it needs further verification since instances of occurence are few, however I will discuss my current understanding of it.

CASE marking clitics function in the NOMINATIVE, DATIVE, LOCATIVE, GENETIVE, and ERGATIVE case. NOMINATIVE case markers are usually followed by one of the others leading me to state that the other cases are modifications of the NOMINATIVE, or to put it more simply, something must be a nominal form before it can be GENETIVE, DATIVE, LOCATIVE, or ERGATIVE. A question for further study concerns the communicative load of NOMINATIVES that are not marked with any case marking clitic, since the NOMINATIVE marks both Subjects and Objects.

NOMINATIVE:

Singular Plural

Definite -mu 'the' -ma 'these'

Indefinite -re 'a' -mare 'some'

The following CASE markers are optionally joined to the NOMINATIVE, depending on the semantic value of the word being marked. For example Proper Nouns are inherently singular, definite and marked as NOMINATIVE. They are marked only for GENETIVE, DATIVE, LOCATIVE or ERGATIVE as appropriate to the context. Other nouns take on plurality and definiteness from the NOMINATIVE marker.

GENETIVE: -nga 'of, from, about, for'

The GENETIVE interacts with the BENEFACTIVE infix of the verb to locate the Recipient of the Benefaction. Note also that the BENEFACTIVE is also the MALEFACTIVE depending on the nature of the action bestowed.

DATIVE: -ndo 'to, toward'

I consider this to be DATIVE rather than a simple Directional marker since it also marks the Indirect Object.

LOCATIVE: -na 'in, at'

I suspect, and will make some attempt at a later date to verify, that another use of this is as the LOGICAL CONJUNCTION [-na] listed on p.19 of the earlier description. When affixed at phrase or clause level, context must be examined in order to reveal whether the emphasis is on spatial location or whether or on logical space, i.e. 'in this case, because'.

ERGATIVE: -ni 'by, with, using'

As stated, this marks Actor, Instrument, and Resource. It also has some peculiar (to me) uses.

Aku wali naa makilembo ni, we makileru. That time NEG I must arise ERG yet I arose

'I didn't want to get up, yet I did anyway.'

Does this mean that the first clause, his negative desire, is marked as an active agent? I find no other plausible interpretation that fits the context of the story, but it is strange to me.

What is called Assertor, is to my understanding the NOMINATIVE case marker operating on a clause level. Note that this revised categorization explains all the forms in the first three categories of the chart on p.35 except the Dual Article [selo]. This form does not occur in Imbongu, nor am I aware of an equivalent other than [talo] 'two' which is not a clitic.

MOOD

Some of these clitics are more difficult to fully define. They are not used with just one word class. In this section, I will deal with those which interact most often with verbs. Their meaning is similar when not joined to verbs.

INTERROGATIVE -va

This is described briefly in section 2.10. - Question Words. It occurs in clause final position and is used to ask a question soliciting information. Seemingly aberrant forms are compressed sentences.

aku ya 'Is this it?' manda ya 'Is that OK?' this? ok ?

DUBITATIVE or UNCERTAIN -nje / -intye

The example on p.38 labels this form Assumptive. The meaning is as stated. It also interacts with the SUBJUNCTIVE verb constructions, reinforcing the hypothetical nature of the utterance.

OBVIOUS and DEFINITE are two that I do not observe in Imbongu.

The PLAY clitic is rarely used, and when it is used it can also be used for mockery.

HERALD ooo / aaa

Also not frequently observed. In a recent major Moka festival, when 'announcements' were made by some of the leaders who sponsored the event, they made the announcements in a sing song chant with an elongated [ooo] or [aaa] as the final syllable of words. I suggest that this fits more under speech styles than in the clitic system.

INCLUSIVE -la

I have to confess that I have not pinned this form down to my satisfaction. Instances of its use do not fit the definition of INCLUSIVE according to my perception. Rather, in Imbongu, it seems to convey the sense of assertion or emphasis, and conveys the idea that the event is Incomplete, depending on the use in context.

In conversation, when I ask for a repetition because I don't understand, [-la] is sometimes attached to the reply. Often the the speaker concludes by saying this:

i nio <u>la</u> this I say !

On one instance, when building a construction to state that I would be

travelling back and forth to Ukarumpa, I was corrected by an educated man who I consider to be a good speaker of Imbongu. He recommended that I change the relevant part of the sentence from

pumbo ombo tero
going coming I do

to

pumbo <u>la</u> ombo <u>la</u> tero going (?) coming (?) I do.

As I said, this is a conceptual gap that I have not yet filled to my satisfaction.

DISCOURSE

There are also clitics which function at a DISCOURSE level. The first [-ka] occurs following the verb, and appears to be a form of high level conjunction. In one text, in which the clan elder is relating the clan geneology and then telling the story of the move several generations ago from a previous habitation to the current location, it occurs twice. Each instance is at the close of an introductory summary and prior to entering the main body of the story.

Another discourse level marker [-pe] serves various functions, all joined conceptually by the notions of Emphasis and Topic. In conversation, it can be used to emphasize the person being addressed, particularly if the communication was misunderstood at first. In texts, it marks items of high importance and can function at word, phrase or clause level. Some speakers habitually use this device much more frequently than others, but all speakers use it.

In the above mentioned text of the clan lineage, the speaker in his concluding summary says the following couplet:

oi <u>pe</u>, iye anda wengenderumu mu nindu before TOPIC man grandfather originated-3sgFPST NOMmrkr I said-NPST

'first I told about the origins of the ancestors'

kinye <u>pe</u>, omba mai wengenderumu mu nio now TOPIC coming ground originated-3sgFPST NOMmrkr I say-PRES

'now, I've told you the origins of coming to this area!

I do not have examples where this form [-pe] is affixed to the main clause. In one sentence, it marks 3 of the 5 clauses. Each of the clauses so marked repeat and summarize previous statements and emphasize the topic under description. The marker does not re-occur until another instance of a similar type later in the story.

"Tarepela tekolio <u>pe</u>, kombu tena tokolio <u>pe</u>, kombu tena la paka toilgo, meko wendo ongolio <u>pe</u>, Walume kembo meko wendo oringi."

A clause by clause free translation is as follows:

'They were moving the stretcher, from village to village they were moving the burial platform, they continually carried it from one village to the next, carrying it they appeared, they appeared carrying it at Walume hill.'

The main topic of the story is this weird event of a figure of ferns on a burial platform being carried along and wailed over and passing through that area. Further along, the [-pe] marker re-appears again at a summary point of high intensity and topical unity.

"Lino ni paka topolio wali <u>pe</u>, koro te kinye paka topo molopolio <u>pe</u>, altopo <u>pe</u> i Kero iyema mendo tirimulu."

The free translation of this portion is as follows:

'While we were doing this with the burial paltform, we continued doing this for one week, later we passed it on down to the Kero village men.'

Again, the topic in focus is this burial platform which is the main topic in the story. The story opens with a description of the platform and the bodily adornment of its attendants. Then the first [-pe] passage occurs. After that is a portion of the story describing more of the action of the 'attendants' and their interaction with the speaker and his people. Then follows the second [-pe] passage. The short portion remaining is a concluding summary and interpretation. The clitic [-pe] functions similarly in other texts. Obviously, it can use further study. However, this discussion is already beyond the limits of a grammar essentials paper which is to describe usage up to sentence level.

Other examples of clitics in the earlier write up are sufficient to give an understanding of the structural description of sentence level clitic usage.

10.

LONG PHRASES (are these some sort of Tagmemic entity?)

A simple summary of this section is to say that embedded sentences function in any of the case roles active in the language. This section is confusing to me and everything in it appears redundant, or better discussed under different sections such as clause structure.

Focus sentence phrase. Example 2 on p.39 is similar to many forms available in texts in my files in which the embedded clause modifies or identifies the following noun. If this clause follows the noun it modifies, the clause is introduced by the RELATIVIZER [aku]. In the case where the clause precedes the noun and has no

introductory word, it functions somewhat as a title or label in its modification, while in the case where it follows it is simple description. If full sentences were given for examples 2 & 3, I suspect that the language phenomena listed could be seen to be variants of the same process.

Note the change in meaning focus between

Aku -na molorumu iyemu That-at he stayed man

'The living there man'

iyemu aku -na molorumu
man that-at he stayed

'the man lived there'.

In the first, the focus is on the quality of the man as someone from that area while in the second the man himself is in focus and the information that he lived in that area is an elaboration.

The discussion of <u>demonstratives</u> is adequate to describe their structural usage in Imbongu as well. A question for further study and verification is 'what meaning shift do the variations of position in the clause signify'.

11-18

CLAUSES

11

As stated. The use of Medial verbs is definitely an area for extended study.

12.

Verb morphology is not an adequate delimiter of an independent clause. It is a necessary, but not a sufficient delimiter.

aku terumu iyemu that he did man

Also, HORTATIVE verbs, which are listed on the Final Verb chart, are often used medially.

mali kanamili puromolo singsing we must see we are going

We're going to see the singsing!

If independent verb morphology occurs on the sentence final verb, and if the sentence final verb is not part of a RELATIVE clause introduced by [aku] or [kano] or one of the other DEICTICS, that verb marks an independent clause.

13

CLAUSE TYPES

13.1.

EQUATIONAL CLAUSE

As stated.

13.2.

STATIVE CLAUSE

As stated. Again some forms are different, for example KAUGEL [penge] is IMBONGU [pinyewe] 'head'. The semantic basis for these examples is an area inviting study.

13.3.

ACTION CLAUSE

As stated.

13.3.1.

TRANSITIVE ACTION CLAUSES

As stated.

13.3.2.

INTRANSITIVE ACTION CLAUSES

As stated.

14

OBLIGATORY COMPONENTS

As stated.

15

OPTIONAL COMPONENTS

As stated.

16

As stated. The Ma4 position can also be filled by [kau] 'only' in Imbongu.

17

In Imbongu, clauses do occur as modifiers quite frequently. (see

discussion under section 12 for 1 example, and the discussion under 2.9. for others) The example in question could be given in various ways depending on the context. As an isolated utterance, this sentence would not occur. In connected discourse, 'the man whom I saw shot the bird' would most naturally be

iye kano mu -ni kera torumu man that-BRef NOMdef-AG bird shot-3sgFPST

'the man, that one already known, shot the bird'

The following constructions are also possible, but the context is more difficult to imagine.

oi kanandu iye mu -ni kera torumu before I saw-NPST man NOMdef-AG bird he shot-3sgFPST

'the man whom I saw earlier shot the bird'

18

As stated.

19

As stated.

20.1.

JOINING DEPENDENT SENTENCES

As stated, but see my discussion of the 'SIMULTANEOUS' marker in section 2.1.

20.2 - 20.2.1.1.

As stated.

20.2.1.2.

Part a) and b) are as stated. In Imbongu, the DESIRE/IMPERFECT would be used instead of the FUTURE to convey purpose or intent.

no no -mboi oro water eat-1sgDES come-1sgPRES

'I come to get a drink of water'

20.2.1.3.

As stated.

20.2.1.4

In Imbongu, the form of this verb for the PRESENT TENSE is [ltemo], for the NEAR PAST TENSE is [lemo], for the FAR PAST TENSE is [lerumu],

and for the PRESENT AWARENESS is [lepamo]. The usage mentioned exists, however it also extends beyond FACT into OPINION. The most troublesome usage is the [lepamo] form. In over 70K of computer text, I have no instances of its use. However, it is often used in speech, not of a story type, but of the type where an argument is being presented. This is to be expected, since the form of the word is PRESENT AWARENESS. This has already been discussed in section 2.1.

The others are as stated in the earlier description of Kaugel.

20.2.1.5.

As stated.

20.2.2.

As stated.

21

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

As stated.

22.1.

NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CLAUSES

I agree that the number is quite limitless in this language. I suspect that once a definition of a number is set, an example with one more would be sure to turn up.

The form listed in part a) does not exist in Imbongu.

As for part b), note the following Imbongu examples:

Aku teringi ulu kano -pa -lie wali, that do-3plFPST custom seeing-3MV-SEQ when

'when he saw them doing these things'

This is a DEPENDENT Time clause with an embedded clause modifying the Object [ulu]. Each verb is inflected for a different subject, easily understood from the context. Person/number is changed here without 'closing off the sentence'.

Me -pa pu-mbe-lie wali, ne no -na nekondo peremele. carry-3MV go-3MV-SEQ when, yonder river-LOC other side they sleep

'after he carried it away, they slept on the other side of that distant river.'

Again, this is a DEPENDENT CLAUSE with different person/number reference than the main clause. Sentence linking introductory Time clauses may have a different subject referent, even if there is no special marking other than the MEDIAL VERB person markers.

22.2.

As stated.

23.

LINK in a COMPLEX SENTENCE

The discussion of [kine] is adequate for Imbongu [kinye] as well. As mentioned earlier, [pe] 'later' is not used in Imbongu (the form is [pele] 'later' in our area but is abbreviated to [pe] in rapid speech on a few occasions.

24.

As stated.

25.

QUOTATIONS

In Imbongu, the subject in the quote does not have to agree in person/number with the predicate verb in the overall clause.

kongi pilimongo tiwi, nimu pig intestines you give! he said

Here the subject is the person being addressed rather than the speaker. The form described occurs when it is a third person quote and the subject is the speaker. Third person quotes can occur with different subjects.

26.

As stated.

27-30

SEQUENCES OF PHONOLOGICAL SENTENCES

27

In Imbongu pronouns are not frequently used. Usually, a pronoun is first introduced immediately after its referent.

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STORY 1 - no pronouns

STORY 2 - 14 pronouns

{8 are in quotes where the referent is clear, 4 refer to the main character and the others are clear from context.}

Story 3 - 3 pronouns

Story 4 - 12 pronouns

{all but one refer to the main character}

character}
```

In general, pronoun usage in Imbongu is clear and can be assumed to refer to the main character in focus. When a different actor is

introduced, usually marked by the ERGATIVE clitic, this actor usually becomes the new pronoun referent.

The ANAPHORIC Deictic [kano] is also used to clarify the referent, i.e. that it is the same as that mentioned earlier.

28

LOGICAL CONNECTION BY SIMPLE SENTENCES

As stated.

a) In Imbongu, the form [aku kinye] 'at that time' is also used. The more prolific usage in Imbongu is [aku wali] which is the same in meaning. The phrase can be split to include an introductory clause.

aku te-pa -lie wali that do-3MV-SEQ when

'when he had done that'

Other forms of sentence introducers also use either of the DEICTICS as appropriate for the referent. These forms can be split to include more information and become an expanded phrase or a clause.

kano munga 'of that' kano mundo 'to that' kano na 'in that'

A logical connection is signalled by the use of the GENETIVE with the RELATOR, [aku munga] 'for that reason, of that'. A locational connection utilizes the LOCATIVE with the RELATOR, [aku na] 'in that, at that'. This also has logical function meaning 'as a result of that'. As anticipated, the DATIVE clitic with the RELATOR, [aku mundo] 'to that' signals direction either in logic or physical location. The NOMINATIVE with the RELATOR, [aku mu] 'that one', defines the relationship as simple identification rather that any sort of logical relation. This last form is seldom used as a sentence introducer.

b) Repetition of the main clause of the last sentence as the introductory clause is also a common phenomenon in Imbongu. Clauses can be expanded according to the rules for clauses. The SEQUENTIAL clitic is often but not exclusively affixed to the MEDIAL verb. Logical and location reference clitics, as well as the TOPICAL emphasis clitic [-pe] are also joined to these clauses. The TOPICAL clitic [-pe] is in the final position when it occurs.

29

PARAGRAPH

This is not yet clear, and if a system exists it is complex. The interaction of two of the DEICTICS, [aku] and [kano] may

define this partially. The TOPICAL emphasis marker [-pe] appears to interact with what might be called paragraphs in Imbongu. Text introductory sentences, and some sentences that introduce new topics do not have an INTRODUCTORY CLAUSE that begins with a DEICTIC. This area needs further investigation.

30

NARRATIVE

As stated with these additions. Many narratives also have a closing summary, besides the introductory comments.

31

UNRESOLVED ISSUES

In this section, I will list current areas for further study and investigation, some of which have already been mentioned in the preceding discussion. These are founded on preliminary observations.

- 1. Metaphorical usages of verb tense and mode.
- 2. Interaction of verb tenses: Is the SEQUENTIAL marker the only means for sequencing action, or is there some form of sequencing the tenses that will convey certain types of semantic information.
- 3. Definition of the intricacies of the usages for the DEICTICS [kano] and [aku].
- 4. Semantic description of the LOCATIVE and DEICTIVE systems, and their function as textual devices.
- 5. Semantic description of the CASE system, particularly the GENETIVE and the ERGATIVE, although the others are interesting as well.
- 6. Derivation and lexicalization of some 'dead metaphors'. What is the logic behind them?
- 7. Extended description of what Heads call 'Factual' verb forms [ltemo] [lemo] [lerumu] [lepamo], all forms of the word for inanimate 'it is'.
- 8. More full description of the CLITIC system, particularly those which mainly interact with verbs.
- 9. Extended description of the usage of the 3sg of the HORTATIVE, especially as it interacts with the GENETIVE.
- 10. Description of extended senses of some words, but this would be easier included in Dictionary building.

- 11. Again, more fitting perhaps as part of Dictionary building, discussion of verb combinations and their meanings.
- 12. Semantic description of the verbs for 'do, hit, give, speak, eat' and their modification in phrases.
- 13. Investigation of CONJUNCTIONS with the morpheme [ka] as a first syllable in their construction. The word [ka] means rope in Imbongu. Is this then an extended metaphorical usage?
- 14. Pronoun usage.
- 15. Indefinite reference, 'they' or 'you' where the reference is generic.
- 16. Detail specific instances where formal categories are used in ways that have a meaning base different than that used for that form in Scripture, i.e. usage of the same tense or case carries a different meaning.

32

TYPES OF CONSTRUCTIONS

- a) & b) As stated, with the note that Kaugel [kene] is Imbongu [kani].
- c) As stated.
- d) As stated with some variation in the phonological form of the words. The Imperative forms of the verbs are the same.
- e) The Kaugel [puni molo molo] 'will you go or not' is a form I have never heard in Imbongu to date. Instead of the third form listed, a typical Imbongu construction would be

moromo-ntye naa moromo ya he is -perhaps NEG he is ?

'I wonder if he's there or not?'

Note that [molo] is omissible in Imbongu.

- f) As stated.
- g) Rhetorical questions are used to state the obvious while stimulating the attention and involvement of the hearers. In 'town meeting' type situations, questions have been employed in this manner, but I have not often observed it. It may be an innovation that is not yet fully understood. In my brief experience at translation, I have found that some rhetorical questions are misunderstood, and so better rendered as statements.

- h) As stated. The NEGATIVE [molo] may also be stated by inclusion in a RELATIVE [aku] clause, usually in a HORTATIVE type of discourse.
- 1) As stated.
- j) As stated. The form [kanu sipe] which in Imbongu would be [kano tipe] is not in common usage with this meaning.
- k) The structure listed accounts for cases where consepts like tall and short are being contrasted. In cases where things are being compared along the same dimension, the intensifying adverb [paa] 'very' is used.

unto tulemu nalo neya untomu paa tule tree long but that tree very long

that's a tall tree but the other is taller

I have tried but been unable to find comparative degrees like those expressed in tall, taller, tallest. Semantic gyrations may be necessary to express this type of comparison.

- 1) The object/indirect object of the Benefactive is marked by the GENETIVE when explicitly stated.
- m) As stated, the usual form of the <u>causative</u> involves the use of the HORTATIVE to mark the action of the Patient and either an IMPERATIVE or a form of the verb [nimo] 'he says' to mark the instigator.
- n) As stated in both instances. Regarding 'the lesser of two evils, it is also possible to make a statement then label it with [aku keri] 'that's bad' and then make another statement and label it with [aku paa keri] 'that's very bad'. The RELATIVE [aku] phrases follow the statement they describe.
- o) As stated, but with some variation in the verb forms. The DUBITATIVE [nje/intye] 'perhaps' can co-exist in Imbongu with the INTERROGATIVE [ya] when in adjoining clauses. The more usual form is for the DUBITATIVE to precede INTERROGATIVE.
- p) There are no passives of the form stated. I suspect that it may be possible to create a type of passive by demoting the Agent into a GENETIVE, but have no hard evidence. If it can be done, it is not apparently highly used. Another passive type construction is as noted in the earlier description where the third person singular form of the verb is used with an indefinite or unstated subject.
- q) no current examples
- r) As stated. Also add the following phrase:

ungu enge nimo word strong he says

'he orders/exhorts'

s) I consider that the Imbongu language is rampant with figures of speech and will document some.

<u>simile</u> - the use of the word [mele] as discussed in (i) is typically employed as a device for simile

unto mele moromo 'he's sitting there like a piece of wood

metaphor - in a recent court case, one of the plaintiffs
 was being objectionable and an old man verbally
 accosted the plaintiff and his sycophant friend
 describing them as [owa talo] 'two dogs'. The
 insult was immediately recognized by the
 hearers, even though I'm not exactly sure of
 what the point of comparison was. Also, in
 legends, trees are often explicitly mentioned.
 I suspect they are laden with metaphorical
 symbolism, although I don't yet know what it
is.

euphemism - as stated.

hyperbole - as stated.

metonymy - as stated.

apostrophe - no current examples

personification - it exists. For example:

ena noromo 'its hot' sun eats-3sgPRES

In this example, the sun becomes animate, capable of eating.

irony - it is common to greet a friend by calling him
 [iye keri] 'bad man'. It is common to insult
 someone by giving a compliment but meaning the
 opposite. (Of course, those who are particularly
 skilled at this can do it without the recipient
 knowing it, but with the audience fully aware)

synechdoche - [pilimongo] 'stomache' is extended to mean
intestines as a whole.

t) I am familiar with the similar Imbongu expressions for money, axe, and upper body covering in the first section. Axe [loi] is the only variant in this section. The others, 'cold bag' and 'clothes' may have dropped out of general usage. The general expression for clothes is [wale pakoli].

Another example of a local plus a foreign term is [wale batekete] 'woven basket'.

In Imbongu, transliterated forms for airplane and car are [baluti] and [kare] respectively. Also, [lekopota] is the transliteration for 'helicopter' that one old man included as a metaphor in a story.

- u) ellipsis none documented
- v) as stated.
- w) <u>numbers</u> pidgin numerals are in wide usage, as is the old ([paone] 'pound') Australian system of counting money. I have no experience with the expression [pis] as a unit for 5 in Imbongu.

33

IDIOMS

Idioms of the type listed exist in Imbongu as well. Some examples are as follows:

komu tindiro 'I forget' ear I <BEN> give

no ltio 'I am baptized' water I get

tukume naa peremo 'weak, useless' inside core NEG it rests

kitipi kanoli iyemu 'learner, disciple' elbow looker man

As can be seen from these and the examples in the previous description, there is no general formulation for the structure of an idiom, however, when a verb is employed, in many cases the verb is cast in the third person singular.

Roman Stefanine

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ABBREVIATIONS

VERBAL

sg singular dl dual pl plural

Note: Numerals 1,2, or 3 denote person. In Imbongu, the dual and plural forms for the 3rd person are identical to those for the 2nd person. For economy, I only list 2nd person forms in the verb paradigms and

pronoun declension.

ANTIC **ANTICIPATIVE** ASP **ASPECT** CONT CONTINUOUS DES DESIRE FPST FAR PAST TENSE FUT FUTURE TENSE HORT HORTATIVE IMP **IMPERATIVE** MV MEDIAL VERB NEG NEGATIVE NOM NOMINALIZER NPST NEAR PAST TENSE PRES PRESENT TENSE SEQUENTIAL SEQ TEMPORARY TEMP

CASE

BEN BENEFACTIVE
DAT DATIVE
ERG ERGATIVE
GEN GENITIVE
LOC LOCATIVE
NOM NOMINATIVE

OTHER

DEF DEFINITE INDEFINITE REL RELATOR/RE

REL RELATOR/RELATIVIZER

BRef Back Reference