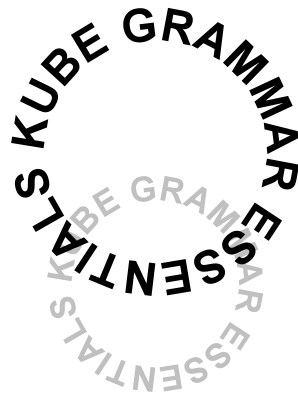


KUBE GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS

1993



WRITTEN BY YONGSEOP LEE

SIL

Special thanks go to Dr. Bob Bugenhagen for his invaluable help as consultant during the analysis of the Kube grammar

1993

This is a revised and reformatted version of the grammar, meant for web publication as requested by Dr René van den Berg, linguistics consultant for SIL PNG. So the manuscript kept in the archive for more than 20 years now comes alive and available to any of you interested in it.

Thank you and thank you my kind teachers in Kube!

2014

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN GLOSSES

1	1st person
2	2nd person
2,3	2nd or 3rd person
3	3rd person
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ADJ	adjective (adjectival)
ADV	adverb
ASS	associative
ATT	attributive
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
CL	clause
COLLEC	collective
COMPL	completive
CONJ	conjunction
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DL	dual
DS	Followed by Different Subject
DUR	durative (Existential)
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	Ergative (Agentive and Instrumental functions)
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive (On the head)
H	head
HAB	habitual
ILL	illative (elative)
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INDUC	inducement
INTENS	intensifier

IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
MOD	modifier
N	noun
NEG	negation
NON.PAST	non-past
NP	noun phrase
NSG	non-singular
OBJ	object
OBLG	oblique
PAST	past
PL	plural
PRN	pronoun
PROB	probability
PURP	purpose
QUANT	quantifier
REAL	realis
REFER	referential
REL	relative/relativizer
S	subject
SEN	sentential
SG	singular
SS	same subject
TL	time-locative
TSM	tense-subject-mood
V	verb
VZR	verbalizer

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 GENERAL INFORMATION

This grammar describes the structure of *Kube* (which is also called as Mongi by the speakers), a Papuan language spoken by some 7,500 people living in the mountain ranges around the Kube river in the northern portion of the Morobe province, Papua New Guinea.

Kube is classified by William A. Foley (1986:244) as a member of the Eastern Huon Family of languages. The following description is based on the work of the author, Yong-Seop Lee, who has resided in the Kube area since October 1988. Some work papers describing the neighbouring language groups, Burum-Mindik and Dedua have been available to the author. In addition, "Towards a Typology of the Finistere Huon Languages, New Guinea" (McElhanon, K., 1973) and "The Papuan languages of New Guinea" (William A. Foley 1986) were very useful in the beginning stages of the analysis.

There are two dialects in the language, Kulungtfu and Yuanggeng. The Tobo language may also be a dialect of Kube. Tobo is currently classified as a member of West Huon Family, but based on a recent survey by the present author Tobo appears to be a dialect of Kube. A report to be handed in later will present evidence for this conclusion. According to the study of word lists (consisting of about 200 words and simple sentences), the two languages are about 95% cognate. In addition the mutual intelligibility is very high. (Most Tobo children could understand Kube stories very easily.???)

When a man who accompanied the present author during the survey talked with the host, they talked in their own languages and there seemed to be no difficulties in the conversation.

The orthography used in this paper is given below. There are 21 consonants and 6 vowels in the Kube orthography.

a b c d dz e é f g gb h i k kp l m n ng o p r s t ts u w y

The special characters have the following pronunciations:

c - glottal stop. (Note that /**r**, **h**, **w**/ are neutralised to /**c**/ in word final position.)

gb/kp - labio-velar voiceless/voiced stops. All other voiceless stops /**k**/, /**t**/, /**p**/, are aspirated, but /**kp**/ is not or only slightly aspirated.

ng - velar nasal. (Assimilated [**m**] preceding a labial and [**n**] preceding an alveolar.)

dz/ts voiced/voiceless alveolar affricates, they are contrasted in all places, but after a voiced consonant they are neutralized as [dz].

é - varies from high central close to mid central close vocoid.

w/y - used for syllable initial high vowels **u/i** in a vowel sequence if there is no morpheme break between those and the following vowel.

/w/ is also realised as [**b**] after syllable final consonants(**ng,c**), [**v**] after a vowel in the morpheme boundary, and [**w**] elsewhere. (see the Lee 1990, p47 Organized phonology data for the Kube language)

1.2 A BRIEF SYNTACTIC OVERVIEW

Kube is basically a postpositional, SOV language. But the word order is flexible because grammatical relations are signalled more by inflections. In a sentence the Subject, Object and Verb normally occur in this order (1). In the noun phrase, independent genitive modifiers and the Benefactive pronouns precede the Head Noun, whereas attributive nouns, quantifiers, and determiners follow it in that order (2) when they occur together. Relative clauses are also post-nominal (3) falling in between the Head and the definite determiner **i-mi** 'that-one'.

- 1)

S	OBJ	V
Ni	ala-na	méng hén-dzua.
1SG.ABS	friend-1SG.GEN	a 3SG.U.see-PRES.1SG

-I see a friend of mine.∅

- 2)

BEN	N	ATT.MOD	QUANT	DET
Nu-ac	kiwi	gbaor-a	éréhéc	i-mi
1SG-OBLQ	book	yellow.one-3SG.GEN	two	that-SPEC

LOC	V
di-mu-ar-u	tac-dzac?
which-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC	sit-PRES.3SG.

-Where are those two yellow books of mine?∅

- 3)

NP	REL-CL	REL
Ic merac	kiwi me-ha-tsac	i-mi eri
man boy	letter hold-come-PRES.3SG.	that-SPEC over.there

nan-dzac.
stand-PRES.3SG.

-The boy who brings a letter is over there.∅

The language is basically Ergative-Absolutive (See section 2.6.1 for details.). The Ergative postpositional clitic **-ngé(-néng)** is used with nouns to indicate the Subject of either a transitive or an intransitive verb. The head noun marked by this agrees with the subject marker of the governing clause in person and number. And The members of unmarked Absolutive pronoun can fill either the Object slot of a transitive and the Subject slot of an intransitive verb.

- 4)

Gbérawi-ngé	"ni	hésa" dzé-yec.
eel-ERG	1SG.ABS	rope say-PAST.3SG.
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| I-mu-huc | dzé-ma | gbérawi-néng | héméri | pipi-yec. |
| that-SPEC-like | say-SS | eel-ERG | bat | 3SG.U.tie-PAST.3SG. |

-I am a rope, the eel said. Saying like that, the eel tied the bat.∅

Pronouns distinguish first, second, and third persons and singular, dual, and plural numbers. In plural and dual, however, there is no distinction made between second and third person, (see also section 2.3.).

Table 1: Independent Pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
1st person	ni	niri	nini
2nd person	gi	iri	ini
3rd person	i	iri	ini

Verbs are inflected to indicate the person and number of the Subject and are also inflected with a prefix which indicates the person and number of the Object. For paradigms of these, see section 2.1.3.1.

An important feature of the language is its switch reference system, in which non-final verbs in a sentence are marked according to whether or not their Subjects are the same or different as the Subjects of the immediately following clause. The different Subject markers distinguish person and number, but there is only one same Subject marker: /-ma/. (For further details, see section 2.1.2.2.3.)

- 5) **Yaka** **ne-ma** **ne-ma** **ha-tsua.**
 sweet.potato eat-SS eat-SS come-PRES.1SG

-I am coming eating sweet.potato.ø

- 6) **Nene** **ne-yu** **ha-tsua.**
 food eat-3SG.DS come-PRES.1SG

-He ate foods, I came.ø

1.3 MORPHOPHONEMICS

In this section, some important morphophonemic operations are introduced to help readers for the expected questions on the morphophonemic variants.

1.3.1 ASSIMILATION

Nasal consonants /m/, /n/, and /ng/ are neutralized before a consonant copying the same place feature of the following consonant, and they are also complementary distributed with the velar nasal /ng/ occurring word finally exclusively.

Rule 1: Nasal Neutralization

$$\begin{array}{l} +\text{NASAL} \\ +\text{CONSONANT} \end{array} \rightarrow \text{PLACE} / \text{---} \left(\begin{array}{l} +\text{CONSONANT} \\ + \text{PLACE} \end{array} \right)$$

$$\text{ng} \quad / \quad \text{---} \#$$

7)	/keng-gic/	[k e giʔ]	ɔ̣go-2,3PL.DSø
	/kem-mac/	[k emmaʔ]	ɔ̣go-3SG.FUTø
	/ken-na/	[k enna]	ɔ̣go-2SG.DSø
	/kengkeng haha-nina/	[k e k e hahanina]	ɔ̣going and coming-1PL.POSSø

/w/ is neutralized copying the feature of stop manner of the preceding consonant when it is preceded by a consonant (a nasal or glottal stop in Kube). As examples of the difference between phonemic and the actual pronunciation, consider the following.

Rule 2: W Assimilation

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} -\text{CONSONANT} \\ -\text{VOWEL} \\ +\text{CONTINUENT} \end{array} \right) \rightarrow -\text{CONTINUENT} / \left(\begin{array}{l} -\text{CONTINUENT} \\ +\text{CONSONANT} \end{array} \right) \text{---}$$

8)	Phonemic	Phonetic	
a	/keng-na/	[kenna]	ɔ̣go-2SG.IMPø
b	/keng-ba/	[kemba]	ɔ̣go-1SG.DSø
c	/kec-wa/	[keʔba]	ɔ̣stay-1.SG.DSø
d	/ha-wa/	[hava]~[hawa]	ɔ̣come-1.SG.DSø

Above examples show that the manner feature spreads from left to right, and the place feature spreads from right to the left. The rule order is not important to get the well formed results, but Rule order 1 is more plausible than the Rule order 2 shown in the following tables:

Table 2: Rule Order 1

	keng-na	kem-wa	keʔ-wa
PLACE ←	kenna	kemwa	
MANNER →	-----	kemba	keʔba
	Kenna	kemba	keʔba

Table 3: Rule order 2

		keng-na	kem-wa	keʔ-wa
MANNER →	-----		kengba	keʔba
PLACE ←		kenna	kemba	
		kenna	kemba	keʔba

The pronunciation of the phoneme /é/ ranges from a high central vocoid to a mid central vocoid. In word initial position only the mid central vocoid occurs.

1.3.2 EPENTHUSIS

Some suffixes such as 3rd person possessive suffix and 3rd person switch reference, which start with a vowel have semi-vowel insertion (Rule 3: Epenthesis) conditioned by phonological feature of preceding morpheme. It is inserted when the preceding morphemes end with a vowel or a glottal stop, which can be classified as Laryngeal sounds excluding all other supralaryngeal (-Laryngeal) sounds. This operation also accomodates dominant syllable pattern of Kube controlling vowel sequence.

Rule 3: /y/ Epenthesis

/ø/ → /y/ / [+Laryngeal]___ VSuffix

Table 4: Phonological condition

ø	ining-a	÷wife-3SG.POSSø	nang-u	÷stand-3SG.DSø
	tomeng-a	÷stomach-3SG.POSSø	keng-u	÷go-3SG.DSø
	sunggurung-a	÷nose-3SG.POSSø	ning-u	÷think-3SG.DSø
	ar-a	÷talk-3SG.POSSø	ker-u	÷live-3SG.DSø
	kiw-a	÷eye-3SG.POSSø		
	kuh-a, kuc-ya	÷power-3SG.POSSø		
y	ama-ya	÷house-3SG.POSSø	ha-yu	÷come-3SG.DSø
	ai-ya	÷work-3SG.POSSø	me-yu	÷work-3SG.DSø
	deu-ya	÷the children of different sex sibling-3SG.POSSø	ki-yu	÷bite-3SG.DSø
	nalé-ya	÷time-3SG.POSSø	o-yu	÷cook-3SG.DSø
	nene-ya	÷food-3SG.POSSø	ku-yu	÷break-3SG.DSø
	manggoc-ya	÷father-3SG.POSSø	ésé-yu	÷dig-3SG.DSø

1.3.3 WORD FINAL ALTERNATION

Intervocalic /h/, /w/, and /r/ occurring in a morpheme boundary turn into glottal stop /c/ when the suffix is deleted or changed into a suffix starting with a consonant. The rule is simple, but it raises an hypothetical assumption such as /h/, /w/, and /r/ could be intervocalic variant forms of /k/, /p/, and /t/ respectively, which are retained in the given environment, while all the voiceless stops became glottal stop word finally sometime in the past. The

comparative synchronic data between Kube and Tobo give us some supporting information on the diachronic changes.

Rule 4: Word Final Alternation of Non-nasal Consonants

$$\{h, w, r\} \rightarrow /c/ \text{ / } \begin{cases} \# \\ \text{C Suffix} \end{cases}$$

Table 5: Word Final Consonant in Comparison with Tobo

Kube	Tobo	Bound Forms in Kube	
ki c	ki p	ki wa	‘his eye’
get sac	ket sap	get sawa	‘his ear’
sac	sap	sawa	‘his blood’
si c	si git	si ra	‘his bone’
da c	da t	da ra	‘his older brother’
kp ac	kp at	kp ara	‘his name’
as ac	as ak	as aha	‘it’s light’
wa lac	wa lak	wa laha	‘it’s first’

Above two allophonic rules (Epenthesis and Word final alternation) are not in conflict because morphemes ending in the glottal stop /c/ may follow either their relevant Alternation rule or Epenthesis rule as shown in the following examples.

- 9) **ki****c**-ya or **ki****w**-a -his eyesø
- 10) **kuc**-ya or **kuh**-a -his powerø
- 11) **dzéc**-ya or **dzér**-a -his teethø

1.3.4 VOWEL HARMONIES IN COMPOUND VERBS

The verb roots /**héi**/ -cut.itø /**me**/ -hold.itø /**qe**/ -beat.itø and /**né**/ -poke.itø are used to encode instruments in the following compound stems. Note that the vowel of these forms harmonizes with the first vowel in the following verb stem (Spreading from the right to the left).

The vowels are changing, but the consonants are stable. This class of compound verbs are a sort of grammaticalized verbs to be called as Instrumental prefix. In the following examples /**h**/ means -do with oneø arms, the edge of knifeø /**m**/ means -do with oneø handsø /**kp**/ means -do with some beating instrumentø (including fist), /**n**/ means -do with some thrusting instrument(i.e. done by piercing)ø and /**ti**/ means -do with the feet treadingø

- 12) from **héi-tsac** -He is cutting it, singing it, shutting it, wearing itø the noun form héi means -right handø

hé-wérénggé-tsac.	-He is making a hole with his arms.ø
hé-ké-tac-tsac.	-His arm is sticking.ø
hé-(n)dzénggé-tsac.	-He is breaking it down with his arms.ø
hé-dzédzénggé-tsac.	-He is cutting it with his arms.øø
hé-dzédza-tsac.	-He is pressing it down with his arms.ø
hé-(n)dén-dzac.	-He is scattering it with his arms.ø
hé-wélacgé-tsac.	He is softening it with his arms.ø
hé-tétanggé-tsac.	-It is falling short.ø
hé-wétécgé-tsac.	-It is too long to fit.ø
he(m)baronggé-tsac.	-He is destroying it with his arms.ø
he-landzi-tsac.	-He is holding it down with his arms.ø
ho-docgé-tsac.	-It is falling on the mud.ø
h(é)i-yacgé-tsac.	-He is working good with his arms.ø
h(é)i-humu-tsac.	-He is killing it with his arms.ø
h(é)i-mi-tsac.	-He is cutting and giving it to him.ø
hé-dzuracgé-tsac.	-He is taring it with his arms.ø
hé-suracgé-tsac.	-The hand is sliding.ø

- 13) from **me-tsac** -he works(holds) itø

mé-wérénggé-tsac.	-He is making a hole with his hand.ø
mé-kétac-tsac.	-His hand is sticking.ø
mé-(n)dzénggé-tsac.	-He is breaking it down with his hand.ø
mé-wélacgé-tsac.	-He is softening it with his hand.ø
mé-dzé-dzénggé-tsac.	-He is cutting it with his hand.ø
mé-dzédza-tsac.	-He is pressing it down with his hand.ø
mé-(n)dén-dzac.	-He is scattering it with his hand.ø
mé-wélacgé-tsac.	-he is softening it with his hand.ø
mé-tétanggé-tsac.	-It is falling short.ø
mé-wétécgé-tsac.	-It is too long to fit.ø
me-(m)baronggé-tsac.	-He is destroying it with his hand.ø
me-landzi-tsac.	-He is holding it down with his hand.ø
mo-docgé-tsac.	-It is falling on the mud.ø
me-(mi)-yacgé-tsac.	-He is building it up with his hand.ø
me-humu-tsac.	-He is killing him.ø
me-mi-tsac.	-He is holding and giving it to him.ø
mu-dzuracgé-tsac.	-He is taring it with his hand.ø
mu-tulanggé-tsac.	-He is gathering it with his hand.ø

14) from **kpe-tsac** -he beats itø

kpé-wérénggé-tsac.	-cut.it-make.hole-3SG.NON.PASTø
kpé-kétac-tsac.	-it is sticked.ø
kpé-(n)dzénggé-tsac.	-cut.it-break.down-3SG.NON.PASTø
kpé-dzé-dzénggé-tsac.	-cut it agin well.ø
kpé-dzédza-tsac.	-he presses it down.ø
kpé-(n)dén-dzac.	-he scatters it.ø
kpé-wélacgé-tsac.	-he softened it.ø
kpé-tétanggé-tsac.	-it fell short.ø
kpé-wétécgé-tsac.	-it is too long to fit.ø
kpe-(m)baronggé-tsac.	-he destroys it.ø
kpe-landzi-tsac.	-he hold it down.ø
kpo-docgé-tsac.	-it fell on the mud.ø
kpéi-yacgé-tsac.	-he works good.ø
kpe-humu-tsac.	-he cut him to die.ø
kpe-mi-tsac.	-he cut it and gave him.ø
kpu-dzuracgé-tsac.	-he tares it.ø
kpu-tulanggé-tsac.	-he gathered it.ø

15) from **né-tsac** -he pokes itø

né-wérénggé-tsac.	-cut.it-make.hole-3SG.NON.PASTø
né-kétac-tsac.	-it is sticked.ø
né-(n)dzénggé-tsac.	-cut.it-break.down-3SG.NON.PASTø
né-dzé-dzénggé-tsac.	-cut it agin well.ø
né-dzédza-tsac.	-he presses it down.ø
né-(n)dén-dzac.	-he scatters it.ø
né-wélacgé-tsac.	-he softened it.ø
né-tétanggé-tsac.	-it fell short.ø
né-wétécgé-tsac.	-it is too long to fit.ø
ne-(m)baronggé-tsac.	-he destroys it.ø
ne-landzi-tsac.	-he hold it down.ø
no-docgé-tsac.	-it fell on the mud.ø
né-yacgé-tsac.	-he works good.ø
né-humu-tsac.	-he cut him to die.ø
né-mi-tsac.	-he cut it and gave him.ø
nu-dzuracgé-tsac.	-he tares it.ø

But this rule does not apply to the verb root like /**ti**/ \rightarrow tread \emptyset which has the front high vowel. The rule only applies to central vowels based on the given data.

16) from **tizac** \rightarrow he treads it \emptyset

ti-wérénggé-tsac.	\rightarrow cut.it-make.hole-3SG.NON.PAST \emptyset
ti-kétac-tsac.	\rightarrow it is sticked. \emptyset
ti-(n)dzénggé-tsac.	\rightarrow cut.it-break.down-3SG.NON.PAST \emptyset
ti-dzé-dzénggé-tsac.	\rightarrow cut it again well. \emptyset
ti-dzédza-tsac.	\rightarrow he presses it down. \emptyset
ti-(n)dén-dzac.	\rightarrow he scatters it. \emptyset
ti-wélacgé-tsac.	\rightarrow he softened it. \emptyset
ti-tétanggé-tsac.	\rightarrow it fell short. \emptyset
ti-wétécgé-tsac.	\rightarrow it is too long to fit. \emptyset
ti-(m)baronggé-tsac.	\rightarrow he destroys it. \emptyset
ti-landzi-tsac.	\rightarrow he hold it down. \emptyset
ti-docgé-tsac.	\rightarrow it fell on the mud. \emptyset
ti-yacgé-tsac.	\rightarrow he works good. \emptyset
ti-humu-tsac.	\rightarrow he cut him to die. \emptyset
ti-dzuracgé-tsac.	\rightarrow he tares it. \emptyset
ti-suracgézac.	\rightarrow The foot is sliding. \emptyset

2. WORD CLASSES

Kube distinguishes the following classes of words: verbs, nouns, pronouns, attributives, determiners, quantifiers, postpositional clitics, adverbials, conjunctions, interjections.

2.1 VERBS

Verbs are the word-class associated with actions, events or states and have a distinct morphology.

2.1.1 THE MORPHO-SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF VERB

Verbs are the most important class in Kube, because all of the basic information needed for a complete sentence can be expressed by just the verb. The overall structure of Kube verbs is detailed in Table 4 below.

Table 6: Overall Structure of Kube Verb

PREFIX	VERB STEM				SUFFIX	CLITIC
-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
(Object)	Head	(Verbalizer)	(Transitivity)	(Aspect)	TSM	(Mode)
Obj-	V.root	-gé -i	-Undergoer -amu	-ang -kec -dac -ti	-Real -Irr -SS -DS	-nec -ac -guc -iguc -néng -dzé -me -bec -getsang -ta -dac

Normally, the verb roots can be morphologically identified. The prefix slot on the verb is filled by morphemes indicating the Undergoer in an event. Undergoers may either be patients or recipients. The Head is filled by a verb stem. The verbalizer is our tentative interpretation of the morphemes /-gé/ and /-i/. This is discussed in detail in section 2.1.8.2.1.

The Transitivity slot may be filled by either a compounded Benefactive verb ɣgive-someoneø or the Reflexive verb /-amu/ ɣexchangeø. When a Benefactive verb ɣgive-someoneø is present, the prefixes on this verb cross-reference the Recipient or Benefactee. When this class of verb occurs in compounds with other verbs, it always occurs finally in the compound and functions to encode the Recipient or Benefactee.

The Aspect slot may be filled by the following elements; **-dac** -Emphaticø /-(w)**ang**/ -Habitualø /-**kec**/ -Durativeø /-**ti**/ -Completiveø

The Tense-Subject-Mood(TSM) slot is filled by either a Final verb portmanteau¹ suffix or a Medial verb(Same Subject or Different Subject suffix).

The Mode slot may be filled by the following forms: Ablative /-**nec**/, Benefactive /-**ac**/, Associative /-**guc**/, Conditional /-**iguc**/, Intensive /-**dzé**/, Alternative Questioner /-**me**/, Contrastive conjunction /-**néng**/, Consequential /-**bec**/, Probability /-**gezang**/, Omissive Questioner /-**ta**/, Emphatic /-**dac**/, and so on.

- 17) **Dzé-yu me-ma ha-tsu.**
say-3SG. hold-SS come-PRES.2,3PL

-He said so they bring it.ø

A few instances of non-inflected verbal forms have been observed in some stories and conversations.

- 18) **Gém-mang dzé(-ma) ha-tsua.**
2SG.OBJ.see-FUT.1SG say(-SS) come-PRES.1SG

-I am coming to see you.ø

- 19) **Ou keng ic-sung késa-ma ésé-yec.**
over.there go stick hold-SS dig-PAST.3SG.

-He went over there then held a stick and dug.ø

If the participant is out of eye contact, the speaker often does not use a form inflected with a verbal suffix until the participant pays attention to him.

- 20) **Me, (pause) me-na.**
hold (pause) hold.it-2SG.IMP

-Get it, you get it.ø

¹ portmanteau-A term used in morphological analysis referring to cases where a single morph can be analysed into more than one morpheme.

2.1.2 TENSE-SUBJECT-MOOD MARKING ON VERBS

Final verbs of sentences are inflected with a set of fused suffixes. Even though they do not have clear morpheme boundaries, but it is composed of Tense and person number in that order. 1) the time when the event occurred, 2) the person and number of the Subject, and 3) Mood. It is impossible to completely decompose these suffixes into simpler morphemes expressing just tense, mood, person and number but the following recurring partials can be isolated:

-∅	Past Realis (Marked by zero morpheme)
-ts(a)	Non-past Realis
-m(a)	Declarative Future
-w(a)	Irrealis
-oc	2,3DL
-ing	1PL
-gic	2,3PL in Past Realis
-u	2,3PL in all non-past
-c	3SG.
-i(e)	1DL

The first & second singular forms exhibit the most variation between paradigms.

- 21) **Kuru** **gocmia** **i-mi** **méséng-bang-ac**
chicken egg that-SPEC break-IRR.2SG-OBLQ

-I am afraid of you might break the chicken egg.∅

- 22) **Nenggoc-na** **i-mi** **nalé** **séc nu-ac** **wang-ang-tsac.**
mother-1SGGEN that-SPEC time all 1SG-OBLQ do-HAB-PRES.3SG.

-My mother is always missing me.∅

2.1.2.1 FINAL VERB CONJUGATIONS

Any verb form which can stand by itself in utterance final position is included in this category. In Kube, the identities of participants are normally indicated by verbal affixes rather than by free pronominal forms. However free pronouns may be used in addition to verbal inflection in order to emphasize a participant.

2.1.2.1.1 DECLARATIVE PAST REALIS

This tense indicates that an event occurred yesterday or before. If the moment of speaking were late evening, however, this tense could not be used to describe an event which occurred the previous night or earlier the same day. Instead, the Non-past tense would be used.

- 23) **Orang keng-i.**
yesterday go-PAST.1SG

-I went yesterday.ø

Table 7: Declarative Past Realis

	sg	dl	pl
1st person	-i	-ic	-ing
2nd person	-nec	-oc	-gic
3rd person	-ec	-oc	-gic

2.1.2.1.2 DECLARATIVE NON-PAST REALIS

This tense indicates that an event or state occurred between last night and the present moment of speech. It will be noted that all of the non-past realis endings begin with /-ts(a)/.

- 24) **De-guc singi-ya ha-tsua.**
now-ACC night-3SG.GEN come-PRES.1SG

-I came last night. (Lit. I come now night.)ø

- 25) **De-guc ha-tsua.**
now-ACC come-PRES.1SG

-I come now.ø

- 26) **Doku tac-tsac.**
water sit-PRES.3SG.

-There is water.ø

Table 8: Declarative Non-past Realis

	sg	dl	pl
1st person	-tsua	-tsic	-tsing
2nd person	-tsang	-tsaoc	-tsu
3rd person	-tsac	-tsaoc	-tsu

2.1.2.1.3 DECLARATIVE FUTURE

This tense indicates that an event will occur after the present moment of speech. Most of the declarative future endings begin with an initial /-m/.

- 27) **De-guc** **maria** **ha-mang.**
 now-ACC afternoon come-FUT.1SG

-I will come this afternoon.ø

Table 9: Declarative Future (FUT)

	sg	dl	pl
1st person	-mang	-wic	-wing
2nd person	-wésémang	-maoc	-mu
3rd person	-mac	-maoc	-mu

2.1.2.1.4 IRREALIS

IRREALIS encodes subjunctive mood which is the mood of possibility and potentiality. The action described may or may not occur, depending upon circumstances. These suffixes all begin with /-w/ and indicate an imagined or contemplated action when they occur with the ablative /-nec/ -fromø (18), and an action which is not desired when they occur with the benefactive /-ac/ -forø(19).

- 28) **I** **Ménda** **kec-wac-nec** **iwawai** **he-tsac**
 3SG.ABS ADJ.NEG exist-IRR.3SG-ABL thing sleep-PRES.3SG.

i-mi **ménda** **hicngi-wac-nec.**
 that-SPEC ADJ.NEG come.into.being-IRR.3SG-ABL

-If he didn't exist, all things which exist would not have come into being.ø

- 29) **Kuru** **gocmi-a** **mésém-bang-ac.**
 chicken egg-3SG.GEN break-IRR.2SG-OBLQ

-I am afraid you might break the chicken egg.ø

Table 10: Irrealis Verb Suffixes (IRR)

	sg	dl	pl
1st person	-wi	-wic	-wing
2nd person	-wang	-waoc	-wu
3rd person	-wac	-waoc	-wu

2.1.2.1.5 IMPERATIVE

The different Subject suffixes (see section 2.1.2.2.3. Table 9 for the paradigm) are also used to encode imperative or inducement.

- 30) **Ha-na.**
come-IMP.2SG

∅You(sg) should come.∅

- 31) **Éc-dzé-na** **ha-yu.**
3SG.OBJ-say-IMP.2SG come-3SG.DS

∅Tell him to come.∅

- 32) **Keng-ni.**
go-INDUC.1PL

∅Let us(pl) go.∅

2.1.2.2 NON-FINAL VERB CONJUGATIONS

A non-final verb normally can not stand by itself; it must be followed by at least one final verb.

2.1.2.2.1 THE NOTION OF SAME VERSUS DIFFERENT SUBJECT VERBS

Non-final verbs are distinguished according to whether or not they have the same Subject as that of the immediately following clause. If the Subjects of the two clauses are the same, then the homo-personal(= same subject) suffix /-**ma**/ occurs on the preceding verb. If the Subjects of the two clauses are different, then the hetero-personal(= different subject) suffixes occur on the preceding verb. The hetero-personal suffix indicates the person and number of the Subject of the clause in which it occurs. Medial verb clauses gain their temporal orientation from the tense of the final verb.

- 33) **Dzé-yu** **me-ma** **ha-tsu.**
say-3SG.DS hold-SS come-PRES2,3PL

∅He said so they got.it-came (brought it).∅

2.1.2.2.2 SAME SUBJECT VERBS

The homo-personal (Same Subject) verb suffix /-**ma**/ normally indicates that the Subject of the clause is the same as that of the following clause (24, 25). It is possible, however, for a same subject sequence to be interrupted by a background clause having a different subject without changing the same subject marking (26).

- 34) **Nene ne-ma ha-tsua.**
 food eat-SS come-PRES.1SG

-I ate food and (then) came.Ø

- 35) **Nene o-ma ne-yu ha-tsua.**
 food 3SG.OBJ.cook-SS eat-3SG.DS come-PRES.1SG

-He cooked food and ate (then) I came.Ø

- 36) **Geric-ya dze-ma tar-u hém-ma Dzéng**
 fire-3SG.GEN burn-SS sit-3SG.DS see.it-SS Dzéng

mingina ic he-yec imuauru tar-ec.
 owner man sleep-PAST.3SG. there sit-PAST.3SG.

-Looking his fire burning, the owner of Dzéng sat there where man slept.Ø

When a homo-personal verb is repeated, it indicates either an event occurring simultaneously with the event encoded by the final verb or repeated action.

- 37) **Nene ne-ma ne-ma ha-tsua.**
 food eat-SS eat-SS come-PRES.1SG

-I came eating and eating food.Ø

We have never seen this suffix omitted in written materials but in oral texts some verbs, like **keng** -goØ and **kec** -isØ sometimes occur without the suffix.

- 38) **Ou keng icsung késa-ma héi-gic.**
 over.there go stick hold-SS dig-2,3PL.IMP

-You(pl) go up there and get the stick and dig it.Ø

2.1.2.2.3 DIFFERENT SUBJECT VERBS

If the Subject of a non-final clause is different from the Subject of the following clause, then the hetero-personal suffixes are used.

Verbs with the hetero-personal suffixes have various temporal interpretations. If they are sentence final they indicate an action which is to be done in the future (29-32). But if they are not sentence final, they gain their temporal orientation from that of the final verb (33-35). (See section 8.3.2. for further details).

- 39) **Ini** **tac-gic** **ni** **kem-ba.**
2,3PL.ABS sit-2,3PL.DS 1SG.ABS go-1SG.DS

÷You(pl) stay, I (will) go.ø

- 40) **Éctsé-na** **ha-yu.**
3SG.OBJ.tell-2SG.DS come-3SG.DS

÷Tell him to come.ø

- 41) **Ha-na.**
come-IMP.2SG

÷You should come.ø

- 42) **Keng-ni.**
go-INDUC.1PL

÷Let us go.ø

- 43) **Dzé-na** **de-guc** **ning-tsua.**
say-2SG.DS now-ACC know-PRES.1SG

÷You said and(so) now I know.ø

- 44) **Kpesi-mi-na** **hia** **ha-mac.**
ask-3SG.OBJ.give-2SG.DS well come-FUT.3SG.

÷Ask him and he will come with delight.ø

- 45) **Kpe-yu** **humu-yec.**
3SG.OBJ.strike-3SG.DS die-PAST.3SG.

÷He struck him and he died.ø

A different subject verb is frequently used to express causal relationships.

- 46) **I-néng** **me-yu** **biri-tsac.**
 3SG.ABS-ERG work-3SG.DS get.bad-PRES.3SG.

-He caused it to become bad.∅

- 47) **Étsé-na** **ning-u.**
 3SG.OBJ.tell-2SG.DS know-3SG.DS

-Tell him so that he may know.∅

It is used to express different events that happened at the same time.

- 48) **Gi** **ha-na** **bec** **ni** **keng-i.**
 2SG.ABS come-2SG.DS promptly 1SG.ABS go-PAST.1SG

-You came and I had already left.∅

If there is partial overlap in the identity of the Subjects of two successive clauses the Subject of the final main clause may be marked with the Ergative clitic /-néng/.

- 49) **Ic** **méng-néng** **ala-ya** **héng-u** **képésic**
 man IND-ERG friend-3SG.GEN 3SG.OBJ.see-3SG.DS sin
- humuc-wac** **séc** **ménda** **wang-u** **Anutu-ar-u**
 die-OBLQ enough ADJ.NEG do-3SG.DS God-OBLQ-LOC
- numu-mi-mac.** **wang-u** **képésir-a** **i-mi**
 pray-3SG.OBJ.give-FUT.3SG. do-3SG.DS sin-3SG.GEN that-SPEC
- humuc-wac** **séc** **kpahac** **wang-u** **I-néng**
 die-OBLQ enough lack do-3SG.DS 3SG.ABS-ERG

me-hia-ru-mac.
 work-good-VZR-FUT.3SG.

-If a man see his friend making a sin not sufficient to die, he should pray for him to God and then He(God) will let him to be alright if his sin is not deserving of dying.∅

Table 11: Hetero-Personal (=Different Subject) Verb Suffixes

	sg	dl	pl
1st person	-wa	-tsi	-ni
2nd person	-na	-ic	-gic
3rd person	-u	-ic	-gic

2.1.3 OBJECT MARKING ON VERBS

2.1.3.1 OBJECT MARKING OF THE TRANSITIVE VERBS

The Object, the \neg receiver \emptyset or \neg goal \emptyset of an action, is expressed by a prefix on the verb. Some in verb roots which consist of a zero morpheme are distinguished by the Object marker allomorphs they take.

The Object prefixes resemble the independent pronouns. The consonants of the Object prefixes never change but the vowels harmonize with the first following vowel.

Table 12: Transitive Verb Paradigms

50) **Néritsac.** \neg He cuts me. \emptyset or \neg He bumps me. \emptyset etc.

1SG.OBJ	n--éri-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	g--éri-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	--héri(heri/kperi)-tsac.
1DL.OBJ	néréri-tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	néréri-tsac.
1PL.OBJ	nénéri-tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	-énéri-tsac.

51) **Néngzac.** \neg He looks at me. \emptyset etc.

1SG.OBJ	n--éng-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	g--éng-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	--hén-dzac.
1DL.OBJ	niric--tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	-iric--tsac.
1PL.OBJ	ninic--tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	-inic--tsac.

52) **Nétsétsac.** †He talks to me.øetc.

1SG.OBJ	n--étsé-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	g--étsé-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	---étsé-tsac.
1DL.OBJ	nérétsé-tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	-érétsé-tsac.
1PL.OBJ	nénétsé-tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	-énétsé-tsac.

53) **Notsac.** †It burns me.øetc.

1SG.OBJ	n--o-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	g--o-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	---o-tsac.
1DL.OBJ	nor-o-tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	-oro-tsac.
1PL.OBJ	nono-tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	-ono-tsac.

54) **Nogictsac.** †He passes me.ø

1SG.OBJ	n--ogic-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	g--ogic-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	---ogic-tsac.
1DL.OBJ	norogic-tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	-orogic-tsac.
1PL.OBJ	nonogic-tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	-onogic-tsac.

55) **Nitsac.** †He bites(shoots) me.ø

1SG.OBJ	n--i-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	g--i-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	--ki-tsac.
1DL.OBJ	niri-tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	-iri-tsac.
1PL.OBJ	nini-tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	-ini-tsac.

56) **Nutsac.** -He beats me.ø or -He pierce me.ø etc.

1SG.OBJ	n--u-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	g--u-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	--ku-tsac.
1DL.OBJ	nuru-tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	-uru-tsac.
1PL.OBJ	nunu-tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	unu-tsac.

57) **Nopotsac.** -He leaves me.ø etc.

1SG.OBJ	n--opoc-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	g--opoc-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	---opoc-tsac.
1DL.OBJ	noropoc-tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	-oropoc-tsac.
1PL.OBJ	nonopoc-tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	-onopoc-tsac.

58) **Nurutsac.** -He calls me.ø

1SG.OBJ	n--uru-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	g--uru-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	---uru-tsac.
1DL.OBJ	nururu-tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	-ururu-tsac.
1PL.OBJ	nunuru-tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	-unuru-tsac.

59) **Wagictsac.** -He takes him.ø

1SG.OBJ	nu-agic-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	gu-agic-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	--wagic-tsac.
1DL.OBJ	noragic-tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	-oragic-tsac.
1PL.OBJ	nonagic-tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	-onagic-tsac.

The independent pronouns and invariant elements of the Object prefixes are given below for comparison:

Table 13: Kube Independent Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1st person	ni--	niri	nini
2nd person	gi--	-iri	ini
3rd person	-i--	-iri	ini

Table 14: Invariable Object Prefixes

	SG	DL	PL
1st person	n---	n-r-	n-n-
2nd person	g---	--r-	--n-
3rd person	----	--r-	--n-

The Object prefixes are composed of a person formative plus a number formative in that order. The 3rd person singular object form is the best choice for the basic form of a verb. Some of verb stems are unchanged (3,4,5,8,9) but the velar h and k are probably omitted in between two vowels then the two vowels became one vowel (1,2,6,7).

- 60) **Néhéritsac** → **Néritsac**
Néhéngtsac → **Néngtsac**
Nikitsac → **Nitsac**
Nukutsac → **Nutsac**

The segmentation of Object prefixes are as follows:

- 61) Person formative:
-n 1st person
-g 2nd singular
-ø 3rd singular and 2,3rd non-singular
- 62) Number formative:
-ø singular
-r dual
-n plural

2.1.3.2 OBJECT MARKING OF BENEFACTIVE VERBS

When an Object prefix occurs on the verb ‘give’, it is the Recipient who is cross-referenced on the verb as the Object. Compare the following two examples.

- 63) **Hafi nini-yu he-tsing.**
sickness 1PL.OBJ.bite-3SG.DS sleep-PRES.1PL

∅We are in bed (because) the sickness bit us(i.e. We are sick.).∅

- 64) **Ic i-mi kiwi yo-mi nénécmi-yu olon-dzing.**
man that-SPEC book this-SPEC 1PL.OBJ.give-3SG.DS read-PRES.1PL

∅The man gave us this book and we read it.∅

In example (40) the prefix **n-n** indexes a patient/experiencer functioning direct Object, but in the example (41) the same prefix **n-n** indexes a Recipient functioning as direct Object. The Patient *kiwi* ∅book∅ has no grammatical relation.

When the verb ∅give∅ occurs as a part of a compound verb encoding Benefactives, it always occurs finally in the stem.

- 65) **Kpe-néng-tsac.**
3SG.OBJ.beat-1SG.OBJ.give-PRES.3SG.

∅He cut some portion and gave me.∅

- 66) **Tac-néng-tsac.**
sit-1SG.OBJ.give-PRES.3SG.

∅It is (there) for me / it gives me sitting.∅

- 67) **Humu-néng-ec.**
die-1SG.OBJ.give-PRES.3SG.

∅He died for me.∅

Table 15: Benefactive Verb Chart

- 68) **Néndzac.** ∅He gives to me.∅etc.

1SG.OBJ	néng-tsac.
2SG.OBJ	géng-tsac.
3SG.OBJ	mi-tsac.
1DL.OBJ	nérécmi-tsac.
2,3DL.OBJ	érecmi-tsac.
1PL.OBJ	nénécmi-tsac.
2,3PL.OBJ	énecmi-tsac.

2.1.4 DIRECTIONAL VERBS

There are four different mono-morphemic directional verb roots in Kube.

- 69) **Ma-tsac.**
come.down-PRES.3SG.

-He came down./It falls down.∅
- 70) **Éré-tsac.**
come.up-PRES.3SG.

-He came up./It comes down.∅
- 71) **En-dzac.**
go.up-PRES.3SG.

-He went up./It goes up.∅
- 72) **Hinggac-tsac.**
go.down-PRES.3SG.

-He went down./It goes down.∅

The following verbs appear to be compound verb stems containing directional verbs. Note the morphophonemic changes: i.e. /ma-keng-na/ → /me-keng-na/, /eng-keng-na/ → /e-keng-na/.

- 73) **E-keng-na.**
up-go-2SG.IMP

-You go up.∅
- 74) **Me-keng-na.**
down-go-2SG.IMP

-You go down.∅

2.1.5 REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL VERBS

The same verb forms may have either reflexive or reciprocal interpretations.

- 75) **Angari-tsua.**
cut.oneself-PRES.1SG

-I cut myself.∅
- 76) **Angari-tsu.**
cut.each.other-PRES.2,3PL

-They cut each other./They cut themselves.∅

Some other verb roots having inherently reflexive/reciprocal interpretations. These are given below:

- 77) **Angan-dzu.**
meet.each.other-PRES.2,3PL

∅They meet together.∅
- 78) **Eu-tsu.**
fight.each.other-PRES.2,3PL

∅They fight each other.∅
- 79) **Ingi-tsu.**
bite.each.other-PRES.2,3PL

∅They bite each other.∅
- 80) **Emi-tsu.**
argue.each.other-PRES.2,3PL

∅They argue with each other.∅
- 81) **Amu-tsu.**
exchange.each.other-PRES.2,3PL

∅They exchange with each other.∅

To make non-reflexive/reciprocal verbs into reflexive/reciprocal ones, the verb root /-**amu**/ ∅exchange∅ is added forming a compound verb.

- 82) **Héré-amu-tsu.**
pull-exchange-PRES.2,3PL

∅They invited each other.∅
- 83) **Kpac-amu-tsu.**
call-exchange-PRES.2,3PL

∅They called for each other.∅
- 84) **Owonakpi me-amu-tsac.**
cloth take-exchange-PRES.3SG.

∅He wears the cloth by himself.∅

2.1.6 ASPECT

In Kube the manners in which an action is performed are expressed by affixation on the verb. The Aspect slot in a verb may be filled by the following elements; /-**dac**/ ∅Emphatic∅ /-**ang**/ ~ /-**wang**/ ∅Habitual∅ (The difference is dialectal.), /-**kec**/ ∅Durative∅ /-**ti**/ ∅Completive∅

2.1.6.1 DURATIVE

The verb root /**kec**/ -stayØ when it occurs in compound verb stems, emphasizes the prolonged temporal duration of an event.

85) Me-kec-na.

hold.it-stay-2SG.IMP

-Keep holding it.Ø

86) Ne-kec-tsua.

eat-stay-PRES.1SG

-I am eating.Ø

87) Hia kec-tsang?

well stay-PRES.2SG

-Do you stay well?Ø

88) Ni ai meme haréwéc nene ménda ne-kec-tsua.

1SG.ABS work doing three food ADJ.NEG eat-stay-PRES.1SG

-I havenØ been eating food for three days (Lit. working doings).Ø

89) Bec-nec ni Lei-i-guc ai me-ker-i.

before-ABL 1SG.ABS Lae-that-ACC work work-stay-PAST.1SG

-Before, I was working in Lae.Ø

Progressive notions may also be expressed syntactically by various verbs of posture occurring following a medial verb.

90) Ai me-ma nan-dzua.

work work-SS stand-PRES.1SG

-I am working.Ø

91) Joic nim-ma tac-tsua.

warmth know-SS sit-PRES.1SG

-I am enjoying the sunshine.Ø

92) Baec kuneng yanda bacgé-ma he-tsac.

ground big very crumble-SS sleep-PRES.3SG.

-A very big piece of ground is being crumbled.Ø

Progressive may be expressed by repeating a Same Subject medial verb. Compare the following two examples.

- 93) **Nene ne-ma ne-ma ha-tsua.**
 food eat-SS eat-SS come-PRES.1SG

-I came eating eating.Ø

- 94) **Nene ne-ma ha-tsua.**
 food eat-SS come-PRES.1SG

-I ate and came.Ø

- 95) **DZikic késa-ma késa-ma keng-kec-ma keng-kec-ma**
 crayfish hold-SS hold-SS go-DUR-SS go-DUR-SS

élah-u eng-oc.
 shore-LOC go.up-PAST.2,3dl

-They(dl) continued to catch crayfish, and going and going, they went up on the shore.Ø

2.1.6.2 HABITUAL /-ANG/

When this morpheme is used with present tense, the meaning of it is very similar to the English present tense in a sentence -He works in a factory.Ø This morpheme can be used with all Kube tenses: past, non-past and future. The affix /-ang/ formally resembles the verb /wang/ ɬəŋ

- 96) **Lei-i-guc ai me-ang-i.**
 Lae-that-ACC work work-HAB-PAST.1SG

-I used to work in Lae.Ø

- 97) **Lei-i-guc ai me-an-dzua.**
 Lae-that-ACC work work-HAB-PRES.1SG

-I have been working in Lae.Ø

- 98) **Biang-guc Lei-i-guc ai me-am-mang.**
 later-ACC Lae-that-ACC work work-HAB-FUT.1SG

-I will have be working in Lae later.Ø

2.1.6.3 DIMINUTIVE /-dac/

This morpheme emphasizes the completion of an event or the total affectedness of a group.

- 99) **Ni** **bec** **me-dac-mang-guc** **ic** **ha-mac.**
1SG.ABS already work-COMPL-FUT1SGS-ACC man come-FUT.3SG.

∅I will have already finished when the man comes.∅

- 100) **Ic** **gocmi-a** **mocsong** **tecgé-dac-tsu.**
tree seed-3SG.GEN all.together finish-COMPL-PRES.2,3PL

∅All of the seeds of the tree have fallen off.∅

The verb root /**tecgé**/ ∅finish∅ may occur as the second element in a compound verb stem to express the completion of the event expressed by the preceding verb root. This morpheme can also occur by itself.

- 101) **Ic** **gocmi-a** **me-tecgé-tsua.**
tree seed-3SG.GEN take-off-PRES.1SG

∅I finished getting the seeds.∅

- 102) **Ning-tecgé-tsua.**
think-finish-PRES.1SG

∅I have understood it.∅

2.1.7 OUTER VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Many of the postpositional clitics which occur in the Mode slot of the Kube verb may also occur with non-verbal words. These are discussed in section 2.3.

2.1.8 TYPES OF VERB STEMS

2.1.8.1 VERB STEM

A simple verb stem consists of only a single verb root. Examples would be: /**keng**/ ∅to go∅ /**nang**/ ∅to stand∅ /**tac**/ ∅to sit∅

- 103) **Yaka** **o-tsac.**
sweet.potato 3SG.OBJ.cook-PRES.3SG.

∅She cooks the sweet.potato.∅

- 104) **Yaka** **dze-tsac.**
sweet-potato cook-PRES.3SG.

∅The sweet potato is cooked.∅

2.1.8.2 DERIVED VERB STEMS

2.1.8.2.1 VERBALIZERS /-i/ AND /-gé/

Verb stems may be derived from nouns and adjectives by the use of two derivational suffixes: intransitivizer /-i/ and transitivizer /-gé/ (This is tentative). All the final vowels of verbs are omitted when they take the verbalizer /-i/.

- 105) from /yanda/ ɸbig ɸ or ɸbig one ɸ

yand-i-tsac.

big-VZR-PRES.3SG.

ɸIt is getting big. ɸ

- 106) from /biri/ ɸbadness ɸ

bir-i-tsac.

badness-VZR-PRES.3SG.

ɸIt is getting bad. ɸ

- 107) from /gbeli/ ɸnew one ɸ

Gbel-i-tsac.

new.one-VZR-PRES.3SG.

ɸIt becomes new. ɸ

- 108) from /gbaoc/ ɸyellow ɸ

Gbaor-i-tsac.

yellow-VZR-PRES.3SG.

ɸIt becomes yellow. ɸ

- 109) from /singi/ ɸnight ɸ

Sing-i-tsac.

night-VZR-PRES.3SG.

ɸIt is getting dark. ɸ

- 110) from /sai/ ɸthe name of the god of fertility ɸ

Sa-i-tsac.

fertilize-VZR-PRES.3SG.

ɸIt multiplies. ɸ

111) from /**asac**/ -lightø

Asar-i-tsac.

light-VZR-PRES.3SG.

-It shines.ø

112) from /**séc**/ -sufficiencyø

Séc-gé-tsac.

sufficiency-VZR-PRES.3SG.

-It fills.ø

113) from /**sépéc**/ -spitø

Sépéc-gé-tsac.

spit-VZR-PRES.3SG.

-He spits.ø

114) from /**déréc**/ -bundleø

Déréc-gé-tsac.

bundle-VZR-PRES.3SG.

-He bundles.ø

115) from **galeng** -leaderø

Galeng-gé-tsac.

leader-VZR-PRES.3SG.

-He guides.ø

116) from **areng** -orderø

Areng-gé-tsac.

order-VZR-PRES.3SG.

-He puts it in order.ø

117) from **nang** -standø

Nang-gé-tsac.

stand-VZR-PRES.3SG.

-He pushes.ø

118) from **yac** -stand \emptyset

Ning-yac-gé-tsac.
thinking-stand-VZR-PRES.3SG.

-He remembers. \emptyset

2.1.8.2.2 COMPOUND VERB STEMS

Kube compound verbs which have more than one verb stem are basically arranged in the following logical orders;

Table 16: Logical Relationship of Compound Verbs

1st order	2nd order	3rd order	Example No
Reason	Result		(116)
The first event in time	The second event in time		(117)
Manner	Main lexical verb		(118) (119)
Lexical verb	Benefactive V.	Aspectual V.	(120)

119) **qe-humu-tsac**
strik-die-PRES3SG.

-he killed him \emptyset

120) **tac-hiaru-tsac**
sit-get well-PRES3SG.

-he rests. \emptyset

121) **ti-nin-dzua.**
step-know-PRES1SG

-I sence it by treading \emptyset

122) **ne-nin-dzua.**
eat-know-PRES1SG

-I taste it \emptyset

123) **wañ-néng-kec-tsac.**
does-1SGUgive-stay-PRES3SG.

-he does it to me habitually. \emptyset

2.1.9 TRANSITIVITY

2.1.9.1 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The term intransitive is used to refer to verbs which do not take an Object. Examples of intransitive verbs are given below:

- 124) **Ic** **i-mi** **keng-ec.**
man that-SPEC go-PAST.3SG.

∅The man went.∅

- 125) **Ic** **i-mi** **ha-yec.**
man that-SPEC come-PAST.3SG.

∅The man came.∅

- 126) **Ic** **i-mi** **ou** **nan-dzac.**
man that-SPEC upon.there stand-PRES.3SG.

∅The man is upon there.∅

- 127) **Ic** **i-mi** **en-dzac.**
man that-SPEC go.up-PRES.3SG.

∅The man goes up.∅

- 128) **Ic** **i-mi** **ma-tsac.**
man that-SPEC come.down-PRES.3SG.

∅The man comes down.∅

- 129) **Yaka** **ning-ac** **humu-tsua.**
food thinking-OBLQ die-PRES.1SG

∅I die for food.∅

- 130) **Ni** **biri-tsua.**
1SG.ABS to.become.bad-PRES.3SG.

∅I am tired.∅

- 131) **Merac** **i-mi** **yand-i-tsac.**
boy that-SPEC.one big-VZR-PRES.3SG.

∅That boy has grown up.∅

- 132) **Kare** **i-mi** **bir-i-tsac.**
car that-SPEC.one badness-VZR-PRES.3SG.

∅That car has become bad.∅

- 133) **Ama sing-i-tsac.**
village night-VZR-PRES.3SG.

∅The village becomes dark.∅

2.1.9.2 TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs take an Object. The identity of the Object is always indicated by an Object prefix on the verb. It also may be further identified by an overt noun phrase. For a listing of the Object prefixes, see Table 12 in section 2.1.3.1.

- 134) he ignores me/you/... or he passes by me/you/..., etc.

n-ogic-tsac.	1SG.OBJ
g-ogic-tsac.	2SG.OBJ
ogic-tsac.	3SG.OBJ
nor-ogic-tsac.	1DL.OBJ
or-ogic-tsac.	2,3DL.OBJ
non-ogic-tsac.	1PL.OBJ
on-ogic-tsac.	2,3PL.OBJ

To make an intransitive verb into a causative transitive one, one may preface a transitive verb root to it, forming a compound verb stem.

- 135) **Ni ama-na me-biri-tsua.**
1SG.ABS house-1SGGEN work-to.become.bad-PRES.1SG

∅I made my house to be bad.∅

- 136) **Iene-ng kpe-humu-tsu.**
3PL-ERG 3SG.OBJ.beat-die-PRES.2,3PL

∅They killed him by beating him.∅

- 137) **Unu-humu-tsac.**
2,3OBJpl.beat-die-PRES.3SG.

∅He killed them by beating them.∅

Benefactive Recipients in Kube are expressed by compound verb stems consisting of the main verb root plus the verb ∅to give∅(see section 2.1.3).

- 138) **Nene gumu-nén-dzac.**
food feed-1SG.OBJ.give-PRES.3SG.

∅He feeds me food.∅

- 139) **kiwi-na tac-nén-dzac.**
letter-1SGGEN sit-give.me-PRES.3SG.

∅My letter is there for me.∅

- 140) **Yesu-ngé** **humu-néng-ec.**
 Yesu-ERG die-give-PRES.3SG.

-Jesus died for me.∅

The following periphrastic constructions are structurally transitive, semantically intransitive.

- 141) **Hadzéc** **wang-nén-dzac.**
 enemy do-1SG.OBJ.give-PRES.3SG.

-He hates me.∅

- 142) **Aria-gina** **wang-gic.**
 play-2,3PL.GEN do-PAST.2,3PL

-They played their game.∅

- 143) **Gau-ya** **he-yec.**
 sleep-3SG.GEN sleep-PAST.3SG.

-He took a sleep.∅

2.2 NOUNS

2.2.1 OVERALL STRUCTURE OF NOUNS

Three subclasses of nouns are distinguished: 1) alienable nouns, 2) inalienable nouns which are obligatorily inflected with genitive suffix, and 3) alienable nouns which are optionally inflected with genitive suffixes. The overall structure for Kube nouns is as follows:

Head (Plurality) (Genitive suffix) (Postpositional clitic)

2.2.2 ALIENABLE NOUNS

Usually, alienable nouns are not inflected with the genitive suffixes. The genitive suffixes may, however, be added to alienable nouns to indicate that the noun bears some sort of close relationship to some other noun. Compare the following examples.

- 144) **Doku-i-guc** **kem-mang.**
 water-that-ACC go-FUT.1SG

-I am going to the water.∅

- 145) **Kaiwe-ngé** **kpe-yu** **dzic-gé-tsac.**
 sun-ERG 3SG.OBJ.strike-3SG.DS tie-VZR-PRES.3SG.

-The sun shined very strongly and it dried.∅

- 146) **Doku-hér-a** **keng-ec.**
water-all-3SG.GEN go-PAST.3SG.

-He went along the water.ø

- 147) **Kurumeng-ac** **kawe-ya,** **mosa-ya** **dzéma**
sky-OBLQ sun-3SG.GEN moon-3SG.GEN and

ménisikilu-hér-a **iwawai** **moctsong....**
star-pl-3SG.GEN something all

-All of those, Sun, Moon and all the stars of the sky..ø

An alienable noun inflected with the first person genitive suffix is sometimes used to express a feeling of intimacy.

- 148) **O!** **doku-na** **tac-nén-dzac.**
oh water-1SGGEN sit-1SG.OBJ.give-PRES.3SG.

-Oh! my water is there for me.ø

- 149) **Kaiwe-na** **kpe-na** **dzo** **nim-ba.**
sun-1SGGEN 3SG.OBJ.strike-2SG.DS warm feel-1SG.DS

-Shine, my Sun, let me warm myself.ø

Some alienable nouns could be bound when they are used in a different way expressing sickness, characteristics, and sins possessed by a person. Compare the following examples.

- 150) **Geric** **héi-tsua.**
fire.wood 3SG.U.cut-PERS1SG

-I am cutting the fire wood.ø

- 151) **Séwi-na** **geric-a-guc.**
skin-1SGGEN fire-3SG.GEN-ACC

-My skin is with its fever.ø

- 152) **Bélang** **dze-tsac.**
flame burn-PRES3SG.

-The flame is burning up.ø

- 153) **Ic** **geric-bélang-a-guc**
man fire-flame-3SG.GEN-ACC

-a man of hot temperø

Kube nouns are bound forms when they occur in constructions expressing part-whole relationships.

- 154) **héna tawé-ya**
 foot bottom-3SG.GEN

-the bottom of the footø

- 155) **méra meraw-a**
 hand children-3SG.GEN

-the fingers of the handø

2.2.3 INALIENABLE NOUNS

Inalienable nouns are forms which are normally inflected with the genitive suffixes. The kinship terms are one important semantic class of inalienable nouns. When, however, they are used as vocatives, they are not inflected.

- 156) **Manggoc-na yo-u ha-tsac.**
 father-1SGGEN this-LOC come-PRES.3SG.

-My father came here.ø

- 157) **Manggoc, yo-u ha-na.**
 father, this-LOC come-2SG.IMP

-Father, come here.ø

The names of various parts of things are another important semantic class of inalienable nouns. The genitive suffix indicates the person and number of the whole to which the part belongs.

- 158) **oruc-na**
 head-1SGGEN

-my headø

- 159) **Tomeng-gina yanda.**
 abdomen-2,3PL.GEN big

-Their abdomens are big.ø

- 160) **haréng-a**
 leaf-3SG.GEN

-its leafø

- 161) **bong-a**
 mountain,price,thumb-3SG.GEN

-a mountain, its price, its thumbø

162) **dzuri-a**
flower-3SG.GEN

-its flower \emptyset

163) **fowil-ya-guc**
four.wheel-3SG.GEN-ACC

-with its four wheel \emptyset (it is a four wheel drive)

Some other common inalienable nouns are illustrated below.

164) **Ala-héc-na** **mozong** **ha-dac-gic.**
friend-all-1SGGEN all.together come-COMPL-PAST.2,3PL

-All of my friends have come.

165) **Nuac** **kpac-na** **Waninga.**
my name-1SGGEN Waninga.

-My name is Waninga. \emptyset

166) **Sécpé-na** **sécpé-gé-tsua.**
spit-1SGGEN spit-VZR-PRES.1SG

-I spit my spit. \emptyset

167) **Négéc-na** **nu-tsac.**
sweat-1SGGEN 1SG.OBJ.shoot-PRES.3SG.

-I am sweated. \emptyset

Inalienable nouns may also occur without affixation under the following circumstances:

A. The part has become separated from the whole

168) **Iwac** **sac-néng** **biria-nina** **dzuac-mac.**
his blood-ERG bad-1PL.GEN wash-FUT.3SG.

-His blood will wash our badness. \emptyset

B. A different sense of the form is used

169) **iwawai** **kic-néng** **héhéng-a**
things eye-ERG looking-3SG.GEN

-Visible things \emptyset

170) **Manggoc** **wang-énécmi-yec.**
father become-2,3PL.OBJ.give-PAST.3SG.

-He became the father for them. \emptyset (He took care of them)

C. The inalienable noun occurs in a compound noun

- 171) **gezac-kpédzég**
ear-penetrate

-messageø

- 172) **sac-gbeli**
blood-new

-Young adultsø

D. The inalienable noun functions as a governing noun in a noun phrase and itself has an understood third singular genitive

- 173) **héna tawé-ya**
foot sole-3SG.GEN

-the sole of the footø

- 174) **méra meraw-a**
hand child-3SG.GEN

-hand fingersø

E. The inalienable noun occurs in poetic contexts

- 175) **Gi geza hai-ma ning-na.**
2SG.ABS ear put-SS hear-2SG.IMP

-Put your ear and hear.ø

2.2.4 PLUS OR MINUS INALIENABLE NOUNS

Some nouns, such as /**soukiwa**/ -moneyø /**ama**/ -house, villageø and others can be inflected with the genitive suffixes or occur in constructions with no overt genitive marking, in which case it is always understood to be: 1) 1st singular or 2) identical with the Subject.

- 176) **Soukiwa-na kpahac.**
money-1SGGEN SEN.NEG

-I don't have money.ø

- 177) **Soukiwa kpahac.**
money SEN.NEG

-There is no money (with me).ø

- 178) **Ama-n-u kem-mang.**
house-1SGGEN-LOC go-FUT.1SG

-I am going to my house.ø

- 179) **Ama-i-guc** **kem-mang.**
house-that-ACC go-FUT.1SG

-I am going to my house.ø

2.2.5 KUBE GENITIVE SUFFIXES

Basically there are 7 different genitive suffixes which occur on nouns to indicate the persons and the numbers of another entity to which they are related. They distinguish between singular, dual and plural in number and first, second and third person in the singular, and first and non-first person in the non-singular.

The Kube genitive suffixes have two different sets, final(open) forms(152) and non-final(closed) forms(153). The non-final forms lack the final vowel and occur when further suffixes follow.

- 180) **Ama-na** **i-mi** **me-biri-tsua.**
house-1SGGEN that-SPEC work-bad-PRES.1SG

-I spoiled my house.ø

- 181) **Ama-n-u** **kem-mang.**
house-1SGGEN-LOC go-FUT.1SG

-I am going to my house.ø

The genitive suffixes are formed by replacing the last vowel of Kube pronouns, /-i/ with /-a/. This morphophonemic rule is also observed in some other contexts. Compare Table 14 below with The table 1 in section 1.2.

Table 17: Kube Genitive Suffixes (Final forms)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	-na	-nira	-nina
2nd person	-ga	-gira	-gina
3rd person	-ya/-a	-gira	-gina

The four formatives indicating number in the genitive suffixes are /-**ø**/ ꝑsingularø /-**i**-/ non-singular, /-**r**/ ꝑdualø and /-**n**/ ꝑpluralø. The three formatives indicating person are /**n**/ ꝑ1st personø /**g**/ ꝑ2nd person in singular and 2,3rd persons in the non-singular, /**ø**/**i**/ ꝑ3rd person in the singularø. The final morpheme, /-**a**/, indicates the genitive function.

Table 18: Kube Genitive Suffixes (Non-final forms)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	-n	-nir	-nin
2nd person	-g	-gir	-gin
3rd person	-y	-gir	-gin

2.2.6 DERIVATION OF NOUNS

2.2.6.1 NOMINALISATION BY REDUPLICATION

Fully reduplicating a verb root or stem is one of the most common ways of deriving a noun.

- 182) **ne** ꝑto eatø
nene ꝑfoodø
- 183) **tocg** ꝑto sitø
tocgotocgo ꝑmeetingø
- 184) **o** ꝑ3SG.OBJ.to.cookø
oo-ya ꝑcooked oneø

Partial reduplications of verb roots or stems are also used to form nouns.

- 185) **bélacgé** ꝑto softenø
bébélacgi-a ꝑsoftness-3SG.POSSø
- 186) **lelecgé** ꝑto.turnø
leleclelec ꝑcircleø
- 187) **sanggi** ꝑto hideø
sasanggi-a ꝑsecret-3SG.POSSø

2.2.6.2 COMPOUND NOUNS

Compound nouns are single phonological words consisting of two or more lexical roots, in which the non-initial roots have no stress. The following types of compound nouns are observed.

188) Noun + Noun

hafi+ama	(sickness+house)	ɛclinicø
kiwi+ama	(letter+house)	ɛschoolø
gbaoc+sang	(yellow+pandanus)	ɛyellow-pandanusø
nang+bérac	(son+daughter)	ɛchildrenø

189) Verb + Verb

meric-kpe	(cut+beat)	ɛcarpenterø
kpac-héré-ya	(cry+pull)	ɛhis prayerø

190) Compound Verb + Compound Verb

mutu-kputulang	(hand.gather+strike.gather)	ɛgatheringø
meleng-kpeleng	(hand.turn+strike.turn)	ɛrollingø

191) Derived Noun[V+V] + Derived Noun[V+V]

kengkeng-haha	(going+coming)	ɛinteractionø
wawam-meme	(doing+working)	ɛbehaviourø

192) Noun + Compound Verb

ac+meleng	(word+hand.turn)	ɛtranslatorø
ac+kpekpe	(word+striking)	ɛdisobedienceø
médzé+titi	(dislike+fullness)	ɛdislikeø
séwi+engeng	(skin+rasing)	ɛproudø
ai+meme	(garden+working)	ɛwork dayø

193) Noun + Time-Loctive Clitic + Reduplicated Noun

am-u+tatac (house-at+siting) ɛa nick name for snake and lawn (lit. house sitter)ø

Some stems can function either as noun or verb with no extra morphological marking indicating a change of grammatical category.

194) Kpac-na Yosep Lee. name-1SGGEN Joseph Lee

ɛMy name is Joseph Lee.ø

195) Gonggong kpac-tsac. bell cry-PRES.3SG.

ɛThe bell is ringing.ø

- 196) **Hua-na** **geriw-a-guc.**
 shoulder-1SGGEN pain-3SG.GEN-ACC

∅I have a pain in my shoulder.∅

- 197) **Foc-dac** **hua-ma** **ha-na.**
 fast-EMO shoulder-SS come-2SG.IMP

∅Take it on the shoulder come fast.∅

Kube nouns may function either as the head of the noun phrase or as an attributive modifier within the noun phrase. They also can function as predicates. In the following examples the first line illustrates an attributive use of a noun, while the second line illustrates the same form functioning as noun phrase head.

- 198) **Ic** **kuneng,** **ha-tsang?**
 man big.one come-PRES.2SG

∅Big man did you come?∅

- 199) **Kuneng,** **ha-tsang?**
 Big.one, come-PRES.2SG

∅Sir, did you come?∅

- 200) **Ic** **meraw-a**
 man young.one-3SG.GEN

∅a young man∅

- 201) **Iwac** **meraw-a** **eri ha-tsac.**
 his young.one-3SG.GEN there come-PRES.3SG.

∅His child came over there.∅

- 202) **Ic** **yanda**
 man old.one

∅old man∅

- 203) **yanda-héc-na**
 old.one-pl-1SGGEN

∅all of my ancestors∅

- 204) **Ic** **imi** **kiwi** **ic.**
 man DET letter man

∅The man is a man teacher.∅

2.2.7 OTHER SEMANTIC DISTINCTIONS AMONG NOUNS

2.2.7.1 ANIMACY

While plural animate nouns always trigger plural affixation on the verb, plural inanimate nouns do not always do so. Instead, their number is often indicated by just a genitive suffix (if they have one) or modifying quantifier. Contrast the following two examples.

- 205) **Nang héc-na ha-tsu.**
son pl-1SGGEN come-PRES.2,3PL

∅All of my sons came.∅

- 206) **Képésic-na moctsong tecgé-mac.**
sin-1SGGEN all finish-FUT.3SG.

∅All of my sin will finish.∅

When some conceptually inanimate nouns function as Subject, they may take either a plural or a singular Subject suffix on the verb.

- 207) **Hoc sasala he-tsu.**
stone many sleep-PRES.2,3PL

∅There are a lot of stones.∅

- 208) **Hoc sasala he-tsac.**
stone many sleep-PRES.2,3PL

∅There is much stone.∅

2.2.7.2 ATTRIBUTIVE STATIVE NOUNS

From a formal point of view, stative nouns functioning as attributive modifiers, are identical to other nouns. Compare the following word level features and phrase level constructions of attributive words and other nouns.

A. The attributive stative nouns come after the noun they modify, and may take the 3rd person Genitive suffix. But when they occur in a compound word, they precede the head and do not take a Genitive suffix.

- 209) **Sang gbaor-a**
pandanus yellow-3SG.GEN

∅yellow pandanus/pandanus its yellow∅

- 210) **Gbaoc-sang**
yellow-pandanus

∅yellow pandanus∅

211) **Unga téré-ya**
spirit holiness-3SG.GEN

÷Holy spiritø

212) **Téré-unga**
holiness-spirit

÷Holy spiritø

B. Attributive stative nouns may also occur in the predicative position, just as other nouns do.

213) **Ic i-mi kuneng.**
man that-SPEC big(one)

÷That man is a big(one).ø

214) **Embac i-mi naung-na**
girl that-SPEC different.sex.sibling-1SG.GEN

÷That girl is my sister.ø

C. Attributive stative nouns are reduplicated to express plurality. This is the case for head nouns too.

215) **Ic sung horua horua**
tree stick long.one long.one

÷A lot of long sticksø

216) **Baer-a baer-a hém-ma ha-tsua.**
ground-3SG.GEN ground-3SG.GEN 3SG.OBJ.see-SS come-PRES.1SG

÷I came after I looked around all of the grounds(countries).ø

D. The attributive stative nouns may take some of the same clitics as other nouns, such as the Associative /-guc/ ÷withø the Ablative /-nec/ ÷fromø and the Diminutive /-dac/ ÷justø

217) **Ic méng soukiwa yanda-ya-guc**
man one money a.lot-3SG.GEN-ACC

÷A wealthy man/a man with lots of moneyø

218) **Ala-na-guc ha-tsi**
friend-1SG.GEN-ACC come-PRES.1dl

÷I came with my friend.ø

- 219) **Sang i-mi gbaocgbaoc-nec.**
pandanus that-SPEC yellow-ABL

⊘That pandanus is yellow.⊘

- 220) **Pindiu-nec ha-tsua.**
Pindiu-ABL come-PRES.1SG

⊘I am coming from Pindiu.⊘

- 221) **Soukiwa i-mi komode-dac.**
money that-SPEC little-DIM

⊘The money is just a small amount.⊘

- 222) **Ic-dac i-mi ha-tsac.**
man-DIM that-SPEC come-PRES.3SG.

⊘The mean man came.⊘

However, not all attributive stative nouns satisfy all these criteria. The form /**gbaoc**/ ⊘yellow⊘ satisfies most of those criteria. But the Associative /-**guc**/ ⊘with⊘ in the example (245) may be interpreted as the clitic for the phrase instead of the attributive word alone because people often cook some vegetables with the yellow pandanus. Here are all possible constructions that express the same meaning.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 223) a. sang gbaor-a | ⊘pandanus its yellow.one⊘ |
| b. gbaoc+sang | ⊘yellow pandanus⊘ |
| c. sang gbaoc gbaoc | ⊘many yellow pandanuses⊘ |
| d. Sang i-mi gbaora. | ⊘That pandanus is yellow⊘ |
| e. sang gbaoc gbaocnec | ⊘many yellow pandanuses⊘ |
| f. Sang i-mi gbaoc gbaocnec. | ⊘Those pandanus are yellow⊘ |
| g. Sang i-mi gbaor-a-dac. | ⊘That pandanus is a sort of yellow⊘ |
| h. sang gbaor-a-guc | ⊘(he is) with his yellow pandanus⊘ |
| i. Sang i-mi gbaoc gbaoc. | ⊘Those pandanuses are all yellow⊘ |

Some examples of the words which may function in either the modifying slot of the noun phrase or the Head slot are given below.

- 224) **Ic kuneng**
man big.one

⊘respected man⊘

- 225) **Kuneng ha-tsang?**
big.one come-PRES.2SG

⊘Sir! have you come?⊘

226) **Ic yanda**
man old.one

-an old manø

227) **Yanda-héc-nina**
old.one-pl-1PL.GEN

-all of our ancestorsø

228) **Ic horua**
man long.one

-long manø

229) **Horua-na i-mi horua-ga ogic-tsac.**
length-1SG.GEN that-SPEC length-2SG.GEN 3SG.OBJ.pass-PRES.3SG.

-My height is greater than your height.ø

230) **Ic biria**
man bad.one

-bad manø

231) **Biria dzuac-mac.**
badness wash-FUT.3SG.

-He will wash the badness(sin).ø

232) **Ic dzapéla**
man black.one

-a black manø

2.3 PRONOUNS

There are two different sets of pronominal bases from which the various sub-classes of pronouns are generated by adding different functional clitics. One is a set termed here the Absolutive/Exclusive pronouns, and the other is termed the Genitive/Inclusive pronouns.

There are three persons and numbers in Kube pronominal systems: singular, dual, and plural number and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person. The singular pronouns distinguish three different persons: 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. But for non-singular pronouns 2nd and 3rd person are not normally distinguished. If one wants to formally distinguish 3rd person dual and plural from second person, the 3rd person singular pronoun -iø is added before 2,3 person dual and plural pronouns.

2.3.1 THE ABSOLUTIVE/EXCLUSIVE PRONOUNS /-i/

The Absolutive pronouns all end in the vowel /i/ and are the only class which can occur in either the Subject(206) or the Object(207) slots of sentences. The members of this class expressing first person non-singular are interpreted as being exclusive; i.e. the addressee is not included.

Table 19: The Absolutive (Exclusive) Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1st	ni	niri	nini
2nd	gi	iri	ini
3rd	i	iri	ini

- 233) S
 Gi tac-gic, nini kem-bing.
 2SG.ABS sit-2PL.DS 1PL.ABS.EXCL go-FUT.1PL

-You(SG.ABS) stay, we(PL.ABS) are leaving.ø

- 234) O
 Gi gém-mang dzé-ma ha-tsua.
 2SG.ABS 2SG.OBJ.see-FUT.1SG say-SS come-PRES.1SG

-I said I am going to see you and came.ø

The meaning difference between the Absolutive and Genitive pronoun when they are used as Subject of a sentence is shown in the following examples. The first sentence(209) is used to give general information but the second sentence(210) is used to give specific information answering to the question like "Who came yesterday?"

- 235) Ni orang ha-yi.
 I yesterday come-PAST.1SG

-I came yesterday.ø

- 236) Nena orang ha-yi.
 I.myself yesterday come-PRES.1SG

-I myself came yesterday.ø

2.3.2 THE GENITIVE (INCLUSIVE) PRONOUNS

It is difficult to a good label for this set of pronouns because its members function both as genitive pronouns(208) and also as fillers of the Subject(209) and Predicate(210) slot. In the singular number pronouns Genitive suffixes are final clitics and in the non-singular pronouns the Ergative is the final clitic. Non-singular first person pronouns are interpreted as being inclusive; i.e. the addressee is included.

Table 20: The Genitive (Inclusive) Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1st	nena	nekanɡ	nenganɡ
2nd	gengga	ekang	engang
3rd	néngéna(engena)	ekang	engang

- 237) **Yo-mi** **i-mi** **ion-ac** **ai** **kpahac**
 this-SPEC that-SPEC 3PL-OBLQ garden SEN.NEG
- i-mi** **nena** **ai,** **péséc** **hia** **ku-ma** **ne-na.**
 that-SPEC 1SGGEN garden sugarcane freely break-SS eat-2SG.IMP

÷For this, it is not other people's garden, it is my garden,
 break(SS) the sugarcane freely and(SS) eat it.ø

- 238) **Gi** **i-mi** **yo-u-mi** **héi-ma** **taweng** **himic-na**
 2SG.ABS that-SPEC this-LOC-SPEC cut-SS taro plant-2SG.DS
- nena** **i-mi** **yo-mu-huc-geng** **héi-ma** **himic-mang.**
 1SGGEN that-SPEC this-SPEC-like-ILL cut-SS plant-FUT.1SG

÷As for you(sg), cut this part and plant taro and for me, I am going
 to cut here and plant.ø

- 239) **Ala,** **orang** **i-mi** **nekanɡ** **Baememu** **kem-ma**
 friend tomorrow that-SPEC 1dl.INCL.ERG Baememu go-SS
- nu-ac** **ai me-wi.**
 1SG-OBLQ garden work-FUT.1dl

÷Friend, tomorrow, let us(dl.GEN) go to Baememu and work on my
 garden.ø

- 240) **Neka-ng** **yo-mi** **emu-mi** **i-mi** **néngéna-nec.**
 1dl.GEN-ERG this-SPEC down-SPEC that-SPEC 3SG.GEN-ABL

÷These are ours(1dl.GEN) and that one down there is his own.ø

2.3.3 THE ERGATIVE (ERGATIVE) PRONOUNS

The Ergative pronouns which all end in the post-clitic /-ng/ are used to explicitly indicate that participants are somehow affecters in the situation; i.e., they do something. We have never observed the members of this class occurring in the Object slot although their person-number for motives resemble those of the Absolutive/Exclusive Pronouns. The forms of the Ergative Pronouns are given below:

Table 21: The Ergative Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1st	neng	nereng	neneng
2nd	geng	ereng	eneng
3rd	inéng(ingé,ingéng)	ereng(iereng)	eneng(ieneng)

- 241) **Ene-ng** **yo-u** **tac-mu.** **Nene-ng** **wai-wing.**
 2,3PL-ERG this-LOC sit-FUT.2,3PL 1PL-ERG leave-FUT.1PL

∅You(pl.ERG) will sit here. We(pl.ERG) will leave.∅

- 242) **Kia** **ha-tsac,** **gi** **wai-ma** **tac-na**
 rain come-PRES.3SG. 2SG.ABS leave-SS sit-2SG.DS
- nereng** **kem-ma** **ic** **horua** **i-mi** **me-ha-wic.**
 1dlERG go-SS tree long that-SPEC hold-come-FUT.1dl

∅It's raining, you(sg.ABS) stay (behind), we(1dl.ERG) will bring the long tree.∅

- 243) **Ini** **tac-gic** **nereng** **ken-dzi,**
 2,3PL.ABS sit-2,3PL.DS 1dlERG go-PRES.1dl

tatac **éréhéc** **saw-a.**
 seat two only.one-3SG.GEN

∅You(pl.ABS) stay, we(dl.ERG) go, (there are) only two seats.∅

2.3.4 THE ACCOMPANIMENT PRONOUNS /-guc/

The accompaniment pronouns are formed by adding the formative /-guc/ to either the Absolutive/Exclusive or Genitive/Inclusive pronouns.

- 244) **Ni-guc** **kem-bing.**
 1SG.EXCL-ACC go-FUT.1PL

∅We will go, with me(sg.EXCL).∅

- 245) **Moctsong ménda énéc-pési-mang,**
all ADJ.NEG 2,3PL.OBJ-take-FUT.1SG
- Dembi dzéma Maiku iri-guc kem-bing.**
Dembi and Maiku 2,3dl.ABS-ACC go-FUT.1PL
- ¬I am not going to take all of you, I will go with them(dl.EXCL),
Dembi and Kaiku.ø

Table 22: Accompaniment Absolutive/Exclusive Pronouns /-guc/

	SG	DL	PL
1st	niguc	niriguc	niniguc
2nd	giguc	iriguc	iniguc
3rd	iguc	iriguc	iniguc

- 246) **Méréguc kem-mao? nena-guc kem-bi.**
who-ACC go-FUT.2,3dl 1SGGEN-ACC go-FUT.1dl
- ¬With whom are you going? We will go with me.ø

Table 23: The Accompaniment Genitive/Inclusive Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1st	nenaguc	genggaguc	néngénaguc(engenaguc)
2nd	nekangguc	ekangguc	ekangguc
3rd	nengangguc	engangguc	engangguc

2.3.5 THE COLLECTIVE PRONOUNS /-(ha)wu/

Collective pronouns are formed by adding the formative /-hawu/ or /-wu/ to a dual or plural Inclusive pronominal base. The meaning of these forms is roughly ¬do something together as a groupø Probably /**nekawu**/ is the contracted form of /**nekahawu**/. The same type of phonological contraction is observed in the word /**imuhuc~imuc**/, /**yomuhuc~yomuc**/ and /**kpahac~kpac**/.

- 247) **Kec-ma moneng bakia kowu me-wac ning**
stay-SS money part steal work-IRR.3SG. thought
- nenga-hawu ken-ni.**
1PL.GEN-COLLEC go-1PL.INDUC

¬As time goes by, he might steal some money, so let us(pl) all go together.ø

- 248) **Méng** **neka-wu** **kem-bi.**
 one 1dl.GEN-COLLEC go-FUT.1dl

÷Anyone, let us(dl.GEN-COLLEC) go together.ø

- 249) **Ic** **méng** **ménda** **wai-wésémang,** **nenga-wu**
 man one ADJ.NEG leave-FUT.2SG 1PL.GEN-COLLEC

mocsong kem-bing.
 all go-FUT.1PL

÷You should not miss any one, let us(plEMPH.COLLEC) all go together.ø

Table 24: The Collective Pronouns

	DL	PL
1st	nekahawu	nengahawu
2nd	ekahawu	engahawu
3rd	ekahawu	engahawu

Table 25: The Collective Pronouns (Short Forms)

	DL	PL
1st	nekawu	nengawu
2nd	ekawu	engawu
3rd	ekawu	engawu

2.3.6 THE LOCATIVE AXIS PRONOUNS /-u/-muru/

There are two different locative pronominal formatives:-**u** and-**muru-muru** appears to be composed of the Specifier mu and the Time-Location formative-**u** and indicates a definite location which is also someone's property. This formative occurs only on the Benefactive pronouns. The Locative Pronouns express the ownership as well as the location.

- 250) **Gu-ar-u** **bericnenggia** **i-mi**
 2SG-OBLQ-LOC car that-SPEC

fowil-ya-guc?
 four.wheel-3SG.GEN-ACC

÷Is your car a four wheel drive?ø

Table 26: The Locative Pronouns (Non-Specific)

	SG	DL	PL
1st	nuaru	noraru	nonaru
2nd	guaru	orarau	onaru
3rd	iwaru	oraru	onaru

- 251) **Héméri-ngé** "Ni usu." **dzé-ma** **dzikic-gira**
bat-ERG 1SG.ABS leaf say-SS claw.fish-2,3dl.GEN

i(w)-ac-mu(r)-u **hai-yec.**
3SG-OBLQ-SPEC-LOC put-PRES.3SG.

÷The bat put their(dl) claw fish to his(own) side saying, "I am a leaf."÷

Table 27: The Locative Pronouns (Specific)

	SG	DL	PL
1st	nuacmuru	noracmuru	nonacmuru
2nd	guacmuru	oracmuru	onacmuru
3rd	iwacmuru	oracmuru	onacmuru

2.3.7 The REFLEXIVE INCLUSIVE PRONOUNS

The Emphatic pronouns are formed by adding the formative **-oc** to the Genitive/Inclusive pronominal bases. They indicate emphasis on the Subject, that the Subject person(s) is(are) soley doing the action, not someone else.

- 252) **Sawac** **i-mi** **momacguc** **sawa, manggoc**
betel.nut that-SPEC one only father

wan-dzua i-mu-ac **ini** **tac-gic**
do-PRES1SG taht-SPEC-OBLQ 2,3PL.ABS sit-2,3PL.DS

nena-oc **ne-wa.**
1SGGEN-EMPH eat-1SG.DS

÷That is the only betel nut, I am doing father, for that sake, you (just) sit, I by myself will eat it.ø

- 253) **Ménda** **kpesi-mi-na** **nenga-oc**
 ADJ.NEG ask-3SG.OBJ.give-2SG.IMP 1PL.GEN-EMPH

hia kem-bing.
 well go.FUT.1PL

-Don't ask him, we ourselves will go well.ø

Table 28: The Emphatic (Inclusive) Pronouns /-oc/ ‘-yet’

	SG	DL	PL
1st	nenac	nekaoc	nengac
2nd	genggaoc	ekaoc	engac
3rd	néngénaoc(engenaoc)	ekaoc	engac

2.3.8 THE BENEFACTIVE AXIS PRONOUNS /-ac/

The benefactive pronouns are composed of a pronominal base and the benefactive formative /-ac/.

2.3.8.1 WITH THE EXCLUSIVE PRONOUNS

When the benefactive clitic is added to an exclusive pronoun, the resulting form is used to indicate someone on whose behalf an action was taken or who benefited from an event taking place.

- 254) **Gi** **nu-ac** **me** **méré-ac** **ha-tsang?**
 2SG.ABS 1SG-OBLQ or who-OBLQ come-PRES.2SG

-For me or whom are you coming for?ø

Table 29: The Benefactive Exclusive Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1st	nuac	norac	nonac
2nd	guac	orac	onac
3rd	iwac	orac/iorac	onac/ionac

2.3.8.2 WITH THE GENITIVE/INCLUSIVE PRONOUNS

The Inclusive Benefactive pronouns are repeated when possessors are being contrasted.

- 255) **Séwi-nira** **i-mi** **nek-ac** **nek-ac,**
 skin-1dlGEN that-SPEC 1dl.GEN-OBLQ 1dl.GEN-OBLQ
- gu-ac** **i-mi** **lalac** **nu-ac** **i-mi** **dzapéla.**
 2SG-OBLQ that-SPEC white 1SG-OBLQ that-SPEC black

-Regarding our skins, each one of us has different one, yours is white and mine is black.ø

Table 30: Genitive Benefactive Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1st	nenac	nekac(Inclusive)	nengac(Inclusive)
2nd	genggac	ekac	engac
3rd	néngénac/engenac	ekac	engac

2.3.9 DOUBLE USE OF THE BENEFACTIVE /-ac/

Some people add an additional benefactive formative to the following classes of pronouns which have fused benefactive suffix. This seems to be a way of emphasizing Exclusiveness i.e. for me plus not for anyone else. See section 1.1. and The Organized Phonology Data of Kube (1990) for a rule describing the morphophonemic change of /c/.

2.3.9.1 WITH THE BENEFACTIVE PRONOUNS

Table 31: Emphatic Benefactive Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1st	nuarac	guarac	iwarac
2nd	norarac	orarac	orarac/iorarac
3rd	nonarac	onarac	onarac/ionarac

- 256) **I-mi** **nu-ar-ac** **tac-tsac.**
 that-SPEC 1SG-OBLQ-OBLQ sit-PRES.3SG.

-That is for me.ø

- 257) **I-mi** **nu-ac** **tac-tsac.**
 that-SPEC 1SG-OBLQ sit-PRES.3SG.

-That is for me.ø

2.3.9.2 WITH THE GENITIVE/INCLUSIVE PRONOUNS

Table 32: The Emphatic Benefactive Genitive Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1st	nenarac	(Inclusive) nekarac	(Inclusive) nengarac
2nd	genggarac	ekarac	engarac
3rd	néngénarac/engénarac	ekarac	engarac

- 258) **Nakpi** **yomi** **gu-ac** **ménda** **gén-dzua.**
 cloth this 2SG-OBLQ ADJ.NEG 2SG.OBJ.give-PRES.1SG

I-mi **ne-nar-ac.** **Eng héi-na**
 that-SPEC 1SG-GEN.BEN-OBLQ just 3SG.OBJ.put-2SG.DS

ken-dzi. **Eri** **kem-ma-guc** **méngguc**
 go-1dl.INDUC there go-SS-ACC again

hetecgé-ma **nén-na.**
 take.off-SS 1SG.OBJ.give-2SG.IMP

-I do not give this cloth for you. That is my own(1SG-GEN.BEN-OBLQ).
 Just put it on and letø go, and when we go over there, take it off
 and give it to me.ø

2.3.9.3 WITH THE LOCATIVE PRONOUNS

This set of pronouns reflects a distinctive aspect of the culture of the area. There is distinct category of ownership for something which is located or growing on their own territory. **nu-ar-u-ac** 'for my territory' means 'something exist to my place(or to me)'ø

- 259) **Iwawai** **i-mi** **nu-ar-u-ac** **tac-tsac.**
 something that-SPEC 1SG-OBLQ-LOC-OBLQ sit-PRES.3SG.

-Regarding the thing, that is located on my land and belongs to me.ø

Table 33: Emphatic Locative Pronouns

	SG	DL	PL
1st	nuaruac	guaruac	iwaruac
2nd	noraruac	oraruac	oraruac/ioraruac
3rd	nonaruac	onaruac	onaruac/ionaruac

2.3.10 INDEPENDANTIVE AXIS PRONOUNS /-nec/

When the clitic /-nec/ is added to a pronoun, it indicates that the referent of the pronoun does something by themselves. It occurs with the Ergative Pronouns(231), Inclusive Pronouns(231,233), Emphatic Pronouns(234), Inclusive Benefactive Pronouns(235), and Collective Inclusive Pronouns(236).

- 260) **I** **wai-yu** **ne-ng-nec** **ne-dac-tsua.**
 3SG. leave-3SG.DS 1SG-ERG -by eat-COMPL-PRES.1SG

-He left it so I ate it up by myself.ø

- 261) **Ne-nga-wu** **ken-ni** **zé-yu** **kpahac**
 1PL-GEN-COLLEC go-1PLINDUC say-3SG.DS SEN.NEG

niri **neka-nec** **kem-bi** **zé-tsua.**
 1dl.ABS.EXCL 1dlGEN-by go-1dlDS say-PRES.1SG

-Let us go all together he said so there is no way we(dl) will go by
 ourselve.ø

- 262) **Iwawai** **sasala** **he-tsac** **i-mi** **nena-nec**
 something many sleep-PRES.3SG. that-SPEC 1SGGEN-by

wam-mang.
 do-FUT.1SG

-I will do all the things by myself.ø

- 263) **Ic** **i-mi** **médzi-a** **ti-yu** **tar-u**
 man that-SPEC dislikeness-3SG.GEN 3SG.fill-3SG.DS sit-3SG.DS

nena-oc-nec **mozong** **héi-tsua.**
 1SGGEN-EMPH-BY all 3SG.OBJ.cut-PRES.1SG

-Regarding the man, he was filled with dislikeness and was sitting
 down, and I cut all of those by myself.ø

- 264) **Nek-ac-nec** **ha-tsi.**
 1dlGEN-OBLQ-BY come-PRES.1dl

-We(1dl) came by our(dl)selves.ø

- 265) **Areng** **i-mu-huc-i-guc** **neka-wu-nec**
 order that-SPEC-like-that-ACC 1dl.INCL-COLLEC-BY

Kewu-ac **ai** **me-bic.**
 big.one-OBLQ work to.work-FUT.1dl

-With the order like that we will do Godø work by ourselves.ø

2.3.11 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Kube demonstratives are formed of two components: a directional formative and the Specifier **-mi**, which functions to point to some specific entity. 9 demonstratives pronouns have been observed so far:

Table 34: The Demonstratives

i-mi	points to something near to the hearer or old information
you-mi	points to something near to the speaker or new information
ou-mi	points to something which is at a higher elevation or future time
kec-mi	to something which is located in between the speaker and the hearer points
eri-mi	points to something which is at the same elevation as the speaker and the hearer and located some distance away from both
emu-mi	points to something which is at a lower elevation or past time
emø-am-mi	points to something which is behind an Object at a lower elevation
erø-am-mi	points to something which is behind an Object at the same elevation
hu-am-mi	points to something which is behind an Object and located some distance away from it

The Specifier **/-mi/** which follows the directionals does not just indicate physical location, it also indicates some other things. Some examples of the use of **/-mi/** are given below:

-mi occurring in a locative adverb:

- 266) **Héna em-am-mi he-tsac.**
road down.there-non.visible-SPEC sleep-PRES.3SG.

∴A road is down there.∅

- 267) **Ic méng ou ha-ma ken-dzac.**
man a up.there come-SS go-PRES.3SG.

∴A man goes up there.∅

-mi occurring in a form functioning pronominally.

- 268) **Eri-mi-guc kem-bi.**
over.there-SPEC-ACC go-F.1dl

∴I will go with that one(= a man) over there.∅

- 269) **Ou-mi-néng kpe-tsac.**
up.there-SPEC-ERG 3SG.OBJ.strike-PRES.3SG.

∴The one (who lives) up there beat him.∅

-**mi** in a demonstrative modifying a temporal noun

- 270) **Nalé** **yo-mi** **kia** **nalé-ya.**
time this-SPEC rain time-3SG.GEN

∅This time is the time of rain.∅

If "**mi**" occurs without a locative prefix it encodes indefinite but specific entities.

- 271) **Inéng** **mi-a** **me-tsac.**
3SG.ERG something-3SG.GEN hold-PRES.3SG.

∅He got something.∅

- 272) **Mu-ac** **ning** **Yesu.**
something-OBLQ thinking Jesus

∅It is something like Jesus.∅

/i-**mi**/ also functions as a topic marker, setting off given topics from the rest of the clause or sentence. Functionally, it contrasts with **méng** ∅one/another∅ which is used to indicate a participant whose identity is new information.

- 273) **Nalé** **yo-mi** **i-mi** **kia** **nalé-ya.**
time this-SPEC that-SPEC rain time-3SG.GEN

∅This time, it is a time of the rain.∅

- 274) **Ic** **méng** **eri-mi** **i-mi**
man a over.there-SPEC that-SPEC

nu-ac **dac-na.**
1SG-OBLQ elder.brother-1SGGEN

∅A man over there, he is my elder brother.∅

The form **imi** functions as a complementizer in relative clauses.

- 275) **Ic** **orang** **ha-yec** **i-mi** **eri**
man yesterday come-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC over.there

ha-ma **ken-dzac.**
come-SS go-PRES.3SG.

∅The man who came yesterday is going over there.∅

The Specifier "**mi**" is often omitted from the demonstratives, resulting in the directional formatives occurring by themselves. Compare (247) and (248).

- 276) **Ic** **i-mi** **eri-mi** **nan-dzac.**
man that-SPEC over.there-SPEC stand-PRES.3SG.

∅The man is standing over there.∅

- 277) **Ic** **i-mi** **eri** **nan-dzac.**
man that-SPEC over.there stand-PRES.3SG.

∅The man is standing over there.∅

2.3.11.1 CLITICS WHICH CO-OCCUR WITH THE DEMONSTRATIVES

When the Specifier "mi" is itself followed by other clitics, the vowel "i" changes to "u".

- 278) **Yo-mu-huc-ya-nec** **momacguc** **nén-na.**
this-SPEC-like-3SG.GEN-by one 1SG.OBJ.give-2SG.IMP

∅You(sg) give me one from the one like this.∅

- 279) **Mu-ac** **ning** **Yesu.**
one-OBLQ thinking Jesus

∅It seems like Jesus.∅

Some clitics attach directly to the demonstratives; the Ergative clitic /-néng/, the Accompaniment clitic /-guc/, the Benefactive clitic /-ac/, and the Manner clitic /-huc/, but some do not. The possibilities of co-occurrence for various clitics are restricted. See the following chart.

Table 35: Co-occurrence restriction of pronominal clitics

		direc.	- dac	-mi/- mu	- ac	- u	- huc	- geng	- guc	- néng	- a/ya	- nec
direc.	1		x	x				x				
-dac	2			x								
- mi/mu	3		x		x		x		x	x	x	
-ac	4					x	x	x			x	x
-guc	4							x				x
-huc	4							x			x	x
-u	5											x
-a	5		x						x	x		
-geng	6							x				x
-nec	7									x		
-néng	11											x

* directionals **i,you,ou,kec,eri,emu,emø,erø,hu** (see section 2.3.11.)

- 280) **Er-am-mu-ac-nec** **ha-ma ken-na.**
 over.there-unvisable-SPEC-OBLQ-ABL come-SS go-2SG.IMP

-Pass by the way over there.ø

- 281) **I-mu-ar-u-nec** **hai-wa** **tac-tsac.**
 that-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC-ABL put-1SG.DS sit-PRES.3SG.

-I put it to be over there near to you.ø

- 282) **I-mu-huc-geng** **nan-dzac.**
 that-SPEC-like-ILL stand-PRES.3SG.

-He is about there.ø

- 283) **I-mu-huc-ya-nec** **momacguc** **me-ma**
 that-SPEC-like-3SG.GEN-ABL one hold-SS

nén-na
 1SG.OBJ.give-2SG.IMP

-Give me one of this kind.ø

2.3.11.1.1 THE EMOTIVE CLITIC /-dac/

Most clitics occur after the Specifier /-mi/. But the Diminutive /-dac/ can occur either preceding it or following it. It modifies the preceding stem and its meaning is roughly that of "right" or "just" in "right there" and "just here".

Table 36: The Diminutive Demonstratives

i-dac-mi
you-dac-mi
ou-dac-mi
eri-dac-mi
emu-dac-mi
emang-dac-mi
erang-dac-mi
kec-dac-mi
huang-dac-mi

- 284) **I-dac-mi** **tac-tsac.**
 that-DIM-SPEC sit-PRES.3SG.

-It is just there.ø

2.3.11.1.2 CLITICS OCCURRING AFTER /-mi/

A. The demonstratives can function as the Subject of a sentence when they are followed by the Ergative clitic /-néng/.

- 285) **You-mu-ac-nec-néng** **hai-ni** **ken-dzac.**
 here-SPEC-OBLQ-ABL-ERG put-1PL.DS go-PRES.3SG.

∅We people from here put it and it went.∅

- 286) **Ou-mi-néng** **kpe-tsac.**
 up.there-SPEC-ERG 3SG.OBJ.strike-PRES.3SG.

∅The one up there beat him.∅

Table 37: The Ergative Demonstratives

i-mi-néng
you-mi-néng
ou-mi-néng
eri-mi-néng
emu-mi-néng
emam-mi-néng
eram-mi-néng
kec-mi-néng

B. Demonstratives can also function as a cooperative Subject, in which case they take the Accompaniment clitic /-guc/.

Table 38: The Accompaniment Demonstratives

i-mi-guc
you-mi-guc
ou-mi-guc
eri-mi-guc
emu-mi-guc
emam-mi-guc
eram-mi-guc
kec-mi-guc

287) **Eri-mi-guc** **keng-bi.**
over.there-SPEC-ACC go-FUT.1dl

∓I will go with a man over there.∅

C. Demonstratives encoding benefactee are governed by the Benefactive clitic /-ac/.

Table 39: The Benefactive Demonstratives

i-mu-ac
you-mu-ac
ou-mu-ac
eri-mu-ac
emu-mu-ac
emam-mu-ac
eram-mu-ac
kec-mu-ac

288) **Em-am-mu-ac** **me-ma** **nén-na.**
down-non.visable-SPEC-OBLQ hold-SS 1SG.OBJ.give-2SG.IMP

∓Get the thing down there and give me.∅

D. Demonstratives functioning adverbially take the Manner clitic /-huc/.

Table 40: The Manner Demonstratives

i-mu-huc
yo-mu-huc
ou-mu-huc
eri-mu-huc
emu-mu-huc
emam-mu-huc
eram-mu-huc
kec-mu-huc

- 289) **I-mu-huc** **dzé-tsua.**
that-SPEC-like say-PRES.1SG

-I said like that.∅
- 290) **Héna ou-mu-huc** **ken-na.**
road up-SPEC-like go-2SG.IMP

-Go by the road up there.∅

Table 41: The Ablative Demonstratives

i-mu-ac-nec
you-mu-ac-nec
ou-mu-ac-nec
eri-mu-ac-nec
emu-mi-ac-nec
emam-mu-ac-nec
eram-mu-ac-nec
kec-mu-ac-nec
i-mu-ar-u-nec
you-mu-ar-u-nec
ou-mu-ar-u-nec
eri-mu-ar-u-nec
emu-mu-ar-u-nec
emam-mu-ar-u-nec
eram-mu-ar-u-nec
kec-mu-ar-u-nec

Table 42: The Locative Demonstratives

i-mu-ar-u
you-mu-ar-u
ou-mu-ar-u
eri-mu-ar-u
emu-mi-ar-u
emam-mu-ar-u
eram-mu-ar-u
kec-mu-ar-u

- 291) **i-mu-ar-u** **tac-tsac.**
that-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC sit-PRES.3SG.

∓It is there.∅

Table 43: The Illative Demonstratives

i-mu-huc-geng
yo-mu-huc-geng
ou-mu-huc-geng
eri-mu-huc-geng
emu-mu-huc-geng
emam-mu-huc-geng
eram-mu-huc-geng
kec-mu-huc-geng

Table 1 The Contracted Forms of I.D.

i-muc-geng
yo-muc-geng
ou-muc-geng
eri-muc-geng
emu-muc-geng
emam-muc-geng
eram-muc-geng
kec-muc-geng
i-mu-ac-nec-néng
you-mu-ac-nec-néng
ou-mu-ac-nec-néng
eri-mu-ac-nec-néng
emu-mi-ac-nec-néng
emam-mu-ac-nec-néng
eram-mu-ac-nec-néng
kec-mu-ac-nec-néng

2.3.12 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

There are three basic roots from which the Interrogative Pronouns are formed: **méré** ∓who∅ **néma** ∓what∅ and **dimua** ∓where∅ The various interrogatives are listed below.

- 292) The Benefactive Interrogatives

mérac/méréaruac ∓for whom∅
némac/némaruac ∓for what∅
dimuac/dimuaruac ∓for where∅

293) The Nominative Interrogatives

mérénéng	¬who(ERG)∅
némanéng	¬what(ERG)∅

294) The Associative Interrogatives

méréguc	¬with whom∅
némaguc	¬with what∅

295) The Ablative Interrogatives

méréarunec	¬from whom∅
némarunec	¬from what∅
dimuarunec	¬from where∅

296) The Locative Interrogatives

méraru	¬to whom∅
némaru	¬to what∅
dimuaru	¬to where∅

297) The Conditional Interrogatives

némaiguc	¬with what∅
dimuhuciguc	¬How∅

2.4 DETERMINERS

The Kube form /i-mi/ may occur at the end of a relative clause. A sentence preceding /imi/ functions as a relative clause, and the verb phrase following /imi/ functions as the predicate of the sentence. In such instances, /imi/ functions as a complementizer within the relative clause. /Imi/ can not occur in both position at the same time. When, however, it occurs following a quantifier in the noun phrase, it functions as a determiner. Other determiners include: /méng/ ¬a,another∅ and the demonstratives.

NP → NH (ATT) (NUM) (±imi) (Relative Clause) (±imi)

298)	Ic	kuneng	éréhéc	i-mi	orang	ha-yoc.
	man	big	two	that-SPEC	yesterday	come-PAST.2,3dl

¬Those two big men came yesterday.∅

299)	Ic	kuneng	méng	orang	ha-yec	i-mi bec
	man	big	NON.REFER	yesterday	come-PAST.3SG.	that-SPEC
	already					

ken-dzac.
go-PRES.3SG.

¬The man who came yesterday has already gone.

The Determiners may occur in isolation, functioning pronoun phrases.

- 300) **I-mi** **néma?**
that-SPEC what

∅What is that.∅

- 301) **Méng** **nén-na.**
another 1SG.OBJ.give-2SG.IMP

∅Give me another one.∅

Some other items occurring with nouns are /**sac/sawa**/ ∅only∅ /**moctsong**/ ∅all∅ /**momacnec**/ ∅together∅ These always occur after the determiner when they occur together.

- 302) **Ic** **orang** **ha-gic** **i-mi** **sawa** **ken-dzu.**
man yesterday come-PAST.2,3PL that-SPEC only go-PRES.2,3PL

∅Only the man who came yesterday went.∅

* /**sawa**/ is the modifier of the demonstrative pronoun /**imi**/.

2.5 QUANTIFIERS

This is a type of noun modifier expressing quantity in general, or a specific number. It normally occurs in the following frame:

In the noun phrase

+ Noun + adjective _____ + Determiner

It can also occur by itself in the predicate.

- 303) **Nangbérac-héc-gira** **8, ic** **méraméng,** **embac** **haréwéc.**
children-pl-2,3dl.GEN 8 man five woman three

∅Their(dl) children are 8, the males are five, and the females are three.∅

- 304) **Sing-u-nec,** **sasala.**
night-LOC-ABL many.people

∅Good morning ladies and gentlemen.∅

2.5.1 NON-NUMERALS

Non-numeral quantifiers include /**kileng**/ ∅many, much∅ /**yanda**/ ∅old, big, much∅ /**héniya** **héniya**/ ∅various∅ /**tosara~tosiya**/ ∅portion or some of them∅ /**komodia**/ ∅a little bit∅

- 305) **ic** **embac** **sasala**
man woman a.lot

∅a lot of people∅

306) doku sasala
water a.lot

⊖a lot of water∅

2.5.2 NUMERALS

The counting system is based on fives (hands and feet). There are only three numeral words which are mono-morphemic. To count numbers less than five the vernacular is mainly used but Tok Pisin is used for counting larger numbers. Examples for the numbers 9 and 19 are given below.

307) méra méng dzéma néwéc-i-guc kembong kpahac.
hand one and over-that-ACC thumb SEN.NEG

⊖one hand and not the thumb on the other side(9)∅

308) méra éréhéc dzéma hinggacma héna méng dzé-ma
hand two and go.down leg one and

néwéc-iguc kembong kpahac
over-with.it thumb SEN.NEG

⊖Two hands and go down one leg and not the thumb on the other side(19)∅

309) Kube Numerals

1	momac(guc)	⊖one∅
2	éréhéc	⊖two∅
3	haréwéc	⊖three∅
4	kembong kpahac	⊖not the thumb∅
5	méra méng	⊖one hand∅
10	méra éréhéc	⊖two hands∅
12	méra éréhéc dzéma hinggacma hénaiguc éréhéc	⊖two hands and after go down, two at foot∅
15	méra éréhéc dzéma héna méng	⊖two hands and one foot∅

2.6 POSTPOSITIONAL CLITICS

A clitic is a form which grammatically resembles a word, but which cannot stand on its own as an independent phonological word. All of the postpositional clitics introduced here occur with more than one class of word. The labels given below for these clitics do not cover all their various functions.

-ngé(néng)	Ergative
-ac	Benefactive
-iguc/guc	Accompaniment
-u,-iguc,-geng	Time-Location
-nec	Ablative
-dzé	Purpose
-me	Alternative Questioner
-ta	Elliptical Questioner
-bec	Temporal Consecutive
-gezag	Probability
-dac	Diminutive
-huc	Similarity

2.6.1 ERGATIVE POSTPOSITIONAL CLITIC /-néng/ (see section 1.2.)

The form /-ngé/ has four variants: -ngéng, -néng, -ngé and -ng. These forms are all dialectal variants except that the last one is always found fused with the Ergative pronouns and Genitive pronouns. The form **-ngé** is the most widely used one. There are four different functions of the Ergative Postpositional Clitic:

- ✓ It indicates the Subject of transitive and intransitive clauses. It is especially used to disambiguate 3rd person Subjects and Objects in transitive clauses.
- ✓ It indicates Instruments.
- ✓ It is used as a conjunction to join either sentences or nouns
- ✓ In conjunction with the ablative -nec, it indicates the source material of some products.

In the following story the Subjects of a number of transitive clauses are marked by the Ergative postpositional clitic /-ngé/. Note that /geric/ -fireø is marked with /-ngé/ even though it is inanimate.

- 310) **Héméri-ngé** "ni usu" dzé-ma dzikic-gira
bat-ERG 1SG.ABS leaf say-SS crawfish-2,3GEN
- i-wac-mur-u** hai-yec. **Héméri-ngé** dzikic
3SG-OBLQ-that-SPEC-LOC put-PAST.3SG. bat-ERG crawfish
- oso-yec.** **Oso-yu** **hésa** hor-oc.
wrap-PAST.3SG. wrap-3SG.DS vine find-PAST.2,3dl
- Hoc-ma** gbérawi-ngé "ni hésa" dzé-yec. dzé-yu
find-SS eel-ERG 1SG.ABS vine say-PAST.3SG. say-3SG.DS
- gbérawi-ngé** héméri pipi-mi-yec. **Wang-u**
eel-ERG bat tie-3SG.OBJ.give-PAST.3SG. do-3SG.DS
- kem-bi-dzé** **kec-ma** **osi-ma** **tending-gé-ma** geric
go-FUT.1dl-PUR be-SS wrap-SS struggle-VZR-SS fire
- kpaha-i-guc** eng-oc. **Eng-ic** **geric-ngé**
on-that-ACC go.up-PAST.2,3dl go.up-2,3dl.DS fire-ERG
- oro-yu** **humu-yoc.**
2,3DL.OBJ.cook die-PAST.2,3dl

-The bat(ERG) put the crawfish to his side saying "I am a leaf". The bat(ERG) wrapped the crawfish. Doing so they(dl) found a vine. Finding it, the eel(ERG) said "I am a vine". Saying that, the eel(ERG) tied the bat. Doing so, trying to go, wrapping and struggling, they(dl) went on a fire. When they(dl) went on it, the fire ERG) cooked them(dl), they(dl) died.ø

In the following examples the Subjects of an intransitive clause and a stative sentence are marked with /-ngé/. The same form is used as a conjunctive device to join the two sentences.

- 311) **I-ngé** **mi-a** **siar-ec.**
 3SG-ERG SPEC-3SG.POSS cry-PAST3SG.

∅The very he cried.∅

- 312) **DZe-ma** **tar-u** **hém-ma** **Dzéng** **mingina** **ic**
 burn-SS sit-3SG.DS 3SG.OBJ.see-SS Dzéng owner man
- he-yec** **i-mu-ar-u** **tar-ec.**
 sleep-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC sit-PAST.3SG.
- Kemuru** **mingina-ngé** **dung** **néwéc** **tar-ec.**
 Kemuru owner-ERG sleeping.place the.other.side sit-PAST.3SG.

∅Looking at it burning, the owner of Dzéng sat where the man slept. The owner(ERG) of Kemuru sat on the other side of the sleeping place.∅

- 313) **Méra-ya-ngé** **kuneng** **dzézé-ngé** **héna-ya**
 hand-3SG.GEN-ERG big a.little-CONJ leg-3SG.GEN
- i-mi** **génggéng-a**
 that-SPEC middle-3SG.GEN

∅Its hand-front.leg(ERG) a little big and leg is middle size.∅

In the following story the inanimate Subject /**dzakong**/ ∅spear∅ is marked with the Ergative clitic. The same form is used as a conjunctive device to join the two sentences. Note that the verbal suffix does not agree with the instrument in the person and number of the participants. The nominal subject is omitted in this sentence.

- 314) **Méng** **dzakong-ngé** **wiric-gic** **i-mi**
 One spear-ERG 3SG.OBJ.shoot-PAST.2,3PL that-SPEC
- hia-ngé** **méng** **kua-ya** **mudzuc** **mudzuc**
 good-ERG another mouth-3SG.GEN together together
- kpe-gic** **i-mi** **wagic-ma** **hafi-ama**
 3SG.OBJ.beat-PAST2,3PL that-SPEC takeSS sickness-house
- yanda-i-guc** **keng-gic** **heric-ma** **gboto-gic**
 big-that-ACC go-PAST.2,3PL 3SG.OBJ.cut-SS sew-PAST.2,3PL
- hia-ru-yec.**
 good-VZR-PAST.3SG.

∅The one who was shot by a spear(ERG) became good(ERG), the other one who had his two lips struck together, was carried by the people to a big hospital and they cut and sewed it, and it became good.∅

The Ergative clitic /-ngé/ can also occur following a fronted clause.

- 315) **Dzé-tsac-néng** **inéng** **orang** **gu-ac**
 say-PRES.3SG-CONJ 3SG.ERG tomorrow 2SG-OBLQ
 s
ha-mac.
 come-FUT.3SG.

∅He said and he(ERG) will come tomorrow for you.∅

/-ngé/ (-éng, -néng, -néng) is also a component of the Ergative Pronouns. For paradigms see Table 18 in section 2.3. This form is also used as a conjunction in the cooperative noun phrase.

- 316) **Yohane-ngé** **Yakobo** **Yesu-ar-u** **kem-ma** **ker-oc.**
 John-CONJ James Yesu-OBLQ-LOC go-SS stay-PAST.2,3dl

∅John and James went to Jesus and stayed (with him).∅

In conjunction with the ablative clitic /-nec/, /-ngé/ is used to indicate the source material from which something was made.

- 317) **Yanda-héc-nina-ngé** **hoc-néng-nec** **naka i-mi**
 ancestor-pl-1PL.GEN-ERG stone-ERG -ABL axe that-SPEC

me-yacgé-ang-gic.
 work-made-HAB-PAST.2,3PL

∅Our ancestors used to make the axes out of stone.∅

The same form /-néng-nec/ occurs on the predicate in the following example.

- 318) **Méré-néng** **ic** **ikoc?** **ic** **i-mi-néng-nec.**
 who-ERG man liar man that-SPEC-ERG -ABL

∅Who is a liar man? He is that very man.∅

2.6.2 BENEFACTIVE POSTPOSITIONAL CLITIC /-ac/

This clitic functions to express the notions ∅on behalf of∅ or ∅for the benefit of∅ The Benefactive clitic /-ac/ is used in formation of the Benefactive Pronouns, for example /**nuac**/ ∅my∅ is composed of the nominative pronoun /**ni**/ ∅I∅ and the Benefactive Postpositional Clitic /-ac/ ∅for∅

- 319) **Gu-ac** **ha-tsua.**
 you-OBLQ come-1SG.NON.PAST

∅I came for you.∅

- 320) **Humu-ac** **séc** **kpahac.**
die-OBLQ enough SEN.NEG

¬Not enough to die.∅

- 321) **Yaka** **ning-ac** **humu-tsua.**
sweet.potato thinking-OBLQ die-PRES.1SG

¬I am dying for food/ I am hungry.∅

Two Benefactive elements occur in the following example. One is an inseparably fused form and the other is the Postpositional Clitic. There doesn't appear to be much difference in meaning between the Benefactive Pronoun and the Benefactive Pronoun which has the Postpositional Clitic. In this case the Clitic has the function of emphasis probably.

- 322) **I-mi** **nu-ar-ac** **tac-tsac.**
that-SPEC 1SG-OBLQ-OBLQ is-PRES.3SG.

¬It is for my sake.∅

- 323) **Nakpi** **yomi** **gu-ac** **ménda** **gén-dzua,**
cloth this 2SG-OBLQ ADJ.NEG 2SG.OBJ.give-PRES.1SG

i-mi **nena-ar-ac** **eng** **héi-na**
that-SPEC 1SGGEN-OBLQ-OBLQ without.purpose wear-2SG.DS

ken-dzi. **Eri** **kem-ma-guc** **méng-guc** **hetecgé-ma**
go-1dlDS there go-SS-ACC one-ACC get.rid.of-SS

nén-na.
1SG.OBJ.give-2SG.IMP

¬I don't give you the cloth, that is for my own just put it and let us(dl) go. When we arrive there, take it off and give it to me again.∅

A. The Benefactive, occurring within the noun phrase expresses a relationship of ownership.

- 324) **I-mi** **Kedzo-ac** **ama.**
that-SPEC Kedzo-OBLQ house

¬That is the house for Kedzo.∅

- 325) **Kiwi** **yomi** **méré-ac(mérac)?**
book this who-OBLQ

¬Whose book is this?∅

B. The Benefactive, occurring on a realis verb, expresses purpose, possibility, or approval.

- 326) **Manggoc-gira** **bafigé-yoc-ac** **dokuyang** **késa-yoc.**
 father-2,3dl.GEN help-PAST.2,3dl-OBLQ fish catch-PAST.2,3dl

∅They(dl) fished to help their(dl) father.∅

- 327) **(Héna i-mi)** **hia** **kem-bing-ac?**
 road that-SPEC well go-FUT.1PL-OBLQ

Hia **kem-bing-a-w-ac**
 well go-FUT.1PL-3SG.GEN-VI-OBLQ

∅Is the road (good enough) for us to go well? (It is good enough) for us to well.∅

- 328) **Asa** **de-guc-dac-mi** **you-mi** **nan-dzac-ac.**
 Asa now-ACC-just-SPEC this-SPEC stand-3SG.NON.PAST-OBLQ

∅Asa was here just now (I approve of this.).∅

C. The Benefactive, linking two clauses which have different tenses, encoding imperfective aspect.

- 329) **Ker-ec-ac** **kec-tsac.**
 stay-PAST3SG-OBLQ stay-PRES.3SG.

∅He has been alive (he was and still he is).∅

- 330) **Ha-tsac-ac** **ha-mac.**
 come-PRES.3SG-OBLQ come-FUT.3SG.

∅He is coming (He comes and will come).∅

D. When the Benefactive verb occurs with irrealis verb, it indicates concern of the speaker that an undesirable event might take place.

- 331) **Kuru** **gocmi-a** **mésém-bang-ac.**
 chicken egg-3SG.GEN break-IRR.2SG-OBLQ

∅You might break the the chicken egg.∅

2.6.3 ACCOMPANIMENT /-guc/-iguc/

Noun phrases governed by the Accompaniment clitic /-guc/ ∅with∅ encode a wide variety of semantic roles: accompaniment, goal, location, conveyance, time, possessed. When the clitic /-guc/ encode accompaniment, it is the person and number of the combined set of participants that is indexed on the verb.

- 332) **Ic** **méng-guc** **ha-tsi.**
 man one-ACC come-PRES.1dl

∅I came with a man.∅

- 333) **Ic méng i-guc ha-tsi.**
man one 3SG-ACC come-PRES.1dl

÷I came with a certain man.ø

- 334) **Kedzo Asa-guc Pindiu ken-dzaoc.**
Kedzo Asa-ACC Pindiu go-PRES.2,3dl

÷Kedzo went (to) Pindiu with Asa.ø

- 335) **Orang Asa Atiu-guc irir-i.**
yesterday Asa Atiu-ACC 2/;3dOBJL.see-PAST.1SG

÷I saw two of them, Asa with Atiu.ø

- 336) **Asa-guc kem-bi.**
Asa-ACC go-FUT.1dl

÷With Asa we(dl) will go.ø

The clitic /-guc/ is also added to temporal clauses and expressions.

- 337) **Orang-guc kem-mang.**
tomorrow-ACC go-FUT.1SG

÷I will go tomorrow.ø

- 338) **De-guc ha-na.**
now-ACC come-2SG.IMP

÷You come now.ø

- 339) **Orang-guc ha-na.**
tomorrow-ACC come-2SG.IMP

÷You come tomorrow.ø

- 340) **Méng-guc ha-na.**
one-ACC come-2SG.IMP

÷You come again.ø

- 341) **Ic i-mi ha-yu-guc ni ha-tsua.**
man that-SPEC come-3SG.DS-ACC 1SG.ABS come-PRES.1SG

÷I came when the man came.ø

When the accompaniment clitic is added to a medial verb it indicates completed aspect.

- 342) **Kem-ma-guc ha-na.**
go-SS-ACC come-2SG.IMP

÷You go and then come.ø

343) **Ni** **bec** **me-dac-wa-guc**
 1SG.ABS promptly work-COMPL-1SG.DS-ACC

ic **i-mi** **ha-yec.**
 man that-SPEC come-PAST.3SG.

∓When I had finished all of the work, the man came.∅

/-guc/ and /-iguc/ may encode goals with inanimate nouns but not animate or proper ones.

344) **Doku-iguc** **kem-mang.**
 water-LOC go-FUT.1SG

∓I am going to the water.∅

345) **Doku-guc** **kem-mang.**
 water-ACC go-FUT.1SG

∓I am going to the water.∅

346) **Pindiu** **kem-mang.**
 Pindiu go-FUT.1SG

∓I am going to Pindiu.∅

347) **Wagezaring** **kem-mang.**
 Wagezaring go-FUT.1SG

∓I am going to Wagezaring.∅

348) **Nu-ar-u** **ha-tsac.**
 1SG-OBLQ-LOC come-PRES.3SG.

∓He came to me.∅

Although to encode locations these may be attached to pronouns, proper nouns as well as inanimate nouns.

349) **Dzikic** **gbérawi** **doku-guc(i-guc)** **he-tsu.**
 crawfish eel water-ACC(that-ACC) sleep-PRES.2,3PL

∓The crawfish and eel are in the water.∅

350) **Ic** **dzung-guc(i-guc)** **nei** **yang** **he-tsu.**
 tree bush-ACC(that-ACC) bird animal sleep-PRES.2,3PL

∓There are birds and animals in the bush of tree.∅

351) **Wagezaring-guc(i-guc)** **kerosing** **tac-tsac.**
 Wagezaring-ACC(that-)ASS kerosene sit-PRES.3SG.

∓At Wagezaring there is kerosene.∅

- 352) **Orang aria yanda Pindiu-guc(i-guc) hicngi-yec.**
 yesterday game big Pindiu-ACC(that-ACC) happen-PAST.3SG.

∅There was a big game in Pindiu yesterday.∅

- 353) **Kewu-néng nengang-guc kec-tsac.**
 Lord-ERG 1PL.INCL-ACC is-PRES.3SG.

∅The Lord is with us all.∅

- 354) **Nini-guc kec-tsac.**
 1PL.ABS.EXCL-ACC is-PRES.3SG.

∅He is with us(EXCL).∅

This clitic is also added to noun phrases encoding a means of conveyance.

- 355) **Nei-i-guc ha-tsua.**
 airplane-that-ACC come-PRES.1SG

∅I came by airplane.∅

The associative clitic does not attach directly to the names of week days, months or years. Instead, it is added following the 3rd person Pronoun /i/ ∅that∅

- 356) **Sonda-i-guc angan-ni.**
 Sunday-that-ACC see.each.other-INDUC

∅Let us get together on the Sunday.∅

/-guc/ can also be used to express notions of manner (see section 2.8.1.) or to assert possession.

- 357) **Ic i-mi geric bélang-a-guc.**
 man that-SPEC fire flame-3SG.GEN-ACC

∅That man is a man of hot temper.∅

- 358) **Ni beric yanda-na-guc.**
 1SG.ABS pig big-1SG.GEN-ACC

∅I have a big pig.∅

- 359) **Asa geric-ya-guc.**
 Asa fire.wood-3SG.GEN-ACC

∅Asa has fire wood.∅

- 360) **Nenggoc-na i-mi ama kperi-a-i-guc.**
 mother-1SG.GEN that-SPEC house inside-3SG.GEN-that-ACC

∅My mother is in the house.∅

- 361) **Ic i-mi hafi-ya-guc.**
man that-SPEC sickness-3SG.GEN-ACC

∅The man is sickness.∅

/-iguc/ also occurs in conditional constructions. (see section 2.9.)

- 362) **kia ha-mac-i-guc ménda kem-mang.**
rain come-FUT3SG-that-ACC ADJ.NEG go-FUT.1SG

∅If the rain comes, I will not go.∅

2.6.4 TIME-LOCATION POSTPOSITIONAL CLITIC /-u/

The Time-Location clitic has the form /-u/ when it attached to common, inanimate nouns. Following animate nouns, demonstratives, and Pronouns, it has an alternative form /ar-u/ which has the benefactive clitic as a connector(see the rule of morphophonemic change in the Introduction). Benefactive Pronouns may take either form. All the nouns which are inflected with Genitive Suffixes may take this clitic following the suffix. For the Genitive or Benefactive Pronouns there is another Locative Clitic-muru.

- 363) **Nalé dimu-ar-u hicngi-yec.**
time where-OBLQ-LOC appear-PAST.3SG.

∅When was he born?∅

- 364) **Hafi ama-u he-tsac.**
sickness house-LOC sleepNON.PAST.3SG.

∅He is at the clinic.∅(He is going to the clinic.)

- 365) **Jung-u hai-tsua.**
bush-LOC put-PRES.1SG

∅I put it in the bush.∅

- 366) **Di-mu-ar-u kem-bésémang?**
where-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC go-FUT.2SG

∅Where are you going?∅

- 367) **Nengang-ar-u beric sasala nan-tsu.**
1PL.INCL.ERG -OBLQ-LOC pig many stand-PRES.2,3PL

∅There are a lot of pigs for us.∅

- 368) **Nengam-mur-u sac masi sasala tac-tsac.**
1PLINCL.ERG -SPEC-LOC blood drop a.lot sit-PRES.3SG.

∅There are lots of medicine for us.∅

- 369) **Ic** **i-mi** **nuar-u** **kpéké-tac-ma** **kec-tsac.**
 man that-SPEC my-LOC stick-sit-SS is-PRES.3SG.

∅The man is hanging around me.∅

- 370) **Naka** **i-mi** **hosuc-n-u** **he-tsac.**
 axe that-SPEC near-1SG-LOC sleep-PRES.3SG.

∅The axe is near me.∅

- 371) **Ic** **i-mi** **ama-n-u** **kem-mang.**
 man that-SPEC house-1SG-LOC go-FUT.1SG

∅The man is going to my house.∅

- 372) **Képésic** **i-mi** **beric-ar-u** **tac-tsac.**
 sin that-SPEC pig-OBLQ-LOC sit-PRES.3SG.

∅The guilt is on(born by) the pig.∅

2.6.5 TIME-LOCATION POSTPOSITIONAL CLITIC /-geng/genggeng/

The Illative clitic /-geng/ and /-genggeng/ expresses the meaning of ∅motion into∅ or ∅direction towards∅ a place. This clitic only attaches directly to non-personal proper nouns, pronouns, and locative words. For other classes of items, it must be preceded by other clitics.

- 373) **Hia-na** **yo-mi** **on-ac-geng-geng** **he-tsac.**
 good-1SG.GEN this-SPEC 2,3PL-OBLQ-ILL-ILL sleep-PRES.3SG.

∅My goodness is with you.∅

- 374) **Hia-na** **yo-mi** **on-ac-geng-geng** **ha-tsac.**
 good-1SG.GEN this-SPEC 2,3PL-OBLQ-ILL-ILL come-PRES.3SG.

∅My goodness comes to you.∅

- 375) **Ou-geng** **tac-tsac.**
 up-ILL sit-PRES.3SG.

∅It is up there.∅

- 376) **Nu-ac-geng** **tac-tsac.**
 my-OBLQ-ILL sit-PRES.3SG.

∅It is to me.∅

- 377) **Nu-ar-u-geng** **ha-tsac.**
 1SG-OBLQ-ILL come-PRES.3SG.

∅It came to me.∅

- 378) **Nengang-geng** **ha-tsac.**
1PL.INCL.ERG -ILL come-PRES.3SG.

-He comes to us all.∅

- 379) **Nengang-ar-u-geng** **tac-tsac.**
1PL.INCL.ERG -OBLQ-LOC-ILL sit-PRES.3SG.

-He is toward us.∅

- 380) **Pindiu-geng** **kem-mang.**
Pindiu-ILL go-FUT.1SG

-He goes toward Pindiu.∅

With common inanimate nouns, /-iguc/ is interposed before /-geng/. With animate noun and personal proper nouns /-aru/ is interposed.

- 381) **Doku-i-guc-geng** **he-tsac.**
water-that-ACC-ILL sleep-PRES.3SG.

-It is in the water.∅

- 382) **Jung-i-guc-geng** **tac-tsac.**
bush-that-ACC-ILL sit-PRES.3SG.

-It is in the bush.∅

- 383) **Tawa-ar-u-geng** **ken-tsac.**
Tawa-OBLQ-LOC-ILL go-PRES.3SG.

-He goes toward Tawa.∅

- 384) **Beric-ar-u-geng** **ken-tsac.**
pig-OBLQ-LOC-ILL go-PRES.3SG.

-It goes toward a pig.∅

With demonstrative pronouns the Benefactive clitic /-ac/ -for∅ or the Manner clitic /-huc/ -like∅ is interposed before /-geng/.

- 385) **Di-mu-ac-geng** **kem-bésémang?**
where-SPEC-OBLQ-ILL go-FUT.2SG

-Where are you going to?∅

- 386) **Di-mu-huc-geng** **kem-bésémang?**
where-SPEC-like-ILL go-FUT.2SG

-Where are you going to?

2.6.6 ABLATIVE POSTPOSITIONAL CLITIC /-nec/

The Ablative postposition-nec -fromø is used in the expression of a range of locative meanings including: source -fromø and path -by, alongø. With the Ergative /-néng/, /-nec/ indicates the source of material of which something is made. The form is directly attached to impersonal proper nouns and location words. But inanimate nouns require the Time-Location postposition /-iguc/ to occur before it.

- 387) **Pindiu-nec ha-tsua.**
Pindiu-ABL come-PRES.1SG

-I came from Pindiu.ø

- 388) **Héna ou wai-ma emu-nec ha-tsua.**
road up leave-SS down-ABL come-PRES.1SG

-Do not go by the road up there but rather by the road down there.ø

- 389) **Di-mu-ac-nec ha-tsang?**
where-SPEC-OBLQ-ABL come-PRES.2SG

-Where are you coming from?ø

- 390) **Kiwi yomi gu-ar-u-nec ha-yu,**
letter this 2SG-OBLQ-LOC-ABL come-3SG.DS

bec olon-tsua.
promptly read-PRES.1SG

-This letter came from you and I promptly read it.ø

- 391) **Ama-g-u-nec ha-tsang?**
house-2SG-LOC-ABL come-PRES.2SG

-Are you coming from your house.ø

- 392) **Ama-ga-iguc-nec ha-tsang?**
house-2SGGEN TI-ABL come-PRES.2SG

-Are you coming from your house.ø

- 393) **Ai yanda-iguc-nec ha-tsua.**
garden big-LOC-ABL come-PRES.1SG

-I am coming from a hard work.ø

- 394) **Doku-iguc-nec ha-tsua.**
water-LOC-ABL come-PRES.1SG

-I am coming from the water.ø

- 395) **Yuanggeng-nec héní-ma Pindiu-ac-geng-nec ha-tsua.**
 Yuanggeng-ABL start-SS Pindiu-OBLQ-ILL-ABL come-PRES.1SG
 -I started from Yuanggeng and came by way of Pindiu.ø
- 396) **Di-mu-huc-geng-nec ha-tsang?**
 where-SPEC-SIM-ILL-ABL come-PRES.2SG
 -Where are you coming from?ø
- 397) **Mér-ac-mur-u-geng-nec ha-tsang?**
 who-OBLQ-SPEC-LOC-ILL-ABL come-PRES.2SG
 -Whom are you coming from?ø
- 398) **Mér-ac-mur-u-nec ha-tsang?**
 who-OBLQ-SPEC-LOC-ABL come-PRES.2SG
 -Whom are you coming from?ø
- 399) **Ou-geng-nec ha-tsua.**
 up-ILL-ABL come-PRES.1SG
 -I come from up there.ø
- 400) **Di-mu-ac-geng-nec ha-tsang?**
 where-SPEC-OBLQ-ILL-ABL come-PRES.2SG
 -Where are you coming from?ø
- 401) **Doku-iguc-geng-nec ha-tsac.**
 water-LOC-ILL-ABL come-PRES.3SG.
 -He comes from the water.ø
- 402) **Mosoc i-mi Yesu-ar-u-geng-nec ha-tsac.**
 blessing that-SPEC Jesus-OBLQ-LOC-ILL-ABL come-PRES.3SG.
 -The blessing comes from Jesus.ø
- 403) **Yesu-ar-u-nec ha-tsac.**
 Jesus-OBLQ-LOC-ABL come-PRES.3SG.
 -It comes from Jesus.ø
- 404) **On-ar-u-geng-nec ha-tsac.**
 2,3PL-OBLQ-LOC-ILL-ABL come-PRES.3SG.
 -It came from them.ø
- 405) **On-ar-u-nec ha-tsac.**
 2,3PL-OBLQ-LOC-ABL come-PRES.3SG.
 -It came from them.ø

- 406) **Ai** **di-mu-(hu)c-geng-nec** **héní-ma** **me-bésémang?**
garden where-SPEC-like-ILL-ABL start-SS work-FUT.2SG

-From where are you going to start to work on the garden?ø

- 407) **Di-mu-ac-nec** **ha-tsang?**
where-SPEC-OBLQ-ABL come-PRES.2SG

-Where are you coming from?ø

In addition to the Ablative function in combination with the Locative Clitics this clitic has some other functions. If it occurs with the irrealis it indicates counterfactual referring to a totally hypothetical situation.

- 408) **I** **ménda** **kec-wac-nec** **iwawai** **he-tsac**
3SG.ABS ADJ.NEG exist-IRR.3SG-ABL thing sleep-3SG.S.NON.PAST

i-mi **ménda** **hicngi-wac-nec.**
that-SPEC ADJ.NEG come.into.being-IRR.3SG-ABL

-If he didn't exist, all things which exist would not have come into being.ø

If it occurs with the realis it indicates an event is still going on.

- 409) **Ic** **i-mi** **kec-tsac-nec.**
man that-SPEC be-PRES.3SG-ABL

-He is still alive.ø

The ablative is also used to express manner. (for further details see section 2.8.1.)

- 410) **Usung-nec** **ken-tsac.**
strength-ABL go-PRES.3SG.

-He goes enthusiastically.ø

- 411) **Béndzeng-nec** **ha-tsua.**
slowness-ABL come-PRES.1SG

-I came slowly.ø

- 412) **Momac-nec** **ha-tsu.**
one-ABL come-PRES.2,3PL

-They came together.ø

In conjunction with the Ergative /-néng/, the ablative is used to express the source material from which something is made.

- 413) **Yanda** **héc-nina-ngé** **hoc-néng-nec**
 ancestor pl-1PL.GEN-ERG stone-ERG -ABL

naka **miyacgé-ang-ec.**
 axe make-HAB-PAST.3SG.

∅Our ancestors used to make axes out of stone.∅

With various types of pronouns, the ablative indicates that the Subject is the sole actor.

- 414) **I** **wai-yu** **ne-ng-nec** **ne-dac-tsua.**
 3SG.ABS leave-3SG.DS 1SG-ERG -ABL eat-COMPL-PRES.1SG

∅He left so I ate it all.∅

- 415) **Ai** **sasala** **he-tsac** **i-mi**
 work many sleep-PRES.3SG. that-SPEC

nena-nec **wam-mang.**
 1SGGEN-ABL do-FUT.1SG

∅a lot of work, I-by-myself will do it.∅

- 416) **Ic** **i-mi** **médzi-a** **ti-yu tar-u**
 man that-SPEC dislike-3SG.GEN 3SG.fill-3SG.DS sit-3SG.DS

nena-oc-nec **moctsong** **héi-tsua.**
 1SGGEN-EMPH-ABL all 3SG.OBJ.cut-PRES.1SG

∅The man sat being filled with dislike so I cut it all by myself.∅

- 417) **Neka-wu-nec** **kem-bi.**
 1dl-ACC-ABL go-FUT.1dl

∅We(dl)-together-by will go.∅

It is used to indicate a special relationship of friendship in the following idiomatic example.

- 418) **Niri** **sa-nec.**
 1dl.ABS.EXCL banana-ABL

∅We(dl) are from (a twin) banana.(Special relation on the sware of eating a twin banana together)∅

2.6.7 CO-OCCURENCE RESTRICTIONS OF THE POSTPOSITIONAL CLITICS

Table 44: CONSTRAINTS OF POSTPOSITIONAL CLITICS

	-u	-iguc	-geng	-nec
-u		-	-u-geng	-u-nec
-iguc	-	-	-iguc-geng	-iguc-nec
-geng	-	-	-geng-geng	-geng-nec
-nec	-	-	-	-

Table 45: CONSTRAINTS OF POSTPOSITIONAL CLITICS

	-u	-iguc	-guc	-geng	-nec
dzung ꞥbushø	+	+	+	-	-
beric ꞥpigø	-	-	x	-	-
nengang ꞥourø	-	-	x	+	-
i-mi ꞥthat-SPECø	-	-	-	-	-
ou ꞥaboveø	-	-	-	+	+
Yesu ꞥJesusø	-	-	x	-	-
Lei ꞥLaeø	-	x	x	+	+
ac ꞥforø	+	-	-	+	+
-na ꞥmyø	+	+	+	-	-
-huc ꞥlikeø	+	x	-	+	-

* note : x means that it is used as non-directional locative clitic only.

2.6.8 PURPOSE POSTPOSITIONAL CLITIC /-dzé/

The morpheme /dzé/(from the verb /dzé/ ꞥto say) expresses intention. The verb stem preceding this morpheme is normally inflected with the 1st person future tense verbal suffix. The sentence which precedes this morpheme resemble a kind of speech complement expressing the inner thought of the Subject of the following clause.

- 419) **Gém-mang-dzé** **ha-tsua.**
 see.you-FUT.1SG-say come-PRES.1SG

ꞥI came to see you.ø

- 420) **Gém-mang** **dzé-ma** **ha-tsua.**
 see.you-FUT.1SG say-SS come-PRES.1SG

∅I came saying I will see you.∅

- 421) **Gém-bi-dzé** **ha-tsi.**
 see.you-FUT.1dl-say come-PRES.1dl

∅We(dl) came to see you(sg).∅

- 422) **Gém-bi** **dzé-ma** **ha-tsi.**
 see.you-1dlFUT say-SS come-PRES.1dl

∅We(dl) came saying we(dl) will see you(sg).∅

- 423) **Hém-bing-dzé** **ha-tsu?**
 3SG.OBJ.see-FUT.1PL-say come-PRES.2,3PL

∅Have you(pl) come to see him?∅

- 424) **Hém-bing** **dzé-ma** **ha-tsu?**
 3SG.OBJ.see-FUT.1PL say-SS come-PRES.2,3PL

∅Have you(pl) come saying we will see him?∅

The clitic /**dzé**/ is phonologically adjoined to the complement clause with a corresponding loss of the homo-personal suffix. As such, it has been grammaticalized into a complementizer encoding modality marker.

- 425) **Nei éréhéc** **em-mang-dzé** **wan-dzaoc.**
 air.plane two go.up-FUT.1SG-INT do-PRES.2,3dl

∅Two air planes are to go up.∅

- 426) **Hém-mang-dzé** **ha-tsing.**
 see.him-FUT.1SG-INT come-PRES.1PL

∅We came to see him.∅

2.6.9 ALTERNATIVE QUESTION POSTPOSITIONAL CLITIC /-me/

/-**me**/ occurs in Yes-No questions. The whole preceding sentence is included in its scope.

- 427) **Ha-tsam-me?**
 come-2SG-or

∅Are you there?∅

As a free form, /**me**/ functions as a conjunction indicating -orø

- 428) **Ha-tsac** **me** **kpahac?**
 come-PRES.3SG. or not

-Did he come or not?ø

2.6.10 ELLIPTICAL QUESTION POSTPOSITIONAL CLITIC /-ta/

This form occurs in some information questions. Instead of using a question word, a sentence ending with this clitic is used. The hearer is expected to complete the sentence, filling in the answer. Notice in the following example that there is no sentence final verb.

- 429) **Kem-ma-ta?**
 go-SS-then

-Go and then what?ø

2.6.11 DIMINUTIVE POSTPOSITIONAL CLITIC /-dac/

This clitic is used to express the meaning of -littleø treat lightly, and urge a hearer who is not willing to obey.

- 430) **dzuria-dac** **komocdia**
 flower-DIM small

-a small little flowerø

- 431) **Ic-dac** **i-mi eri** **ha-tsac.**
 man-DIM 3SG-SPEC there come-PRES.3SG.

-That mean man is coming there.ø

- 432) **Ha-na** **dac.**
 come-2SG.IMP DIM

-Just come here.ø

2.6.12 MANNER POSTPOSITIONAL CLITIC /-huc/

This clitic only occurs following the Specifier, /-**mu**/ with the meaning of -likeø

- 433) **I-mu-huc** **dzé-yec.**
 that-SPEC-like say-PAST.3SG.

-He said like that.ø

- 434) **Yo-mu-huc-ya-nec** **méng** **nén-na.**
 this-SPEC-like-3SG.GEN-ABL one 1SG.OBJ.give-2SG.IMP

-Give me one of this kind of thing.ø

2.7 ADVERBIALS

Adverbial is used in the grammatical classification of words to refer to a heterogeneous group of items whose most frequent function is to specify the mode of action of the verb.

2.7.1 MANNER ADVERBIALS

Manner adverbs indicate the way in which an action is performed. The Manner slot can be filled by noun phrases, certain verb forms or adverbs.

- 435) **Asa i-mu-ar-u hatac sasala keng-ec.**
Asa that-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC time many go-3SG.P

∅Asa went here many times.∅

The meaning may be intensified by reduplicating the adverb or by adding the intensifier /-**dac**/.

- 436) **Foc foc ha-na.**
quick quick come-2SG.IMP

∅Come very quickly.∅

- 437) **Foc-dac ha-na.**
quick-INTS come-2SG.IMP

∅Come hurriedly.∅

- 438) **Béndzég béndzég ken-na.**
slowly slowly go-2SG.IMP

∅Go carefully.∅

The Ablative postposition /-**nec**/ and accompaniment postposition /-**guc**/ are both used to construct manner adverbials.

- 439) **Gbaseng nagu foc-nec héi-yec.**
Gbaseng door fast-ABL shut-PAST.3SG.

∅Gbaseng closed the door with speed.∅

- 440) **Hélac-nec dzé-tsang.**
content-ABL say-PRES.2SG

∅You say with truth.∅

- 441) **Seli-a-nec késa-na.**
strong-3SG.GEN-ABL hold.it-2SG.IMP

∅Hold it with strength.∅

- 442) **Usung-nec** **ken-na.**
strength-ABL go-2SG.IMP

⊖Go with strength.ø

- 443) **Kuh-a-guc** **ha-tsac.**
power-3SG.GEN-ACC come-PRES.3SG.

⊖He comes with haste.ø

- 444) **Sigic nene geriw-a-guc** **o-tsac.**
Sigic food fire-3SG.GEN-ACC cook.it-PRES.3SG.

⊖Sigic cooked the food hurriedly.ø

- 445) **Ai kpac-guc** **me-tsang.**
work name-ACC to.work-PRES.2SG

⊖You work well.ø

Nouns frequently occurring in postpositional phrases expressing manner include: /**usung**/ ⊖strengthø /**béndzéng**/ ⊖easyø /**kuc**/ ⊖powerø /**selia**/ ⊖strongø /**hélac**/ ⊖truthø /**kpac**/ ⊖nameø /**geric**/ ⊖fireø

2.7.2 TEMPORAL ADVERBIALS

General times (e.g. past, present, future) are expressed by verb inflection. More specific times are expressed by temporal words or phrases wit in the sentence.

- 446) **Ni** **orang** **ama-n-u** **ha-yi.**
1SG.ABS yesterday house-1SG.GEN-LOC come-PAST.1SG

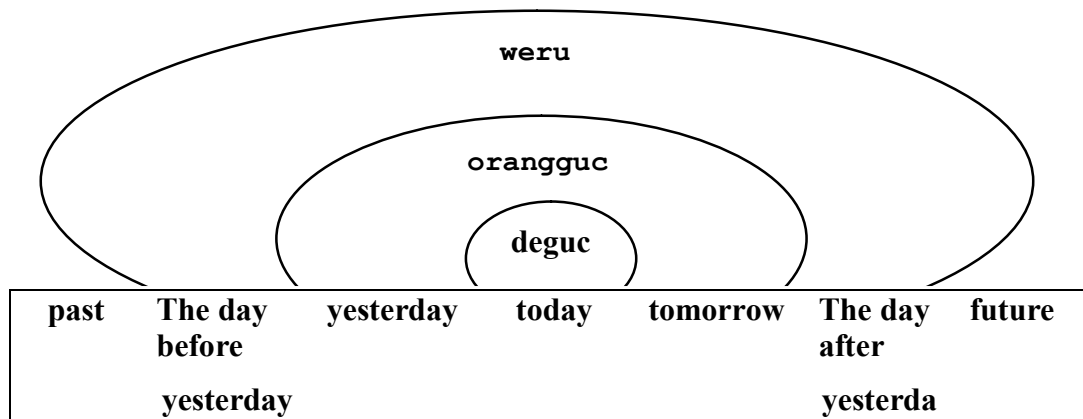
⊖I came home yesterday.ø

- 447) **Asa** **orang-guc** **kic** **hihi** **wam-mac.**
Asa tomorrow-ACC eye opening do-FUT.3SG.

⊖Tomorrow Asa will be waiting.ø

The time concept expressed by Kube temporal adverbs is symmetrical. They indicate only relative temporal distance from the moment of speech.

Table 51 : Symmetrical System of Temporals



Some other time words ,such as /**méng-guc**/ -againø /**biang-guc**/ -laterø /**andé-ya-guc**/ -afterø and /**walac**/ -early,beforeø are used with both future tense and past tense.

To express time in terms of weeks, months or years, they use the definite specifier.

✓ **Specified**

- 448) **Sonda** **yo-mi**
Sunday this-SPEC

-this Sundayø

- 449) **Sonda** **méng** **emu-mi**
Sunday a down.past-SPEC

-last Sundayø

- 450) **Sonda** **méng** **ou-mi**
Sunday a upon-SPEC

-next Sundayø

✓ **Unspecified**

- 451) **Sonda** **méng** **bec-nec**
Sunday a before-ABL

-One Sunday in the pastø

- 452) **Sonda méng biang-guc**
 Sunday a behind-ACC

∓some Sunday in the future∅

The temporal adverb /**bec**/ can be translated as ∓already∅ when it occurs with past tense verb, ∓right now∅ when it occurs with a present tense verb, and ∓just then∅ when it occurs with a future tense verb.

- 453) **Bec ha-yic.**
 promptly come-PAST.1SG

∓I came already.∅

- 454) **Bec kem-ba tac-gic**
 promptly go-1SG.DS sit-2,3PL.IMP

∓I am going right now, and all of you are to stay.∅

- 455) **Kem-ma bec ha-mang.**
 go-SS promptly come-FUT.1SG

∓I will go and then will come back promptly.∅

Kube has a number of different temporal adverbs referring to various parts of the day.

- 456) **Sing-u-nec!**
 night-LOC-ABL

∓Good morning (night-from)!∅

- 457) **Kaiwe hia!**
 sun good

∓Good sun!∅

- 458) **Mari hia!**
 afternoon good

∓Good afternoon!∅

- 459) **Singi hia!**
 night good

∓Good night!∅

All other time words, such as the names of the week days and the names of the months, are borrowed (mainly from English and German).

Table 46: Names of Months

Yanua	∓Januaryø
Februa	∓Februaryø
Mas	∓Marchø
Apri	∓Aprilø
Mei	∓mayø
Yune	∓Juneø
Yuri	∓Julyø
Agus	∓Augustø
Setemba	∓Septemberø
Otoba	∓Octoberø
Nowemba	∓Novemberø
Disemba	∓Decemberø

Table 47: Names of Week Days

Monda	∓Mondayø
Jinta	∓Tuesdayø
Mitiwoc	∓Wednesdayø
Seiya	∓Thursdayø
Nenggoc	∓Fridayø
Sondagie	∓Saturdayø
Sonda	∓Sundayø

Clock times are expressed by loan words. Most time words are temporal nouns occurring with the associative postpositional clitic *-guc* or in associative postposition */i-guc/*.

- 460) Wan kiloc-i-guc ha-tsua.**
 one clock-that-ACC come-PRES.1SG

∓I came at 1 o'clock.ø

- 461) Nenggoc-i-guc ha-tsua.**
 Friday-that-ACC come-PRES.1SG

∓I will come on Friday.ø

- 462) **Méng-guc** **ha-wéséna.**
one-ACC come-2SG.IMP

-Come again.ø

- 463) **Biang-guc** **ha-mang.**
later-ACC come-FUT.1SG

-I will come later.ø

2.7.3 LOCATIVE NOUNS

Locative nouns may take the postpositional clitics: time-location /-u/, /-geng/, ablative /-nec/, appositional associative /i-guc/.

- 464) **Lakec-nec** **ha-tsua.**
long.distance-ABL come-PRES.1SG

-I came from far away.ø

- 465) **Hosur-ø-u** **ha-tsua.**
near-3SG.GEN-LOC come-PRES.1SG

-I came near.ø

- 466) **Di-mu-ar-u** **kem-bésémang?**
where-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC go-FUT.2SG

-Where are you going.ø

- 467) **Doku-i-guc** **kem-mang.**
water-that-ACC go-FUT.1SG

-I am going to the water.ø

- 468) **Di-mu-geng** **kem-bésémang?**
where-SPEC-ILL go-FUT.2SG

-Where will you go?ø

- 469) **And-u** **ken-dzac.**
behind-LOC go-PRES.3SG.

-He goes after.ø

- 470) **Yara** **yo-mu-ac** **i** **ama-y-u** **tar-ec.**
year this-SPEC-OBLQ 3SG.ABS house-3SG.GEN-LOC sit-PAST.3SG.

-He stayed at home this year.ø

- 471) **Tawa soukiwa katapa baw-a-i-guc musanggé-yec.**
 Tawa money box under-3SG.GEN-that-ACC hide.it-PAST.3SG.

⌊Tawa hid the money under the box.⌀

- 472) **Ni i-mu-ar-u mihicngi-yi.**
 1SG.ABS that-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC find.it-PAST.1SG

⌊I found it there.⌀

- 473) **Pindiu-nec ha-tsua.**
 Pindiu-ABL come-PRES.1SG

⌊I am coming from Pindiu.⌀

Some location words can occur without being governed by a locative clitic.

- 474) **Ou kem-mang.**
 upon.there go-FUT.1SG

⌊I am going upon there.⌀

- 475) **Ou-nec ma-tsua.**
 upon.there-ABL come.down-PRES.1SG

⌊I come from upon there.⌀

- 476) **Eri kem-mang.**
 over.there go-FUT.1SG

⌊I am going over there.⌀

- 477) **Eri-nec ha-tsua.**
 over.there-ABL come-PRES.1SG

⌊I come from over there.⌀

- 478) **guac-mu-r-u néwéc néwéc tar-o.**
 your-SPEC-r-LOC side side sit-PAST.2,3dl

⌊They(dl) sat on both side of you.⌀

- 479) **Doku néwéc-geng kem-mang.**
 water other.side-ILL go-FUT.1SG

⌊I am going to the other side of the river.⌀

2.7.4 PROBABILITY MODAL ADVERB /gezang/

The utterance preceding this clitic is based on the speaker's assumption.

- 480) **Ha-mac** **gezang.**
come-FUT.3SG. PROB

∅He will probably come.∅

The same phonological form can also function as an inalienable noun, in which case it takes the genitive suffixes.

- 481) **Gezang-gina-wac** **dzé-gic** **nim-ba.**
assumption-2,3PL.GEN-OBLQ say-2,3PL.DS hear-1SG.DS

∅Say your assumption so that I may know it.∅

2.8 CONJUNCTIONS

Ten conjunctions have been observed in Kube.

Table 48: Conjunctions

dzéma	∅and∅
ngé/néng	∅and∅
imuac ning(ac)	∅for that reason∅
iguc	∅with that∅real condition
nec	∅irreal condition∅
bec	∅then∅
kpahac wang-u	∅otherwise∅
wangu	∅do-3SG.DS∅generic verb conjunction
ha-yu, keng-u, ne-yu,	repetitive conjunction
nemu-suruc-dac	∅in the same manner∅
ac surucdac	∅just a story∅used for joining an accidental event. The implied meaning is ∅It is possible because it is a madeup story.∅

2.8.1 CO-ORDINATE CONJUNCTION: /dzéma/ AND /néng/

Both /dzéma/ -andø and /néng/ -andø are used to join words into phrases. These are not obligatory when the following word is an independent word which does not have the 3rd person genitive suffix.

- 482) **Hilik dzéma ala-ya Pidui keng-oc.**
 Hilik and friend-3SG.GEN Pindiu go-PAST.2,3dl

-Hilik and his friend went to Pindiu.ø

- 483) **Kedzo néng Atiu ama ai me-kec-tsao.**
 Kedzo and Atiu house work work-DUR-PRES.2,3dl

-Kedzo and Atiu are working (on a) house.ø

- 484) **Kedzo, Atiu ama ai me-kec-tsao.**
 Kedzo Atiu house work work-DUR-PRES.2,3dl

-Kedzo and Atiu are working on the house.ø

The same phonological form /dzéma/ conjoins clauses it functions as a medial verb with the meaning of -sayingø The sentence followed by this conjunction shows the intention or purpose of the Subject person.

- 485) **Gém-mang dzé-ma ha-tsua.**
 2SGU.see-FUT.1SG say-SS come-PRES.1SG

-I came to see you.ø

The conjunction /néng/ is also used to conjoin two clauses. The relationship expressed by /néng/ is either additive -andø or contrastive -butø In the following example the form **ngé(néng)** conjoins two clauses which are contrastive in meaning.

- 486) **Méng dzakong-ngé wiric-gic i-mi hia-ngé**
 one spear-ERG 3SG.OBJ.shoot-PAST2,3PLS that-SPEC good-ERG

méng kua-ya mudzuc mudzuc kpe-gic
 another mouth-3SG.GEN together together 3SG.OBJ.beat-PAST.2,3PL

i-mi wagic-ma hafi-ama yanda-i-guc keng-gic
 that-SPEC 3SG.OBJ.take-SS sickness-house big-that-ACC go-PAST.2,3PL

heric-ma gboto-gic hia-ru-yec.
 3SG.OBJ.cut-SS 3SG.OBJ.sew-PAST.2,3PL good-VZR-PAST.3SG.

-The one who was pierced by the spear(ERG) became well(ERG), but the other one who had his two lips shot together, he was carried by the people to a big hospital and they cut and sewed it, and then it became good.ø

In the next example the form /néng/ conjoins a matrix clause and its sentential complement.

- 487) **Dzé-tsac-néng** **inéng** **orang** **gu-ac**
say-PRES.3SG-ERG 3SG.ERG tomorrow 2SG-OBLQ

ha-mac.
come-FUT.3SG.

∅He said that he will come tomorrow for you.∅

- 488) **Méng-néng** **héna** **dinding-a** **kec-an-tsac-néng**
one-ERG road straight-3SG.GEN be-HAB-PRES.3SG-ERG

dinding-a.
straight-3SG.GEN

∅One is in the straight way is straight.∅

2.8.2 ALTERNATIVE CONJUNCTION /me/

The conjunction /me/ ∅r∅ can conjoin either words(457) or clauses(458).

- 489) **Orang** **me** **weru,** **méngguc** **ha-mang.**
tomorrow or two.days.away again come-FUT.1SG

∅Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, I will come again.∅

- 490) **Kia** **ha-mac** **me** **kpahac.**
rain come-FUT.3SG. or SEN.NEG

∅It will rain or it won't.∅

2.8.3 REASON CONJUNCTION: /imuac ningac/

The reason conjunction /imuac ningac/ ∅for that reason∅ joins two clauses into a reason sentence.

- 491) **Beric** **méng** **sanggi-yec** **i-mu-ac** **ning-ac** **ic**
pig one hide-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC-OBLQ thought-OBLQ man
- i-mi** **dzung-i-guc** **keng-ec.**
that-SPEC woods-that-ACC go-PAST.3SG.

∅The man went to the bush because a pig disappeared.∅

2.8.4 CONDITIONAL CONJUNCTIONS /-iguc/ AND /-nec/

In conjunctions with realis mode, the accompaniment post clitic /-iguc/ encodes real conditional statements. In conjunction with irrealis mode, the ablative post-clitic /-nec/ encodes counterfactual conditionals. Note that /-nec/ occurs on both the protosis and apodosis of counterfactual conditionals.

- 492) **Ic** **i-mi** **kem-mac-iguc** **ni** **tac-mang.**
man that-SPEC go-FUT.3SG-COND 1SG.ABS sit-FUT.1SG

-If the man will go, then I will stay.ø

- 493) **I** **you** **nini-guc** **ménda** **kec-wac-nec** **ai** **i-mi**
3 here 1PL-ACC ADJ.NEG exist-IRR.3SG-ABL work 3SG-SPEC

ménda **ménda** **hicngi-wac-nec.**
ADJ.NEG ADJ.NEG happen-IRR.3SG-ABL

-If he is not here with us, the work might not happen.ø

The form /nec/ may also occur with the realis indicating an event is still going on.

- 494) **Ic** **i-mi** **kec-tsac-nec.**
man that-SPEC be-PRES.3SG-ABL

-He is still alive.ø

2.8.5 RECAPITULATION CONJUNCTION: /ac-suruc-dac/

The literal meaning of this word is roughly -in the same wayø (word-story-DIM). It occurs at the discourse connecting a similar events performed by a new participant.

- 495) **Ac** **suruc-dac** **beric** **méng** **ha-ma** **héng-ec.**
word story-DIM pig one come-SS 3SG.OBJ.see-PAST.3SG.

-In the same way a pig came and saw it.ø

2.8.6 TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE

The final verb stems of sentences are often repeated at the start of the following sentence as a kind of cohesive device. This device, we term Tail-Head Linkage. The Tail-Head linkage takes different Subject suffixes which have the same persons and numbers to that of preceding sentence whereas the Generic conjunction always takes the 3rd person singular different Subject suffix.

- 496) **Em-ma** **geric** **hi-yic** **dze-yec.**
 go.up-SS fire blow-2,3dlDS burn-PAST.3SG.
- dze-yu** **dzikic** **o-yoc.**
 burn-3SG.DS crawfish 3SG.OBJ.cook-PAST.3SG.
- o-ma** **ne-ma** **ker-oc** **tosar-a**
 3SG.OBJ.cook-SS eat-SS be-PAST.2,3dlS part-3SG.GEN
- tar-ec.** **tar-u** **oso-ma** **ama-gira-i-guc**
 sit-PAST.3SG. sit-3SG.DS wrap-SS house-2,3dlGEN-that-ACC
- kem-bi** **dzé-ma** **usu** **ning-ac** **hor-oc.**
 go-FUT.1dl say-SS leaf thought-OBLQ find-PAST.2,3dl

→They(dl) went up and blew on the fire and it burned. As it burned(DS), they(dl) cooked the crawfish. They cooked and they were eating them and some were left over. When some were left over, they found some leaves in order that they wrap them and go to their(dl) houses.∅

2.8.7 GENERIC CONJUNCTION: /wangu/

The verb /**wang**/ ɬdo∅ is used as a kind of pro-form for Tail-Head Linkage. This always takes the 3rd person singular different Subject suffix /-u/ whereas full Tail-Heads linkage take different Subject suffixes which agree with the persons and numbers of the Subject of the preceding sentence.

- 497) **Ménda** **nim-ma** **gau-ya** **tar-ec.** **wang-u**
 ADJ.NEG know-SS sleep-3SG.GEN sit-PAST.3SG. do-3SG.DS
- doku** **i-mi** **éré-yec.**
 water that-SPEC come.up-PAST.3SG.
- He slept with out knowing and while doing that the water came up.∅
- 498) **Ic** **i-mi-néng** **muna-ya** **kpe-yec.**
 man that-SPEC-ERG younger.brother-3SG.GEN 3SG.OBJ.kill-PAST.3SG.
- wang-u** **néma-ac** **ning** **kpe-yec?**
 do-3SG.DS what-OBLQ thought 3SG.OBJ.kill-PAST.3SG.

→The man killed his younger brother but for what reason did he kill him?∅

2.8.8 TEMPORAL CONSECUTIVE CONJUNCTION /bec/

The form "bec" functions as a temporal adverb when it occurs immediately before the predicate in a sentence (see section 2.7.2.), but when it occurs in between clauses, it functions as a conjunction joining a series of consecutive events.

- 499) **Dzundzung** **ésé-dac-ma** **bec** **dzundzung** **kper-u**
hunting.hut dig-COMPL-SS promptly hunting.hut inside-LOC
- hicngac-ma** **kesarec** **kifang-a** **mé-dzénggé-ma** **kesarec-nxng**
get.in-SS arrow hole-3SG.GEN hold-break-SS arrow-ERG
- nei** **kpe-wing** **ning-ac** **awi** **awi-ma**
bird 3SG.OBJkill-FUT1PL thought-OBLQ watch watch-SS
- tac-ni** **eri** **nei** **ha-ma**
sit-1PL.DS over.there bird come-SS
- doku** **naec-gic** **unu-an-tsing.**
water wash-2,3PL.DS 2,3PL.OBJ.shoot-HAB-PRES.1PL

‘If we finish digging the hunting hut, then we get into the hunting hut and make a hole with our hand and in order to kill the birds with the arrow watching and watching we sit there, and some birds come and take shower over there, and we shoot them.ø

2.9 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections function to express the feelings of the speaker. Some of the common interjections in Kube are listed below:

- ee** - the feeling of sadness or honour
- owec waec** - the feeling gladness
- ii** - the feeling of excitement
- o** - the feeling of sincerity or agreement
- ewa biric!** - ÷sorry(neck bad)!ø
- kpac-guc!** - ÷very good!(name-with)ø
- waec** - ÷pardon meø

The form ee can function as a noun, in which case it is inflected with a possessive suffix.

- 500) **Nengang** **galeng-nina** **ee-ya** **héi-wing.**
1PL.INCL.ERG leader-1PL.GEN ee-3SG.GEN sing-FUT1PLS

‘Let us respect our leader.ø

3. THE FUNCTIONS OF REDUPLICATION

3.1 REDUPLICATION OF ATTRIBUTIVE NOUNS

When attributive nouns are reduplicated, they encode plurality.

- 501) **Ic** **sung** **lesuc** **lesuc**
tree stick long.one long.one

-Many long sticksø

- 502) **Ic** **sung** **lesuc**
tree stick long.one

-a long stickø

- 503) **Beric** **kuneng** **kuneng**
pig big.one big.one

-Many big pigsø

- 504) **Beric** **kuneng**
pig big.one

-a big pigø

To intensify attributive nouns, either a different noun or the Diminutive /-**dac**/ is added.

- 505) **Héna** **horuc** **herec**
road long.one long.one

-a very long wayø

- 506) **Héna** **herec** **yanda**
road long.one big.one

-a very long wayø

- 507) **Ic** **sung** **hotong-a-dac**
tree stick short-3SG.GEN-DIM

-a very short stickø

If two attributive nouns are interrupted by a different noun, the meaning of the combination is always greater intensify rather than plurality.

- 508) **Beric** **kuneng** **yanda** **kuneng**
pig big.one big.one big.one

-a very very big pigø

3.2 THE FUNCTION OF REDUPLICATION FOR ADVERBIALS

The reduplicated adverbials (manner prepositional phrase) encode intensification rather than plurality.

- 509) **Foc foc ha-na.**
quick quick come-2SG.IMP

∅Come very fast.∅

- 510) **Kuc-nec kuc-nec ha-na.**
strength-ABL strength-ABL come-2SG.IMP

∅Come very fast.∅

- 511) **Éséng éséng ha-na!**
slow slow come-2SGimp

∅Come in easy stages!∅

- 512) **Selia-nec méng-guc méng-guc kpe-na.**
strong-ABL one-ACC one-ACC strike.it-2SG.IMP

∅Beat it very strongly again and again.∅

- 513) **selia-nec sasala-nec kpe-na.**
strong-ABL many-ABL strike.it-2SG.IMP

∅Beat it very strongly and many times.∅

3.3 THE FUNCTION OF REDUPLICATION FOR NOUNS

The reduplication of nouns encodes plurality.

- 514) **Ee doku doku!**
ee water water

∅E~ a lot of water (all around).∅

- 515) **Kia silic silic**
rain drop drop

∅drizzling rain∅

- 516) **Kia silih-a**
rain drop-3SG.GEN

∅a drop of rain∅

- 517) **Momac momac i-mu-huc dzé-an-dzu.**
one one there-DEM-like say-HAB-PRES.2,3PL

∅Some people say like that.∅

- 518) **Gbeli** **gbeli** **éré-ha-gic.**
 new new up-come-PAST.2,3PL

∓New people came up.∅

3.4 THE FUNCTION OF REDUPLICATION FOR VERBS

The repetition of a medial verb expresses progressive aspect. Compare the following two examples.

- 519) **Nene** **ne-ma** **ne-ma** **ha-tsua.**
 food eat-SS eat-SS come-PRES.1SG

∓I came eating some food.∅

- 520) **Nene** **ne-ma** **ha-tsua.**
 food eat-SS come-PRES.1SG

∓I came after I ate some food.∅

Reduplication of verb stems is also one way of forming nominalisations.

- 521) **Ai-na** **me-mang** **dzé-ma** **wan-dzua.**
 garden-1SG.GEN work-FUT.1SG say-SS do-PRES.1SG

∓I am going to work on my garden.∅

- 522) **Wawang** **meme** **i-mi** **hia** **bia**
 doing working that-SPEC good good

∓That behaviour is very good.∅

- 523) **O-ma** **ne-mu.**
 3SG.OBJ.cook-SS eat-FUT.2,3PL

∓They will cook and eat.∅

- 524) **Nene** **oo-ya**
 food cooking-3SG.GEN

∓Cooked food∅

4. PHRASE STRUCTURE

In chapters 1-4 we concentrated on the study of the internal structure of words. Now we turn to the distribution and arrangement of whole words in larger grammatical structures-i.e. syntax. A phrase is a unit of grammatical structure potentially composed of two or more words which is smaller than a sentence. It is seen as a part of a structural hierarchy, falling between clause and word.

4.1 NOUN PHRASE

4.1.1 OVERALL STRUCTURE OF THE GENERAL NOUN PHRASE

The overall structure of the Kube General Noun Phrase is as follows:

(GEN) + HEAD (ATTR) (QUANT) (adj-CL) (DET) (LIM)

525) **Nonac** **kiwi** **ama** **horua** **méng** **Pindiu** **nangzac**
 our letter house long one Pindiu is-PRES.3SG.

i-mi **sawa** **hia-dac**
 3SG-SPEC only good-DIM

∅Only the long school house which is in Pindiu is fine.∅

Generally none of these constituents is obligatory. Usually only two or three of these slots are filled. Even the Head Slot can be empty if it is the noun phrase referring to old information. (see section 5.1.1.2)

4.1.1.1 THE FILLERS OF THE GENITIVE SLOT

The genitive slot in the noun phrase may be filled by a possessive pronoun, a benefactive pronoun, a locative pronoun, or a noun phrase which has the benefactive postpositional clitic /-ac/.

526) **nená** **ama**
 1SGGEN house

∅my own house∅

527) **nu-ac** **ama**
 1SG-BEN house

∅house for me∅

528) **nu-ar-u** **sang**
 1SG-OBLQ-LOC pandanus

∅my pandanus (lit. which is towards me)∅

- 529) **Kedzo-ac** **ama**
Kedzo-OBLQ house

∅house for Kedzo∅

- 530) **nu-ac** **nang-na-(w)ac** **ama-ya**
1SG-OBLQ son-1SGGEN-OBLQ house-3SG.GEN

∅my son∅s house∅

For head nouns having inalienable genitives, There is agreement between the genitive noun phrase modifier and the genitive suffix on the head noun.

- 531) **nekan** **ama-nira**
1dl.INCL.ERG house-1dlGEN

∅Our(dlINCL) house∅

It is possible to encode genitives by just using the possessive suffix attaching to the head noun.

- 532) **héna-na** **tawé-ya**
foot-1SGGEN sole-3SG.GEN

∅the sole of my foot∅

- 533) **méra-ya** **meraw-a**
hand-3SG.GEN child-3SG.GEN

∅the fingers of his hand∅

4.1.1.2 THE FILLERS OF THE HEAD SLOT

The Head Slot of the General Noun Phrase is filled by a noun. If the entity the noun refers to is clear from the context, however, this noun may be omitted.

- 534) **Ac-kpekpe** **i-mi** **nesi-na.**
talk-striking that-SPEC get.rid.of-2SG.IMP

∅Get rid of the stubbornness.∅

- 535) **Séwi-nira** **i-mi** **nekac** **nekac,**
skin-1dl.GEN that-SPEC each(dl) each(dl)

gu-ac **i-mi** **lalac** **nuac** **i-mi** **dzapéla.**
2SG-OBLQ that-SPEC white mine that-SPEC black

∅Our skins are different. Yours is white; mine is black.∅

- 536) **Nekang** **yo-mi** **emu-mi** **i-mi**
 1dl.INCL.ERG this-SPEC down.there-SPEC that-SPEC

néngéna-nec.
 3SG.GEN-ABL

∅These are ours and that one over there is his own.∅

The Head Slot may also be filled by noun complexes-tight sequences of several nouns which progressively restrict the reference of the head noun. When several nouns occur in a noun phrase, they are ordered from most specific to most generic.

- 537) **Gauc** **gisic** **o-ma ne-gic.**
 grasshopper insect 3SG.OBJ.cook-SS eat-PAST.2,3PL

∅They cooked the grasshopper and ate it∅

- 538) **Nei** **yang** **kpe-ma** **ne-an-dzing.**
 bird animal 3SG.OBJ.kill-SS eat-HAB-PRES.2,3PL

∅We used to kill birds, and (cook and) eat.∅

- 539) **Ac** **suruc** **dzé-na** **nim-ba.**
 word story say-2SG.DS hear-1SG.DS

∅Tell the story and I will listen.∅

- 540) **Ic** **sung** **sei-ma** **baec** **ésé-gic.**
 tree stick sharpen-SS ground dig-PAST.2,3PL

∅They sharpened tree sticks and dug the ground.∅

4.1.1.3 THE FILLERS OF THE ATTRIBUTIVE SLOT

Attributive here, is used to refer to the role of nouns when they occur as attributive modifiers of the head noun. The Attributive Slot is filled by nouns which may or may not be inflected with a genitive suffix. Most common descriptive noun phrases consist of a head noun plus an inalienable attributive noun having 3rd person possessive inflection. (see section 3.2. for more information)

(RESIDUE What is the difference between noun complex (NN) and NAN?)

- 541) **ic ma-kpe-kpe-ya**
man fall-3SG.OBJ.strike-3SG.OBJ.strike-3SG.GEN

÷a poor man (lit. fall óstricken)

- 542) **ama sanggeng-a**
house cold-3SG.GEN

÷a cold houseø

- 543) **ic kuneng**
man big.one

÷respected manø

- 544) **ama kuneng yanda kuneng**
house big.one big.one big.one

÷very very big houseø

- 545) **ama kuneng kuneng**
house big.one big.one

÷many big housesø

If the head noun is a bound form (inalienable noun) the genitive suffix is attached to the number modifier instead of the head noun. Numbers distinguished are singular (by zero morpheme), dual /**éréhéc**/, plural /**héc**/.

- 546) **Manggoc yanda-na bec humu-yec.**
father big-1SG.GEN already die-PAST.3SG.

÷My big father (fatherø elder brother) already died.ø

- 547) **Manggoc yanda éréhéc-na i-mi bec humu-yoc.**
father big.one two-1SG.GEN that-SPEC already die-PAST.2,3dl

÷My two elder-brothers-of-my-father already died.ø

- 548) **Manggoc-na yanda i-mi kec-tsac-nec.**
father-1SG.GEN old/big that-SPEC live-PRES.3SG-ABL

÷My father (who is) old is still alive.ø

4.1.1.4 THE FILLERS OF THE QUANTIFIER SLOT

The quantifier slot may be filled by a numeral or some words expressing quantity in general. Where as the reduplication of an attributive noun encodes plurality, the quantifiers are not be reduplicated. Quantifiers and Attributive nouns also exhibit affixed ordering with respect to each other: quantifiers come last.

- 549) **ic** **sasala**
man many

∅many men∅

- 550) **ic** **tosar-a**
man part-3SG.GEN

∅a group of men∅

- 551) **ic** **yanda** **éréhéc** **ha-tsao.**
man old two come-PRES.2,3dl

∅Two old men came.∅

- 552) **Singunec,** **sasala!**
morning many

∅Good morning everybody.∅

- 553) **Éréhéc** **ha-tsao?**
two come-PRES.2,3dl

∅You two, are you coming?∅

4.1.1.5 THE FILLERS OF THE ADJECTIVAL CLAUSE SLOT

An adjectival clause is an embedded clause that restricts the reference of the head noun. Normally it is followed by the form /i-mi/ which functions as a complementizer. The same form also functions as a deictic Determiner.

- 554) **Nuac** **nang-na** **i-mi** **néng-ec.**
my son-1SG.GEN that-SPEC 1SG.OBJ.give-PAST.3SG.

∅My son he gave it to me.∅

- 555) **Nuac** **nang-na** **kuneng** **i-mi** **néng-ec.**
my son-1SG.GEN big.one that-SPEC 1SG.OBJ.givePAST.3SG.

∅My old son he gave it to me.∅

- 556) **Nuac nang-na kuneng éréhéc i-mi**
 my son-1SG.GEN big.one two that-SPEC 1SG.OBJ.give-
 PAST.2,3dl

néng-oc.
 1SG.OBJ.give-PAST.2,3dl

∅Those(dl) two big sons of mine gave it to me.∅

- 557) **Nuac nang-na orang ha-yec i-mi**
 my son-1SG.GEN yesterday come-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC

néng-ec.
 1SG.OBJ.give-PAST.3SG.

∅My son who came yesterday gave it to me.∅

4.1.1.6 THE FILLERS OF THE LIMITER SLOT

The Limiter Slot is filled by the postpositional clitic **-sac** ∅only∅

- 558) **Ic éréhéc sac ha-yoc.**
 man two only come-PAST.2,3dl

∅Only two men came.∅

4.1.2 COORDINATE NOUN PHRASE

A coordinate noun phrase is composed of two or more heads which are connected by the coordinating conjunctions: /**dzéma**/ ∅and∅ or /**me**/ ∅or∅ The conjunction /**dzéma**/ is optional but /**me**/ is obligatory. Note that /**dzéma**/ is identical to the same Subject form of the verb /**dzé**/ ∅to say∅

- 559) **Asa (dzéma) Kedzo**
 Asa (and) Kedzo

∅Asa and Kedzo∅

- 560) **kuneng-a (dzéma) komor-a**
 big-3SG.GEN (and) small-3SG.GEN

∅big one and small one∅

- 561) **ic kuneng (dzéma) ic komoc**
 man big (and) man small

∅big man and small man∅

562) **kiwi ic** (dzéma) **kiwi merac**
 letter man (and) letter boy

≠teacher and studentø

563) **erimi** (dzéma) **ou-mi**
 over.there (and) up-SPEC

≠Over there and upon thereø

564) **nenggoc** **manggoc** **dac** **muna-héc-na**
 mother father elder.brother younger.brother-pl-1SG.GEN

≠all of my relativesø

565) **wawang** **meme**
 doing working

≠behaviorø

566) **Ic** **me embac** **i-mi** **ni** **ménda** **nin-dzua.**
 man or woman that-SPEC 1SG.ABS ADJ.NEG know-PRES.1SG

≠I donøt know whether it is a man or a woman.ø

4.1.3 APPOSITIONAL NOUN PHRASES

Appositional noun phrases are certain two noun phrases which have identity of reference.

567) **Nu-ac** **dac-na** **Kedzo** **eri** **ha-tsac.**
 1SG-OBLQ elder.brother-1SGGEN Kedzo over.there come-
 PRES.3SG.

≠My elder brother Kedzo comes over there.ø

568) **Ni** **Tawa** **ha-tsua.**
 1SG.ABS Tawa come-PRES.1SG

≠I (Tawa) came.ø

4.1.4 REDUPLICATED NOUN PHRASE

Reduplication of a noun encodes plurality.

569) **kia** **silih-a**
 rain drop-3SG.GEN

≠a drop of rainø

570) **kia silic silic**
rain drop drop

-drizzling rainø

4.1.5 INALIENABLE POSSESSORS IN THE NOUN PHRASE

When an inalienable head noun is modified by an attributive modifier or for plurality, the genitive clitic is attached to the modifier or plurality pronoun. The overall structure for this inner constituent of noun phrase is as follows:

+ N ± N.Attributive ± Pl +-GEN

571) **ic kewu éréhéc-na**
man great dl-1SGGEN

-my two big menø

4.2 PREDICATE PHRASES

The Predicate part may be filled by either a verb, a noun phrase, or a postpositional phrase. The overall structure of The General Predicate Phrase is as follows;

± ADVP + PREDICATE.

PRED → $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right\}$

PRED → (ADV) PRED

572) **Foc foc ken-na.**
fast fast go-2SG.IMP

-Go very fast.ø

573) **Ic i-mi horua yanda.**
tree that-SPEC long very

-The tree is very long.ø

574) **Ic i-mi kec-tsac-nec.**
man that-SPEC live-PRES3SG-ABL

-The man still lives.ø

4.3 ATTRIBUTIVE PHRASES

There are three different Attributive Phrases; [A + A] and [A + B] and [A + B + A]. The first structure encodes plurality. The second structure is for emphasizing a little. The last structure emphasizes to a greater degree.

- 575) **Ic horua horua (nan-dzu).**
tree long long stand-PRES.2,3PL

∅There are many long trees standing∅

- 576) **ama kuneng dzézé**
house big.one little

∅a little big house∅

- 577) **ama kuneng yanda kuneng**
house big big big

∅a very big house∅

- 578) **ic horua herec**
tree long long

∅a very long tree∅

4.4 ADVERBIAL PHRASE

The reduplication of an adverb means ∅do to a greater degree∅

- 579) **éséng éséng ken-na.**
slowly slowly go-2SG.IMP

∅Go very slowly.∅

- 580) **foc foc ha-na.**
fast fast come-2SG.IMP

∅Come very fast.∅

4.5 QUANTIFIER PHRASE

Most Kube numerals are composed of several words. (see section 2.5.2. for a listing.)

- 581) **méra éréhéc**
hand two

∅ten∅

4.6 POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE

These phrases are made up of Nouns phrases or Pronouns plus postpositional clitics like the Time-Locative **/-u/**, the Associative **/-guc/** or **/iguc/**, the Benefactive **/-ac/**, the Ablative **/-**

ec/, the Ergative /-néng/, the Diminutive /-dac/. Some of the postpositions can be attached to more than one class of word. (See Table 50)

- 582) **komodia-dac**
little-DIM

∅Itø just a little.∅

- 583) **Foc-dac** **ha-na.**
quick-DIM come-2SG.IMP

∅Come just quickly.∅

- 584) **Foc-nec** **ha-na.**
quick-ABL come-2SG.IMP

∅Come quickly.∅

- 585) **Pindiu-nec** **ha-tsua.**
Pindiu-ABL come-PRES.1SG

∅I come from Pindiu.∅

- 586) **Orang-guc** **ha-na.**
tomorrow-ACC come-2SGimp

∅Come tomorrow.∅

- 587) **Doku-guc** **kem-mang.**
water-ACC go-FUT.1SG

∅I am going to the water.∅

- 588) **Maria** **5-i-guc** **ha-na.**
after 5-that-ACC come-2SG.IMP

∅Come at 5 after noon.∅

- 589) **Ama-i-guc** **tac-tsac.**
house-that-ACC sit-PRES.3SG.

∅He is at home.∅

590) **Tocgoctocgoc** **wam-mu** **nalé** **i-mu-ar-u**
meeting do-2,3PLFUT time that-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC

ha-na.
come-2SG.IMP

∅Come at the time when the people gather together.∅

591) **Ama-n-u** **kem-mang.**
house-1SGGEN-LOC go-FUT.1SG

∅I am going to my house.∅

592) **Ama** **i-mi** **Kedzo-ac** **ama.**
house that-SPEC Kedzo-OBLQ house

∅That house is Kedzo's house.∅

593) **Héna** **yomi** **hia** **kem-bing-ac?**
road this well go-FUT.1PL-OBLQ

∅Is this road good enough for our traveling?∅

Two postpositional phrases may be coordinated by a conjunction.

594) **Béndzeng-nec** **dzéma** **usung-nec** **ken-dzac.**
slowness-ABL and strength-ABL go-PRES.3SG.

∅He works slowly and strongly/steadily.∅

5. SENTENCES

5.1 NON-EQUATIVE SENTENCES

The Kube Non-Equative sentence has five main types of constituents: 1) an optional topicalized phrase, 2) an optional Subject noun phrase, 3) an optional Object noun phrase, 4) various optional postpositional phrases, 5) sentence adverbs, 6) the verb. These have the following linear order:

S → (TOPIC) (Subject NP) (NP) (Object NP) (PP) PRED (ADV)

5.1.1 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

5.1.1.1 SUBJECT

In sentences containing overt Subjects and Objects, the grammatical Subject normally precedes both the verb and the Object. When an overt Subject noun phrase is present, the Subject inflection on the verb must be consistent with the person and number of the Subject noun phrase. Overt Subjects are used to give more identifying information about the referent of the Subject and/or to emphasize it.

- 595) **Ala-éréhéc-na** **yo-u** **ha-tsao.**
 friend-two-1SG.GEN this-LOC come-PRES.3dl

∅Two of my friends came to here.∅

In the following example, however, the Object noun phrase is topicalised and therefore precedes the grammatical Subject.

TOPIC-OBJECT SUBJECT

- 596) **Ic** **sasala** **hafi** **yanda** **ini-tsac.**
 man many sickness big 23plOBJ-bite-PRES.3SG.

∅A serious illness afflicted many men.∅

In the above sentence the verbal suffix agrees with the Subject ∅sickness∅ while the Object marker in the verb stem agrees with the topicalized Object ∅many men∅

The Subjects of both transitive and intransitive clauses may be suffixed with the postpositional Ergative clitic /-ngé/.

- 597) **Ic** **i-mi-ngé** **wang-ec.**
 man that-SPEC-ERG do-PAST.3SG.

∅The man did it.∅

- 598) **I-mi** **néma-ngé** **kpac-ma** **he-tsac?**
 that-SPEC what-ERG cry-SS sleep-PRES.3SG.

∅What is that crying?∅

In Kube, the Subject function is commonly expressed by nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, certain nominalized verbs, or even clauses (chapter 9).

- 599) **Atiu** **usung-nec** **keng-ec.**
 Atiu strength-ABL go-PAST.3SG.

∅Atiu went running.∅

- 600) **Ic** **yanda** **komoc** **usung-nec** **keng-ec.**
 man old little strength-ABL go-PAST.3SG.

∅The little old man went running.∅

- 601) **I** **ha-tsac.**
 3SG.ABS come-PRES.3SG.

∅He came.∅

- 602) **Usung-nec** **kengkeng-a** **i-mi** **séwi**
 strength-ABL going-3SG.GEN that-SPEC body

me-hiaru-mac.

work.it-to.be.good-FUT.3SG.

-Running will make the body to be good.ø

- 603) **Yohane** **usung-nec** **sasala** **keng-an-dzac**
 John strength-ABL many go-HAB-PRES.3SG.

i-mi **hélac-nec.**
 that-SPEC true-ABL

-That John runs often is true.ø

In some sense the traditional syntactic division between Subject and Predicate is not particularly relevant to Kube, because a single form, the Kube verb, often expresses both the Subject and the Object of the prediction, transitivity, mode, tense, etc.

- 604) **kpe-tsac.**
 3SG.OBJ.beat-PRES.3SG.

-He hit him.ø

In this example, the person and number of the Subject are indicated by the verbal suffix, and the Object person and its number are marked by a verbal prefix. So free nominal Subject and Object are not obligatory.

5.1.2 OBJECTS

The Kube Object is expressed by noun phrases, pronouns, and complement clauses, and is indexed on the verb by an Object prefix.

- 605) **Ni** **gi** **g-éng-i.**
 1SG.ABS 2SG.ABS 2SG.OBJ.see-PAST.1SG

-I saw you.ø

- 606) **Nei yanda** **i-mi** **hén-dzua.**
 plane big that-SPEC 3SG.OBJ.see.it-PRES.1SG

-I saw the big airplane.ø

- 607) **Nin-dzua** **i** **walac walac ha-yec.**
 know-PRES.1SG 3SG.ABS first first come-PAST.3SG.

-I know that he came early.ø

- 608) **Usung-nec kengkeng-a-wac sing-a nin-dzua.**
 strength-ABL going-3SG.GEN-OBLQ taste-3SG.GEN know-PRES.1SG

-I like running. (lit. I know the taste of going by strength.) \emptyset

Since the person and number of the Object is indexed by an Object marker on the verb stem, free Object noun phrases are not obligatory constituents of the sentence.

- 609) **I-ngé (nini) nonopoc-ma keng-ec.**
 3SG.ABS-ERG 1PL.ABS.EXCL 1PL.OBJ.leave-SS go-PAST.3SG.

-He left us and went away. \emptyset

In clauses, encoding the notion of giving, the Recipient is encoded as direct Object, being cross-referenced by Object prefixes on the verb. The entity that is actually given bears no grammatical relation and occurs between the Subject and the Object.

- 610) **Ni tuc sasala yanda Yosep mi-tsua.**
 I taro many big Joseph give.him-PRES.1SG

-I gave Joseph a lot of taro. \emptyset

5.1.2.1 INSTRUMENTS

Noun phrase encoding Instruments are marked with the Ergative Post-clitic /-néng/.

- 611) **Merac sasala i-mi-ngé kowusu-ngé windou**
 child many that-SPEC-ERG ball-ERG window
kpe-dzénggé-gic.
 beat.it-break-PAST.2,3PL

-The boys broke the window with a ball. \emptyset

The form /i-guc/ -that-ACC \emptyset is used with some means of transportation like airplane, car and net bag.

- 612) **Ieneng dzéic-i-guc ha-gic.**
 3PL.ERG ship-that-ACC come-PAST.2,3PL

-They came by ship. \emptyset

- 613) **Ic gocmia tosara gésé-i-guc me-ma ha-tsua.**
 tree fruit some netbag-that-ACC hold-SS come-PRES.1SG

-I brought some fruits in my net bag. \emptyset

The Time-Location postposition /-u/ is also used to encode locations with some means of transportation.

- 614) **Asa beric nenggi-ya kpah-u keng-ec.**
 Asa horse mother -3SG.GEN on-LOC go-PAST.3SG.

∅Asa went on horseback.∅

The ablative /-nec/ ∅from and the 3rd person associative /-iguc/ are used with .

- 615) **Nei ac-nec wang-an-dzua.**
 bird word-ABL do-HAB-PRES.1SG

∅I talk in Tokpisin habitually.∅

5.2 SENTENCES CONTAINING NON-VERBAL PREDICATES

The overall structure of such sentences is as follows: [NP imi]Topic [PRED]Comment, when PRED can be filled by either 1) NP, 2) ADJP, 3) PP.

- 616) **naruang i-mi nuac ala-na.**
 she that-SPEC my friend-1SG.GEN

∅She is my friend.∅

- 617) **Wias i-mi owo+hotong.**
 Wias that-SPEC pants+short

∅Wias is a policeman.∅

- 618) **Kpar-a i-mi Senis.**
 name-3SG.GEN that-SPEC Senis

∅His name is Senis.∅

5.3 TOPICS OF SENTENCES

Sentence initial position is the site when Topics occur. Frequently, the Subject and Topic are identical, but other items like 1) Object, 2) time expressions, and 3) locative expressions can also be topicalized to sentence initial position.

- 619) **Eri nei ha-ma doku naec-gic**
 over.there bird come-SS water wash-2,3PL.DS

unu-an-dzing.
 23PL.OBJ.shoot-HAB-PRES.1PL

∅Over there, the birds come and wash, we used to kill them.∅

- 620) **Ni hafi n-i-tsac.**
 1SG.ABS sickness 1SG.OBJ-bite-PRES.3SG.

-For me, the sickness bites me.∅

- 621) **Néma nalé-iguc ic i-mi ha-yec.**
 what time-LOC man that-SPEC come-PAST.3SG.

-When did he come?∅

5.4 ELLIPTICAL SENTENCE

Some parts of a sentence may be omitted for reasons of economy, or style. The elided parts are easily recoverable from the context or situation.

- 622) **Kuneng, gi kafe-ac?**
 big 2SG.ABS coffee-OBLQ

Hia-ngé doku-ac.
 fine-ERG water-OBLQ

-Coffee, sir? Fine but water.∅

- 623) **Denis némac nalé ha-mac?**
 Denis what time come-FUT.3SG.

Me-kputulang wam-ma-guc gezang.
 packing do-SS-ACC probably

Wac Bunga? Orang-guc. Hêlac-nec, orang-guc?
 for Bunga tomorrow-ACC true-ABL tomorrow-ACC

-When is Denis coming? Probably when he is ready. What about Bunga?
 Tomorrow. Really, tomorrow?∅

6. MODALITY

Modality is used to refer to contrasts in speaker attitude signalled by different verb conjugations. See section 2.1.2.

6.1 DECLARATIVE MODALITY

Most of the sentences seen thus far have been declaratives; i.e, they make an assertion. Declarative sentences are pronounced with falling intonation and contain no question words.

- 624) **Ic i-mi orang ha-yec.**
 man that-SPEC yesterday come-PAST.3SG.

-The man came yesterday.∅

6.2 DESIDERATIVE AND CAVEAT MODALITIES

Desiderative modality is indicated by an irrealis verb suffix plus the ablative clitic **-nec**. The caveat modality **-lestø** is indicated by an irrealis verb suffix plus the benefactive clitic **-ac**.

- 625) **Gi kiwi o-wan-nec.**
2SG.ABS letter write-IRR.2SG-ABL

÷I would like you to write a letter.ø

- 626) **I kiwi o-wac-nec.**
3SG.ABS letter write-IRR.3SG-ABL

÷I hope he will write a letter.ø

- 627) **Kuru gocmi-a mésém-bang-ac.**
chicken egg-3SG.GEN break-IRR.2SG-OBLQ

÷(Watch out) lest you break the chicken egg.ø

6.3 IMPERATIVE MODALITY

In Kube the imperative sentence is morphologically identical with the declarative sentence.

6.3.1 PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Present imperatives and inducements are encoded by a set of verb suffixes identical to the hetero-personal verb suffixes.

- 628) **Ha-na.**
come-2SG.IMP

÷You come.ø

- 629) **Ha-i.**
come-2dl.IMP

÷You(dl) come.ø

- 630) **Ha-gic.**
come-2,3PL.IMP

÷You(pl) come.ø

- 631) **Ken-dzi.**
go-1dl.INDUC

÷Let us(dl) go.ø

- 632) **Ken-ni.**
go-1PL.INDUC

-Let us(pl) go.ø

6.3.2 FUTURE IMPERATIVE

Imperative which are expected to take place in the future are encoded by future verb forms.

- 633) **Orang ha-mu.**
tomorrow come-FUT.2,3PL

-You will come tomorrow(Come tomorrow).ø

6.4 NECESSITY (méngga)

Necessity is encoded by the uninflected form which occurs preceding the verb.

- 634) **Orang méngga ha-mac.**
tomorrow must come-FUT.3SG.

-He must come tomorrow.ø

6.5 PROBABILITY /gezang/

Probability is encoded by the form /gezang/. This form can function as sentence adverb, in which case it is uninflected and occurs following the final verb. It can be used as noun form with a genitive suffix and the Benefactive litic /-ac/ following in that order. In this case it is followed by the final verb and grammatically is not an adverb any more.

- 635) **Kem-mac gezang.**
go-FUT.3SG. probably

-I think he will go.ø

- 636) **I-mu-huc gezang.**
that-SPEC-like probably

-May be so.ø

- 637) **Gezang-gina-wac yara-na dzé-gic nim-ba.**
guess-2,3PL.GEN-OBLQ age-1SG.GEN say-2,3PL.DS hear-1SG.DS

-For your guess, tell me my age to hear.ø

6.6 INTERROGATIVE

There are six different types of questions in Kube: Yes/No Questions, Choice Questions, Information Questions, Elliptical Questions, Rhetorical Questions, Irrealis Self Questions.

There are two different formal devices used in questions. Some differ from the corresponding declarative sentence only in their intonation. Others have type has morphological markers: either an interrogative pronoun or the conjunction clitics /-**me**/ ʔ or /-**ta**/ ʔhenə

In Kube interrogative pronouns generally occur in the same position in the sentence as the questioned constituent would in a corresponding declarative sentence.

6.6.1 YES/NO QUESTION

Two types of Yes/No Questions are biased: those which expect a yes answer and those which expect a no answer. The other type of yes-no question is unbiased and is formed by adding the conjunction /**me**/ ʔ following the verb.

- 638) **Ha-tsang** **me?**
come-2SGNON.PAST or

ʔAre you there?ʔ

- 639) **I-mi** **héla(nec)?**
that-SPEC true(ABL)

ʔIs it true?ʔ

- 640) **Haka** **i-mi** **méng-guc** **wam-bésémang?**
manner that-SPEC another-ACC do-FUT.2SG

ʔAre you going to do it(bad manner) again?ʔ

6.6.2 CHOICE QUESTION

The format /-**me**/ is the Yes-No Question Particle and **ta** is the Information Question Particle. In the following examples the parts which are following after the conjunctions are often omitted.

- 641) **Kem-ma** **ta** (**néma** **ai** **me-wésémang**)?
go-SS then (what work do-FUT.2SG)?

ʔGo and then (what work are you going to do)?ʔ

- 642) **Ic** **i-mi** **ha-tsac** **me** (**kpahac**)?
man that-SPEC come-PRES.3SG. or (not)?

ʔDid the man come?ʔ

6.6.3 INFORMATION QUESTION

- 643) **Méré-néng keng-ec?**
who-ERG go-PAST.3SG.

Who went?ø

- 644) **Ic i-mi di-mu-huc dzé-yec?**
man that-SPEC which-SPEC-like say-PAST.3SG.

How did the man say?ø

- 645) **Kiwi di-mu-ac-nec me-ha-nec?**
letter which-SPEC-OBLQ-ABL hold-come-PAST.2SG

From where did you bring the book?ø

- 646) **Némac nalé ic i-mi ken-dzac?**
what time man that-SPEC go-PRES.3SG.

When did he go?ø

- 647) **I di-mu-ar-u keng-ec?**
3SG.ABS which-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC go-PAST.3SG.

Where did he go?ø

- 648) **Némac ning-ac keng-ec?**
what thinking-OBLQ go-PAST.3SG.

Why did he go?ø

6.6.4 ELLIPTICAL QUESTION

The conjunction /**ta**/ thenø is used as information question Particle because normally people omit rest of the sentence after it, expecting the listener to give the elided information. In the following examples the parts which are following after the conjunctions are often omitted.

- 649) **Kem-ma ta?**
go-SS then

Go and then (what are you going to do)?ø

- 650) **Ha-yu ta?**
come-3SG.DS then

He come and then (what is he going to do)?ø

6.6.5 RHETORICAL QUESTION

A rhetorical question is a question that is used for another purpose, such as to ridicule, show anger, cause someone to think or to direct attention to something. They usually expect a negative answer. i.e. **gi koko?** 'Are you a baby?ø' means **gi koko kpahac.** 'You are not a baby.ø' Rhetorical questions are distinguished from statements one by having rising intonation.

- 651) **Gi** **koko?**
2SG.ABS baby

‘Are you a baby?ø

- 652) **Gi** **biang** **yand-i-wésémang?**
2SG.ABS later big-VZR-FUT.2SG

‘Are you going to be growing up later?ø

- 653) **Gi** **ning-ga** **kpahac?**
2SG.ABS knowleze-2SGGEN SEN.NEG

‘Donøt you understand it?ø

- 654) **Gésé** **i-mi** **hia** **me-ma** **ha-wésémang?**
netbag that-SPEC good hold-SS come-FUT.2SG

‘Would you bring the string bag?ø

6.7 NEGATION

There are two different negatives in Kube; the form ‘**ménda**’ negates verbs which follow after it and the form ‘**kpahac**’ negates nouns which occur in the Subject slot.

6.7.1 NOMINAL NEGATION

The nominal negator /**kpahac**/ falls in the predicate slot of a sentence and functions to negate a preceding noun phrase which occurs in the Subject slot. To express tense it occurs in a periphrastic construction with the positional verb /**wang**/ ‘do, is, becomeø’

- 655) **I-mi** **nene** **hia** **bia** **kpahac.**
that-SPEC food good very SEN.NEG

‘That is not a good food.ø

- 656) **Nene** **kpahac** **wang-ec.**
food SEN.NEG become-PAST.3SG.

‘The food finished.ø

- 657) **Mokoleng** **késa-tsu** **i-mi** **mokoleng** **kpahac.**
 snake 3SG.OBJ.hold-PRES.2,3PL that-SPEC snake SEN.NEG

¬They caught a snake, that one is not a snake.∅

6.7.2 VERBAL NEGATION

The verbal negator /**ménda**/ always negates the following verb.

- 658) **Ic** **i-mi** **foc-dac** **ménda** **ha-tsac.**
 man that-SPEC quickly-DIM ADJ.NEG come-PRES.3SG.

¬The man did not come quickly.∅

7. INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS

Up to this point, only simple sentences have been discussed. We will now discuss more complex constructions consisting of more than one clause.

In terms of internal composition, clauses can be divided into those which are independent and those which are dependent. The sentences we studied under the title of simple sentence are independent: they can stand alone as complete utterances.

- 659) **Orang** **ha-mac.**
 tomorrow come-FUT3SG.

¬He will come tomorrow.∅

- 660) **Orang** **méngga** **ha-mac.**
 tomorrow must come-FUT3SG.

¬He must come tomorrow.∅

7.1 SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS

We include all kinds of embedded clauses in this category; such as adjectival relative clause, adverbial clause, and complement clause.

7.1.1 ADJECTIVAL (RELATIVE) CLAUSES

This is a type of embedded clause which functions as a modifier in a noun phrase. Adjectival clauses end with the complementizer /**i-mi**/ and occur following the head noun (phrase) and its attributive and quantifying modifiers.

Some different examples are presented below, based on the function of the relative noun in the relative clause.

- A. The noun /**ic**/ is the Subject of both embedded and main clause.

661) **Ic** **ha-yec** **i-mi** **bec** **keng-ec.**
 man come-PAST3SG. that-SPEC promptly go-PAST.3SG.

∅The man who came, left already.∅

B. The noun /**kiwi**/ is the Object of the embedded clause and the Subject of main clause.

662) **Kiwi** **me-ma** **ha-yec** **i-mi** **tebo**
 letter hold-SS come-PAST3SG. that-SPEC table

kpahac-i-guc **he-tsac.**
 on-that-ACC come-PAST.3SG.

∅The letter he brought is on the table.∅

C. The noun /**ic**/ is the direct Object of the embedded clause and the Subject of main clause.

663) **Ic** **kiwi** **mi-yec** **i-mi**
 man letter give.him-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC

yo-u **ker-ec.**
 this-LOC stay-PAST.3SG.

∅The man to whom you gave the letter lived here.∅

D. The noun /**ic**/ is one of the participants of the embedded clause and the Subject of the main clause.

664) **Ic** **ai** **momac** **me-yoc** **i-mi**
 man work together work-PAST.2,3dl that-SPEC

yo-u **ker-ec.**
 this-LOC stay-PAST.3SG.

∅The man with whom you worked together lived here.∅

E. The noun /**ic méng**/ is benefactive participant within the embedded clause and the Object of the main clause.

665) **Ic** **méng** **i(w)-ac** **ning-ac** **ai-ga**
 man one 3SG.ABS-OBLQ thinking-OBLQ work-2SGGEN

wai-nec **i-mi** **ni** **mihicngi-yi.**
 leave-PAST.2SG that-SPEC 1SG.ABS meet-PAST.1SG

∅I met the man because of whom you left your work.∅

F. In the following example, the head noun, which is omitted, has the benefactive role within the embedded clause and is the Subject of the main clause.

666) **Ai-ya** **me-an-dzang** **i-mi-ngé**
 work-3SG.GEN work-HAB-PRES.2SG that-SPEC-ERG

hésa-i-guc **gu-ac** **kpac-tsac.**
 line-that-ACC 2SG-OBLQ call-PRES.3SG.

∅The one for whom you work phoned you.∅

G. The head noun /**nalé**/ functions as temporal adverb within the embedded clause and is an element of the time-locative postpositional phrase of the main clause.

667) **Nalé** **i** **kiwi** **ama** **me-tecgé-yec**
 time 3SG.ABS letter house work.it-finish-PAST.3SG.

i-mu-ar-u-nec **ai-ya** **me-yec.**
 that-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC-ABL work-3SG.GEN to.hold-PAST.3SG.

∅The day he graduated, he got a job.∅

H. Relativized location

668) **Wanggéng-a** **i** **yéwéri** **kputulanggé-tsac**
 corner-3SG.GEN 3SG.ABS trouble meet-PRES3SG.

i-mi **eri-mi.**
 that-SPEC there-SPEC

∅The corner where he had the accident is over there.∅

I. The following examples illustrated relativized questions.

669) **Néma** **wang-ec** **i-mi** **nin-dzua.**
 what do-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC know-PRES.1SG

∅I know what he did.∅

670) **Méré-ngé** **wang-ec** **i-mi** **nin-dzua.**
 who-ERG do-PAST3SG. that-SPEC know-PRES1SG

∅I know who did it.∅

- 671) **Di-mu-ar-u** **wang-ec** **i-mi**
 which-place-OBLQ-LOC do-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC

nin-dzua.
 know-PRES.1SG

-I know where he did it.ø

- 672) **Néma nalé-iguc** **wang-ec** **i-mi** **nin-dzua.**
 what time-3SG.ASS do-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC know-PRES.1SG

-I know when he did it.ø

- 673) **Di-mu-huc** **wang-ec** **i-mi** **nin-dzua.**
 which-SPEC-like do-PAST3.sg that-SPEC know-PRES.1SG

-I know how he did it.ø

- 674) **Méré-ac** **kiwi** **olong-ec** **i-mi** **nin-dzua.**
 who-OBLQ book read-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC know-PRES.1SG

-I know whose book he read.ø

- 675) **Néma ning-ac** **wang-ec** **i-mi** **nin-dzua.**
 what thinking-OBLQ do-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC know-PRES.1SG

-I know why he did it.ø

7.1.2 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

This category may include clauses functioning as time, location, manner, purpose, or reason. The adverbial clauses commonly contain the specifier /**imi**/ as a complementizer, to which in turn is often added either: 1) the manner clitic /-**huc**/ -likeø 2) the benefactive clitic /-**ac**/ -forø or 3) the time-locative clitic /-**u**/ -atø. Some other conjunction words observed are the conjunction /**néng**/ for concession, the determinative association /-**i-guc**/ -that-withø for conditions and /**éséc-nec**/ -same-fromø for manner clauses.

Adverbial clauses precede the main clause they modify.

7.1.2.1 TIME-LOCATION AXIS-RELATOR

- 676) **Héna hoc** **sic-ya** **kileng** **yanda** **he-tsac**
 road stone bone-3SG.GEN many many sleep-PRES.3SG.

i-mu-ar-u **béndzeng** **béndzeng** **keng-ing.**
 that-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC slowness slowness go-PAST.1PL

-We walked very slowly where the path was very rocky.ø

- 677) **Kedzo-ac** **nenggoc-ya** **kpar-ec** **nalé**
 Kedzo-OBLQ mother-3SG.GEN call-PAST.3SG. time
- i-mu-ar-u** **embac** **i-mi** **usung-nec**
 that-SPEC-OBLQ-LOC girl that-SPEC strength-ABL
- ama-i-guc** **keng-ec.**
 house-that-ACC go-PAST.3SG.

-Kedzoø mother called, at that time, she ran home.ø

7.1.2.2 MANNER

- 678) **Embac** **i-mi** **gbéré** **ning** **wam-bac**
woman that-SPEC nose.water thinking do-IRR.3SG.

éséc-nec **ac** **dzé-tsac.**
same-ABL word say-PRES.3SG.

∅The woman talks as if he catch a cold.∅

- 679) **Yesu** **kec-tsac** **i-mu-huc-ya-nec** **kec-wing.**
Jesus live-PRES3SG. that-SPEC-like-3SG.GEN-ABL live-FUT.1PL

∅We will live as Jesus lives.∅

7.1.2.3 REASON

- 680) **Nu-ac** **ning** **wang-gic** **i-mu-ac**
1SG-OBLQ thinking do-2,3PL.DS that-SPEC-OBLQ

ning **keng-i.**
thinking go-PAST.1SG

∅I went because they were longing for me.∅

7.1.2.4 CONDITION

- 681) **Inéng** **kem-mac-i-guc** **ni** **ama-i-guc**
3SG.ERG go-FUT.3SG-that-ACC 1SG.ABS house-that-ACC

tac-mang.
sit-FUT.1SG

∅If he goes, I will stay at home.∅

8. CONCESSION

- 682) **I** **ménda** **kem-mac i-mi** **kileng-dac**
3SG.ABS ADV.NEG go-FUT.3SG. that-SEPC even.though-DIM

nena-nec **kem-mang.**
1SGGEN-by go-FUT.1SG

∅I will go even if he doesn't go.∅

- 683) **I** **médzé-titi** **wam-mac-néng** **kileng-dac**
3SG.ABS dislike-fullness do/is-FUT.3SG-ERG even.though-DIM

kem-mac.
go-FUT.3SG.

∅He will go, even though he does not want to.∅

Purpose clauses end with the clitic /**dzé**/, which is phonologically adjoined to the complement clause with a corresponding loss of the homo-personal suffix. As such, it functions as a grammaticalized modality marker.

- 684) **Nei** **éréhéc** **em-mang-dzé** **wan-dzaoc.**
 air.plane two go.up-FUT.1SG-PURP do-PRES.2,3dl

-Two air planes are to go up.ø

8.1.1 COMPLEMENT CLAUSE

This is a type of embedded clause which functions as an argument in the main clause.

8.1.1.1 OBJECT COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Kube quotations are Object complements.

- 685) **Gém-bing** **dzé-ma** **ha-tsing.**
 see.you-FUT.1PL say-SS come-PRES.1PL

-We came saying we will see you.ø

- 686) **Ha-mac** **dzé-yec**
 come-FUT.3SG. say-PAST.3SG.

-He said he will come.ø

- 687) **Ni** **nin-dzua** **gi** **ic** **geriw-a-guc.**
 1SG.ABS know-PRES.1SG 2SG.ABS man fire-3SG.GEN-ACC

-I know that you are a man of hot temper.ø

The following constructions are written considering the phonological word boundary. The positional verb /**wang**/ -do, is, becomeø is notionally intransitive, functions as transitive predicate and preceding clauses are phonological words functioning as cognate Objects rather than medial verbs. Normally, there is a word break just after the hetero and homo-personal verb suffix instead of breaking the compound verb.

- 688) **Kem-ma-keng** **wang-ec.**
 go-SS-go do-PAST.3SG.

-He did a lot of visiting.ø

- 689) **Késa-yu-késa** **wang-oc.**
 hold.it-3SG.DS-hold.it do-PAST.2,3dl

-They(dl) cooperated.ø

8.1.1.2 SUBJECT COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Kube Subject complement clauses all require the complementizer /**i-mi**/.

690) Singi-séc usung-nec keng-kec-tsua i-mi-néng
 night-all strength-ABL go-DUR-PRES.1SG that-SPEC-ERG

hiabia bafigé-nén-dzac.
 very.good help.it-give.me-PRES.3SG.

∅That I go jogging every night, really helps me.∅

8.2 COORDINATING CONSTRUCTIONS

Kube coordinate sentences include two or more independent or main clauses joined by a conjunction or the homo-personal hetero-personal verb suffix.

8.2.1 COMPOUND SENTENCE

The term compound is used to describe sentences composed of independent clauses linked by conjunctions. Semantic relationships between the clauses may range from addition to concession to alternation.

691) Méng dzakong-néng wiric-gic i-mi hia-néng
 one spear-ERG shoot.it-PAST.2,3PL that-SPEC good-ERG

méng kua-ya mudzuc mudzuc kpe-gic
 one mouth-3SG.GEN together together strike.it-PAST.2,3PL

i-mi wagic-ma hafi ama yanda-i-guc keng-gic
 that-SPEC take.him-SS sickness house big-that-ACC go-2,3PL.DS

heric-ma gboto-gic.
 cut.it-SS sew.it-PAST.2,3PL

∅The one who was pierced by a spear became good but the other one whose two lips were pierced together, was carried by the people to a big hospital and they cut and sewed it.∅

692) I médzé-titi wam-mac-néng kileng-dac
 3SG.ABS dislike-fullness do-FUT.3SG-ERG eventhough-DIM

kem-mac.
 go-FUT.3SG.

∅He will go, even though he doesn't want to.∅

693) Kia ha-mac me ménda ha-mac.
 rain come-FUT.3SG. or ADJ.NEG come-FUT.3SG.

∅Will it be rain or will it be not.∅

8.2.2 JUXTAPOSITION/CLAUSE CHAINING

The term juxtaposition is used to describe sequences of coordinate clauses which lack an overt conjunction. The most common types of Kube juxtaposed clause construction consists of a clause containing a verb having either the same Subject verb suffix */-ma/* or one of the different Subject suffixes. This construction is used to express a wide variety of semantic relationships between propositions.

- 694) **Me-kem-ma tar-u ama singi-yu méng-guc**
down-go-SS sit-3SG.DS house dark-3SG.DS another-ACC

e-keng-ec.
up-go-PAST.3SG.

∓He went down, sit, the place became dark, went up again.∅

- 695) **Dzé-gic ning-u ha-yec.**
say-2,3PL.DS know-3SG.DS come-PAST.3SG.

∓All said, he knew, came.∅

- 696) **Nambérac aria wang-gic yanda yanda**
children play do-PAST.2,3PL old old

tac-ma ac dzé-gic.
sit-SS word say-PAST.2,3PL

∓The children played and the adults sat talking.∅

8.2.2.1 SIMULTANEITY

When the homo-personal verb suffix marked clause is repeated, it indicates an event simultaneous with the following clause. This same construction, however, can also indicate repeated action.

- 697) **Nene ne-ma ne-ma ha-tsua.**
food eat-SS eat-SS come-PRES.1SG

∓I came eating some foods.∅

The Different Subject verb forms can also be used to express simultaneity of two different actions. In the following examples, they are used to express different events which happened at the same time.

- 698) **Gi ha-na bec ni keng-i.**
2SG.ABS come-2SG.DS promptly 1SG.ABS go-PAST.1SG

∓When you just came I left.∅

- 699) **Ini** **tac-gic** **ni** **kem-ba.**
 2,3PL.ABS sit-2,3PL.DS 1SG.ABS go-1SG.DS

∅You(pl) stay, I go.∅

8.2.2.2 SUCCESSION

In regards to time, Same Subject verb forms usually indicate events which temporally or causally precede the events time encoded by following classes.

- 700) **Nene** **ne-ma** **ha-tsua.**
 food eat-SS come-PRES.1SG

∅I came after I ate some foods.∅

- 701) **Ma-ma** **ha-na.**
 come.down-SS come-2SG.IMP

∅You come down and come.∅

- 702) **Ma-ha-na.**
 come.down-come-2SG.IMP

∅Come coming down.∅

When, how ever, the final verb is a verb of posture like /**tac-tsac**/ ∅sit-he∅ /**kec-tsac**/ ∅is-he∅ /**nan-dzac**/ ∅stand-he∅ /**he-tsac**/ ∅sleep-he∅

- 703) **Ai** **me-ma** **nan-dzac.**
 garden work-SS stand-PRES.3SG.

∅He is working (on) the garden.∅

- 704) **Nene** **o-ma** **tac-tsac.**
 food 3SG.OBJ.cook-SS sit-PRES.3SG.

∅She is cooking food.∅

8.2.2.3 CAUSATION

In the following examples, the clause marked by the different Subject verb suffix, indicates a cause for the following clause.

- 705) **Ne-ng** **dzé-wa** **keng-ec.**
 1-ERG say-1SG.DS go-3PAST.sg

∅I had him go.∅

- 706) **Ne-ng** **wam-ba** **nuac** **beric-ngé** **senggong** **ne-tsac.**
 1SG-ERG do-1SG.DS my pig-ERG corn eat-PRES.3SG.

∅I made my pig eat corn.∅

- 707) **Me-yu** **hiaru-tsac.**
 work-3SG.DS to.become.good-PRES.3SG.

∅He worked and it became good.∅

8.2.2.4 REASON

Different Subject verb forms may also express a reason for a following result.

- 708) **Dzé-na** **deguc** **nin-dzua.**
 say-2SG.DS now know-PRES.1SG

∅You say, I know now.∅

8.2.2.5 IMPERATIVE PURPOSE

Different Subject verb encodes imperatives.

- 709) **Éc-dzé-na** **ning-u.**
 3SG.OBJ.say-2SG.IMP know-3SG.DS

∅Tell him to know.∅

- 710) **Dzé-na** **ha-u.**
 say-2SG.IMP come-3SG.DS

∅Tell him that he may come.∅

8.3 QUOTATION

Quotations are another type of construction involving more than one clause. To quote an utterance one of four different verbs is used: /**dzé**/ 'say', /**welec**/ 'request', /**kpesimi**/ 'ask', /**ning**/ 'think'. Quotations are introduced with the indicative pronoun /**yomi**/ 'this' followed by the suffix /-**huc**/ 'like or same' and are closed by the form /**i-mi**/ 'that-SPEC' along with the /-**huc**/.

8.3.1 DIRECT QUOTATION

- 711) **Ic i-mi yo-mu-huc dzéy-ec;**
man that-SPEC this--one-like say-PAST.3SG.

'The man said like this;

- "néma ning-ac doku i-mi éré-tsac."**
what reason-OBLQ water that-SPEC come.up-PRES.3SG.

'Why does the water come up?'

- i-mu-huc dzé-ma tewi-ya-néng kpe-héng-ec.**
that-SPEC-like say-SS bow-3SG.GEN.ERG . beat.it-see.it-PAST.3SG.

'Saying like that, he checked it by beating with his bow.'

- 712) **Méng-guc ha-na i-mu-huc dzé-yec.**
one-ACC come-2SG.IMP that-SPEC-like say-PAST3SG.

'Come again he said like that.'

- 713) **Yo-mu-huc dzé-yec; méng-guc ha-na**
this-SPEC-like say-PAST.3SG. one-ACC come-2SG.IMP

- mambéc wam-ma tac-mang.**
waiting do-SS sit-FUT.1SG

'He said like this; come again I will be waiting.'

- 714) **Kiwiic dzé-tsac bakia hia kpahac.**
teacher say-PRES.3SG. answer good SEN.NEG

'The teacher said, the answer is not good.'

- 715) **I ménda kem-mang dzé-tsac.**
3SG. ADJ.NEG go-FUT.1SG say-PRES.3SG.

'He said I will not go.'

8.3.2 INDIRECT QUOTATION

- 716) **Dzé-tsac-néng** **i** **orang** **ha-mac.**
say-3SG.NON.PAST-ERG 3SG. tomorrow come-FUT.3SG.

-He said, he will come tomorrow.∅

9. THE ENCODING OF SOME NOTIONS

This section is semantically organized to show the encoding of some semantic relations.

9.1 EXISTENCE

According to the appearances of the Subject the following verbs are used to express existence. /**tac-tsac**/ -sit-he∅ is used for asserting the existence of Objects which are not vertically extended.

- 717) **Ic** **méng** **tac-tsac.**
man one sit-PRES.3SG.

-There is a man siting.∅

- 718) **Ama** **méng** **tac-tsac.**
house one sit-PRES.3SG.

-There is a house.∅

- 719) **Kuru** **tac-tsac.**
chicken sit-PRES.3SG.

-There is a chicken.∅

- 720) **Tebo** **kpaha-i-guc** **kiwi** **haréwéc** **tar-ec.**
table on-that-ACC book three sit-PAST.3SG.

-There are three books on the table.∅

- 721) **Doku** **tac-tsac.**
water sit-PRES.3SG.

-There is some water.∅

/**he-tsac**/ -sleep-he∅ is used for asserting the existence of -a horizontally extended Object.

- 722) **Doku** **he-tsac.**
water sleep-PRES.3SG.

-There is a river.∅

723) **Doku** **sasala** **he-tsac.**
 water lot sleep-PRES.3SG.

∅There are lots of water spreaded.∅

724) **Senggong** **he-tsac.**
 corn sleep-PRES.3SG.

∅There is corn spread out.∅

725) **Ic** **embac** **kileng** **yanda** **he-tsac.**
 man woman many big sleep-PRES.3SG.

∅There are a lot of people.∅

726) **Ac** **i-mi** **miti-iguc** **o-yec** **he-tsac.**
 word that-SPEC Bible-LOC write-PAST.3SG. sleep-PRES.3SG.

∅There are the words written in the Bible.∅

/**nan-dzac**/ ∅stand-he∅ is used for asserting the existence of a vertically extended Object and in the example (704) it is used for personification of the subject ∅law∅

727) **Ic** **méng** **nan-dzac.**
 tree one stand-PRES.3SG.

∅There is a tree standing.∅

728) **Kewu-ac** **ac-kua-tséc** **kperi-nina-i-guc**
 Lord-OBLQ word-mouth-teeth inside-1PL.GEN-that-ACC

nan-dzac.
 stand-PRES.3SG.

∅The words of the Lord are (standing) in our hearts.∅

The nominal negation /**kpahac**/ or /**kpahac wan-dzac**/ ∅NOM.NEG do-he∅ are used to assert the non-existence of anything.

729) **Nene** **kpahac** **wan-dzac.**
 food SEN.NEG do-PRES.3SG.

∅The food does not exist.∅

730) **Doku** **kpahac**
 water SEN.NEG

∅There is no water.∅

9.2 MANNER

Some manners of action are expressed by compound verbs.

- 731) **Ic** **gocmia** **i-mi** **me-tecgé-na.**
tree seed that-SPEC hold-finish-2SG.IMP

-Pick the tree seed with your hands.ø

- 732) **Nakpi** **he-tecgé-na.**
cloth lift-finish-2SG.IMP

-Take off the cloth using your arm.ø

- 733) **Soko** **ti-tecgé-na.**
coconut tread-finish-2SG.IMP

-Take off the coconut using your foot.ø

10. TEXTS

10.1 PERSONAL TESTIMONY

- 1) **nu-ac** **kpac-na** **Simbu**
1SG-OBLQ name-1SG.GEN Simbu

∅My name is Simbu.∅

- 2) **ni** **Nowemba** **28** **1963** **i-mu-ar-u** **hicngi-yi**
I Nowemba 28 1963 that-SPEC-OBLQ-TL come up-PAST.1SG

∅I was born on November 28, 1963.∅

- 3) **ni** **Gbetigbeti** **i-mu-ar-u** **kec-an-dzua**
I Gbetigbeti that-SPEC-OBLQ-TL exist-HABNON.PAST.1SG

∅I have been staying in Gbetigbeti.∅

- 4) **manggoc-na** **kpar-a** **Komusua**
father-1SG.GEN name-3SG.GEN Komusua

∅My father's name is Komusua.∅

- 5) **nenggoc-na** **kpar-a** **Tolangawe**
mother-1SG.GEN name-3SG.GEN Tolangawe

∅My mother's name is Tolangawe.∅

- 6) **i-o-r-ac** **nang-bérac-héc-gira** **8**
3SG-nsg-dl-OBLQ son-daughter-all-2,3dl.GEN 8

∅Their(du) children are 8.∅

- 7) **ic** **méra+méng** **embac** **haréwéc**
man five woman three

∅The males are five and the females are three.∅

- 8) **ic** **embac** **sasawa** **i-mi** **ama-i-guc** **kec-an-dzu**
man woman many that-SPEC village-that-ACC exist-HAB-PRES.2,3PL

∅Most of them have been living in the home village.∅

- 9) **ni** **dzé+ma** **dac-na** **niri** **sawa** **Lei-i-guc**
I nd elder.brother-1SG.GEN 1dl only Lae-that-ACC

kec-an-dzic
exist-HAB-PRES.1dl

∅Only I and my elder brother have been staying in Lae.∅

- 10) **dac-na** **i-mi** **masing** **késa-ma** **héna** **iwai**
 elder.brother-1SG.GEN that-SPEC machine hold-SS road something

me-an-dzac
 work-HAB-PRES.3SG.

∓My elder brother has been working on the road as an operator of a bulldozer.∅

- 11) **ni** **i-mi** **Lutérang** **Siping** **onac** **ofisi-iguc**
 I that-SPEC Lutheran Siping their office-TL
- yara méra+méng** **i-mu-huc** **ai** **me-ma** **ker-i**
 year five that-SPEC-like work work-SS exist-PAST.1SG

∓I worked for Lutheran shipping as an office worker for 5 years.∅

- 12) **deguc** **wai-ma** **ha-ma** **ama-i-guc** **kec-an-dzua**
 now leave-SS come-SS house-that-ACC exist-HAB-PRES.1SG

Now leaving coming (back) I live at home.

- 13) **kofi** **iwai-na** **himic-ma-guc**
 coffee something-1SG.GEN plant-SS-ACC
- méng+guc** **lilinggé-ma** **Lei** **kem-ma** **ai** **me-mang.**
 again return-SS Lae go-SS work to.work-FUT.1SG

∓After planting my coffee, I am going back to Lae to work again.∅

10.2 A STORY OF FIGHTING

- 1) **nalé méng baec** **méng kpar-a** **Tapo i-mu-ar-u**
 time one ground one name-3SG.GEN Tapo that-SPEC-OBLQ-TL

ic **engaoc-nec** **héndéng+amu-ma** **tewi** **késare-ngé**
 man themselves-ABL divide-SS bow arrow-ERG

eu-gic
 fight-PAST.2,3PL

∓One time the people of Tapo place were divided among themselves and fought each other.∅

- 2) **suc-gina-guc-nec** **ic** **méng kesare-ngé** **kua-ya**
 among-2,3PL.GEN-ACC-ABL man one arrow-ERG mouth-3SG.GEN

mudzucgé-ma **wiri-gic**
 put together-SS shoot-PAST.2,3PL

∓All shot one of them with the arrow piercing both lips together.∅

- 3) **méng** **i-mi** **tewi** **balelecgé-ma** **ker-u** **hadzéc**
 one that-SPEC bow pull-SS exist-3SG.DS enemy
- méng** **dzakong-ngé** **mu-yu** **kem-ma** **méra-ya**
 one spear-ERG shoot-3SG.DS go-SS hand-3SG.GEN
- mutulanggé-ma** **tewi-ya-guc** **wirir-u** **mékéta-ma**
 gather-SS bow-3SG.GEN-ACC shoot-3SG.DS stick.it.tightly-SS
- tar-ec**
 sit-PAST.3SG.

∴And an enemy shot a spear and pierced another man's hand tightly together with a bow while he was going to shoot an arrow.∅

- 4) **ic** **éréhéc** **i-mi** **eu-gic** **tecgé-yu**
 man two that-SPEC fight-2,3PL.DS finish-3SG.DS
- oracgi-ma** **hafi+ama-i-guc** **keng-gic**
 2,3duOBJ+take-SS hospital-that-ACC go-PAST.2,3PL
- ∴When they stopped the fighting the people took the two of them and went to the hospital.∅
- 5) **méng** **dzakong-ngé** **wirir-ec** **i-mi** **hiya-ngé**
 one spear-ERG shoot-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC good-but
- ∴The one who was pierced by a spear became good but,∅
- 6) **méng** **kuac-ya** **mudzuc+mudzuc** **kpe-gic** **i-mi**
 one mouth-3SG.GEN together kick-PAST.2,3PL that-SPEC
- wagic-ma** **hafi** **ama** **yanda-i-guc** **keng-gic** **heric-ma**
 3SG.OBJ+take-SS sick house big-that-ACC go-2,3PL.DS cut-SS
- gboto-gic** **hiaru-yec**
 sew-2,3PL.DS become.good-PAST.3SG.

∴The other man two lips were pierced, was carried by the people to a big hospital and all cut and sewed it(mouth) and then it(mouth) became good.∅

10.3 BAT AND SNAKE

- 1) **héméri** **gbérawi** **doku-hérér-a** **keng-oc**
bat eel water-all-3DL.GEN go-PAST.2,3dl

→A bat and eel went to a river.ø

- 2) **kem-ma** **dzikic** **késa-ma** **késa-ma** **keng-kec-ma**
go-SS crawfish hold-SS hold-SS go-exist-SS

élah-u **eng-oc**
side-LOC go.up-PAST.2,3dl

→After they went they went fishing crayfish again and again and went up the river side.ø

- 3) **em-ma** **geric** **hi-yic** **dze-yec**
go up-SS fire blow-2,3dlDS burn-PAST.3SG.

→They went up and made a fire to burn.ø

- 4) **dze-yu** **dzikic** **o-yoc**
burn-3SG.DS crawfish cook-PAST.2,3dl

→After the fire burned then they cooked crayfish.ø

- 5) **o-ma** **ne-ma** **kec-ma** **tosar-a** **tar-ec**
cook-SS eat-SS exist-SS some-3SG.GEN sit-PAST.3SG.

→After they cooked they ate it for a little while and some were left.ø

- 6) **tar-u** **oso-ma** **ama-gira-i-guc** **keng-bi** **dzé-ma**
sit-3SG.DS wrap-SS house-2,3dl.GEN-that-ACC go-FUT.1dl say-SS

usu-ning-a **hoc-oc**
leaf-thinking-3SG.GEN find-PAST.2,3dl

→When some were left they started to find some leaves saying 'Let's wrap it and go to the house.öø

- 7) **hoc-ma** **héméri-ngé** **usu** **ni** **dzé-ma** **dzikic-gira**
find-SS bat-ERG leaf 1SGABS say-3SG.DS crawfish-2,3dl.GEN

ivac-mur-u **hai-yec**
3SG.BEN.PRN-SPEC-TL put-PAST.3SG.

→Finding the bat put the crawfish toward him saying 'I am a leaf.öø

- 8) **hai-yu** **héméri-ngé** **dzikic** **oso-yec**
put-3SG.DS bat-ERG crawfish wrap-PAST.3SG.

→Then the bat wrapped the crawfish.ø

- 9) **oso-yu** **hésa** **hor-oc** **hoc-ma** **gbérawi-ngé** **hésa**
 wrap-3SG.DS string find-PAST.2,3dl find-SS eel-ERG string

ni **dzé-yec**
 I say-PAST.3SG.

∴After they warped it they found a string to tie. Then the snake said `I am a string∅

- 10) **dzé-yu** **gbérawi-ngé** **héméri** **pipi-yec**
 say-3SG.DS eel-ERG bat tie-3SG.OBJ-PAST.3SG.

∴Saying thus the snake tied the bat up.∅

- 11) **wang-u** **kem-bi** **dzé-kec-ma** **osi-ma** **tendinggé-ma**
 do-3SG.DS go-FUT.1dl say-exist-SS fail-SS fall down-SS

geric-kpaha-i-guc **eng-oc**
 fire-on-that-ACC go.up-PAST.2,3dl

∴Then they failing fell down on the fire while they were trying to go.∅

- 12) **eng-ic** **geric-ngé** **o-ro-yu** **humu-yoc**
 go up-2,3dlDS fire-ERG cook-2,3DL.OBJ-3SG.DS die-PAST.2,3dl

∴And the fire burned them and they died.

10.4 THE LEGEND OF KIANÉNG LAKE

- 1) **bec-nec** **esangambé** **kec-gic** **i-mu-ar-u**
 before-ABL ancestor exist-PAST.2,3PL that-SPEC-OBLQ-TL

Kianéng **doku** **winini-yec**
 Kianéng water appear-PAST.3SG.

∴Before when our ancestors lived, Kianéng lake appeared.∅

- 2) **i-mi** **yo-mu-huc** **wang-gic**
 that-SPEC this-SPEC-like do-PAST.2,3PL

∴It happened like this. (lit. As for that they did like this;)∅

- 3) **ic** **méng-néng** **Kianéng** **ic** **dzung-i-guc**
 man one-ERG Kianéng tree forest-that-ACC

keng-ec
 go-PAST.3SG.

A man went to a forest at Kianéng.

- 4) **kem-ma** **héng-u** **dzau** **yanda** **nang-ec**
go-SS look-3SG.DS dzau big stand-PAST.3SG.

÷As he went and looked, there was a big dzau tree standing.ø

- 5) **gocmi-a** **yang** **eneng** **ne-gic**
fruit-3SG.GEN animal 2,3PLERG .PRN eat-2,3PL.DS

tar-u **héng-ec**
sit-3SG.DS look-PAST.3SG.

÷And he saw some fruits some animals ate and left.ø

- 6) **wang-u** **ic** **héi-ma** **timbang** **me-yec**
do-3SG.DS tree cut-SS ladder work-PAST.3SG.

÷And then he cut a tree and made a ladder.ø

- 7) **me-dac-ma** **lilinggé-ma** **ama-ya-i-guc** **Hanggi-u**
work-all-SS return-SS house-3SG.GEN-that-ACC Hanggi-TL

me+keng-ec
go down-PAST.3SG.

÷After he finished making it he came back down to his house at Hanggi.ø

- 8) **me+kem-ma** **tar-u** **ama-singi-yu** **tewi-ya** **me-ma**
go down-SS sit-3SG.DS house-night-3SG.DS bow-3SG.GEN hold-SS

méng+guc **Kianéng** **e+keng-ec**
again Kianéng go.up-PAST.3SG.

÷He went down and sat and it became dark and he got his bow and went up to Kianéng again.ø

- 9) **e+kem-ma** **dzau** **timbang** **me-yec** **i-mu-ar-u**
go up-SS dzau ladder work-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC-OBLQ-TL

em-ma **yang** **ning-ac** **awi-ma** **tar-ec**
go.up-SS animal thinking-OBLQ watch-SS sit-PAST.3SG.

÷He went up and climbed up through on the ladder he made and was sitting on it to shoot animals.ø

- 10) **wang-u** **ménda** **nim-ma** **tar-u** **doku** **dzékéng**
do-3SG.DS ADJ.NEG thinking-SS sit-3SG.DS water pool

éré-yec
come up-PAST.3SG.

÷And then while he was sitting there without knowing, the the pool came up.ø

- 11) **éré-ma** **baec** **sécgé-ma** **éré-yu** **ic** **i-mi**
 come up-SS ground enough-SS come.up-3SG.DS man that-SPEC

yang **ning-ac** **awi-ma tar-ec**
 animal thinking-OBLQ watch-SS sit-PAST.3SG.

÷Coming up it came up covering the place but the man was sitting watching for animals.ø

- 12) **i-mi** **ménda** **nim-ma** **gau-ya** **tar-ec**
 that-SPEC ADJ.NEG thinking-SS sleep-3SG.GEN sit-PAST.3SG.

÷Not knowing it he was sleeping.ø

- 13) **wang-u** **doku** **i-mi** **éré-yec**
 do-3SG.DS water that-SPEC come.up-PAST.3SG.

But water came up.

- 14) **éré-ma** **baec** **i-mi** **séc-gé-dac-ec**
 come up-SS ground that-SPEC enough-VZR-all-PAST.3SG.

÷Having come up it filled up the land.ø

- 15) **wang-u** **gau-i-guc-nec** **auri-ma** **ning-u** **doku**
 do-3SG.DS sleep-that-ACC-ABL alarmed-SS thinking-3SG.DS water

kpar-a **kpac-ma** **he-yec**
 cry-3SG.GEN cry-SS lay-PAST.3SG.

÷And then he awoke from sleeping and realized that there were noises of water.ø

- 16) **he-yu** **nim-ma** **'i-mi** **némac-ngé** **kpac-ma**
 lay-3SG.DS thinking-SS that-SPEC what-ERG cry-SS

he-tsac'
 lay-PRES.3SG. ÷

÷And then he thought ÷what is making these noises?÷ø

- 17) **i-mu-huc** **dzé-ma** **dzau** **gocmi-a** **hetecgé-ma**
 that-SPEC-like say-SS dzau fruit-3SG.GEN pick-SS

gili-yu **hinggar-ec**
 throw-3SG.DS go.down-PAST.3SG.

÷Saying so he picked up a fruit of Dzau tree, and he threw it and it fell down.ø

- 18) **hinggar-ma** **doku-i-guc** **kéndzung** **héi-yec**
 go down-SS water-that-ACC kéndzung touch-PAST.3SG.

÷Falling down (making a sound of) plop it touched the water.ø

- 19) **wang-u** **ning-ec** **'i-mi** **némac-ngé** **mia**
do-3SG.DS thinking-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC what-ERG some
- i-mi** **némac-ngé** **éré-tsac'?**
that-SPEC what-ERG come.up-PRES.3SG.

÷And he thought ðWhat is this, whatø come up?öø

- 20) **i-mu-huc** **dzé-ma** **dzau** **gocmi-a** **méng+guc**
that-SPEC-like say-SS dzau fruit-3SG.GEN again
- hetecgé-yec** **wang-u** **lake** **eri** **gili-yec**
pick-PAST.3SG. do-3SG.DS long.way there throw-PAST.3SG.

÷Saying thus he picked up a fruit again and threw it there far away.ø

- 21) **gili-yu** **kéndzung** **dzé-yec**
throw-3SG.DS kéndzung say-PAST.3SG.

÷As he threw it and it said **kéndzung**.ø

- 22) **wang-u** **ning-u** **biri-yec**
do-3SG.DS thinking-3SG.DS strange-PAST.3SG.

÷As he thought it was something wrong.ø

- 23) **ning-u** **biri-yu** **di-mu-huc** **wam-mang**
thinking-3SG.DS strange-3SG.DS what-SPEC-like do-FUT.1SG
- dzé-ma** **dzau** **kali-a-i-guc** **tac-ec**
say-SS dzau branch-3SG.GEN-that-ACC sit-PAST.3SG.

÷He thought about it was strange, so he sat on the branch of the dzau tree saying
ðwhat should I do.öø

- 24) **tac-ma** **gau-ya** **he-yec**
sit-SS sleep-3SG.GEN lay-PAST.3SG.

÷Then sitting there, he fell into a sleep.ø

- 25) **he-ma** **gau** **héng-ec**
sleep-SS sleep look-PAST.3SG.

÷Sleeping he saw a dream. (lit. he saw a sleeping.)ø

- 26) **héng-u** **embac** **nenggi-ya** **méng** **dzau héní-ya-i-guc**
look-3SG.DS woman mother-3SG.GEN one dzau leg-3SG.GEN-that-ACC
- emu** **tac-ma** **héna-ya** **sulu-yec**
below sit-SS road-3SG.GEN stretch-PAST.3SG.

÷As he saw a woman sat down there at the root and stretched her leg.ø

- 27) **wang-u** **ic** **i-mi** **i-mu-huc** **hém-ma**
do-3SG.DS man that-SPEC that-SPEC-like look-SS

auri-ma **yac-ma** **ning-ec**
awake-SS rise-SS thinking-PAST.3SG.

Then the man looked thus and startled from sleeping and rose up and thought.

- 28) **'gau** **nin-dzua**
sleep thinking-PRES.1SG

It is just a dream! (lit. I think in a sleep.)

- 29) **i-mi** **héla** **me?**
that-SPEC true or

Is it true or?

- 30) **ikoc** **ikoc** **nin-dzua.**
lie lie feel-PRES.1SG

I felt something untrue.

- 31) **i-mu-huc** **dzé-ma** **yac-ma** **tewi-ya** **me-ma**
that-SPEC-like say-SS rise-SS bow-3SG.GEN hold-SS

hingac-ma **doku** **dzékéng** **ti-ning-ec.**
go.down-SS water lake tread-thinking-PAST.3SG.

Saying thus he rose and got his bow and climbed down from the tree and tried to sense it by stepping on the pool of water.

- 32) **wang-u** **gau** **ning-ec** **i-mu-ac**
do-3SG.DS sleep thinking-PAST.3SG. that-SPEC-OBLQ

ning-a **tewi-ya-ngé**
thinking-3SG.GEN bow-3SG.GEN-ERG

doku-i-guc **kpe-hém-ma** **hém-ma** **lelecgé-yec**
water-that-ACC beat-look-SS look-SS go.around-PAST.3SG.

And he saw in a dream so that he went around the tree sensing the water by beating it with his bow.

- 33) **wang-u** **dzau** **dzali-a** **méng** **dinding-a-nec**
do-3SG.DS dzau root-3SG.GEN one straight-3SG.GEN-ABL

keng-kec-ma **séngganggeng** **em-ma** **he-yec**
go-exist-SS outside.ashore go.up-SS lie-PAST.3SG.

Then there was a root of dzau tree was lying there reaching straight out to the bank.

- 34) **wang-u hinggac-ma ti-ning-ec.**
do-3SG.DS go.down-SS tread-thinking-PAST.3SG.

÷And he went down and sense it by treading on it.ø

- 35) **ti-ma i-mu-ac-nec méndac-ma keng-ec**
tread-SS that-SPEC-OBLQ-ABL follow-SS go-PAST.3SG.

÷Treading following it he went on.ø

- 36) **keng-kec-ma séngganggeng eng-ec**
go-exist-SS ashore go.up-PAST.3SG.

÷Going on and on he went up on the shore.ø

- 37) **em-ma ning-u biri-yec**
go.up-SS thinking-3SG.DS bad-PAST.3SG.

÷Having gone up he thought and it was strange.ø

- 38) **ic méng-néng ha-ma non-ac tewi-dzung késa-tsac**
man one-ERG come-SS 1PL-OBLQ bow-forest hold-PRES.3SG.

÷A person has come and taken our hunting place.ø

- 39) **i-mu-ac ning-a orang ala-héc-na**
that-SPEC-OBLQ thinking-3SG.GEN tomorrow friend-all-1SG.GEN

énétsé-wa orang ha-ma hém-ma deic
2,3PL.OBJ-say-1SG.DS tomorrow come-SS look-SS how

wam-mi-wing
do-3SG.OBJ-FUT.1PL

÷Therefore tomorrow I will talk to all of my friends and we will come and look at it and then we will do something to the one.ø

- 40) **i-mu-huc dzé-ma lilinggé-ma ama-ya-i-guc**
that-SPEC-like say-SS return-SS house-3SG.GEN-that-ACC

Hanggi-u me+keng-ec
Hanggi-TL go.down-PAST.3SG.

÷Saying thus he went back down to his house in Hanggi.ø

- 41) **me+kem-ma he-yec**
go down-SS sleep-PAST.3SG.

÷Having gone down and slept.ø

- 42) **ama** **giang-i-yu** **ala** **héré-kputulang-gé**
house morning-VZR-3SG.DS friend pull-gather-TRVZ

énécmi-ma **énétsé-yu** **ning-gic**
2,3PL.OBJ.give-SS 2,3PL.OBJ-say-3SG.DS thinking-PAST.2,3PL

∓In the morning he gathered all of his friends and talked to them and they heard.∅

- 43) **ic** **méng-néng** **tewi-dzung-nina** **késa-tsac**
tree one-ERG bow-forest-1PL.GEN hold-PRES.3SG.

∓A person took posses of our hunting place.∅

- 44) **i-mu-ac** **di-mu-huc** **wam-mi-wing?**
that-SPEC-OBLQ what-SPEC-like do-3SG.OBJ.give-FUT.1PL

∓Therefore what shall we do to the one?∅

- 45) **dzé-yu** **dzé-gic** **'nesi-ni** **kem-mac'**
say-3SG.DS say-PAST.2,3PL chase.after-INDU go-3SG.FUT

dzé-ma ic **héi-ma** **tac** **sei-gic**
say-SS tree cut-SS stick shave-PAST.2,3PL

∓After he said that, all of them said `Let∅ chase it away to go.∅ Saying thus they cut tree and shaved sticks.∅

- 46) **wang-u** **e+kem-ma** **Kianéng** **ésé-gic.**
do-3SG.DS go.up-SS Kianéng dig-PAST.2,3PL

∓Having gone up they dug Kianéng.∅

- 47) **ésé-gic** **Kianéng** **doku** **héré-ma** **eng-ec**
dig-2,3PL.DS Kianéng water pull-SS go up-PAST.3SG.

∓They dug so the water of Kianéng pulled and went on in.∅

- 48) **eng-u** **ésé-gic**
go up-3SG.DS dig-PAST.2,3PL

∓It went on in and they kept digging.∅

- 49) **ésé-ma** **e+keng-gic**
dig-SS go.up-PAST.2,3PL

∓They went up digging.∅

- 50) **e+kem-ma** **bong-a** **yanda** **eng-ec**
go up-SS mountain-3SG.GEN big go.up-PAST.3SG.

∓Going up on a big mountain.∅

- 51) **e+keng** **kec-gic** **doku** **i-mi-ngé** **té-ma**
 go.up exist-2,3PL.DS water that-SPEC-ERG split-SS
- hoturu-énécmi-ma** **unu-ma** **meleng-u**
 hoturuc-2,3PL.OBJ-SS 2,3PL.OBJ+kill-SS overturn-3SG.DS
- nénggac-ma** **kpahac** **wang-gic**
 run.away-SS not.exist do-PAST.2,3PL

÷While they were going up and up, the water broke through and covered and killed them then overturned and went down so they were no more.ø

- 52) **ic** **embac** **komoc** **komoc** **éréhéc-guc**
 man woman little little two-ACC
- gingging-a-i-guc** **nang-oc** **i-mi** **hia**
 side-3SG.GEN-that-ACC stand-PAST.2,3dl that-SPEC good
- nang-oc**
 stand-PAST.2,3dl

÷There were a little boy and a girl standing by the water but they two were standing there safely.ø

- 53) **doku-ngé** **ménda** **uru-yec**
 water-ERG ADV.NEG 2,3duOBJ+kill-PAST.3SG.

÷The water didn't kill them (DL).ø

10.5 DZINGU

- 1) **bec-nec** **Dzingu** **baec-i-guc** **ic** **embac** **kec-gic**
 before-ABL Dzingu ground-that-ACC man woman exist-
 PAST.2,3PL

÷Before people lived in the land of Dzingu.ø

- 2) **kec-ma** **ic** **dzung** **me-ma** **gbeli** **gbeli**
 exist-SS tree forest work-SS new new
- éré-ha-gic**
 come.up-come-PAST.2,3PL

÷Living there hunting in the bush they came up from generation to generation.ø

- 3) **ha-ma** **nei** **yang** **kpe-ma** **ha-gic**
 come-SS bird animal 3SG.OBJ+kill-SS come-PAST.2,3PL

÷And they came up hunting birds and animals.ø

- 4) **ha-ma** **mokoleng** **yanda** **méng** **kpar-a** **Mari**
 come-SS snake big one name-3SG.GEN Mari
i-mi **hém-ma** **késa-gic**
 that-SPEC look-SS hold-PAST.2,3PL
 ÷As time goes they found a big snake called Mari and held it.ø
- 5) **késa-ma** **ama-i-guc** **Dzingu** **me+kem-ma** **kpe-ma**
 hold-SS house-that-ACC Dzingu go.down-SS 3SG.OBJ+kill-SS
heri-gic
 cut-PAST.2,3PL
 ÷Holding it, they went to the place called Dzingu and killed it and cut it.ø
- 6) **Embac** **éréhéc** **esa-néng** **awu-néng**
 woman two grand.daughter-ERG grand.mother -ERG
ama-gira-i-guc **tar-oc**
 house-2,3dl.GEN-that-ACC sit-PAST.2,3dl
 ÷Two women a grand daughter and (her) grand mother, sat in their house.ø
- 7) **singi-ya** **he-ic**
 night-3SG.GEN sleep-2,3dlDS
 ÷And at night they slept.ø
- 8) **Mari-kuwih-a** **em-ma** **awu-ya**
 Mari-ghost-3SG.GEN go.up-SS grand.mother-3SG.GEN
é-tsé-yec
 3SG.OBJ-say-PAST.3SG.
 ÷The ghost of Mari went up and said to her grand mother.ø
- 9) **mokoleng** **késa-tsu** **i-mi** **mokoleng** **kpahac**
 snake hold-PRES.2,3PL that-SPEC snake ADV.NEG
 ÷The snake they held is not a snake
- 10) **i-mi** **nu-ac** **né-pési-tsu** **gi** **orang**
 that-SPEC 1SG-OBLQ 1SG.OBJ-hold-PRES.2,3PL you tomorrow
Mari **kpe-gic**
 Mari 3SG.OBJ+kill-2,3PL.DS
 that is me they held. Tomorrow when they kill Mari,

- 11) **esa-ga** **é-tsé -na** **me+keng-u**
 grand.daughter-2SG.GEN 3SG.OBJ-say-1SG.GEN go.down-3SG.DS
- Mari oru-a dzé-ma dzi-a mi-gic**
 Mari head-3SG.GEN say-SS tail-3SG.GEN 3SG.OBJ+give-2,3PL.DS
- éré-ha-mac éré-ha-yu hénéng-i-guc**
 come.up-come-3SG.FUT come up-come-3SG.DS bamboo-3SG-ACC
- ti-yic nam-mac dzé-yu ning-u**
 fill-2,3dlDS stand-3SG.FUT say-3SG.DS hear-3SG.DS
- Mari kuwih-a keng-ec**
 Mari ghost-3SG.GEN go-PAST.3SG.

Tell your grand daughter to go down and they all are to give her the head and tail, and then she will come up. Then she is to put it into a bamboo to be standing.ø He said and she heard and then the ghost of Mari went away.ø

- 12) **he-yic giang-i-yec**
 sleep-2,3dlDS morning-VZR-PAST.3SG.

÷They(DL) slept and it became morning.ø

- 13) **giang-i-yu mokoleng kpe-ma hédzénggé-gic**
 morning-VZR-3SG.DS snake 3SG.OBJ+kill-SS cut-2,3PL.DS
- awu-ya-ngé esa-ya**
 grand.mother-3SG.GEN-ERG grand.daughter-3SG.GEN
- é-tsé-ma dzé-yec**
 3SG.OBJ-say-SS say-PAST.3SG.

Then they killed the snake and cut it, and her grand mother told her grand daughter.

- 14) **gi me+kem-ma dzé-na oruh-a dzé-ma**
 you go.down+go-SR say-2SG.DS head-3SG.GEN say-SS
- dzi-a géng-gic me-ma ha-na**
 tail-3SG.GEN 2SG.OBJ+give-2,3PL.DS hold-SS come-2SG.IMP

÷You go down and tell them to give you its head and its tail, and bring it."

- 15) **dzé-yu me+kem-ma dzé-yu oruh-a dzé-ma**
 say-3SG.DS go.down-SS say-3SG.DS head-3SG.GEN say-SS
- dzi-a mi-gic**
 tail-3SG.GEN 3SG.OBJ+give-PAST.2,3PL

÷After she told her, she went down and told them and they gave her the head and tail.ø

- 16) **éré-ha-ma** **hénéng-i-guc** **ti-ma** **hai-yic**
 come up-come-SS bamboo-3SG-ACC fill-SS put-2,3dIDS

nang-ec
 stand-PAST.3SG.

÷She came up and they(DL) put it in a bamboo and put it virtually.ø

- 17) **nang-u** **he-ic** **singi-a** **mokoleng**
 stand-3SG.DS sleep-2,3dIDS night-3SG.GEN snake

ouruh-a **dzé-ma** **dzi-a** **i-mi** **ha-ma**
 head-3SG.GEN say-SS tail-3SG.GEN that-SPEC come-SS

toro+kpe-yu **me+kem-ma** **asamang-ya-ngé** **baec**
 add-3SG.DS go.down-SS spear-3SG.GEN-ERG ground

ésé-kpésém-ma **meleng-u** **Gepakuc** **doku** **hinggac-gic**
 dig-break-SS overturn-3SG.DS Gepakuc water go.down-2,3PL.DS

doku-ngé **kisang-énécmi-ma** **me+keng**
 water-ERG takeing.with.mouth-2,3PL.OBJ-SS go.down

Kube **doku** **hosur-u** **me+kem-ma** **unu-ma**
 Kube water near-LOC go.down-SS 2,3PL.OBJ+kill-SS

meleng-u **baec** **baw-u** **hinggac-gic**
 overturn-3SG.DS ground under-TL go.down-PAST.2,3PL

÷And then they slept and the head and tail of the snake joined together and it went down and with the spear like tail dug up the ground and overturned it so they fell down to Gepakuc river and the water carried them away and went down near to the Kube river and the water fell down and killed them and overturned it and went in under the ground.ø

- 18) **deguc** **walec** **wiac** **i-mi**
 now old something that-SPEC

bac+kifang-a **yanda-i-guc** **nang-an-dzac**
 cave-3SG.GEN big-that-ACC stand-HAB-PRES.3SG.

÷Now there are some old things standing in the cave.ø

10.6 HOW TO MAKE MUMU

- 1) **mumu** **miacgé-an-dzu**
 mumu make-HAB-PRES.2,3PL

i-mu-ac **héna** **meme-ya**
 that-SPEC-OBLQ way making-3SG.GEN

÷The way of making those mumu they used to make.ø

- 2) **hénihéni-ya-iguc-nec** **i-mi** **geric** **yanda**
 first-3SG.GEN-ACC-ABL that-SPEC fire big

tocgé-na **dze-yu**
 gether-2SG.DS burn-3SG.DS

÷At first you put alot of firewood together and to be burn.ø

- 3) **hoc** **kpar-a** **dzamandzing** **i-mi** **geric** **dze-ma**
 stone on-3SG.GEN dzamandzing that-SPEC fire burn-SS

nang-u **i-mu-ac** **kperi-a-guc** **gili-na**
 be-3SG.DS that-SPEC-OBLQ inside-3SG.GEN-ACC throw-2SG.DS

hinggar-u **o-wésémang**
 go.down-3SG.DS cook-FUT.3SG.

÷As the fire burns, throw dzamandzing stones into the fire to fall down and you will heat them.ø

- 4) **i-mi** **wai-na** **dze-ma** **nang-u** **mumu-ga**
 that-SPEC leave-2SG.DS burn-SS stand-3SG.DS mumu-2SG.GEN

baec-ya **ésé-wéséna**
 grond-3uSG.GEN dig--FUT.2SG.IMP

÷Leave it to be heated, dig the ground hole of your mumu.ø

- 5) **ésé-na** **tecgé-yu** **sa** **haréng-a** **dzé-ma**
 dig-2SG.DS finish-3SG.DS banana leaf-3SG.GEN say-SS

usu+saka **kperic-ma** **me-ma** **haré-yu**
 leaves cut-SS hold-SS come-3SG.DS

baec **dumung-a-guc** **emu** **lémbéc-wéséna**
 ground hole-3SG.GEN-ACC down.there spread-FUT.2SG.IMP

When it is finished to dig, let someone cut banana leaves and some other leaves, and bring them, you will spread them down there on the bottom of the hole.ø

- 6) **lémbéc-na** **tecgé-yu** **hoc** **geriw-a-guc** **i-mi**
 spread-2SG.DS finish-3SG.DS stone fire-3SG.GEN-ACC that-SPEC

wété **wété** **kpe-ma** **késa-ma** **kperi-a-guc**
 tong tong 3SG.OBJ+strike-SS hold-SS inside-3SG-3SG.GEN-ACC

hai-wéséna
 come-FUT.2SG.IMP

÷After you are finished spreading them, make take the heated stones with tongs and put them in the hole.ø

- 7) **hai-na** **tecgé-yu** **yaka-ga** **sei+seiy-a**
 put-2SG.DS finish-3SG.DS sweetpotato-2SG.GEN peeled-3SG.GEN
- i-mi** **sa** **haréng-a-ngé** **oso-yacgé-ma**
 that-SPEC banana leaf-3SG.GEN-ERG wrap-support-SS
- hoc** **geriw-a-guc** **i-mu-ac** **kperi-a-i-guc**
 stone fire-3SG.GEN-ACC that-SPEC-OBLQ inside-3SG.GEN-that-ACC
- hai-wéséna**
 put--FUT.2SG.IMP

÷After you have finished putting them, wrap the peeled sweetpotatos with banana leaves carefully and put them in the hot stones.ø

- 8) **hai-na** **tecgé-yu** **usu sa-ga** **tosac-a**
 put-2SG.IMP finish-3SG.DS leaf banana-2SG.GEN some-3SG.GEN
- kpahac-ya-guc** **hai-ma** **hoc** **geriw-a-guc-ngé**
 on-3SG.GEN-ACC put-SS stone fire-3SG.GEN-ACC-ERG
- hélandzi-wéséna**
 press-FUT.2SG.IMP

÷After you have finished putting them, put some leaves and banana on it then press it down with the heated stones.ø

- 9) **hoc** **geriw-a-guc** **sasala** **yanda** **hai-wéséna**
 stone fire-3SG.GEN-ACC many big put--FUT.2SG.IMP
- tecgé-yu** **usu** **sa-ga** **kpahac-ya-i-guc**
 finish-3SG.DS leaf banana-2SG.GEN on-3SG.GEN-that-ACC
- hai-na** **he-yu** **titing-a** **médzenggé-ma**
 put-2SG.IMP lie-3SG.DS hole-3SG.GEN break.a.hole-SS
- doku** **komoc+dia-dac** **polacgé-na** **hinggar-u**
 water little-DIM pour-2SG.DS go.down-3SG.DS
- baec** **hi-na** **kpérrar-u.**
 ground shovel.up-2SG.DS cover-3SG.DS

÷Put many hot stones. If it finishes then put leaves and banana on it, put it then break a hole and pour a little bit of water in it and shovel up some ground and cover it.ø

- 10) **osusu-ya** **éré-wac** **ning-ac**
 steam-3SG.GEN come.up-3SG.UNCERT thinking-OBLQ
- baec** **hi-ma** **moctsong** **kpérac-dac-na** **tecgé-yu**
 ground shovel.up-SS all cover-all-2SG.DS finish-3SG.DS
- wai-ma** **kem-ma** **kec-na** **wan awa** **i-mu-ac**
 leave-SS go-SS exist-2SG.DS one hour that-SPEC-OBLQ
- séc** **wang-u** **ha-ma** **au-ma** **ne-wéséna**
 capacity do-3SG.DS come-SS open-SS eat-FUT.2SG.IMP

÷Some ground and cover all around lest steam comes out of it. When that is finished, stay leaving it for a while around one hour and then come and open it and eat it.ø

10.7 TARO

- 1) **taweng i-mi** **séc-ya** **di-mu-huc-ya?**
 taro that-SPEC shape-3SG.GEN what-SPEC-like-3SG.GEN
- ÷What taro looks like?ø
- 2) **taweng i-mi** **wari-a** **kperi-ma** **kem-ma**
 taro that-SPEC shoot-3SG.GEN cut-SS go-SS
- himic-na** **yand-i-mac**
 plant-2SG.DS big-VZR-FUT.3dg
- ÷As for taro you cut the shoot of taro and plant it, and it will grow.ø
- 3) **yand-i-yu** **nenggi-ya-i-guc-nec** **héla** **hai-mac**
 big-VZR-3SG.DS root-3SG.GEN-that-ACC-ABL fruition put-FUT.3dg
- ÷After it becomes big, it will carry the fruition at the root.ø
- 4) **hai-yu** **kem-ma** **tac-ngé** **ésé-ma** **ha-ma** **o-ma**
 put-3SG.DS go-SS stick-ERG dig-SS come-SS cook-SS
- ne-wésémang.**
 eat-FUT.3SG.
- ÷When it produces the fruition, dig it with a stick and come and cook and eat it.ø
- 5) **taweng** **haréng-a** **kuneng** **yanda**
 taro leaf-3SG.GEN big big
- ÷The leaves of taro are very big.ø

- 6) **hélac i-mi nenggi-ya-i-guc-nec**
 food that-SPEC root-3SG.GEN-that-ACC-ABL

hicngi-an-dzac

come up-HAB-PRES.3SG.

∓Itø fruition (i.e. tubers) comes at its root (lit. mother).ø

- 7) **hélac i-mi lesuc lesuc-nec hicngi-an-dzac**
 food that-SPEC long long-ABL come.up-HAB-PRES.3SG.

∓Its fruitions are very long (and) long.ø

- 8) **taweng nenggi-ya momac-guc-i-guc-nec i-mi**
 taro root-3SG.GEN one-ACC-that-ACC-ABL that-SPEC

hélac kileng hicngi-an-dzac
 food many come.up-HAB-PRES.3SG.

∓There are many fruition at the one root.ø

- 9) **tuc i-mi kiwi-ya hénia hénia**
 taro that-SPEC shape-3SG.GEN kind kind

∓The shapes of taro are of various kinds.ø

- 10) **warih-a me-ma kec-ma himic-wésémang**
 shoot-3SG.GEN hold-SS exist-SS plant-FUT.3SG.

∓Get the shoots then you will plant it.

- 11) **himic-na hélac i-mi warih-a-i-guc-nec**
 plant-2SG.DS fruition that-SPEC shoot-3SG.GEN-that-ACC-ABL

hicngi-ma kec-mac
 come up-SS exist-FUT.3SG.

∓If you plant, the food will come up continuously from the shoot.ø

- 12) **hélac tosar-a i-mi kuneng yanda yanda**
 food some-3SG.GEN that-SPEC great big big

∓Some fruitions are very big and big.ø

- 13) **tosar-a i-mi lesuc lesuc**
 some-3SG.GEN that-SPEC long long

∓Some are long and long.ø

- 14) **tosar-a i-mi kali-ya-guc**
 some-3SG.GEN that-SPEC branch-3SG.GEN-ACC

∓Some have many branches of fruition.ø

- 15) **tosar-a** **i-mi** **hilang-a**
some-3SG.GEN that-SPEC round-3SG.GEN
- ¬Some are round.ø