

KOBON PHRASES

Marcus & May Dawson

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0. INTRODUCTION

Kobon belongs to the Karam language family and has 3,500 speakers living west of Simbai in the Kaironk Valley. This area is located along the border of the Madang and Enga Districts. The data upon which this tentative analysis is based was collected between 1967 and 1970.

I. VERB PHRASES.

1.1. Verb Phrase Margin Paradigms

For the purposes of this paper the inflectional suffixes occurring on the last verb of a (compound) verb phrase are considered to be an immediate constituent of the whole verb phrase. Hence in this section the verb phrase margin is discussed separately from the rest of the verb phrase. Verb phrase margins are referred to in various verb phrase formulae later in this section and therefore it is appropriate to discuss and describe them here before the formulae are given.

There are two basic groups of verb phrase margin paradigms. These are (i) medial verb phrase margin paradigms and (ii) main verb phrase margin paradigms. Members of the former group are dependent upon the occurrence of members of the latter group whilst members of the latter group occur quite freely with or without the accompanying occurrence of members of the former group.

In describing both medial and main verb phrase margin paradigms the verb fu is used as the one to which the paradigms are suffixed. The verb fu means

"to break (firewood)". It is used here because unlike many other verbs it does not give rise to morphophonemic changes when combined with the various margin paradigms.

In the following description of verb phrase margin paradigms and morphophonemic rules a statement is made first of all which concerns general morphophonemic rules applying to the paradigms as a whole. The various paradigms are then listed and morphophonemic rules of limited application are discussed along with the paradigm(s) to which they refer.

1.1.1. General Morphophonemic Rules.

1.1.1.1. When a verb stem ending in a consonant cluster is followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant, a schwa is added so that it combines with the final consonant of the verb stem to form an intermediary syllable:

hangg + -né = hanggé 'I spoke'

1.1.1.2. When a verb stem ending in a consonant is followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant cluster the same thing happens: i.e. a schwa is introduced so as to form an intermediary syllable in the word:

wam + -mdin = wamémdin 'I used to wrap, bind.'

1.1.1.3. When a verb stem ending in a plosive, affricate, or velar fricative is followed by a suffix beginning with a voiced bilabial plosive the latter changes to a voiced bilabial fricative:

faq + -be = faqfe 'you (pl.) struck'

This rule applies even if a schwa vowel comes between the consonants concerned:

hangg + -be = hanggéfe 'you (pl.) spoke.'

1.1.1.4. Verb stem ending in "-aq" have an alternative form "-au" when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant or "u":

faqné 'I struck'

fauné 'I struck'

faqun 'let us strike'

fauun 'let us strike'

1.1.1.5. When a verb stem ending with a consonant is suffixed by a morpheme beginning with the same consonant, elision does not normally take place:

wam + -mén + wammén 'you (sing.) must wrap, bind'

The same applies to vowels though nonphonemic consonantal sounds are often present transitionally in such cases:

fu + -un = fuun [fuwun] 'let us break (firewood)'

1.2. Final Verb Phrase Margin Paradigms

1.2.1. There are three types of main verb phrase margin paradigms. Formulae for these types are based on Chart C in section 1.2.4. It will be seen that Chart C is in turn derived from Charts A and B of the same section (1.2.4.).

Type 1 Final Verb Phrase Margin = + Tense:tense marker + Aspect, Person, Number: class A suff. + Mood: mood marker.

Paradigms of this type are considered below:

1.2.1.1. Less Immediate and Distant Past (Perfect)

In this paradigm the past tense is indicated by a zero morpheme in the first slot of the margin. This is suffixed by a class A portmanteau morpheme which indicates the verb's aspect, person, and number. A further zero suffix then indicates the mood of the verb.

1 sing.	<u>fu-Ø-ne-Ø</u>	'I broke'
2 sing.	<u>fu-Ø-na-Ø</u>	etc.
3 sing.	<u>fu-Ø-a-Ø</u>	
1 duo	<u>fu-Ø-lo-Ø</u>	
2 duo	<u>fu-Ø-le-Ø</u>	
3 duo	<u>fu-Ø-le-Ø</u>	
1 pl.	<u>fu-Ø-no-Ø</u>	
2 pl.	<u>fu-Ø-be-Ø</u>	
3 pl.	<u>fu-Ø-la-Ø</u>	

1.2.1.2. Past--Contrary to Fact.

Here the tense slot is filled by the recent or immediate past tense allomorph -bé. A class A morpheme then indicates the verb's aspect, person, and number; whilst the mood slot is filled by the contrary-to-fact morpheme -f.

1 sing.	<u>fu-bé-ne-f</u>	'I would have broken'
2 sing.	<u>fu-bé-ne-f</u>	etc.
3 sing.	<u>fu-bé-ø-f</u>	
1 duo	<u>fu-bé-lo-f</u>	
2 duo	<u>fu-bé-le-f</u>	
3 duo	<u>fu-bé-le-f</u>	
1 pl.	<u>fu-bé-no-f</u>	
2 pl.	<u>fu-b-e-f</u>	
3 pl.	<u>fu-bé-la-f</u>	

From the following paradigm in Type 2 - (a) (Recent or Immediate Past--Stative) it will be seen that the basic form of allomorph -bé is -b, which in turn alternates with -f as per General Morphophonemic Rule (c). Allomorph -bé occurs following a vowel or consonant when it is itself suffixed by a morpheme beginning with a consonant:

han-bé-ne-f 'I would have rested'

Compare this with the paradigm just listed.

When the recent or immediate past tense morpheme is suffixed to a verb stem ending with a consonant cluster the allomorph -éf appears and combines with the final consonant of the verb stem to form a cvc syllable:

hangg-éf-ne-f 'I would have spoken'

The particular allomorph -éf is always the one occurring in this latter type of environment because the second member of stem final consonant clusters is always either a plosive or an affricate. See General Morphophonemic Rule (c). By this same rule a further allomorph -fé is brought into being following a stem final velar fricative and preceding a consonant:

faq-fé-ne-f 'I would have struck'

1.2.2. Type 2 Final Verb Phrase Margin = + Tense:tense marker + Aspect, Mood, Person, Number:Class B suffix

There are four paradigms of this type.

1.2.2.1. Recent or Immediate Past--Stative.

The tense slot in this paradigm is filled by the morpheme -b. The next slot is filled by class B Aspect Mood Person Number morphemes.

1 sing.	<u>fu-b-in</u>	'I have broken'
2 sing.	<u>fu-b-an</u>	etc.
3 sing.	<u>fu-éf-Ø</u>	
1 duo	<u>fu-b-ul</u>	
2 duo	<u>fu-b-il</u>	
3 duo	<u>fu-b-il</u>	
1 pl.	<u>fu-b-un</u>	
2 pl.	<u>fu-b-im</u>	
3 pl.	<u>fu-b-al</u>	

As previously mentioned the tense morpheme -b alternates with -f according to General Morphophonemic Rule (c). However, in the third person singular of this paradigm four different allomorphs of this same morpheme are found to occur:

- (a) -éb occurs following -r
ar + -b = aré**b** 'he has gone'
- (b) -émb occurs following a nasal:
néng + -b = néngé**b** 'he has perceived'
- (c) -éf occurs in all other environments. e.g.:
lau + -b = laué**f** 'he has cooked'
- (d) -umb occurs as an alternative to -éf in the environment just quoted, i.e. following -au. e.g.:
lau + -b = lauu**mb** 'he has cooked'

By comparing **this** section with the previous one (type 1 (b)) it will be seen that the recent or immediate past tense morpheme has eight allomorphs.

1.2.2.2. Iterative--Past and Present.

In this case the tense slot is filled by -md and the succeeding slot is again filled by class B Aspect, Mood, Person, Number, morphemes.

1 sing	<u>fu-md-in</u>	'I used to break' (and still do)
2 sing	<u>fu-md-an</u>	etc.
3 sing	<u>fu-md-é</u>	
1 duo	<u>fu-md-ul</u>	
2 duo	<u>fu-md-il</u>	
3 duo	<u>fu-md-il</u>	
1 pl.	<u>fu-md-un</u>	
2 pl.	<u>fu-md-im</u>	
3 pl.	<u>fu-md-al</u>	

-md is a **contraction** of the verb root ménd 'to exist', 'to be present', 'to be well'. When used as a verbal suffix it denotes continued action. ménd can **also perform the identical function in its unab-** abbreviated form. Hence:

<u>fu-ménd-in</u>	'I used to break' (and still do)
etc.	etc.

1.2.2.3. Present Progressive

Here, -amb fills the tense slot and class B Aspect, Mood, Person, Number morphemes again fill the succeeding slot.

1 sing.	<u>fu-amb-in</u>	'I am breaking' (trans.)
2 sing.	<u>fu-amb-én</u>	etc.
3 "	<u>fu-amb-Ø</u>	
1 duo	<u>fu-amb-ul</u>	
2 duo	<u>fu-amb-il</u>	
3 duo	<u>fu-amb-il</u>	
1 pl.	<u>fu-amb-un</u>	
2 pl.	<u>fu-amb-im</u>	
3 pl.	<u>fu-amb-éi</u>	

1.2.2.4. Future

-namb fills the tense slot and class B Aspect, Mood, Person, Number morphemes fill the following slot:

1 sing.	<u>fu-namb-in</u>	'I will break'
2 sing.	<u>fu-namb-én</u>	etc.
3 sing.	<u>fu-namb-Ø</u>	
1 duo	<u>fu-namb-ul</u>	
2 duo	<u>fu-namb-il</u>	
3 duo	<u>fu-namb-il</u>	
1 pl.	<u>fu-namb-un</u>	
2 pl.	<u>fu-namb-im</u>	
3 pl.	<u>fu-namb-éi</u>	

1.2.3. Type 3 Final Verb Phrase Margin = + Aspect,
Mood, Person, Number: class 3/class 4 morphemes

1.2.3.1. Imperative.

In this paradigm the only obligatory slot is
filled by class C Aspect, Mood, Person, Number morphemes.

1 sing. fu-én 'let me break'

2 sing. fu-Ø etc.

3 Sing. fu-ang

1 duo fu-ul

2 duo fu-él

3 duo fu-él

1 pl. fu-un

2 pl. fu-im

3 pl. fu-lang

Irregularities in two common verbs are:

ar-u 'you (sing.) go'

aw-e 'you (sing.) come' (The alternative
form au is used
occasionally)

In these cases it seems to be a matter of arbitrarily assigning a vowel to be added to the stem so that the speaker can be heard more easily at a distance.

1.2.3.2. Hortative

As with the imperative paradigm there is not a tense morpheme present. The Aspect, Mood, Person, Number slot is filled by class D Aspect, Mood, Person, Number morphemes.

1 sing.	<u>fu-nam</u>	'I should, must, ought to,
2 sing.	<u>fu-mén</u>	want to break'
3 sing.	<u>fu-ném</u>	etc.
2 duo	<u>fu-mil</u>	
2 pl.	<u>fu-mim</u>	

In certain types of construction funam for instance can also mean 'if I break'.

It is not known whether first and third person duo forms exist or not. During attempts to elicit them informants have repeatedly substituted imperative forms in their place.

1.2.4. Final Verb Phrase Margin Paradigms Charted.

When the final verb phrase margin paradigms are appropriately charted certain broad general groups of paradigmatic morpheme classes become apparent. This will be seen from the following charts, A and B.

Chart A. Final Verb Phrase Margins

Class A₁Class A₂

Person- Number	Less Immediate and Distant Past (Perfect)	Past - Contrary to Fact
1 sing.	<u>fu</u> - ø - <u>né</u>	<u>fu</u> - <u>bé</u> - <u>ne</u> - <u>f</u>
2 sing.	ø - <u>na</u>	- <u>bé</u> - <u>na</u> - <u>f</u>
3 sing	ø - <u>a</u>	- <u>bé</u> - ø - <u>f</u>
1 duo	ø - <u>lo</u>	- <u>bé</u> - <u>lo</u> - <u>f</u>
2 duo	ø - <u>lé</u>	- <u>bé</u> - <u>le</u> - <u>f</u>
3 duo	ø - <u>lé</u>	- <u>bé</u> - <u>le</u> - <u>f</u>
1 pl.	ø - <u>no</u>	- <u>bé</u> - <u>no</u> - <u>f</u>
2 pl.	ø - <u>be</u>	- <u>b</u> - <u>e</u> - <u>f</u>
3 pl.	ø - <u>la</u>	- <u>bé</u> - <u>la</u> - <u>f</u>

The aspect, person, number morpheme manifests the second tagmeme of the verb phrase margin in each column and it will be seen that the two sets are basically the same. The differences can be explained by comparing columns one and two as follows:

- (a) /é/ in 1st sing. and 2nd and 3rd duo changes to /e/ before being suffixed.
- (b) 3rd sing. -a is elided in column 2.
- (c) 2nd pl. -be from column 1 is fused with tense morpheme -bé in column 2. The effect appears to be as follows, where the bracketed phonemes are elided:

$$-b(\acute{e}) + -(b)e = -b-e$$

Since the two corresponding sets of morphemes are basically the same they may be referred to as subclasses A₁ and A₂ aspect, person, number morphemes. On comparing the meanings of the paradigms in sections 1.2.1.1. and 1.2.1.2., it is evident that the aspect is completive in each case.

Chart B. Final Verb Phrase Margins

	Class B ₁	Class B ₂	Class B ₃	Class B ₃
Person -Number	Recent or Immediate Past - Stative	Iterative - Past and Present	Present Progressive	Future
1 sing.	<u>fu-b-in</u>	<u>fu-md-in</u>	<u>fu-amb-in</u>	<u>fu-namb-in</u>
2 sing.	<u>-b-an</u>	<u>-md-an</u>	<u>-amb-én</u>	<u>-namb-én</u>
3 sing.	<u>-éb</u>	<u>-md-éf</u>	<u>-amb</u>	<u>-namb</u>
1 duo	<u>-b-ul</u>	<u>-md-ul</u>	<u>-amb-ul</u>	<u>-namb-ul</u>
2 duo	<u>-b-il</u>	<u>-md-il</u>	<u>-amb-il</u>	<u>-namb-il</u>
3 duo	<u>-b-il</u>	<u>-md-il</u>	<u>-amb-il</u>	<u>-namb-il</u>
1 pl.	<u>-b-un</u>	<u>-md-un</u>	<u>-amb-un</u>	<u>-namb-un</u>
2 pl.	<u>-b-im</u>	<u>-md-im</u>	<u>-amb-im</u>	<u>-namb-im</u>
3 pl.	<u>-b-al</u>	<u>-md-al</u>	<u>-amb-él</u>	<u>-namb-él</u>

The aspect, mood, person, number morpheme occurs as the second tagmeme of the verb phrase margin in each column and again it is evident that the four sets of such morphemes are basically the same. The differences are as follows:

- (a) 2nd sing. and 3rd pl. /a/ in columns 1 and 2 changes to /é/ in columns 3 and 4.

- (b) 3rd sing. zero morpheme in columns 1, 3, 4 is manifested as -ef in column 2. It will be noted that this is the same as the 3rd sing. tense morpheme in column 1.

The four sets of morphemes are very similar and it will in fact be seen that sets 3 and 4 are identical and thus the sets may be referred to as subclasses B₁, B₂, and B₃ aspect, mood, person, number morphemes.

The aspect of these four paradigms may be defined as non-completive. In the case of the recent or immediate past tense, the person or thing is considered to be still in the state of having performed the action in question and so there is the possibility of the action being continued. There is definitely no such idea of finality as is found in the less immediate and distant past tense.

The corresponding imperative and hortative sets of morphemes are sufficiently different to merit being treated separately and they are referred to as Classes C and D respectively.

The formation of the various paradigms can now be charted as follows:

Chart C

Paradigm	Stem	Tense	Aspect Person Number	Mood
Less Immediate and Distant Past (Perfect)	Stem	∅	Class A ₁	∅
Contrary to Fact	Stem	<u>-b</u>	Class A ₂	<u>-f</u>
			Aspect, mood, person, number.	
Recent or Immediate Past -- Stative	Stem	<u>-b</u>	Class B ₁	
Iterative - Past and Present	Stem	<u>-md</u>	Class B ₂	
Present Progressive	Stem	<u>-amb</u>	Class B ₃	
Future	Stem	<u>-namb</u>	Class B ₃	
Imperative Hortative	Stem		Class C Class D	
	Stem			
	Stem			

1.2.5. In addition to the Final Verb Phrase Margin slots already considered there are four other slots which must also be mentioned. Three of them come before the slots already discussed and the fourth follows the mood slot or the aspect, mood, person, number slot if the former is absent. The complete list of slots is as follows:

(1) **Completive** : -ha This suffix denotes the completion of some action or other and is used with most tenses.

(2) **Negative** : -ang Occurs with any mood or tense

(3a) **Completed Action**: -aj Suffix used to make the recent or immediate past tense a final and completive tense. Otherwise this tense though completive to a certain extent may also have iterative tendencies as well.

(3b) **Different Actor**

Indicator : -ai The verb phrase to which this morpheme is suffixed is still considered a main verb phrase since it may end a sentence. In such cases, however, there clearly are obvious inferences which the speaker does not consider it necessary to state.

- (4) Tense : tense marker (Already discussed)
- (5) Aspect, Mood, Person,
Number (Already discussed)
- (6) Mood : mood morpheme (Already discussed) This
only occurs if mood is not
included in the portmanteau
morpheme filling the previous
slot (5).
- (7) 'Slot' : -ar The precise meaning of this
suffix is not yet known. At
present it is being translated
as 'thus'.

1.2.6. Rules concerning Co-occurrence of Fillers of
the above Slots.

- (a) Slots (4), (5), and (6) can, as a sequence, co-occur
with any permissible combination of the other slots.
- (b) Of the remaining slots -ha may not co-occur with
either -aj or -ai, though all three may occur with
the negative.
- (c) -ar may not follow -ai but can co-occur with any
other combination which results after the above
rules have been applied.

Examples:

Stem	Order of Suffixes							Meaning
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
<u>fu</u>	<u>-ha</u>	<u>-angg</u>		<u>-f</u>	<u>-in</u>		<u>-ar</u>	I have not finished breaking thus.
<u>fu</u>		<u>-angg</u>	<u>-aj</u>	<u>-f</u>	<u>-in</u>			I did not break thus.
<u>fu</u>		<u>-angg</u>	<u>-ai</u>	<u>-namb</u>	<u>-in</u>			I will not break (whilst another actor does something else).
<u>fu</u>		<u>-angg</u>		<u>-éf</u>	<u>-ne</u>	<u>-f</u>	<u>-ar</u>	I would not have broken thus.

Thus the formula (with the co-occurrence restrictions discussed above) is:

Main verb phrase Margin = \pm Completive: -ha \pm Neg:

-angg \pm Completed action: -aj \pm Diff Actor Indicator:

-ai \pm Tense:tense marker + Aspect-Mood-Person-Number:

portmanteau classes A - D \pm Mood:mood marker \pm

Intensifier: -ar .

The completive: -ha isometimes occurs on the penultimate verb stem instead of on the ultimate (but never on both), e.g.

rāmb-ha

yu-Ø

cut 'completive' remove you (sing.) (imp.)

'You finish cutting and removing (the branches of a tree).'

wénd

nyé-ha-b-an

hold give 'completive' recent you
past

'You have completed holding and giving (them to me).'

The suffix -ha is added to the verb stem which carries the main meaning of the phrase. In the first example the main idea is to finish cutting the branches. Removing them from the tree is in this case an automatic process since it is merely a matter of allowing them to fall to the ground after they have been cut. Hence -ha is suffixed to rāmb 'cut'.

In the second example the Kobon had to hold the objects in order to give them and thus holding is a process involved in the main action of giving and so -ha is suffixed to the verb stem. nyé 'give' which in this case is final in the phrase.

1.3. Medial Verb Phrase Margin Paradigms

A medial verb phrase depends upon the occurrence of a succeeding main verb phrase from which it generally takes its tense, aspect, and mood. (See section (b) below for the exception to this general rule). The medial verb phrase occurs in a dependent clause and the main verb phrase in a main clause. The medial verb phrase relates back to the clause of which it forms or helps to form the predicate. Its margin on the other hand not only relates to the phrase to which it is suffixed, but also anticipates the succeeding clause, whether that succeeding clause be a main clause or a further medial clause.

The medial verb phrase margin paradigms can all be combined into one formula as follows:

Medial verb phrase Margin = + Time, Subject, Person:
time, subject, person, number marker.

The various paradigms are considered below:

1.3.1. Anticipated Action by the Same Subject

In this paradigm the slot is filled by class E₁ time, subject, person, number morphemes.

1 sing.	<u>fu-em</u>	'...break...' (1st person sing.)
2 sing.	<u>fu-mén</u>	etc.
3 sing	<u>fu-ém</u>	
1 duo	<u>fu-ul</u>	
2 duo	<u>fu-mil</u>	
3 duo	<u>fu-mil</u>	
1 pl.	<u>fu-un</u>	
2 pl.	<u>fu-mim</u>	
3 pl.	<u>fu-ém</u>	

For any particular person of the paradigm it is to be understood that the same person or persons performing the action described by the paradigm will also be the one or ones to perform the action of the following clause. This type of construction is frequently used to describe such a sequence of actions instead of using a series of main clauses.

1.3.2. Anticipated Action by a Different Subject.

The slot in this case is filled by class E₂ time, subject, person, number morphemes.

1 sing.	<u>fu-ne</u>	'...break...' (1st person sing.)
2 sing	<u>fu-e</u>	etc.
3 sing	<u>fu-é</u>	
1 duo	<u>fu-lo</u>	
2 duo	<u>fu-lé</u>	
3 duo	<u>fu-lé</u>	

1 pl. fu-no2 pl. fu-be3 pl. fu-le'

For any particular person of the paradigm it is to be understood that the person or persons only perform the action of which the paradigm speaks. The immediately subsequent action is performed by a different subject and one must wait until the next clause is spoken before one knows what person and number that subject will be.

In the case of the above paradigm, tense, aspect, and mood may to a certain extent be taken from the following verb phrase but they are also drawn to some extent from the general context in which the particular utterance occurs. The following sentence is an example of this:

rol yand néf hangg-néneng-mén

tomorrow I you speak I (with further perceive you

action anticipated (with further

by a different action antici-

subject) pated by the

same subject)

wéngkg-i-Ø

work.

do ↓ you (sing) (imp.)

vowel assigned to aid pronunciation

'Tomorrow I (will) speak to you (and) you must understand (and) do the work.'

It is easy to see that the tense of hangr-ne' is taken from the time word in its own clause, especially since the imperative verb phrase in the final clause does not have a tense slot in any case.

Again it is easy to see that the speaker is hardly likely to be commanding himself to speak and thus the mood also is taken from context rather than from the succeeding main verb.

1.3.3. Simultaneous Action by the Same Subject.

Here there is only one morpheme as filler of the slot for all persons and numbers. It may be termed class E_3 time, subject, person, number morpheme, though in actual fact the person and number in this case are taken from the margin of the following verb phrase.

fu-el '...break...' (any person or number)

This filler of the slot indicates that the action of the verb phrase of which it is the margin is performed simultaneously with the action of the following verb phrase and by the same subject. The person and number is indicated in the margin of the second verb phrase but it is not known apart from this.

This morpheme has an allomorph -el which occurs following high front vowel 'i' or a velar plosive or fricative. e.g.:

faq-el '...strike...' (any person or number)

Allomorph -el occurs elsewhere.

1.3.4. Purpose Action by the Same Subject

Again there is only one morpheme as filler of the slot for all persons and numbers. The morpheme is -nangk and it may be termed Class E_4 time, subject, person, number morpheme; though again the person and number are in fact taken from the margin of the following verb phrase.

fu-nangk '...in order to break...' (any
person or number)

In order that they might perform the action of the paradigm the person or persons involved are the ones who also perform the action of the succeeding verb phrase. To the native speaker of English the idea of 'purpose' is the thing which stands out here, but to the native speaker of Kobon there is a very definite time sequence involved in the course of completing the actions.

1.4. Verb Phrase Formulae

In addition to the verb phrase margins already discussed, other elements which may occur with a verb to make a verb phrase are: auxiliary verbs, other verb stems, and a special verb phrase. It is quite usual for up to three verb stems to combine to form a verb phrase.

1.4.1. The type 1 verb phrase is a string of n verb stems followed by a verb phrase margin, either medial or final.

$VP_1 = +(v.Head:verb)^{n+1} + v.Margin:Medial \text{ Verb Phrase Margin/final Verb Phrase Margin}$, where $n = 0-2$; i.e. "VP₁" is a string of verb stems with the appropriate suffixes on the last verb stem only.

The Verb Phrase may be transitive, intransitive, ditransitive, or stative. These are combined in the same formula here because they all have the same structure.

Transitive Final

rimb wénd ar-amb-Ø

cut hold go pres. he

tense

'He is cutting (his way).' i.e. He is cutting a new road through the bush.

Ditransitive Finalwénd ny-ha-b-an

hold give completed recent you (sing.)

action past

'you have just completed holding and giving (them to me).'

Ditransitive Medialwénd ny-émhold give he (suffix anticipating further action
by the same subject)

'he held and gave (it to me) (tense supplied).'

1.4.2. The second type of verb phrase has a noun, adjective, or verb acting as an auxiliary. This is followed by a member of the restricted class of verbs, v_3 .

$VP_2 = +Aux_2$:noun (a) or noun (b)/adj./verb (a) or verb(b) + $v.Head_2$: v_3 + $v.Margin$:medial suff./final suff. ass.

The class v_3 includes g 'to do, make, happen,' and l 'to put, to be in an established condition.'

1.4.2.1. Class (a) nouns and (a) verbs occur elsewhere as well as in this construction. Class (b) nouns and (b) verbs occur only in this construction. These classes are dealt with under 'WORDS 2'.

Verb phrases with g as Head may be either transitive, intransitive, or stative; whilst verb phrases with l as Head may be either transitive or stative.

1.4.2.2. Stative verb phrases with either g or l as Head have certain peculiar characteristics:

(a) Verb phrases of this type could be termed "pseudo passive" in that the subject of the utterance is in a sense the recipient of the condition spoken about. This is seen from the fact that the person suffix on the verb g or l is always the third person singular. There would thus seem to be some imaginary actor involved.

(b) The tense used to describe a present state is usually the recent or immediate past. Thus, in effect, a present state is the result of a cause which is deemed to be a past action. The present tense may be used in certain cases but this is a comparatively rare construction.

Examples of VP₂

g with noun - Transitive

manggumg-i-Ø

pile do-(vowel arbitrarily assigned -you (sing.)
to stem for purpose of (imp.)
pronunciation)

'You pile (them) up.'

g with noun -- Intransitive

rul g'é-namb-en

hole do-future tense-you.(sing.)

'You will fall down (the hole).'

g with noun -- Stative

(bi iru) ménya g-éf-Ø

(men many) epidemic do-recent.past-it

'(Many men) are sick.'

g with adj. -- Intransitive

manjé g-ém

big do-he (further action anticipated
by the same subject).

'He is trying hard (tense supplied).'

g with adj. -- Stative

(kanyém) aiinch g-ef-Ø

(bananas) good do-recent-it
past

'(The bananas) are good.'

l with noun -- Stative

(<u>yand</u>)	<u>wése</u>	<u>l-éf-Ø</u>
(I)	sores	recent it
		past
	to be in an	
	established condition	

'(I) have some sores.'

l with verb -- Transitive

(<u>bá</u> <u>kain</u>)	<u>fa</u>	<u>l-éf-Ø</u>
(man dog)	strike	recent he
		past
	to be in an	
	established condition	

'(The man) has struck (the dog) so that it is in the condition of having been struck.' i.e. The beating was no light thing. The dog may die or it may not.

fa, above, is a verb as it can occur in isolation.

An independent verb does not occur with g in this way.

l with verb -- Stative

(<u>na</u> <u>bá</u>)	<u>ré</u>	<u>l-éf-Ø</u>
(you man)	to	recent it
	resemble	past
	to be in an established condition	

'(You) resemble (the man).'

(There is no proof that ré is a verb root. This example also should perhaps be omitted.)

It should be mentioned here that all the foregoing main verb phrases may also occur as medial verb phrases and vice versa. It is just a matter of filling the verb margin slot with the appropriate verb suffix or suffix assembly as the case may be.

A further important thing to realize is that there are varying degrees of cohesion amongst the elements of the entire spectrum of verb phrases just described. For instance, in the first example of verb phrase type 2 manggum may never occur without g whereas g on the other hand may occur independently of manggum as a verb in its own right. Compare this with the second example where both rul and g may occur quite independently of each other.

Degrees of cohesion occur between these limits. In the third example, for instance, menya is usually found in combination with g but it is not always so. Such varieties of cohesion and independence also characterize verb phrases with l as verb Head.

One may also have a combination where the component verbs occur very freely in other situations but

in this particular combination they have a certain particular meaning and must be obligatorily present for the phrase to have that meaning. e.g. al 'to pierce' + wénd 'to hold' = 'to sew'. Many such combinations occur.

Other combinations are much more loosely bound.
e.g.

biningk 'to thrust in' + ral 'to cut' + yu 'to remove', was a combination of verbs used to describe the shaving of ground off the side of a ditch.

Many such loose combinations naturally include close-knit combinations such as have been described above. See examples two and three (Transitive Medial, and Intransitive Final) of Verb Phrase Type 1.

2. NON-VERBAL PHRASES

There are eight noun phrase types in Kobon. The compound noun phrase and the reduplicated noun phrase may each fill the head slot in the basic noun phrase and the basic noun phrase in turn fills the head slot in the modified noun phrase. It is therefore helpful and convenient to consider these four noun phrase types in the order just indicated. Other types of noun phrase are: interrogative, coordinate, accompaniment,

and additive; and these are subsequently considered in this sequence.

The formula for the modified noun phrase contains the following additional phrases as fillers of its various slots: reduplicated adjective phrase, noun phrase characterizer phrase, quantity adjective phrase, numeral phrase, and demonstrative phrase. This is the order in which these phrases follow the basic noun phrase filling the head slot and so again it is natural to follow on by considering them in this sequence.

Remaining phrase types are the locative phrase, the locational noun phrase, the question phrase, and the temporal phrase, and these are treated alphabetically as listed.

2.1. Noun Phrases

2.1.1. Compound Noun Phrase.

The compound noun phrase acts in the same way as an ordinary noun and so can potentially occur in most, if not all, places in which ordinary nouns can occur.

Compound NP = + Supplement:n + Supplement:n

The two nouns filling the two obligatory slots constitute an exocentric construction. Thus it is not possible to determine the meaning of the compound noun phrase merely by examining its component parts.

e.g. kali rame
 nail, prick, junction
 hook
 'a comb'

gafi mangge
 star lump
 'a button'

wim ru
 bow axe
 'bride price'

2.1.2. Reduplicated Noun Phrase

A certain class of nouns is capable of being reduplicated. Nouns of this class act as fillers of head slots in noun phrases generally, and the reduplicated noun phrase has the same potential distribution.

Reduplicated NP = + Head:n + Head:n

The filler of each head slot is the same and the effect of this reduplication is cumulative or emphatic:

(nan) aje^f aje^f
 (thing) rubbish rubbish

'much rubbish' i.e. much more than there
 would be if one merely said
 'nan aje^f'

nan is an attributive noun and it here means that the rubbish is unidentified.

2.1.3. Basic Noun Phrase

The basic noun phrase fills the head slot in the modified noun phrase and the head and localizer slots in the locational noun phrase.

Basic NP = [†] Attribute:Compound NP/Modified NP + Head:n/
Compound NP/Reduplicated NP.

The modified noun phrase is usually only a single noun but it may consist of a noun plus a modifier:

nanggi réngg-ef isu

rope to roll (adjectivizer) string figure

'a rolled rope string figure' i.e. one made out
of rolled rope.

The noun filling the head of the attributive slot may be the possessor of the noun in the head slot:

Blendo ram

Blendo house

'Blendo's house'

In other cases the noun filling the head of the attributive slot is merely used to limit the meaning of the noun in the head slot. Semantics vary

according to the particular combination of words involved:

kéfélt

asémen

weeds

organic matter

'organic matter consisting of weeds'

nyéngk

altáng

water

bamboo

'a (piece of) bamboo used as a water container'

2.1.4. Modified Noun Phrase

The modified noun phrase fills the subject, object, and indirect object slots on clause level. When consisting of only a single noun plus a modifier it also fills the attributive slot of the basic noun phrase and the head slot in the interrogative accompaniment and additive noun phrases.

Modified NP = + Head:Basic NP \pm M₁:adj/Reduplicated Adj.P
 \pm M₂:adj/Reduplicated Adj.P/Noun Phrase
 Characterizer P \pm Possession:pro \pm Quantity:
 quantity adj. or Quantity Adj.P/numeral or
 Numeral P \pm Specifier:demonstrative or
 Demonstrative P/locative w. \pm Limiter:néf

It would be theoretically possible to fill all seven slots in the phrase but the practice in common speech is to use only a relatively small selection of the slots indicated. The following four examples together illustrate the above sequence:

nanggi réngg-ef isu
 rope to roll adjectivizer string figure
 'a rolled rope string figure' i.e. one made out
 of rolled rope.

kéfiá hel ná méhéf
 rat traps your two
 'your two rat traps'

nyá fro rénd yand méhéf néf
 boys small white my two only
 'my two small white boys only'

bá anyá af néf
 man one some only
 (specifier)
 'some man -- one only'

The modified noun phrase formula shows that the M_1 and M_2 Modifier slots can each be filled by a

reduplicated adjective phrase. This phrase type is considered more fully in section 2.2.1. An example is as follows:

(mamb) mélé mélé
 (tree) long long
 '(a) very long (tree)'

The M_1 and M_2 slots can each be filled simultaneously with a reduplicated adjective phrase. In fact, any potential filler of M_1 (or an absence of the M_1 slot) can be followed by any potential filler of M_2 (or an absence of the M_2 slot). M_1 is filled by adjectives describing the size or dimensions of the Head whilst M_2 is filled by adjectives describing the quality of the Head. Occasionally M_2 is filled by a second adjective expressing size or dimension. The fact that needs to be stressed, however, is that it is far more usual to have only one modifier slot filled (either by an adjective or reduplicated adjective phrase) than to have both modifier slots filled.

A minor point of interest relative to the above is the phrase:

némbi rénd mélé
 woman white tall
 'the tall white woman'

Here the adjectives of dimension and quality are in reverse sequence to what has just been described above. This is because a European woman is known as némbi rénd. There is quite a strong degree of cohesion between these two words and thus in this case it is more natural to put the adjective expressing dimension after that expressing quality. This may be contrasted with the phrase:

nyá fro rénd

boy small white

'the small white boy'

In this case the standard expression for a child of a certain size is nyá fro and thus it is completely natural to follow the usual order and put the adjective of quality after that of size.

Another filler of the M_2 slot is the noun phrase characterizer phrase. It is discussed in section 2.2.2.

The possessive slot is filled by an ordinary personal pronoun as there is no special set of pronouns to indicate possession. It should be noted, however, that a possessive relationship may already exist within the basic noun phrase filling the head slot of the modified noun phrase, i.e. the attributive noun may be the possessor of the head noun (see section 2.1.3.). In this case the possessive slot is never filled with

a possessive pronoun depicting the same owner as has already been mentioned, but a pronoun referring to a different owner is quite normal. e.g.

<u>kanch</u>	<u>nambéché</u>	<u>yand</u>
pig	head	my
'my pig's head'		

Concerning the quantity slot, the quantity adjective phrase and the numeral phrase are each dealt with in their own separate sections (see 2.2.4. and 2.2.5.).

The modified noun phrase formula shows that the specifier slot may be filled by a demonstrative phrase, and this phrase type is considered in section 2.2.6. An alternative filler is a locative word such as i : 'here' and u : 'there'. Words of this type have a dual role in that they are in effect specifiers as well as being locatives.

2.1.5. Interrogative Noun Phrase

Interrogative NP = \pm Q*:Interrog. pro/question word + Head:
 n/Compound NP \pm Q*:Interrog. pro/question
 word/question phrase.

*Where only one of the 'Q' slots may (and must) occur in any one phrase.

The interrogative pronoun filling the first optional Q slot is always the possessor of the head noun:

ban menéng

which ground

man

'which man's ground'

The only question word which can precede the Head is nehén : 'what?'

nehén mané

what talk

'what talk (speech)?'

The interrogative pronoun filling the second optional Q slot always asks for information about the Head slot:

némbi an

woman which

'which woman?'

nehén very often follows the Head slot and there are other question words too which fill this position:

nan manggé aigek

thing lump how much

food

'how much food?'

The only question phrase so far discovered is néhén néhén. It is discussed in section 2.4.

2.1.6. Coordinate Noun Phrase

The coordinate noun phrase functions in the subject, object or indirect object slots on clause level.

Coordinate NP = + Head:Bas. NP $\frac{+}{-}$ Linker:ambe + Head:Bas. NP $\frac{+}{-}$ Linker:ambe $\frac{+}{-}$ Head:Bas. NP $\frac{+}{-}$ Linker:ambe $\frac{+}{-}$ Head:Bas. NP $\frac{+}{-}$ Linker:ambe etc.

The coordinate noun phrase naturally needs at least two heads filled by nouns. The quantity of optional head slots added to the list is at the discretion of the speaker. The number of times ambe is said is again entirely at the discretion of the speaker. He may include it in every optional position or he may not include it at all. As a third alternative he may include it here and there as he feels inclined:

némbi rénd bá rénd (au-b-al)

women white men white (come recent they)

past

'the white men and women (have come).'

mimor ambe fénch ambe (ménd-angg-éf-ø)

beetles and hat and (stay negative recent it)

past

'beetles and hat (are not present)'

A free translation is as follows:

'Since there are no beetles there is no hat (Hats are made out of beetles)'

The translation of this utterance is a matter of semantics. It so happens that in this case the non-existence of the hat was solely because there were no beetles available. The Kobon here chooses to put the verb in the singular.

manch má ambe kanyém bily agai ambe yém-Ø-né-Ø
 sweet taro and bananas sugar pitpit and plant I indicative
 potato past tense mood

'I planted sweet potato, taro, bananas, sugar and pitpit.'

2.1.7. Accompaniment Noun Phrase

The accompaniment NP fills the manner slot on clause level.

Accompaniment NP = + Head:Modified NP + Accompaniment:féngk

The head is filled by a basic noun phrase and the accompaniment slot is filled by the accompaniment particle féngk.

nyá némbi gau féngk (ar-amb-Ø)

child women there with (go present he)

tense

'(the child is going) with the women there'

2.1.8. Additive Noun Phrase

The additive noun phrase fills the subject, object, and manner slots on clause level.

Additive NP = + Head:Modified NP + Additive:halé

The head is filled by a basic noun phrase and the additive slot is filled by the additive particle halé.

mamb kumb halé (mend-ef-Ø)

trees big in (stay recent it)

addition past

'(there are) some more big trees'.

(The verb mend does not have a present tense and the third person singular is frequently used instead of the third person plural.)

nyéngk halé (nyéng-Ø)

water in (drink you(sing.) (imperative))

addition

'(Drink water in addition (to the medicine that was given)).'

méng halé (ar-u-Ø)

rain in (go vowel added you (sing.) (imperative)

addition to aid pronunciation

'(You go) in the rain.'

2.2. Modifier Phrases

2.2.1. Reduplicated Adjective Phrase

Reduplicated Adj.P = + Head:adj. + Head:adj.

As in the case of the reduplicated noun phrase certain adjectives may also be reduplicated and they thereby form a reduplicated adjective phrase. Such phrases consist of two words only, each word being the same. Reduplication emphasises the quality of the adjective concerned:

(ram) kumb kumb

(house) big big

(a) very big (house)

One may have two juxtaposed reduplicated adjective phrases occurring as components of a basic noun phrase:

(nan) fro fro aiinch aiinch

(thing) small small good good

'(something) very small and very good'

2.2.2. Noun Phrase Characterizer Phrase

NP Characterizer P = + Characteristic:n/adj. + Relator:

be'/hale'

This is an axis relator phrase of an uncommon type. It is used to impregnate a noun or noun phrase with the characteristics of the noun or adjective

contained within itself. The relator be may be translated as 'with', 'possessing' or 'characterized by'.

(nan) mengk bé (yand)

(thing) teeth with (my)

'(my thing) with teeth'

(ba) kéfal bé

(man) skin disease with

'(a man) with a skin disease'

(ram kumb) kaming bé (yand)

(house big) green with (my)

'(my big) green (house)'

The word halé : 'with', 'in addition', can be substituted for bé in each of the above utterances. From the examples it will be seen that the noun phrase characterizer phrase can only occur as an embedded phrase type. It appears to be used for describing an imparted characteristic rather than one which is inherently part of the original make-up of the person or thing concerned. In some ways this is like the additive noun phrase but it functions differently.

2.2.4. Quantity Adjective Phrase

Only one phrase is known of this type. This is as follows:

rémnaf halé

some with, in addition

'some more'

The word rémnaf may be abbreviated to af and then the phrase becomes af halé.

2.2.5. Numeral Phrase

No attempt is here made to present a formula for the numeral phrase as to do so is considered too complicated and impractical. It is felt that a verbal explanation will give a clearer picture of what is involved.

There is one main body-parts counting system which is used for the purpose of counting various objects. It has a basic unit of twenty-three and these twenty-three body-part points are named in sequence. One starts with the little finger of one hand and names the fingers and thumb, the wrist, the forearm, the elbow, the upper arm, the shoulder, the collar bone, and the hollow just above the sternum. This makes twelve. The corresponding body-part points are then named in sequence across to the opposite shoulder, down the opposite arm and ending with the other little finger.

After the number twelve the body parts from the collar bone down to the thumb have the word béng after them. béng means 'the other side'. The forefinger and the next two fingers have the word u 'there' following them. Then after the little finger is named the word ju-é-f-ø is said. This means 'it has pulled' and pull recent it

past

denotes that the basic unit has been completed.

From the above explanation it will be realized that kanggolt : (the wrist) means 'six', and that therefore, according to the system, kanggolt béng (the opposite wrist) means 'eighteen'.

After the basic unit of twenty-three has been reached there are two alternatives. If there are not many more objects to be counted one can go back to the first hand and just merely indicate the first few body parts for as many as necessary prefacing each one with the words nyén ju-é-f. nyén ju-é-f means 'the hand has pulled' and indicates that the basic unit of twenty three has already been counted.

Alternatively, if there are quite a few more objects to be counted after the basic unit of twenty-three has been exhausted, a different system is used. In this case one starts again with the same little

finger with which one has just finished. One then counts back up the same arm that one has just come down and as one progresses various distinguishing words again follow the appropriate body-part name. The little finger is followed by kayang 'again'. The following fingers and thumb and consecutive body parts up to the collar bone are then followed by u 'there'. The hollow above the sternum is called the same as before but this time it is number thirty-five. The name for the opposite collar bone is then followed by béng dāk. béng means 'the other side' and dāk means 'a little across'. The body parts from the shoulder down to the thumb are followed by béng dang. béng has the same meaning as above and dang means 'across', i.e. further across than dāk. The first three fingers are then followed by u 'there' and on naming the little finger one says:

<u>wa nyéngk némbé'</u>	<u>dang</u>	<u>ju-éf-ø</u>
little finger	across	pull recent at
		past

'forty-six'

The Kobon can count beyond this but seldom needs to do so with any accuracy and thus most people are somewhat undecided as to how to go about it. At a sing-sing, for example, the Kobon almost inevitably has to resort to some expression which merely indicates that many people were present.

There is another counting system in which the little finger on one hand is counted and then the little finger on the other hand and so on. One thus advances up one's two arms simultaneously, making the same rate of progress on each arm. The informant speaking about this system does not actually understand it and thus no attempt is made to describe it here.

The above outline indicates the basic counting system in Kobon but finer details of specification and new expressions are constantly being discovered. Observe, for instance, the following, where the speaker clenches both fists:

nyén manggé béng béng

hand lump side side

fingers

'ten', i.e. all the fingers on each hand.

In addition to all that has been said, the numerals from one to four are also expressed by cardinal numbers. These are as follows:

anyá 'one'

mehef 'two'

mehef nénggan

'two' 'one' 'three'

mehef mehef

'two' 'two' 'four'

It is now evident that there are two numbering systems from one to four but only one numbering system in general use beyond that point. The body-parts counting system from one to four is used for counting any type of object. It is also used for the days of the week since these are a relatively new innovation and usually need to be counted in any case.

The numeral system on the other hand is used for any number of things up to four when they are not specifically being counted, e.g.

kanch mehef nénggang néng-b-in

pigs two one see recent I
three past

'I have seen three pigs.'

From what has been said it naturally follows that the body-parts counting system would be used in the

above instance for any number greater than four. One very good reason for having a separate numeral system from one to four is because in the body-parts counting system the middle two fingers are both known as yéngué.

It should be further noted that the numeral system from two to four also has a type of optional suffixation which serves to indicate the general location of the number of objects concerned. This suffixation concerns the word méhéf only. It is first abbreviated to méh and is then suffixed by locative expression -ai 'here' or -au 'there'.

bá méh-au

men two there

'two men there'

bá méh-au néngan

men two there one

'three men there'

bá méh-au méh-au

men two there two there

'four men there'

The suffix -ai functions in precisely the same manner:

bí méh-ai méh-ai

men two here two here

'four men here'

An optional limiter may occur following the numeral 'two' in any of its forms. The limiter is méhéng 'only'. Note the following expressions:

méhéf méhéng

two only

'two only'

méh-au méhéng

two there only

'two there only'

méh-ai méhéng

two here only

'two here only'

2.2.6. Demonstrative Phrase

Only one phrase of this type has so far been encountered. It is as follows:

mar af

this, piece, thing

the one con-

cerned

'this thing (the one just mentioned)'

2.3. Locative Phrases

2.3.1. Locative Phrase

The locative phrase fills the locative slot on clause level and the modifier slot in the locational noun phrase (see section 2.3.2.).

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Locative P} = & \text{ }^{\pm} \text{Loc:loc}_1 \text{ }^{\pm} (\text{ }^{\pm} \text{Loc:loc}_2 + \text{Loc:loc}_3) \\ & \text{ }^{\pm} (\text{ }^{\pm} \text{Loc:loc}_4 + \text{Loc:loc}_5) \text{ }^{\pm} (\text{Loc:loc}_4 \\ & + \text{Loc:loc}_5) \end{aligned}$$

Locative words are grouped into five classes.

These classes relate to the order in which the locative words occur as fillers of slots in the locative phrase.

The locative words occur as stratified fillers of the slots and do not modify each other in any way. Instead, each adds its own specific information as to the whereabouts of the subject under discussion.

The following examples together illustrate the sequence indicated in the above formula. Each word is entered in its appropriate class column:

Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 4	Class 5
Immediate relation to the feature concerned	Distance	Here and There etc.	Place	Position in three dimensional space	Place	Position in three dimensional space
<u>andé</u> above (in relation to the object concerned	<u>sel</u> close to	<u>au</u> there	<u>ga</u> place	<u>lák</u> a little above (in relation to where the speaker is situated)		

above (the object) in the place close to there a little above (where we are).

	<u>ang</u> in the middle	<u>lák</u> a little above	<u>ga</u> place	<u>yák</u> a little below
--	-----------------------------	------------------------------	--------------------	------------------------------

a little below the place (which is) in the middle a little above (where we are)

This latter utterance was said when looking up at the points of nails protruding downwards through a wooden floor.

2.3.2. Locational Noun Phrase

The locational noun phrase fills the subject, object and locational slots on clause level.

Locational NP = + Head:Modified NP ⁺ Localizer:

Modified NP + M:Locative P

The head of the locational noun phrase usually consists of a single noun but attributive nouns do sometimes precede the head. Very occasionally a single adjective may follow the head.

The localizer slot occurs much less frequently and in present data the only filler of this slot is a noun.

The locative phrase filling the final modifier slot has the same kind of manifestations as it does when occurring as a full phrase in its own right. The following examples together illustrate the full expansion of the locational noun phrase.

ram yilt g-iang

house area place below

'The narrow margin of ground immediately surrounding the house below.'

andan dum mang

road mountain downstream

'the road on the mountain downstream'

In the first utterance ram yilt fills the head slot of the locational noun phrase whereas in the second utterance andan fills the head slot and dum the localizer slot. The following examples illustrate the full expansion of the locative phrase which fills the modifier slot:

Head		Locative Phrase					
	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 4	Class 5
<u>ram</u> house	<u>hong</u> outside	<u>sel</u> close to	<u>au</u> there	<u>ga</u> place	<u>lak</u> a little above		
'the place outside the house close to there, a little above'							
<u>ram</u> house					<u>yang</u> below	<u>ge</u> place	<u>dang</u> across

'the house in the place below and across'

It is necessary at this point to compare the locational noun phrase with the modified noun phrase discussed in section 1.1.5.

It will be seen that the modified noun phrase may have a locative word filling its specifier slot and the locational

noun phrase may likewise have only a single locative word manifesting the locative phrase filling its modifier slot. This gives the appearance of a slight overlap between these two phrase types at this point. However, the following distinguishing characteristics of the modified noun phrase and the locational noun phrase should be borne in mind:

modified noun phrase	locational noun phrase
1. Contains a wide variety of slots not found in the locational noun phrase.	Contains a localizer slot not found in the modified noun phrase
2. The locative word filling the specifier slot may not be expanded into a locative phrase.	The locative phrase filling the modifier slot very frequently consists of more than one locative word.
3. Only a restricted range of locative words may fill the specifier slot, i.e. those locative words which tend to have a dual function in that they do also act as specifiers	No restriction as to what locative words may fill the modifier slot.

Remaining traces of possible overlap are explained away by saying that the locational noun phrase must have a locatable noun in its head slot, whilst the head slot of the modified noun phrase is filled only by those nouns which are not linked so closely with the idea of location. Compare the following examples:

raŋ gau

house place there

'the house in the place there'

nembi gau

women place there

'those women there'

By the above criterion the first expression is considered to be a locational noun phrase and the second a modified noun phrase.

2.3.3. Compound Locational Noun Phrase.

The compound locational noun phrase consists of two locational noun phrases in contiguous sequence as in the following examples:

andən fre i dum lang

road small here mountain on top

'on the small road here on the mountain top'

ram raur méltef gau

house inside dry place there

'a dry place inside the house'

The second locational noun phrase is specifying a precise area within the inside of the house, and since the inside of the house has only just been mentioned the head of the second locational noun phrase is considered so obvious as to be redundant and is therefore omitted. The word méltef 'dry' thus stands for 'dry area' or 'dry situation'.

2.4. Question Phrase

The question phrase fills the question slot following the head in the interrogative noun phrase.

The only question phrase found to occur is as follows:

néhén néhén

what what

It is used when enquiring about a variety of articles or about a single class of article in different locations. In either case the concept of quantity is present:

(wéngk) néhén néhén

(work) what what

'what kinds of (work)'

(mani na) nehen nehen

(money your) what what

'What (money have you got)?' i.e. how much in

various places.

6.5. Temporal Phrase

The temporal phrase fills the temporal slot on clause level.

Temporal P = + Head:time word/Temporal Expression

+ Limiter:nef

The term 'temporal expressions' includes a variety of temporal phrases which it is impractical to try and describe in terms of a formula. Examples are as follows:

semb hale

darkness in addition

'morning time' i.e. The darkness has been added to, in terms of time and of daylight.

guref yang

afternoon halew

'late afternoon' i.e. the sun is sinking down below to rest.

semb i ang

darkness here the middle

'in the middle of the night'

wa nyéngk némbébéng lau

Monday

side the other side

'next Monday'

wa nyéngk némbé literally means 'the little finger'. This is the finger used for counting Monday since the Kobons have chosen to call Monday the first day of the week.

An example of the temporal phrase formula outlined above is:

sémbhalenéf

darkness

in addition

only/truly

'the actual morning time'