GRAMMATICAL STUDIES IN

THREE LANGUAGES OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The workpapers in this volume express the authors'
knowledge at the time of writing. They do not
necessarily provide a complete treatment of their
topic, nor have they been particularly edited for
publication. However, it is felt that linguists
interested in the island of Papua New Guinea will
appreciate having these data papers available in
this form.

<div align="center">
Richard Loving,
editor
</div>

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a grant from the New Guinea Research Fund of the
Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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WASHKUK GRAMMAR SKETCH

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OUTLINE

0   INTRODUCTION

The Washkuk language is spoken by about 3000 people living in the Washkuk and Ambunti hills and the swampland to the northwest of Ambunti in the East Sepik District of Papua New Guinea. There are two main dialects of Washkuk: Kwoma, spoken by those inhabiting the hills; and Nukuma, spoken by those living in the swampy areas further to the north and west. Ambunti, the sub-district administrative centre, is the furthest community of any size to the east of the language area, with all the other villages situated from five to twenty five air miles in a general northwest direction. Kwoma, with slight variation between some villages, is spoken by the people of Ambunti, Madiwai, Bangwis, Dokapa, Teyam, Beklam, Mino, Warambachi, Dangasham, some people of Yelagu, and Yakareway, a hamlet to the east of Ambunti about a mile. Nukuma is spoken by those of Kowaka, Wayuwas, Nakari, Amaki, and Ablatak.

Washkuk was studied and analyzed under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea. The language was first studied in 1961 in the village of Madiwai, situated on a lagoon off the Sepik River about fifteen miles west of Ambunti. The author left Madiwai in 1967 to take up residence in Ambunti, where he is living at present.

In the twelve year period of Washkuk language study, Buria, of the village of Madiwai, presently of Ambunti, has been of invaluable assistance. His knowledge of Washkuk, his clear speech, rapport with the people, and particularly his patience has been a vital factor in providing the author with a spoken and written knowledge of Washkuk. Harry Weldon of Ambunti has been very helpful providing a check on some of the utterances used in the paper. Martha Kooyers, my wife, has also been helpful in writing some of the examples and providing a check on Washkuk usage. Eunice Anarai of Punano has been much appreciated for typing much of the manuscript. And we also wish to express appreciation for many other Washkuks, too numerous to mention, who have

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Finally, the author wishes to express his deep appreciation to Charles Peck of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who has spent over 50 hours of individual consultation advising on the mechanics of write-up, use of terms, and organization of the paper, as well as providing the stimulation to see the paper through to conclusion.

1   ABBREVIATIONS, ORTHOGRAPHY, MORPHOPHONEMICS

1.1   Abbreviations

@   ~ allomorphic

[...]   enclosed material is not part of structure surrounding it

/.../   enclosed material is that being demonstrated

'...'   enclosed material is English explanation

_____   underlined material is Washkuk

.   period between English words in a gloss indicates that the two words translate a single vernacular word or morpheme

-                        hyphen is used to separate morphemes in focus

+   obligatory tagmeme

±   optional tagmeme
                         Note: In the array the tagmeme function name appears at the top of each column and the various classes and sub-classes of exponents are listed in the column under the tagmeme function name.

/   slash in English means 'or'

...²   raised number indicates the number of times a function slot may be repeated, filled by an appropriate word, phrase, etc.

ACl   Active Clause

adj   adjective

adv   adversative

antic   anticipatory

assoc mar   associative marker

assoc   associative marker

appo   appositional

Attrib NP	Attributive Noun Phrase
ben	benefactive
compl	completive
cond	conditional
conseq	consequential
cont	continuative
dem pro	demonstrative pronoun
Dir Quo	Direct Quotation
Emb	Embedded
emph	emphatic
fem	feminine
fut	future
imp	imperative
incl	inclusive
indic	indicative
Ind	Indirect
Infl	Inflection
Instr	Instrument
instr mar	instrument marker
Int Adj P	Intensified Adjective Phrase
List NP	List Noun Phrase
Loc/Inst	Locative/Instrument
loc	locative marker
loc mar	locative marker
mar	marker
mas	masculine
Mod	Modifier
Mod NP	Modified Noun Phrase
neg	negative
nom demon pro	nominative demonstrative pronoun
Num P	Number Phrase
Obj	Object
obj mar	object marker
obj	object or object marker

Obj NP	Object Noun Phrase
Par Pro P	Particularized Pronoun Phrase
Pos	Positive
poss	possessed
Poss NP	Possessed Noun Phrase
poss pro	possessed pronoun
Pred	Predicate
Pres	Present
pro	pronoun
Q	Question or Interrogative
Quo	Quotation
q w	Question word
SCl	Stative Clause
Sent	Sentence
Sent Mar	Sentence Marker(s)
Sim	Similarity
Subj	Subject
Subj pro	Subject pronoun
Tim mar	Time marker
Uncer	Uncertainty
Un Ob	Unfulfilled Obligation
Un Ob Sent	Unfulfilled Obligation Sentence
voc	vocative
w/o	without
you.3	you (3 or more)
you.2	you two
you.1	you one

Phoneme	Phone	Description
p	ᵽ	voiceless bilabial fricative
b	mb	voiced prenasalized bilabial stop
v	ƀ	voiced bilabial fricative
t	t	voiceless alveolar stop
d	nd	voiced prenasalized alveolar stop
s	s	voiceless alveolar sibilant
ch	č	voiceless alveopalatal affricate
j	nj (nǰ)	voiced prenasalized alveopalatal affricate
sh	š	voiceless alveopalatal sibilant
k	k	voiceless velar stop
g	ng (ŋ)	voiced prenasalized velar stop
h	h	voiceless vocoid
m	m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	n	voiced alveolar nasal
r	ř	voiced alveolar flap
ny	ñ	voiced alveopalatal nasal
w	w	voiced bilabial semivowel
y	y	voiced alveolar semi vowel
i	i	voiced high front vowel
e	ɩ	voiced mid front vowel
ee	ε	voiced low front vowel
ii	ɨ	voiced mid central vowel
a	a	voiced low central vowel
u	u	voiced high back rounded vowel
ɔ	o	voiced mid back rounded vowel

1.3 Morphophonemic Changes

There is limited consonantal and vowel fluctuation in Washkuk conditioned largely by the frontal alveopalatal phonemes.

-ta 'continuative' is replaced by -cha when it follows -chi 'benefactive', -chi 'completive', or wo 'say'.

-ta-wa 'continuative + pres' is contracted (in the Kwoma dialect)
-to   when it follows a class I   morpheme,
-tu   when it follows a class II morpheme,
-cho when it follows a class III morpheme,
-chu when it follows a class IV morpheme.

The following are examples of verb classes according to allomorphs:

Class I -to		Class II -tu		Class III -cho		Class IV -chu	
otii	'do'	tuku	'make fire'	wo	'say'	i	'go'
a	'eat'	yimowu	'bear'	wohe	'ask'	chi	'plant, bite, shape'
saka	'fall'	sumowu	'follow'	yii	'cut'	-chi	'ben'
ya	'come'	ruwu	'dress'	po	'chop'	-chi	'compl'
akii	'afraid'	heechi	'leave'	kiyapo	'encourage'	pi	'strike'
uwa	'call'	pokii	'teach'	he	'see'	bachi	'erase'

Monosyllabic verb stems ending in the vowel /a/ have allomorphs with the /a/ replaced with /ee/ which occur preceding suffixes -chi 'ben' or 'compl'.

Examples:

a	'eat'	ee-chi	'ate'
ya	'take'	yee-chi	'fetch'
ha	'give'	hee-chi	'give it'
na	'weave'	nee-chi	'wove'

This does not apply to polysyllabic stems, e.g., hama, hama-chi 'finished'.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the first person pronoun where Washkuk has ada or an for 'I' and eeji or een for 'my'. Also, in ordinary speech the imperative marker na is often pronounced ne when it precedes the vowel i 'go'.

2 WORD LEVEL

Washkuk in general has word-level inflections on pronouns and verbs only. There are various other suffixes which are analyzed as phrase-level or sentence-level clitics, so that written Washkuk may appear to have more suffixes than are described here on word-level.

2.1 Word Classes

Word classes which are uninflected at the word level include: Adjectives, Colours, Digits, Hesitation, Manner, Methods, Nouns, Proper Nouns, Quantifiers, Time Words, Negative Words, and Stative Verbs.

Adjectives are an open set, examples being as follows:

harapa	'large'	karakada	'small'
mayaka	'large'	hisaw	'large'
tobo	'short'	gworo	'long'
hapaga	'strong, hard' .	kapasek	'bad'
kepi	'good'	hadabas	'wonderful'
koba	'pathetic'		

Colours are a closed set, the set being as follows:

nayim	'red'	kehapa	'black'
neekiirii	'blue, green, yellow'		
apoma	'white'		

Digits are a closed set, the set being as follows:

podat, podar, podaten	'one'
upurus	'two'
piiriichar, diipiira kara	'three'
diipiira kapiira	'four'
yokotapa	'hand five'
ma	'man twenty'

Hesitation word:

nago	'uh, er'

Manner Words are a closed set. Examples are as follows:

harapa	'large'	kapasek	'bad'
ameya	'quickly'	yeyada	'without obligation'
eshar	'slowly'	komas	'after'
kepi	'good'	mapo	'before'

Method Words are a closed set, the set being the Method Demonstrative Pronouns:

eecha	'this way'	diicha	'this way particu-
kacha	'that way'		larly'

Nouns are an open set, examples being as follows:

ma	'man'	mowey	'sister'
mima	'woman'	yaka	'older brother'
yikapwa	'child'	kumwoy	'younger brother'
asa	'dog'	poyi	'pig'
me	'tree'	uku	'water'
yega	'ancestors'	neja	'descendants'
mo	'crocodile'	aposhebu	'cassowary'
apokibi	'flying fox'	awi	'mother'
aka	'house'	eepi	'father'
kubu	'stick'	narem	'daughter-in-law'

Proper nouns are an open set, examples being as follows:

Mino	'a village'	Mukuchuwa	'name of woman'
Wayuwas	'a village'	Muwaya	'name of girl'
Meneeji Pa	'name of river'	Romadimi	'name of boy'
Buria	'name of man'	Hamikwa	'name of clan'
		Keyav	'name of clan'

Quantifiers are a closed set, examples being as follows:

karakada	'few'	amenda	'few'
nokwapa nokwapa	'many'	amendakada	'very few'
harapa	'many'		

Time Words are a closed set, examples being as follows:

iyi	'tomorrow	yadii	'day
apa	'now' or 'today'	niyi	'night'
iyavek	'day after tomorrow'		
yeerek	'yesterday'	komas	'later'
noboyeerek	'day before yesterday'	mapo	'earlier'

Negative Words are a closed set, the set being:

saka   'not'

Stative verbs are only two:

ta	'to be'
sii	'to be'

2.2   Inflected Words

2.2.1   Pronouns

Washkuk pronoun roots fall into three categories: subjective, possessive, and demonstrative. Subjective and possessive pronouns are classified as singular, dual, and plural in first, second, or third person. Masculine and feminine genders are distinguished only in singular, second, and third persons. Long and short forms are listed.

2.2.1.1 Subjective Pronoun Roots

	First	Second	Third
Singular	ada @ an I	miita @ mii you.1.mas nija @ nicha @ ni you.1.fem	riita @ rii he siita @ sii she
Dual	sicha @ si we.2	kicha @ ki you.2	piiriita @ piir they.2
Plural	nota @ no we.3	kwota @ kwo you.3	yecha @ ye they.3

2.2.1.2 Possessive Pronoun Roots

Singular	eeji @ een my	miiti @ mi your.1.mas niji @ ni your.1.fem	riiti @ ri his siiti @ si hers
Dual	siichi @ si @ shi our.2	kichi @ ki your.2	piiriiti @ piiri their.2
Plural	noti @ nowi our.3	kwoti @ kwi your.3	yechi @ yi their.3

2.2.1.3 Demonstrative Pronoun

Demonstrative pronouns are classified as neutral, far and near in nominative, method, and locative.

	Neutral	Far	Near
Nominative	eeta @ ii it	kata @ ka @ kar that	diita @ dii @ dor this
Method	eecha this way	kacha that way	jiicha @ jecha this way
Locative	eeka here/there	kaka there	diika here

2.2.1.4 Pronoun Inflection

All three types of pronoun roots may be suffixed by an isolator and may occur with one of a number of phrase-level clitics.

Pronoun = + pronoun nucleus   ± isolator

subj pro root	-ba
poss pro root	alone/only
demon pro root	

Examples:

(a) /Rii/ tawa.
     he   is

     'He's alive.' or 'He's here.'

(b) /Miita/ boy   kapo   ik?
     you   question probably go.will

     'Are you going to go?'

(c) /Siita-ba/ otiir.
     she-only   worked

     'Only she worked.'

(d) /Ada/-ka /riita/-ka saka irek.
     I-with   he-with   not went

     'I did not go with him.'

(e) /Piiriiti/ veyi suwutar.
     their 2   canoe scorched

     'They scorched the canoe belonging to the two of them.'

(f) Mima /yecha-ba/-n   aboboy na hava.
     woman they-only-obj.mar   food   imp feed

     'Only give food to the women.'

(g) Mari /sii/ /siiti/ mima yikapwa /siita/-ka iwa.
     Mary she   her   woman child   she-with   went

     'Mary went with her daughter.'

(h) /Ada/ iyik   /miiti/ yeebiiru Jon /rii/-na   hakiita.
     I   tomorrow your   axe   John he-obj.mar   give.will

     'Tomorrow I will give your axe to John.'

(i) Jon /riita/-ka /ada/-ka /sichi/ yopon /mii/-na   hak.
    John he.with   I.with   our.2 banana you.1-obj.mar give.will

    'John and I together will give our bananas to you.'

(j) /Kaka/ /eecha/   wato.
    there this.way lies

    'It is lying over there.'

(k) /Jiicha/ na otii.
    his .way imp do

    'Do it this way.'

(l) Jon, Muwaya /piiriita-ba/-n   na kiyatayenak, /kwo/ na
    John Muwaya them.2-only-obj.mar imp help.when   you.3 imp

    ameya   awasen ya.
    quickly return come

    'Only help John and Muwaya then come quickly.'

(m) /Eeta/ maji /eeta/ Wanyi /yechi/ maji.
    it   word it   Wanyi theirs word

    'This story is of the Wanyi (clan).'

(n) /Rii/ /eeka/ wato.
    he   there sleeps

    'He is sleeping there.'

(o) /Yechi-ba/-n   yeechi ye ir.
    their-only-obj.mar   fetch took away

    'They only took theirs.'

(p) /Ada-ba/-ka /sii/ /eecha/   yir.
    I-only-with she   this way sat

    'She only sat with me.'

(q) Mino ichawa ma /eeta/ ta: Jon, Wanio, Buria, Shu, Aroa.
    Mino went   man it   be John Wanio Buria Shu Aroa

    'The men who went to Mino are these: John, Wanio, Buria, Shu,
       and Aroa.'

(r) Boboy /ditta/ ta!
    thing here   be

    'The things are here!'

(s) <u>Nokwapa</u> <u>nokwapa</u> <u>harapa</u> <u>wey</u> <u>ma</u> /<u>ye</u>/ /<u>riita</u>/-ʌa <u>iwa</u>.
    many   many   large very man they he-with   went

    'Many of the big fellows went with him.'

(t) <u>Mino</u>, <u>Madiwai</u>, <u>Beglam</u> <u>nokwapa</u> <u>nokwapa</u> <u>harapa</u> <u>kwotay</u> <u>tawa</u> <u>ma</u> /<u>ye</u>/
    Mino   Madiwai   Beglam many   many   big   angry   are men they

        <u>apak</u> <u>yato</u>.
        now come

        'Many men of Mino, Madiwai, and Beglam are very angry and are
        coming here now.'

(u) <u>Inyaka</u> <u>kepi</u> <u>hiki</u> <u>tawa</u> <u>ma</u> /<u>ye</u>/ <u>kepi</u> <u>otiito</u>.
    lungs   good think be   man they good doing

    'The men who think well in their hearts do well.'

2.2.2 Verbs

    verb = + verbal nucleus   ± benefactive   ± inclusive

verb root	-<u>chi</u> 'for him'	-<u>ba</u> 'also/too'

Rule: <u>ta</u> 'be' is excluded from the class of verb roots in the chart
       above. (<u>ta</u> 'carve' is included).

Examples:

(a) <u>Na</u> /<u>otii-chi-ba</u>/.
    imp do-ben-incl

    'Do it for him too!'

(b) <u>Na</u> /<u>otii-chi</u>/-<u>chi</u> /<u>yaya</u>/.
    imp do-ben-compl bring

    'Fini h it for him and bring it '

(c) <u>Sii</u> <u>ya</u>   /<u>otii</u>/ /<u>chi-chi-ba</u>/-<u>ta-ken</u>   /<u>ya</u>/-<u>r</u>.
    she come do   cook-ben-incl-cont in.order.to-obj come-past

    'She came to some planting for (him) too.'

(d) <u>Rii</u> /<u>otii</u>/ /<u>chi-chi</u>/-<u>niga</u> /<u>i</u>/-<u>wa</u>.
    he   do   plant-ben-cont go-past

    'He completed planting it for him and went.'

(e) <u>Now</u>   /<u>neekii</u>/ /<u>ta</u>/-<u>wa</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ye</u> <u>riina</u> <u>neekii-chi</u>/-<u>chi</u> /<u>heechi</u>/
    paint paint   be-past man they him   painted-ben-compl left

        /<u>i</u>/-<u>wa</u>.
        go-past

'The painters painted it for him and then left.'

(f) <u>Sii</u> <u>siiti</u> <u>yikapwa</u> <u>riina</u> /homa-chi-ba/-wa.
     she her   child   him   finish-ben-too-past

     'She distributed it to her child too.'

(g) <u>Wanio</u> <u>rii</u> /heechi/ <u>riiti</u> <u>yeebiiru</u> <u>yee/-chi/niga</u> <u>kiya</u> <u>kwashik</u>
     Wanio   he   left   his   axe   took-compl-cont carry forest

     /heechi/ /<u>i</u>/-<u>wa</u>.
     left   go-past

     'Wanio left, got his axe and carrying it on his shoulder, left
     for the bush.'

3 PHRASE LEVEL

Washkuk has a normal assortment of phrases. First there are the
phrases which normally occur embedded in other phrases. These are the
Intensified Adjective Phrase, Number Phrase, and Attributive Noun
Phrase. Next are the basic noun phrases such as the Particularized
Pronoun Phrase, the Modified Noun Phrase, the Possessed Noun Phrase,
Listing Noun Phrase, and Appositional Noun Phrase. Finally, there are
those phrases that occur in particular clause slots. These are the
Time Phrase, Locative/Instrument Noun Phrase, the Object Noun Phrase,
the Associative Noun Phrase, and the Similarity Phrase.

3.1 Intensified Adjective Phrase = Int Adj P

The intensified Adjective Phrase consists of an obligatory Head
(filled by an adjective) and the obligatory Modifier (wey).

Int Adj P = + Head   + Mod

adj	wey 'very'

Examples:

(a) <u>Rii</u> /<u>karakada</u> <u>wey</u>./
     he   small   very

     'He is very small.'

(b) <u>Eeta</u> <u>me</u>   /<u>hisaw</u> <u>wey</u>./
     it   tree   large very

     'The tree is very large.'

(c) Jon   rii Ambunti akamak   tawa ma   yechi veyi   gworo wey/-in   apak
    John he   Ambunti village is   man their canoe long   very-obj now

    tato.
    carve

    'John is now carving the very long canoe belonging to the
    people of Ambunti.'

(d) /Tobo   wey   ma   rii bensin tokok   yawa.
    short   very man he   petrol buy.to   came

(e) Aka   hisaw /mayaka wey/   Bangwis ma   ye   kwowuk   otiito.
    house large large   very   Bangwis man they mountain.at working

    'The Bangwis people are building a very large house on the
    mountain.'

(f) Shu rii siiti /harapa wey/ yopu   akar   ma   riina toko hamar.
    Shu he   her   large   very banana other man him   sold completed

    'Shu sold her very large bananas to another man.'

3.2 Number Phrase = Num P

The counting system in Washkuk is based upon counting fingers,
toes, and men.

Num P = ± (+ Scores   + Digit)   + Hand   ± (+(+ Compl + Hand)

| ma man/twenty | digit / yokotapa hand/five | yokotapa hand/five | abo all | yokotapa hand/five |

± (+ Compl   + Foot)   ± (+ Compl   + Foot)   + Digit

| abo all | yatii foot | abo all | yatii foot | digit / abo all |

Rules:

(1) For '5', yokotapa abo 'hand all' is reduced to yokotapa.
(2) For '20' and any multiple of '20', only the + (+ Scores + Digit)
    are used, e.g., ma upurus 'man two' = 'forty'.

Examples:

(a) /<u>Yokotapa</u> <u>abo</u> <u>yokotapa</u> <u>podat</u>/ <u>yayar</u>.
     hand   al' ι and one   brought

     '(He) brought six.'

(b) <u>Mima</u>   /<u>upurus</u>/ <u>otiito</u>.
     woman   two   working

     Two women are working.'

(c) /<u>Ma</u> <u>upurus</u> <u>yokotapa</u> <u>abo</u>   <u>yokotapa</u> <u>abo</u>   <u>yatii</u> <u>abo</u>   <u>yatii</u>
     man two(40) hand   all(5) hand   all(5) foot all(5) foot

          <u>piiriichar</u>/ <u>ma</u> <u>yar</u>.
          three(3)   man came

          'Fifty eight men came.'

(d) /<u>Ma</u> <u>podat</u>   <u>yokotapa</u> <u>podat</u>/ <u>me-n</u>   <u>yiir</u>.
     man one(20) hand   one(1) tree-obʝ cut

     'Twenty one trees were cut.'

3.3 Attributive Noun Phrase = Attrib NP

     The Attrib NP consists of a noun or nominal expression modified
by a preceding noun or nominal expression, e.g., yam garden, Ambunti
town.

                    Attrib NP = + Attrib   + Head

noun	noun
List NP	Attrib NP
Attrib NP	

Rule:

Manifestations of the two slots must belong to the same semantic domain
or should be semantically compatible.

Examples:

Following examples show Head manifested by a noun.

(a) /<u>Ambunti</u> <u>akamak</u>/ <u>eeta</u> <u>ta</u>.
     Ambunti town   it(is)

     'That is the town of Ambunti.'

(b) /Kiiw nowo/ chichu.
     <u>yam</u> <u>garden</u> <u>planting</u>.

     '(he is) planting (the) yam garden.'

(c) /Aka   nubereja/ eeta kapasek.
     <u>house</u> <u>door</u>   <u>it</u> <u>bad</u>

     'The door of the house is in need of repair.'

(d) /Eyi   me/ hapaga sa ta.
     <u>paddle</u> <u>wood</u> <u>strong</u> <u>imp</u> <u>be</u>

     'Paddle wood must be strong.'

(e) /Veyi eyi/   nomoyato.
     <u>canoe</u> <u>paddle</u> <u>heavy</u>.

     'The canoe paddle is heavy.'

(f) /Hami me/ hadabas   siik wato.
     <u>hami</u> <u>wood</u> <u>wonderful</u> <u>fruit</u> <u>sleeping</u>

     'The hami tree bears a fine fruit.'

Following example shows an Attrib NP manifesting the Head slot of
an Attrib NP.

(g) /Kwow   kiiw nowo/ eeta hisaw.
     <u>mountain</u> <u>yam</u> <u>garden</u> <u>it</u> <u>large</u>

     'The yam garden on the mountain is large.'

(h) /Kiiw kwow   nowo/ eeta eeyi.
     <u>yam</u> <u>mountain</u> <u>garden</u> <u>it</u> <u>mine</u>

     'The yam garden on the mountain is mine.'

Following examples show Attrib NP's manifesting both the Attrib
and Head slots of an Attrib NP.

(ı) /Kiiw nowo   me   tobo/ sii sakar.
     <u>yam</u> <u>garden</u> <u>tree</u> <u>limb</u> <u>she</u> <u>fell</u>.

     'The limb of the tree in the yam garden fell.'

The following example shows Attrib NP Head manifested by List NP.

(j) /Yesan, Mayo, Yambon, Wagu akama/ karakada tawa.
     <u>Yesan</u> <u>Mayo</u> <u>Yambon</u> <u>Wagu</u> <u>village</u> <u>small</u>   <u>be</u>

     'Yesan, Mayo, Yambon, and Wagu villages are small.'

3.4 Particularized Pronoun Phrase = Par Pro P

This phrase may occur almost anywhere that the subjective pronoun
or nominative demonstrative pronoun can occur.

Par Pro P = + Pro Head   + Particularizer

subj pro	keena 'in particular'
nom demon pro	

Examples:

(a) /Riita keena/   otiik.
     he   particular do.will

     'He in particular will do it.'

(b) Wanio /riitaba keena/   saka otiikiitawak.
     Wanio he.only particular neg do.neg

     'Wanio, he's the one that won't do it.'

(c) /Sii keena/   maji batak.
     she particular word speaking.will

     'She'll do the speaking all right.'

(d) /Rii[-pa] keena/   otii yeechi ye   ik.
     he-will   particular do   fetch take go.will

     'He's the one that will do it and take it away.'

(e) /Piiriita keena/   saka yesokwa yayarek.
     they.2   particular neg   raise.up bring.neg.past

     'They were not able to raise it up and bring it.'

3.5 Modified Noun Phrase = Mod NP

The Modified Noun Phrase consists of a Deictic, several possible
Modifiers, a nominal Head, and a final appositional Summary pronoun.
All are optional but at least one of these must be manifested in each
occurrence.

Mod NP = + (± Deictic   ± Mod^3 ± Head   ± Summary)

demonstrative pronoun	adjective color digit Num P quantity words Int Adj P	noun Attrib NP	pronoun Par Pro P

Rules:

(1) If the Head is understood by context, only the Modifier(s) is necessary.

(2) Modifiers can be shifted to positions following the Head but preceding the Summary.

Examples:

(a) /Kehapa hisaw mayaka gworo wey hami veyi sii/ ir.
    black large large long very hami canoe she went

    'The very, very large long black canoe made of hami left.'

(b) /Apoma karakada wey tobo apo sii/ sakar.
    white small   very short bird she fell

    'The very small, short, white bird fell.'

(c) /Hadabas   boboy/ tawa.
    wonderful thing is

    'It is a wonderful thing.'

(d) /Eeta hisaw gworo wey me/.
    it   large long very tree

    'It is a very high and large tree.'

(e) /Harapa wey Lae akama eeta/ bana bana tawa.
    large very Lae town it   close   be

    'The very large town of Lae is very close by.'

    The following examples show phrases with modifiers permuted to post-post-Head position.

(f) /Apoma tobo apo karakada wey sii/ iwa.
    white short bird small   very she went

    'The very small, short, white bird went away.'

(g) /Gworo kehapa veyi hisaw mayaka sii-n/   tato.
     long black canoe large large she-obj.m carving

     '(They) are carving the very large, long, black canoe.'

(h) /Lae akama/ /harapa wey/ tawa.
     Lae town   large very is

     'The town of Lae is very large.'

(i) /Yokotapa yokotapa gworo nayi me   hisaw mayaka ee-na/   yiir.
     five   five   long red tree large large it-obj.m cut.down

     '(They) cut down the high and very large ten red trees.'

(j) /Hisaw papa yokotapa abo   yokotapa podat eeta/ sakar.
     large stone hand   complete hand   one   it   fell

     'Six large stones fell down.'

(k) /Nokwapa nokwapa apoma ma mima harapa mayaka ye/ yato.
     many   many   white man woman large large they coming

     'Many very large white people are coming.'

     Noun phrases ending with an adjective and without a Summary are
homophonous with corresponding Stative Clauses. For example, the
Noun Phrase in examples (f) and (g) without the sii Summary is a
Stative Clause.

(l) Apoma tobo apo karakada wey.
     white short bird small   very

     'The short white bird is very small.'

(m) Gworo kehapa veyi hisaw mayaka.
     long black canoe large large

     'The long black canoe is very large.'

3.6 Possessed Noun Phrase = Poss NP

     The Poss NP consists of a possessing nominal followed by the pos-
sessed nominal.

                Poss NP = + Possessor   ± Head
                          ─────────────────┬──────────
                          poss pro   │ Mod NP
                          Mod NP poss   │
                          Emb Sent poss   │

Rules:

(1)   When the Mod NP manifests the Possessor slot it must have a Summary slot manifested by a possessive pronoun.

(2)   The Embedded Sent poss must end with a possessive pronoun.

(3)   In context, if the Head is understood it may be omitted.

Examples:

(a)   /Riiti harapa yeebiiru kepi/ heechir.
      his   .strong axe   good left

      '(He) left his good sturdy axe.'

(b)   /Siiti kwow/   nato.
      her   string.bag weaving

      '(She) is weaving her string bag.'

(c)   /Noti aka/ hisaw mayaka tawa.
      our house large large is

      'Our house is very large.'

(d)   /Yechi veyi gworo kehapa ee/-na   her.
      their canoe long black it-obj (I)saw

      '(I) saw their long black canoe.'

Note: the first four words of the preceding example are homophonous with a Stative Clause.

(e)   Yechi veyi gworo kehapa.
      their canoe long black

      'Their canoe is long and black.'

(f)   /Eeji kopi   nowo/ harapa nosap.
      my   coffee garden large ground

      'My coffee garden covers a large area.'

(g)   /Piiriiti nayi karakada yokotapa yokotapa gayetek/ siina har.
      their   red small   five   five   bead   her   gave

      '(They) gave her their ten small red beads.'

(h)   /Yesi ma riiti harapa mima kepi/-ka iwa.
      Yesan man his   large woman good-with went

      '(She) went with the big, good wife of the Yesan man.'

      The following example contains a Possessed Noun Phrase embedded -in the Possessor slot of a Possessed Noun Phrase.

(1) //Eeta karakada Yesi ma riiti harapa asa siiti/ yokotapa yi
       it   small   Yesan man his large dog her   five   pup

     kepi/ ye har.
     good they died

     'The five nice pups of the large dog belonging to the small
     Yesan man died.'

3.7 Listing Noun Phrase = List NP

     The Listing Noun Phrase consists of two or more nominals juxta-
posed in a coordinate relationship. It occurs in the environments
where other noun phrases occur.

List NP = + List Head₁ + List Head₂ ± Summary

List Head$_1$	List Head$_2$	Summary
noun	noun	pronoun
pronoun	pronoun	Mod NP
Mod NP	Mod NP	
Poss NP	Poss NP	Par Pro P
List NP	Assoc NP	eyey 'all'
		eyey ye 'all they'

Examples:

(a) /Madiwai, Bruganawi, Yesi akama/-k   rii ir.
      Madiwai Bruganawi Yesan village-loc.mar he went

     'He went to Madiwai, Bruganawi, and Yesan.'

(b) Rii /siiva, kiiw, yopo, emiyep ee/-na   yayar.
      he   coconut yam   banana fish   it-obj.mar brought

     'He brought coconuts, yams, bananas, and fish.'

(c) /Nokwapa nokwapa ma, mima yikapwa, asa, boboy ee/-ka veyik
      many   many   man woman child   dog things it-with canoe.by

     eecha   yar.
     this.way came

     'Many men, women, children, dogs, and cargo came together in
     the canoe.'

(d) /Aponumay, apodowan, aposhebu, apokibi,   eyey ye/ kwashika
      hawk   pigeon   cassowary flying fox all they jungle.with

     tawa.
     be

'Hawks, pigeons, cassowaries, flying foxes, they are all in
the jungle.'

(e) /Pita riita riita mimaka   piir/ Mino akamak heechi ir.
     Piter he   his woman.with they.2 Mino village left went

'Peter went with his wife to Mino village.'

(f) Kiap rii riiti awo hu tawa ma riiti nareboy yechaka Beglam
     ADC he his   cook be man his friend they.with Beglam

     akaman hek   iwa.
     village see.to went

'The administrative officer went with his cook and the cook's
friend to see the village of Beglam.'

(g) /Jon, Pita, Wanio yecha yechi mima-ka   eyey/ Madiwai ma
     John Peter Wanio they their wives-assoc.mar all   Madiwai man

     yechi karakada veyi-k   diika iyare-wa, apa-k.
     their small   canoe-loc.mar here arrived   now-at

'John, Peter, Bill with their wives, all just arrived here in
the small canoe belonging to Madiwai.'

3.8 Appositional Noun Phrase = Appo NP

    The App NP consists of two nominals which refer to the same indi-
vidual followed by a Summary Pronoun.

Appo NP =	+ Appo Head	+ Appo Head	± Summary
	proper nouns	proper nouns	Pronoun
	Mod NP	Mod NP	Par Pro P
	Poss NP	Poss NP	

Examples:

(a) /Jon, eeji yikapwa, rii/ yar.
     John my   child   he went

'John, my child, went.'

(b) /Hisaw mayaka gworo wey veyi, eeji veyi,/ ye   tato.
     large large long very canoe my   canoe they carving.

'They are carving the very long and large canoe which is mine.'

(c) /Siiti nokwapa, eeta karakada apokosaba mima, sii/ otii ato.
     her   mother   it   small   old   woman she do eating

     'Her mother, the small old woman, is cooking food.'

(d) /Eeji nosap, kata harapa kiiw nowo   ee/-na   ada riina
     my   ground that large yam garden pro-obj.mar I   him

     hakiita.
     give

     'I will give him my land which is that large yam garden.'

3.9 Time Phrase = TP

     The Time Phrase consists of an obligatory Time Head$_1$ and an op-
tional Time Head$_2$ plus an optional time marker.

TP = + Time Head$_1^3$	± Time Head$_2$	± Time Marker
time words	nedii 'time'	-k @ -ek 'at'

Rule:

     The allomorph ek occurs when the preceding phoneme is a consonant.

Examples:

(a) /Yadii nedii-k/   rii yar.
     day   time-time.mar he came

     'He came during the day.'

(b) /Niyi nedii/ riipa   ikiita.
     night time   he.will go.will

     'He will go in the night.'

(c) /Uhadii nedii-k/   yecha uwar.
     dawn   time-time.mar they cried.out

     'They cried out at dawn.'

(d) /Mashi, apa, komas nedii God rii tawa.
     before now later time God he is

     'God has always been and always will be.'

(e) Rii yato, /apa-k./
     he comes now-time.mar

     'He is coming now!'

(f) /Iyi   yadii/ rii kapo   otiikiita.
    tomorrow day   he probably do.will

    'He will probably do it during the day tomorrow.'

(g) /Noboyeer-ek/   Ambunti ma ye   diika yatar.
    yesterday-rime.mar Ambunti man they here came

    'Yesterday the Ambunti men came here.'

(h) /Uku   kiipar nedii-k/   ada kapo   miiti akaman hekiita.
    water go.out time-time.mar I   probably your village see.will

    'I will probably see your village in the low water time.'

(i) Maji   pokii tawa mima yikapwa ye   kapo   /apa hogo
    school   woman child they probably now afternoon

    yadii nedii-k/   yechi kwow   nakiita.
    day   time-time.mar their string.bags weave.will

    'The school girls will probably weave their string bags in
    late afternoon.'

The following examples show two time words linked by the Pidgin
conjunction na 'and'. The use of the na seems to be restricted to use
in Time Phrases.

(j) /Mashi na apa/ rii hak   otiito.
    before and now he die.to doing

    'He has been sick quite a while.'

(k) /Apa na komas/ rii saka yakiitawak.
    now and later he neg come.neg.will

    'He won't be coming today or later.'

3.10 Locative/Instrument Noun Phrase = Loc/Inst Np

The Loc/Inst Np consists of a nominal with a Loc/Inst clitic
attached. This noun phrase may manifest both clause level instrument
and location. If context is enough to show function of the Loc/Inst NP
the clitic may be absent. This is rare.

Loc/Inst NP = + Locative Axis + Locative Relator   ± Summary

pronoun	-k @ -ek 'locative'	locative
List NP		
Mod NP		
Poss NP		
Emb Sent		

Rule:

The ek allomorph occurs following a consonant, -k following a vowel.

Examples:

(a) Siita /riita-k/   i riina /kubu-k/   piwa.
    she he-loc.mar go him   stick-instr.mar hit

    'She went to him and hit him with the stick.'

(b) /Kata Mino ma riiti karakada asa ee-ka/   sakar.
    that Mino man his small   dog it-loc.mar fell

    '(It) fell on that Mino man's small dog.'

(c) Jon riiti karakada mima yikapwa-n   Shu riita /nokwapa siiti
    John his   small   woman child-obj.mar Shu he   mother her

    karakada awo-k/   pir.
    small   bowl-inst.mar hit

    'Shu hit John's daughter with mother's small bowl.'

(d) Pita rii /Jerusalem akama-k/   iyarer.
    Peter he Jerusalem town-loc.mar arrived

    'Peter arrived at Jerusalem.'

In the following example the Locative Axis is manifested by an Embedded Sentence which has a final locative marker followed by a summary slot manifested by eeka 'there'.

(e) Subj   Time   Obj

    Ambunti tawa ma mima ye   uhadii nedii-k siiva, kiiw, yopo,
    Ambunti be   man woman they dawn   time-at coconut yam   banana

                                 Loc

    emiyep ee-na   /Ambunti akama-k   tawa awoba-k
    fish   it-obj.mar Ambunti town-loc.mar be   market-loc.mar

       Pred   Pred

eeka/ toko-k   gegiya-to.
there buy-antic want-pres

'The people of Ambunti want to buy produce at the Ambunti market at dawn.'

(f) /Eeji yeebiiru harapa me   mu-k   kaka/ tawa.
    my   axe   large tree base-loc there is

'My axe is over by that large tree.'

(g) Sama   upurus piir /biika upurus-ek diika/ yichu.
    grasshopper two   they.2 leaf two-loc.mar here sit

'Two grasshoppers are sitting on two leaves here.'

(h) Rii siina /papa-k   piwak, sii harapa keyato, /miiti
    he her   stone-inst.mar hit   she large crying   your

aka-k/.
house-loc.mar

'He hit her with a stone, and she's crying loudly at your house.'

3.11 Object Noun Phrase = Obj NP

    The Object Noun Phrase consists of a nominal with an object marker clitic attached. The object marker may be absent if the context is enough to show that the nominal is manifesting an object of a verb.

Obj NP = + Object Axis ± Object Relator

pronoun	-n @ -na @ -en 'object marker'
Poss NP	(a clitic)
Mod NP	
List NP	

Rule:

    The allomorph -n or -en 'object marker' is used with all except pronouns. The former is used following vowels, the latter following consonants. The allomorphs -n and -na are used on pronouns.

(a) /Hami veyi-n/   tato.
     hami canoe-obj.mar carving

     '(They) are carving a hami canoe.'

(b) /Kopi   nowo-n/   dagiitar.
     coffee garden-obj.mar cleared

     '(They) cleared (land) for a coffee garden.'

(c) /Rii-n/   pir.
     he-obj.mar hit

     'He was hit.'

(d) /Eeta yokotapa abo   yokotapa upurus karakada yikapwa-n/
     it   hand   complete hand   two   small   child-obj.mar

        hawa.
        gave

        '(It) was given to the seven small children.'

(e) /Kata nayim hadabas noko bi-n/ suwutu.
     that red   nice   sago bark painting

     '(He) is painting that nice, red, sago bark.'

(f) Ri apoko rii Jon rii-na/   emiyep hawa.
     his father he /John him-obj.mar fish   gave

     'His father gave John the fish.'

(g) /Kata tiikiir-en/   ana ha.
     that stool-obj.mar me give

     'Give me that stool.'

3.12 Associative Noun Phrase = Assoc NP

    The Assoc NP consists of a nominal with an associative marker
attached. If context is enough to show function of this Assoc NP the
marker may be absent. However, this is rare.

              Assoc NP = + Assoc Axis + Assoc Relator

List NP	-ka @ -eka 'with'
Mod NP	(assoc mar)
Poss NP	
pronoun	

Rule:

    -ka occurs following vowels; -eka occurs following consonants.

Examples:

(a) /Riita-ka/ iwa.
      he-with   went

    '(He) went with him.'

(b) Mari sii /riita-ka/ ir.
      Mary she he-with   went

    'Mary went with him.'

    The following example shows a rather full Poss NP manifesting the
Assoc Axis.

(c) Sii/ Yesi ma riiti harapa mima kepi-ka/ yawa.
      she Yesan man his   big   woman good-with came

    'She came with the big good wife of the Yesan man.'

    The following example shows a Mod NP manifesting the Assoc Axis.

(d) Jon riita /eyey Madiwai ma mima yikapwa-ka/ anamesherokoto.
      John he   all Madiwai man woman child-with

    'John is playing with all the Madiwai children.'

3.13 Similarity Phrase = Sim P

Sim P =	+ Sim Axis	+ Sim Relator
	pronoun	-ga 'like'
	noun	
	adjective	

Examples:

(a) /Aka-ga/   tawa.
      house-like is

    '(It's) like a house.'

(b) /Veyi-ga/   eecha   iwa.
      canoe-like this.way went

    '(It) went like a canoe.'

(c) /Siita-ga/ sii eecha   tawa.
    she-like she this.way is

    'She is like her.'

Though the above example is permissable the typical form is example
(a) under Sim Sentence.

(d) /Riiti-ga/ eecha   tawa, eeji boboy.
    his-like this.way is   my   thing

    'My things are just like hers.'

Though the above example is permissable, example (b) under Similarity
Sentence is the typical form.

(e) Wanio rii /yikapwa-ga/ eecha   otiito.
    Wanio he child-like   this.way doing

    'Wanio is doing it like a child.'

(f) Jon rii kata boboyen /mima-ga/ eecha   kiyato.
    John he that thing   woman-like this.way carrying

    'John is carrying that thing like a woman.'

(g) Diita me   /hapa-ga/ tawa.
    this wood bone-like is

    This wood is hard (like bone).'

(h) Bensin siin   /uku-ga/   eecha   meejito.
    petrol she.obj water-like this.way feels

    'Petrol feels like water.'

(i) Kata boboy /me-ga/   tawak, Jon rii tiimiiwa.
    that thing wood-like is   John he cut

    'The thing being like wood, John sawed it.'

(j) Rii apokosaba /ma-ga/ eecha   chishi tari,   sii eecha
    he old   man-like this.way walk   be.since she this.way

    hikir   siichi apoko eecha   yatar.
    thought her   father this.way came

    'Since he walked like an old man she thought her father was
    coming.'

(k) Siivatabi /apoma-ga/ eecha   heri,   sii tokor.
    cloth   white-like this.way looked.since she bought

    'Since the cloth was close to being white she bought it.'

4 CLAUSE LEVEL

Washkuk has only two clause types: the Active Clause and the Stative Clause. They tend to be rather similar, the main difference being that the Stative Clause has a complement slot and has as an optional copulative predicate manifested by the verb ta 'be' only. In Washkuk discourse, single isolated clauses are rare; they usually occur in multi-clausal sentences.

The word way @ woy @ wey may be inserted after any clause-level tagmeme exponent in a clause. It seems to add a bit of expressiveness to the clause or some part of the clause. We have not included this word in the clause formulas, but it can be added to almost any clause, most frequently just after a subject pronoun. See the Intensified Adjective Phrase.

4.1 Active Clause = AC1

AC1 = ± Subject   ± Uncertainty   ± Direct Object ± Indirect Object[2]

pronoun	kapo 'probably'	Obj NP	Obj NP
Mod NP			(This slot may occur twice, e.g. example (e)
Poss NP			
List NP			
Appos NP			
Emb Sent			
Par Pro P			

± Associative ± Instrument   ± Locative   ± Time

Assoc NP	Loc/Inst NP	Loc/Inst NP	TP

± Manner ± Similarity ± Method   ± Future   + Predicate

manner word	similarity word	eecha this.way	-pa future	active verb verb
	waga owaga	kacha that.way	(permutes to attach to pronouns and negatives)	
	Similarity Sen	jiicha this.way		
	Similarity P	especial-ly		

Rules:

(1) For emphasis any one of the above slots can be placed after the predicate.

(2) a. Some verb stems such as ha 'give', toko 'sell', commonly occur with two objects. A few verb stems such as ba 'say' may occur with three objects. These could be called ditransitive verb stems.

b. Other verb stems such as pi 'hit', hiyiya 'steal', a 'eat'. otii 'do' commonly occur with one object and could be called transitive verb stems.

c. Other verb stems such as i 'go', ya 'come', keya 'cry', wa 'sleep', ta 'to be' or 'exist' never occur with an object and could be called intransitive verb stems.

Following are examples of rule (1) a.:

(a) Subj Obj   Pred   Pred   obj

/Rii kubu neeki/-chi /pi[-wa], eeta asan./
he   stick held-compl hit   it   dog

'He hit the dog with a stick.'

(b) Subj Time   Loc   Pred   Assoc

/Rii yeerek   kwow   nobok i[-r], Kiyav yechaka./
he   yesterday mountain road went   Keyav they.with

'He went yesterday over the mountain path with the Keyav people.'

(c) Subj   Obj   Ind Obj   Pred

/Wanio rii riiti yeebiiru Muwaya siina ha/-r.
Wanio he his   axe   Muwaya her   gave

'Wanio gave his axe to Muwaya.'

(d) Subj   Obj   Ind Obj   Pred

/Ambunti ma ye yechi nosapen gavman   toko/-r.
Ambunti man they their land   government sold

'The Ambunti people sold their land to the government.'

Following are examples of rule (2) b.:

In the following example are three object nominals (Rule (2) a.).
It appears that maji 'word' is the direct object and Pita rii-na 'to
Peter' and Madiwai ma ye-nya 'about the Madiwai men' are both kinds of
indirect objects.

(e) Subj   Ind obj   Obj   Obj   Ind Obj

/Jon rii Pita   rii-na   maji Madiwai ma ye-nya
John he Peter him-obj.mar words Madiwai man they.3-obj.mar

        Pred   Pred

        woshepii/ /ba/-r.
        lie   spoke-past

        'John spoke falsely to Peter about the Madiwai men.'

Following are examples of rule (2) b.:

(f) Subj   Obj Pred

/Eeta yikapwa ana pi/-wa.
it   child   me hit

'The child hit me.'

(g) Subj   obj   Pred

/Eyey ma   mima   ye   eeta mon   a/-wa.
 all man woman they it   crocodile ate

'Everybody ate of the crocodile (meat).'

Following are examples of rule (2) c.:

(h) Subj Manner Pred

/Sii harapa keya/-to.
 she big   crying

'She is crying loudly.'

(i)   Subj Pred

Na /eshar ya!/ /Sii wa/-to.
imp softly come she sleeps

'Come quietly! She is sleeping.'

Following are general examples:

(j) Subj Pred

/Rii i/-wa.
 he went

'He went.'

(k) Subj   Obj   Ind obj   Time

/Siita siiti karakada asa-n   siiti   nareboy-en   yiirek
 she   her   small   dog-obj.mar her   friend-obj.mar yesterday

     Pred

     ha/-r.
     gave-past

'She gave her small dog to her friend yesterday.'

(1) Subj Obj   Instr

/Yecha riiti aka-n   eeji otii tawa boboy-ek
 they his   house-obj.mar my   do   be   things-instr.mar

     Loc   Time   Manner Method   Pred

     Ambunti akama-k   apa-k   ameya eecha   otii/-to.
     Ambunti town-loc.mar now-Tim.mar quickly this.way do-cont

'They are quickly building his house now with my tools in
Ambunti.'

(m) Subj   Time   Obj

   /Eeta <u>ma</u> <u>riiti</u> <u>karakada</u> <u>yikapwa</u> <u>kepi</u> <u>sii</u> <u>yiirek</u>   <u>asa</u>
    it man his   small   child   good she yesterday dog

                       Loc   Instr   Manner Method   Pred

    <u>yi-n</u>   <u>diika</u> <u>kubu-k</u>   <u>harapa</u> <u>eecha</u> <u>pi</u>/-<u>r</u>.
    offspring-obj.mar here stick-instr.mar   big   this.way struck

    'The good, small child of the man hit the pup here yesterday
    very hard with a stick.'

   In the following example there are two direct objects, but the
second one, <u>yo</u> 'work' is a sort of idiomatic usage which serves as
modifier of the verb.

(n) Obj   Subj

   /Kata <u>hisaw</u> <u>wey</u> <u>veyi-n</u>   Ambunti <u>akamak-k</u>   <u>tawa</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ye</u>
    that large very canoe-obj.mar Ambunti town-loc.mar be   man they

    Instr   Time Loc

    <u>Madiwai</u> <u>ma</u> <u>yechi</u> <u>woyi-k</u>   <u>apa-k</u> <u>miiti</u> <u>aka-k</u>
    Madiwai man their adze-instr.mar now-at your house-loc.mar

    Manner Obj

    <u>harapa</u> <u>yo</u> <u>ta</u>/-<u>to</u>.
    large work carving

    'The men of Ambunti are now carvingthat large canoe at your
    house using the Madiwai people's adzes, and working very hard
    at it.'

(o) Loc   Subj

   /Kwowo   <u>nowo-k</u>   <u>eeji</u> <u>apoko</u>, <u>eeji</u> <u>nokwapa</u>, <u>piiriita-ka</u>
    mountain garden-loc.mar my father my   mother   they.2-assoc

                     Time   Obj

    <u>ada-ka</u>   <u>iyik</u>   <u>kiiw-on</u>   <u>kiivii</u>/-<u>kiita</u>.
    I-assoc.mar tomorrow yam-obj.mar plant-will

    'Tomorrow I with my father and mother will plant yams in the
    garden on the mountain.'

   The following example shows three clauses in a sentence.

(p) Obj

/<u>Yokotapa</u> <u>abo</u> <u>yokotapa</u> <u>upurus</u> <u>karakada</u> <u>Madiwai</u> <u>yikapwa-n</u>
hand   all   hand   two   small   Madiwai children-obj.mar

   Subj   Instr   Time   Pred   Pred

   <u>Wanio</u> <u>rii</u> <u>kehapa</u> <u>veyi-k</u>   <u>apakapa</u>   <u>heechi</u>/ /<u>ye</u>/
   Wanio he   black canoe-loc.mar   now.later leave   take

   Pred

   /<u>i</u>/-<u>kiita</u>.
   will.go

   'Shortly, Wanio will take the seven small Madiwai children in
   the black canoe.'

Following example shows two clauses together in a sentence.

(q) Subj   Time   Obj

/<u>Ambunti</u> <u>tawa</u> <u>ma</u> <u>mima</u> <u>ye</u> <u>uhadii</u> <u>nedii-k</u> <u>siiva</u>, <u>kiiw</u>, <u>yopo</u>
Ambunti be   man woman they dawn   time-at coconut yam   banana

                    Loc

   <u>emiyep</u> <u>ee-na</u>   <u>Ambunti</u> <u>akama-k</u>   <u>tawa</u> <u>awoba-k</u>
   fish   it-obj.mar Ambunti town-loc.mar   be   market-loc.mar

        Pred   Pred

   <u>eeka</u> <u>toko</u>/-<u>k</u>   /<u>gegiya</u>/-<u>to</u>.
   there buy-antic   want-pres

   'The people of Ambunti want to buy produce at the Ambunti
   market at dawn.'

(r) Subj   Instr

/<u>Jon</u>, <u>Pita</u>, <u>Wanio</u> <u>yecha</u> <u>yechi</u> <u>mima-ka</u>   <u>eyey</u> <u>Madiwai</u> <u>ma</u>
John Peter Wanio they   their wives-assoc.mar all Madiwai man

                    Loc Pred   Time

   <u>yechi</u> <u>karakada</u> <u>veyi-k</u>   <u>diika</u> <u>iyare</u>[-<u>wa</u>], <u>apa-k</u>./
   their small   canoe-loc.mar   here arrived-past now-Tim.mar

   'John, Peter, and Bill with their wives, all just arrived here
   in the small canoe belonging to Madiwai.'

(s) Subj Obj   Pred   Subj Obj   Pred

    /Sii <u>yikapwa</u> <u>yimowu</u>/-<u>rek</u>, /<u>piir</u> <u>riiti</u> hi, Jon, <u>haba</u>/-<u>r</u>.
    she <u>child</u> <u>bore-past</u>   <u>they.2</u> <u>his</u> name <u>John</u> <u>call-past</u>

    'She had a child and they named him John '

    The following example of all clause slots manifested is a per-
mitted Washkuk construction but its existence in Washkuk usage would
be extremely unlikely

(t) Subj   Uncert Obj Loc

    /<u>Jon</u> <u>riipa</u>   <u>riiti</u> kumwoy riitakapa   kapo   <u>veyin</u> <u>Ambunti</u>
    <u>Johne</u> <u>he.will</u> <u>his</u> brother he.with.will probably canoe Ambunti

         <u>Instr</u>   <u>Time</u> <u>Assoc</u>   <u>Manner</u>

    akamak riiti karakada woyik iyik   akar maka   ameya
    town.at his   small   adze tomorrow other man.with quickly

    <u>Uncert</u>   <u>Method.Future</u> <u>Pred</u>   <u>Ind Obj</u>

    kapo   eechapa   teechi[-kiita], Buria riin./
    probably this.way.will carve-will   Buria him

    'John will probably with his younger brother carve the canoe
    quickly for Buria at Ambunti tomorrow with his small adæ with
    the other men.'

4.2 Stative Clause = SCl

    The Stative Clause differs from the Active Clause by having an
obligatory complement and an optional Copulative manifested by the
verb <u>ta</u> 'be'. It also has fewer satellite slots.

$$SC1 = \pm \text{ Time} \quad + \text{ Subjective} \quad + \text{ Complement}^2 \quad \pm \text{ }(\pm \text{ Manner}$$

Time P	pronoun	adjective	manner words
	Mod NP	poss pronoun	
	List NP	Mod NP	
	Poss NP	Loc/Inst NP	
	Appo NP	Mod NP poss	
	Emb Sent	Poss NP	
		List NP	

± Method		+ Copulative)	
<u>eecha</u>	'this way'	<u>ta</u>	'be'
<u>kacha</u>	'that way'	<u>sir</u> @ <u>so</u>	'be'
<u>jiicha</u>	'this way especially'		

Rules:

(1) In the present tense the Copulative is usually omitted.

(2) When the Copulative is absent the Manner and Method slots must also be absent.

(3) When the SC1 is used to give a name the Copulative is not used. See Example (d).

Examples:

(a) /<u>Kata</u> <u>ma</u> <u>rii</u> <u>siiti</u> <u>apoko</u>.'
     <u>that</u> <u>man</u> <u>he</u> <u>her</u> <u>father</u>

     'That man is her father.'

(b) /<u>Siiti</u> <u>karakada</u> <u>yikapwa</u> <u>eeta</u> <u>kepi</u>./
     <u>her</u>   <u>small</u>   <u>child</u>   <u>it</u>   <u>good</u>

     'Her small child is a good child.'

(c) /<u>Diita</u> <u>boboy</u> <u>kapasek</u> <u>wey</u>./
     <u>this</u> <u>thing</u> <u>bad</u>   <u>very</u>

     'This thing is very bad.'

(d) /Eeji apokosaba apoko riiti hi, Jon./
    my   old   father his name John

    'My father is old and his name is John.'

(e) /Jon rii eeta eeji yaka./
    John he it   my   older.brother

    'John is my older brother.'

(f) /Piiriiti awi   siiti mowey./
    their   mother her sister

    '(She) is their mother's sister.'

(g) /Kata karakada asa eeta siiti./
    that small   dog it   hers

    'That small dog is hers.'

(h) /Ambunti yatar ma   yechi veyi./
    Ambunti came man their canoe

(i) /Eeta harapa tatar me./
    it   large carved tree(log)

    'It was a large tree that was carved.'

(j) /Neer yeerek   kehapa ta/-rek,/ apa apoma ta/-wak, /iyik
    sky yesterday blue   was   now white is   tomorrow

    kehapa kawka ta/-kiita.
    blue   again be.will

    'Yesterday the sky was blue, today it's white, and tomorrow
    it'll be blue again.'

The following example shows a Stative Clause acting as an Embed-
ded Sentence.

(k) /Ukarumpa ta[-wa] uku   sii/ neekiireyawa.
    Ukarumpa be   water she cold.came

    'Ukarumpa's water is cold.'

(l) Jon rii harapa yo   otiirek, /riiti magiir kapasek ta/-wak, rii
    John he large work did   his   back   bad   is   he

    cheyek wato.
    bed   sleeps

    'John strained his back doing heavy work so he's lying down.'

The following example has an embedded Stative Sentence in the
Locative slot of the Stative Clause.

(m) <u>Iyik</u>   <u>ma</u> <u>ye</u> <u>yechi</u> <u>yo</u> <u>hamanak</u>   <u>veyi</u> <u>sii</u>
    tomorrow man they their work finished.when canoe long she

    <u>yanak,</u>   /<u>moto</u> <u>sii</u> <u>kepi</u> <u>ta/-nak,</u> <u>anapa</u> <u>ikiita.</u>
    come.when   motor she good be-when   I.will go.will

    'Tomorrow after they finish their work and when the canoe
    comes and the motor is in good shape, I will go.'

(n) <u>Iyavek</u>   <u>Madiwai</u> <u>kapasek</u> <u>otiir</u> <u>ma</u> <u>yen</u> <u>kiap</u> <u>rii</u> <u>anasanak,</u>
    day.after Madiwai bad   dod   man them Kiap he court.when

    /<u>eena</u>   <u>eyey</u> <u>Madiwai</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ye</u> <u>anasak</u> <u>tawa</u> <u>akak</u>
    that's.why all Madiwai man they court is   house

    <u>siitii/-kiita.</u>
    stand-will

    'When the Kiap takes the Madiwai miscreants to court, all the
    Madiwai people will be at the court house.'

(o) /<u>Bagwis</u> <u>yikapwa</u> <u>yechaka</u>   <u>meshmesh</u> <u>eecha</u>   <u>ta/-wa.</u>
    Bagwis child   they.with together this.way are

    'The Bagwis children are together.'

(p) /<u>Yikapwa</u> <u>ye</u>   <u>eechaba</u> <u>eechaba</u> <u>kepi</u> <u>wey</u> <u>hadabas</u>   <u>ta/-wa.</u>
    child   they always always good very wonderful are

    'The children are always very good and well.'

(q) /<u>Eeta</u> <u>boboy</u> <u>eeta</u> <u>Wanio,</u> <u>Muwaya</u> <u>piiriiti./</u>
    it   thing it   Wanio Muwaya their.2

    'Those things belong to Wanio and Muwaya.'

(r) /<u>Ka</u> <u>Mino</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ta/wa.</u>
    that Mino man are

    'Those are Mino men.'

There's a special emphatic use of the Stative Clause which the
Copulative verb <u>ta</u> is used without any inflection or sentence markers.

(s) /<u>Mino</u> <u>ichawa</u> <u>ma</u> <u>eeta</u> <u>ta:/</u> <u>Jon,</u> <u>Wanio,</u> <u>Buria,</u> <u>Shu,</u> <u>Aroa.</u>
    Mino went   man it   is   John Wanio Buria Shu Aroa

    'The men who went to Mino are these: John, Wanio, Buria, Shu,
    and Aroa.'

(t) /<u>Boboy</u> <u>diita</u> <u>ta</u>!/
       thing here be

     'The things are here!'

(u) /<u>Diika</u> <u>sii</u>/-<u>kiita</u>.
       here be-will

     'It will be here.'

(v) /<u>Yeerek</u>   <u>diika</u> <u>sii</u>/-<u>r</u>.
       yesterday.Tim.mar here be-past

     'It was here yesterday.'

(w) /<u>Eeta</u> <u>so</u>/-<u>wa</u>.
       it be-past

     'That's it!' or 'It's done well.'

(x) /<u>Rii</u> <u>Mino</u> <u>akamak</u>   <u>sii</u>/-<u>chi</u> <u>awasen</u> <u>yawa</u>.
       he Mino village.loc be-compl back   came

     'He went as far as Mino village then came back.'

(y) /<u>Siita</u> <u>nobok</u>   <u>sii</u>/-<u>rek</u>, <u>noku</u> <u>atar</u>.
       she   path.loc be-past   sago ate

     'She ate the sago while on the path.'

5 SENTENCE LEVEL

The treatment of sentence level here complements the analysis in my other paper, "Hierarchy of Washkuk (Kwoma) Clauses."

First we have set up the Simple Sentence which corresponds to any link postulated in the other paper that contains no embedded links. And we have set up the Stative Sentence to take care of any Stative Clauses which have second, third, or fourth order markers on them. We have set up the Negative Sentence because any negative seems to apply to a whole Simple Sentence or Stative Sentence. Next we have set up the Imperative Sentence and the Interrogative Sentence. And then we discuss the Similarity Sentence, the Direct Quotation Sentence, the Indirect Quotation Sentence, the Conditional Sentence, the Negative-Positive Sentence, the Embedded Sentence, the Negative Evaluation Sentence, the General Evaluation Sentence, the Unfulfilled Obligation Sentence, the Intensified State Sentence, and the Complement Sentence, because these sentence types were not adequately treated in the other paper. Following this is a brief discussion of how one clause can be used to serve as a Sentence Topic for the next clause. The Sentence Markers conclude this section.

In this analysis we have assigned the first two orders of verbal suffixes to the verb itself, and, hence, to the clause. The other orders of verbal suffixes have been assigned to the sentence level where they are called sentence markers. See "Hierarchy of Washkuk Clauses" by Kooyers, another treatment of these suffixes.

We have set up the Simple Sentence to take care of single clauses with sentence markers on them and of series of clauses with sentence markers on the final clause only. The clauses in a simple sentence always have the same subject and the verbs of the clauses denote action in close sequence or denote simultaneous action.

5.1 Simple Sentence = Simple Sent

A single clause or cluster of verbs describing a rapid sequence or a simultaneous combination of actions or events form a Simple Sentence.

$$\text{Simple Sent} = \pm \text{Base}_1^n + \text{Base}_2 + \text{Markers}$$

AC1	AC1	any non-final or final sentence markers

Rules:

(1) All clauses after the first one have very few and very brief satellites, usually none at all. The first clause has the most satellites.

(2) The clauses all have the same subject.

Examples:

(a) /Rii yawak,/ /ye   yo   otii-wa./
     he came   they work did-past

     'They came and did some work.'

(b) /Rii heechi ya-wak,/ /ye   yo   otii-wa./
     he left   came   they work did-past

     'He left and came and did some work.'

(c) /Yecha yo   otii-to./
     they work doing-pres

     'They are working.'

(d) /Apo sii saka-r./
     bird she fell-past

     'The bird fell down.'

(e) /Sii noku pochu-wa./
she sago chopped-past

'She chopped the sago.'

(f) /Amakway sii yeerek   harapa uwatare/-ga Muwaya sii apak
Amakway she yesterday large called-like Muwaya she now

uwa-ba-to./
calls-also-pres

'Muwaya is calling out just like Amakway did yesterday.'

(g) /Sii kiki-ba-ta-k/-en   ya-r.
she stay-incl-cont-in.order-obj come-past

'She came to stay with us too.'

Note: The two verbs otii 'do' and a 'eat' or 'cook' are an idiomatic
pair, for example, otii a-to 'he is eating', or more often, 'he/she
is cooking for someone'.

(h) /Rii saka ya ruwu-chi/ /heechi akii   amaba i-wa./
he down came dress-compl left afraid ran go-past

'He came down, dressed, and ran away frightened.'

(heechi 'leave' is homophonous with hee-chi 'give it/place it/memorize
it/send it', etc., which has caused some uncertainty in analysis.)

(i) /Sii kapasek ta-wak/, /ye haus sik siina.
she bad   be   they hospital her

'She was sick, and they·took her to the hospital.'

(j) Subj   Obj Pred   Pred

/Sii hehar otii hama-chi/ /ee-na yee-chi/ /woyi-chi/
she well did finish-compl it-obj took-compl insert-compl

Pred   Pred

/podii chishi-niga/ /hehar ye i-r./
on.head walked-going well took go-past

'She did the job well, took it, placed it in her string bag
and carried it away carefully.'

(k)   Subj   Pred   Pred

/Mino ma ye ta   ta   ta   hama-chi/   /neeki-chiniga/
Mino man they carve carve carve finish-compl pull-continued

      Loc   Pred   Mod   Pred   Pred

      /pak   rabo-chi-niga   /eyey ye /i-chi   i i i-niga/
      river.at   toss-compl-cont all down go-compl go go go-cont

      Loc   Pred

      /akamak   iyar-er./
      village.at arrive-past

      'The Mino men finished carving the canoe, pulled it (through
      the forest), put it in the river, then all of them got in it,
      went down (the river) and arrived at the village.'

(l)   Subj   Obj   Pred   Obj   Pred

/Wanio rii riiti yo hama-chi/   /riiti boboy yee-chi/
Wanio he his   work finish-compl   his   things fetch-compl

      Pred   Pred   Loc   Pred

      /kiya-chi/   /heechi/ /akamak   i-wa./
      carry-compl   left   village.at go-past

      'Wanio finished his work, grabbed his things, put them on his
      shoulder, and left for the village.'

(m)   Subj   Loc Pred   Obj Pred   Loc

/Beglam yatar ma ye diika gaye-chi/   /veyi heechi kwashik
Beglam came   man they here beach-compl /canoe left forest.at

      Pred

      akii   i-cha-r./
      afraid go-cont-past

      'The Beglam men beached the canoe here, left the canoe, and
      ran away frightened into the forest.'

5.2 Stative Sentence = St Sent

     The Stative Sentence consists of a single Stative Clause plus
sentence markers, since Stative Clauses do not occur in close con-
junction as Active Clauses do. The Stative Sentence has a single Base.

	St Sent = + Base	+ Sentence Markers
	Stative Clause	final or non-final sentence markers

(k) Subj   Pred   Pred

/Mino ma ye ta ta ta hama-chi/ /neeki-chiniga/
Mino man they carve carve carve finish-compl pull-continued

     Loc   Pred   Mod   Pred   Pred

     /pak   rabo-chi-niga /eyey ye /i-chi   i i i-niga/
     river.at toss-compl-cont   all down go-compl go go go-cont

     Loc   Pred

     /akamak   iyar-er./
     village.at arrive-past

     'The Mino men finished carving the canoe, pulled it (through
     the forest), put it in the river, then all of them got in it,
     went down (the river) and arrived at the village.'

(l) Subj   Obj   Pred   Obj   Pred

/Wanio rii riiti yo hama-chi/ /riiti boboy yee-chi/
Wanio he his work finish-compl his   things fetch-compl

     Pred   Pred   Loc   Pred

     /kiya-chi/   /heechi/ /akamak   i-wa./
     carry-compl   left   village.at go-past

     'Wanio finished his work, grabbed his things, put them on his
     shoulder, and left for the village.'

(m) Subj   Loc Pred   Obj Pred   Loc

/Beglam yatar ma ye diika gaye-chi/ /veyi heechi kwashik
Beglam came man they here beach-compl /canoe left   forest.at

     Pred

     akii   i-cha-r./
     afraid go-cont-past

     'The Beglam men beached the canoe here, left the canoe, and
     ran away frightened into the forest.'

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     St Sent = + Base   + Sentence Markers

Stative Clause	final or non-final sentence markers

Rule:

    Stative Clauses without the verb ta 'be' do not take sentence
markers.

Examples:

(a) /Rii ta-wa./
     he be-past/Pres

     'He is here.' or 'He is alive.'

(b) /Sii tawa/-ga /sii eecha   ta-wa/.
     she is-like   she this.way be-past/Pres

     'She is like her.'

(c) /Ka Mino ma ta-wa./
     that Mino man be-past/Pres

     'Those are Mino men.'

(d) /Kata ma rii siiti apoko ta-wa./
     that man he she   father be-past/Pres

     'That man is her father.'

(e) /Diita boboy kapasek wey ta-wa./
     this thing bad   very be-past/Pres

     'This thing is very bad.'

(f) /Eeta hadabas   boboy.
     it   wonderful thing

     'That is very, very nice.'

(g) Apa sii kepi.
     now she good

     'She's well now.'

(h) Yiapwa sii kapasek.
     child she bad

     'She's a bad child.'

5.3 Negative Sentence = Neg Sent

Neg Sent = + Negative   + Base   + Negative Inflection

	saka 'not'	Simple Sentence without sentence marker	-kiitawak	'fut neg'
			-wak	'pres neg'
		Stative Sentence without sentence markers	-rek	'post neg'
			-kasakech	'tenseless neg'
			-nak	'non final heterpersonal negative'

Rule:

   saka permutes to somewhere inside the first clause of the mani-
festation of the Base. It may also be repeated in the clause or
sentence.

Examples:

(a) Subj neg Pred

   Rii saka i-wak.
   he   not   go-neg.Pres

   'He didn't go.' or 'He isn't going.'

(b) /Eeji yikapwa sii saka ha-ta-nak/,   ·eena   anapa
     my   child   she not give-cont-neg.fut that's.why I.will

     nijaka   i-k.
     you.assoc.mar go-antic

     'My child will not give (them) to you, that's why I'll go with
     you.'

(c) /Riiti awi   sii riina aboboy saka ha-nak/,   rii diika yaniga
     his   mother she him   food   not give-neg.fut he here come

     nokun wohe-kiita.
     sago ask-will

     'When his mother will give him no food he'll come here and ask
     for sago.'

(d) Rii i-kasakech.
     he go-not

     'He didn't go.'

(e) <u>Mii</u> <u>i-kasakech</u>!
    you go-not

   'Don't go!'

(f) <u>Yeerek</u>   <u>ye</u>   <u>heechi</u> <u>ya-kasakech</u>.
    yesterday they   left   came-not

   'They did not leave and come yesterday.'

(g) <u>Siiti</u> <u>awi</u>   <u>sii</u> <u>ta-kasakech</u>.
    her   mother   she be-neg

   'Her mother is not here.'

(h) <u>Eeta</u> <u>harapa-kasakech</u>.
    it   large-neg

   'It is not large.'

(i) <u>Sii</u> <u>mima-kasakech</u>.
    she woman-neg

   'She is not a woman.'

(j) <u>Kata</u> <u>me</u>   <u>hapaga-kasakech</u>.
    that wood strong-neg

   'That wood is not strong.'

(k) <u>Mino</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ye</u>   <u>saka</u> <u>ta-wak</u>.
    Mino man they neg be-neg.

   'The Mino men are not here.'

(l) <u>Diita</u> <u>papa</u> <u>eeta</u> <u>saka</u> <u>hapaga</u> <u>ta-wak</u>.
    this   rock it   neg strong be-neg.Pres

   'This rock is not strong.'

(m) <u>Sii</u> <u>saka</u> <u>i-kiitawak</u>.
    she not   go-fut.neg

   'She will not go.'

(n) <u>Yikapwa</u> <u>yepa</u>   <u>saka</u> <u>anamesheroko</u> <u>tawa</u> <u>boboy</u> <u>siitin</u> <u>hehar</u>
    children they.will not   play   be   thing hers   well

   <u>otii-kiitawak</u>.
   do-fut.neg

     'The children will not do a good job on making her toy.'

(o) Ambunti ma ye   saka Mino ma   yechi men   saka yii-rek.
     Ambunti man they not Mino man their tree not   cut-past.neg

     'The Ambunti men did not cut the tree belonging to the Mino
      people.'

(p) Nopa   Wewak akamak inyey, /nopa   riina saka hehar maji
     we.will Wewak town   go.if   we.will   him   not   well word

     pokii-kiitawak./

     'If we go to Wewak, we will not be able to teach him very well.'

5.4 Imperative Sentence = Imp Sent

     The Imp Sent is marked by the introduction of the Imperative
word and the absence of any sentence level inflections on the final
verb. The Imperative word usually is introduced into the first clause.
There are two Imperative words: na 'first person, second person',
and sa 'third person'.

     Imp Sent = ± Imperative   + Base

na @ ne 'first person second person'	simple sentence without sentence marker
sa 'third person'	

Rule:

(1) There are no inflections on the final verb of the manifestation
     of the Base.

(2) When the action to be done is known by context the Base can be
     omitted and only the Imperative na is stated.

(3) The Imperative permutes to any position in the sentence except
     that preceding the verb.

(4) It can occur twice in the Sentence, even three times, though this
     is rare.

Examples:

(a) Na otii.
     imp do

     'Do it.'

(b) Jon, na yeechi yaya.
     John imp fetch bring

     'John, get it and bring it here.'

(c) <u>Hehar</u> <u>otii</u> <u>ta.</u>
    well do   cont

   'Be doing it well.'

The following example shows the Imperative function occurring in the first of two homopersonal clauses. The Imperative <u>na</u> could also occur before <u>awasen</u>.

(d) <u>Nota</u> <u>na</u> <u>otiinak</u>, <u>awasen</u> <u>yeechi</u> <u>ye</u>   <u>i.</u>
    we   imp do.when return fetch take go

   'We must do it then return it.'

(e) <u>Miita</u> <u>miiti</u> <u>yo</u>   <u>na</u> <u>hamachi</u>   <u>eechiniga</u> <u>diika</u> <u>ya</u>   <u>maji</u>
    you.1 your.1 work imp finish.compl eat.compl here come word

     <u>ba.</u>
        speak

   'Finish your work and eat, then come here and (we'll) talk.'

(f) <u>Rii</u> <u>sa</u> <u>i.</u>
    he imp go

   'He must go.'

(g) <u>Yecha</u> <u>sa</u> <u>hehar</u> <u>meeji-chi</u> <u>sa</u> <u>heechi</u> <u>i.</u>
    they imp well hear-compl imp leave go

   'They must listen well then go.'

(h) <u>Piiriita</u> <u>sa</u> <u>otiitanak</u>, <u>notaka</u> <u>eeji</u> <u>nowon</u> <u>kikibak</u> <u>chi</u>   <u>cha.</u>
    they.2 imp do   we.with my   garden together plant cont

   'They must do it then work together with us to plant my garden.'

5.5 Interrogative Sentence = Q Sent

$$\text{Q Sent} = \pm \text{ Interrogative}^{2\cdot} + \text{Base}$$

question word	Sentence

Rule:

The interrogative word expounds some non-Predicate Clause Tagmeme of the first clause (or some following clause) of the sentence. Only certain pairs of question words may occur together in a Sentence, e.g., <u>boyega</u> <u>secha</u> 'how what = how'. <u>kapo</u> 'uncertainty' occurs frequently in clauses in an interrogative sentence, and may occur in several of the clauses especially if it's a heteropersonal sentence. The other interrogative words may appear on rare occasions in more than one clause.

In context, the AC1 without a question word may function as a
yes-no question, in which case it may or may not be given
less stress.

(a) <u>Rii</u> <u>iwa</u>? <u>Rii</u> <u>iwa</u>!
     he went   he went

     'Did he go? He went!'

The following example has two clauses in the sentence.

(b) <u>Siita</u> <u>yechak</u> <u>i</u> <u>noku</u> <u>tokowa</u>? <u>Ayo</u>, <u>sii</u> <u>tokowa</u>.
     she   them.to go rice bought   yes she bought

     'Did she go to them and buy rice? Yes, she bought some.'

Yes-no questions may also be formed by using the words <u>boy</u>
'question word' and or <u>kapo</u> 'probably' in the uncertainty slot.

(c) <u>Rii</u> <u>boy</u> <u>iwa</u>? <u>Rii</u> <u>iwa</u>.
     he q w went   he went

     'Did he go? He went.'

(d) <u>Siita</u> <u>boy</u> <u>yechak</u> <u>i</u> <u>noku</u> <u>tokowa</u>? <u>Yaho</u>. <u>Saka</u> <u>tokowak</u>.
     she   q w themto go rice bought   no   neg bought.not

     'Did she go to them and buy rice? No, she didn't buy any.'

(e) <u>Yepa</u>   <u>kap</u>   <u>Ambunti</u> <u>akamak</u> <u>ik</u>?   <u>Yepa</u>   <u>kapo</u>
     they.will probably Ambunti village go.will   they.will probably

        <u>ik</u>.
        go.will

     'Are they going to go to Ambunti? I don't know if they are
     going to go or not.'

(f) <u>Kapo</u>   <u>rii</u> <u>boy</u> <u>yawa</u>. <u>Rii</u> <u>yawa</u>.
     probably he q w came   he came

     'Has he come? He came.'

(g) <u>Ye</u> <u>saka</u> <u>yawak</u>? <u>Ye</u> <u>yawa</u>.
     they neg came   they came

     'Didn't they come? Yes, they came.'

(h) <u>Rii</u> <u>boy</u> <u>saka</u> <u>iwak</u>? <u>Ikasakech</u>!
     he q w neg went   go.not

     'Didn't he go? No!'

(i) <u>Sii</u> <u>kapo</u>   <u>saka</u> <u>otiikiitawak?</u> <u>Sii</u> <u>otiikiita.</u>
    she probably neg do.will.not   she do.will

    'Will she not do it? Yes, she will do it.'

Information questions are formed by using an appropriate inter-
rogative word in one of the clause slots (except Predicate slot).

(j) Subj   Q   Pred

    <u>Jon</u> <u>rii</u> <u>siitak</u> <u>iwa?</u>
    John he where went

    'Where did John go?'

(k) Uncer   Subj   Pred

    <u>Kapo</u>   <u>siitak</u> <u>Wanio,</u> <u>Mukuchuwa,</u> <u>Buria</u> <u>ye</u>   <u>iwa?</u>
    probably where Wanio   Mukuchuwa   Buria they went

    'Where did Wanio, Mukuchuwa, and Buria go?'

(l) Subj   Q   Obj

    <u>Muwaya</u> <u>siiti</u> <u>nokwapa</u> <u>siitaka</u> <u>Buria</u> <u>riitaka</u> <u>siitak</u> <u>kata</u> <u>hami</u>
    Muwaya her   mother her.with Buria he.with where that hami

            Pred

    <u>siik</u> <u>yayar.</u>
    fruit get

        'Where did Muwaya's mother and Buria get the hami fruit?'

(m) Subj   Q   Pred

    <u>Ambunti</u> <u>Akademi</u> <u>yo</u>   <u>siitiiyekega</u> <u>tasiir?</u>
    Ambunti Akademi work when   begin

    'When did the work begin at the Ambunti Akademi?'

(n) Subj Q   Obj Pred

    <u>Rii</u> <u>siitiiyekega</u> <u>jeyn</u> <u>hakiita?</u>
    he when   book give

    'When will he give the book?'

(o) Q   Subj   Obj Ind Obj Pred

    <u>/Siitiiyekega</u> <u>Bangwis</u> <u>mima</u> <u>yepa</u>   <u>boga</u> <u>riina</u> <u>hakiita?/</u>
    when   Bangwis woman they.will taro him   give

    'When will the women from Bangwis give him taro?'

(p) Obj   Q   Instr

/Awi   siita mashi otiir· nowo boyega kapo   kubuk
mother she   before worked garden how   probably stick.with

     biyitu.
     break.up

     'How can you plough up mother's old garden?'

(q) Q   Obj   Subj   Pred

/Boyega kapo   Bangwis akamak   anapa   ikiita?/
how   probably Bangwis village I.will

     'How can I go to the village of Bangwis?'

(r) Subj   Q

Riita yo   ishar ishar otiiney,/ boyega hamakiita?
he   work easy easy works   how   finish

     'If he does his work so slowly how will he finish it?'

(s) Subj   Q   Instr   Pred

/Ada eeji asa boy boboyeka   pikiita?/
I   my   dog what something.assoc.mar   fight

     'What thing shall I use to fight my dog with?'

(t) Subj   Q   Obj Pred   Subj   Pred

/Pita riitaka Noyigey riitaka boy yo   tanak, piir otiikiita?/
Peter he.with Noyigey he.with what work be.when they.2 will.do

     'What work is there that Peter and Noyegey can do?'

(u) Subj   Uncer Q   Pred

/Kata yikapwa rii kapo   boy boboy   akiito?/
that child   he probably what something afraid

     'What is that child afraid of?'

(v) Subj   Q   Pred   Obj

/Madiwai tawa Amakway sii boyewak akiito karakada asa?/
Madiwai be   Amakway she why   afraid small   dog

     'Why is Amakway from Madiwai afraid of the little dog?'

(w) Time   Subj Uncer   Pred

/Hogo   sii nedii ye   kapo   boyewak akamak   siikiita?/
afternoon   be time they probably why   house.with be

     'Why will they remain in the village in the afternoon?'

(x)   Q   Subj Method

/Harapa yadii mayaka sowak, boyewak rii eecha   wato?/
large   time large be   why   he   this.way sleep

'In the middle of the day why is he sleeping?'

(y)   Q   Obj   Subj Pred

/Bwimey moto yecha yeechi ye   ir?/
which motor they fetched took away

'Which motor did they take away?'

(z)   Uncer   Q   Q   Pred

/Kapo   boyega secha otiik?/
probably how   what do.will

'How will (they) do it?'

(aa) Subj Uncer   Q   Time   Pred

Ada kapo   namaka   iyik   ikiita?/
I   probably who.with tomorrow go.will

'With whom will I go tomorrow?'

(bb) Subj Uncer   Q   Pred

/Rii kapo   naman pir?/
he   probably whom hit

'Whom did he hit?'

5.6 Similarity Sentence = Sim Sent

Similarity Sentences are always embedded in larger sentences ex-
cept as an answer to a question.

Sim Sent = + Sim Axis	+ Sim Relator
Simple Sentence with final markings	-ga 'like'

Examples:

(a) /Sii tawa-ga/ sii eecha   tawa.
     she is-like   she this.way is

'She is like her.'

(b) /Riiti tawa-ga/ tawa, eeji boboy.
     ‾‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾‾‾
     his   is-like is   my things

     /My things are like hers.'

(c) /Ambunti ma ye   otii tawa-ga/ na eecha   otiiba ta.
     ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾
     Ambunti man they do   is-like   imp this.way do.also cont

     'Do it the way the Ambunti men are doing it.'

(d) /Shu rii eena pichare-ga/ Buria rii eechaba pir.
     ‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾
     Shu he it   struck-like Buria he also   struck

     'Buria struck it just the way Shu struck it.'

(e) /Amakway sii yeerek   harapa uwatare-ga/   Muwaya sii apak
     ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾
     Amakway she yesterday large called.out-like Muwaya she now

     uwabato.
     ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
     calls.out.also

     'Muwaya is now calling out just like Amakway did yesterday.'

(f) /Siita kapo   otiitana-ga/ nija na eechaba otii ta.
     ‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾
     she   probably do.will-like you imp also   do   cont

     'Do it like the way she will probably be doing it.'

5.7 Direct Quotation Sentence = Dir Quo Sent

     Dir Quo Sent = + Quo Formula   + Direct Quote

Sentence with verb root	any utterance
hiki 'think	
wo 'say'	
meeji 'hear'	
wohe 'call'	
etc. and final sentence marker	

Rules:

(1) The two slots may be permuted especially if the speaker forgets
     to put the Quote Formual before the Direct Quote.

(2) The exponent of the Quote Formula must have the Sentence-final
     sentence markers.

(3) Pronouns and tenses in the exponent of the Direct Quote are un-
     changed from the original utterance.

(4) The Quote Formual Sentence usually contains eecha 'this way'.

(a) <u>Jon</u> <u>rii</u> <u>eecha</u>   <u>wor</u>: "Ada <u>yak</u>."
    John he   this.way said: I   come.will

    'John said, "I will come."'

(b) <u>Wanio</u> <u>rii</u> <u>ana</u> <u>eecha</u>   <u>wowa</u>: "Ada <u>miiti</u> <u>veyi</u> <u>yak</u> <u>gegiyato</u>."
    Wanio he   me   this.way said   I   your canoe take want

    'Wanio said to me, "I want to take your canoe."'

(c) <u>Pita</u> <u>rii</u> <u>Jon</u> <u>riina</u> <u>eecha</u>   <u>wor</u>: "Ana <u>na</u> <u>kiyatay</u>."
    Peter he   John him   this.way said   me   imp help

    'Peter said to John, "Help me."'

(d) <u>Ambunti</u> <u>yatar</u> <u>ma</u> <u>rii</u> <u>kata</u> <u>mima</u> <u>siina</u> <u>eecha</u>   <u>woher</u>: "<u>Niji</u>
    Ambunti came   man he   that woman her   this.way asked   your

    <u>emiyep</u> <u>kapo</u>   <u>tokok</u>?"
    fish   probably sell

    'The man who came from Ambunti asked that woman, "Will you
    sell your fish?"'

5.8 Indirect Quotation Sentence = Ind Quo Sen

Ind Quo Sen = + Quo Formula   + Ind Quote

Sentence with verb root:	any utterance with
<u>hiki</u> 'think'	pronouns and
<u>wo</u> 'say'	tenses changed
<u>meeji</u> 'hear'	
<u>haba</u> 'call'	
etc. and final sentence marker	

Rules:

(1) The two slots may be permuted especially if the speaker forgets
    to put the Quote Formula before Direct Quote.

(2) Final Verb in the Quo Formula must have sentence-final sentence
    sentence markers.

(3) In the exponent of the Indirect Quote the tenses and pronouns are
    adjusted to fit the viewpoint of the speaker of this sentence
    rather than the speaker of the original utterance.

Examples:

(a) <u>Jon</u> <u>rii</u> <u>siina</u> <u>wor</u> <u>sii</u> <u>sa</u> <u>heechi</u> <u>i</u>.
     John he   him   said he imp leave go

     'John said that he had to go.'

(b) <u>Ada</u> <u>riina</u> <u>wowa</u> <u>riiti</u> <u>yo</u> <u>sa</u> <u>otii</u>.
     I   him   said his   work imp do

     'I told him that he was supposed to do his work.'

(c) <u>Sii</u> <u>wowa</u> <u>sii</u> <u>yeerek</u>   <u>yar</u>.
     she said she yesterday came

     'She said she came yesterday.'

(d) <u>Ada</u> <u>kapasek</u> <u>otiir</u>, <u>sii</u> <u>wor</u>.
     I   bad   did   she said

     'She said I did a bad thing.'

(e) <u>Sii</u> <u>iyik</u>   <u>ikiita</u> <u>sii</u> <u>yeerek</u>   <u>wor</u>.
     she tomorrow go.will she yesterday said

     'She said yesterday that she will go tomorrow.'

5.9 Conditional Sentence = Con S

Con S = + Conditional Base	+ Conditional Marker	+Consequential Base	+ Sentence Marker
ACL	-<u>nan</u> <u>siiney</u> @ -<u>nyan</u> <u>siiney</u> -<u>ney</u> 'if(fut)' -<u>wey</u> 'if(pres) since (pres)' -<u>yega</u> 'if(past)' -<u>ri</u> 'since (past)'	ACL SCL	any final or nonfinal markers

Examples:

(a) <u>Rii</u> <u>i-nyan</u> <u>sii-ney</u>, <u>sii</u> <u>ya-kasakech</u>.
     he go-neg be-if   she receive-neg

     'If he doesn't go, she will not receive it.'

(b) Ambunti ma ye   nona kiyatayi-nan sii-ney, no apak
    Ambunti man they us   help-neg   be-if   we today

    hamakasakech.
    finish.neg

    'If the Ambunti men won't help us, we won't finish it today.'

(c) Eeta sakar me   kwo yeechi yaya-nan siiney, akar ma ye
    it   fell tree you fetch bring-neg be-if   other man they

    kapo   ye   ikiita.
    probably take will

    'If you don't take the fallen tree the other men will probably
    take it.'

(d) Siita otii-ney, rii ik.
    she   do-if   he go.will

    'If she does it, he will go.'

(e) Rii yeerek   riiti yon otii-yega, no owaga iwa.
    he yesterday his   work do-if   we would.have gone

    'If he had done his work yesterday, we would have gone.'

(f) Madiwai mima ye   noboyeerek   nowo   sagiin otii
    Madiwai woman they day.before.yesterday   garden seed   do

    chi-chi-chi-ba-yega   iyik   diika kapo   yakiita.
    plant-ben-compl-too-if   tomorrow here probably come.will

    'If the Madiwai women planted the garden for him too the day
    before yesterday, (they'll) probably come here tomorrow.'

(g) Buria, Mukuchuwa piiriita piiriiti yon hama-ri,   piir
    Buria Mukuchuwa they.2   their.2 work finished-since they.2

    yihapakato.
    resting

    'Since Buria and Mukuchuwa finished their work they are
    resting today.'

In the following example both clauses are in present tense so the
translation is more of a 'since' or 'in as much'.

(h) Rii apak cheyek wa-ta-wey,   riita keena   miina saka maji
    he now bed   sleeping-since he   particularly you   neg word

    bata-wak.
    speaking-neg

    'Since he is sleeping in bed he won't be speaking with you.'

In the following example the conditional clause is in present tense and the consequential clause is in future tense, so that the conditional 'if' is used in the translation.

(i) Rii apak yo   otiita-wey, rii riiti yo   hogo   nediik
     he   now   work doing-if   he   his   work late.afternoon time

     hamakiita.
     finish.will

     'If he is doing work now, he will finish his work by late
     afternoon.'

(j) Riiti nokwapa sii riina yimowu-nan sii-yega, owaga   kepi
     his   mother   she him   borne-neg   be-if   would.have   good

     siir.
     was

     'It would have been good if his mother had not borne him.' or
     'If his mother had not borne him it would have been good.'

5.10 Negative-Positive Sentence = Neg-Pos Sent

The Negative-Positive Sentence consists of Base₁ with the Negative Nonfinal Marker, which indicates negation or disapproval, plus Base₂ with its inflections. This might have been called a negative anticipatory sentence.

Neg-Pos Sent = + Base$_1$ + Neg Nonfinal + Base$_2$ + Pos Final Infl
                               Marker

Base$_1$	Neg Nonfinal Marker	Base$_2$	Pos Final Infl	
Simple Sentence w/o sentence markers	-nan @ -nyan 'neg'	Simple Sentence w/o sentence markers	-kiita	'fut'
			-to @ -tu @ -chu @ -cho 'continuous Present'	
			-wa	'pres'
			-r	'past'
			-k	'antic'

Rules:

The allomorphs of -to are phonologically conditioned. The exponents of the two Bases must have the same subject (actor).

Examples:

(a) Ada i-nyan yuyawa.
     I   go-neg dislike

     'I don't want to go.'

(b) /Wayi van-nan siik/ eena   riita God riina hehar wohe
    rain rain-neg be.to it.obj.mar he God him well ask

    siitiichir.
    stand.for

    'He asked God fervently for it not to rain.'

(c) Rii ha-nan   akiiwa.
    he give-neg afraid

    'He was afraid to give.' or 'He was afraid to die.'

(d) /Madiwai ma ye   kapasek ta-nan siik/ eena   rii yenya
    Madiwai man they bad   be-neg be-to it.obj.mar he them m

    marasin hawa.
    medicine gave

(e) /Siita hak   otii-nan siik/ ye   siina harapa apo Wewak ye
    she   die.to do-neg   be.to they her   large bird Wewak took

    ir.
    went

    'They took her in the plane to Wewak so she wouldn't die.'

5.11 Embedded Sentence = Emb Sent

    Embedded Sentences (which correspond to relative clauses in
English) are formed by permuting some noun out of the sentence and
placing it at the end of the sentence where it becomes the noun mo-
dified by the rest of the Embedded sentence. The Embedded Sentence
must have final sentence markers on it.

Emb Sent = + Emb Base	+ Emb Subject	± Summary
Sentence (minus noun)	noun	pronoun Par Pro P

Examples:

(a)   Subj   Pred

    /Yawa ma rii/ har.
    came man he   died

    'The man who came died.'

(b)   Subj   Pred

    /Karakada tawa yikapwa yechaba/   yato.
    small   be   child   they.only come

    'Only the small children are coming.'

(c)   Subj   Time

/<u>Kiap</u> <u>rii</u> <u>Madiwai</u> <u>tar</u> <u>heechirek</u> <u>ir</u>   <u>ma</u> <u>ye</u>/ <u>apa-k</u> <u>diika</u>
 ADC he Madiwai   are sent   went man they now-at here

      Pred

      <u>iyarewa</u>.
      arrived.

      'The men of Madiwai who the ADC sent have now arrived here.'

(d)   Subj   Obj

      <u>Jisas</u> <u>rii</u> /<u>kapasek</u> <u>spiriteka</u>   <u>tarek</u> <u>kuja</u> <u>diimiitar</u> <u>man</u>/
      Jesus he   had   spirit.assoc be   mouth closed   man

      Method

      <u>eecha</u>   <u>wor</u>:
      this.way said

      'Jesus said to the dumb man with the evil spirit:'

(e)   Subj Obj   Pred

      <u>Ada</u> /<u>riita</u> <u>kepi</u> <u>otiir</u> <u>aka-n</u>/ <u>heechi</u> <u>ir</u>.
      I   he   good made house   left   went

      'I left his well made house.'

(f)   Obj   Subj Ind Obj   Time

      <u>Karakada</u> <u>arep</u> <u>ada</u> /<u>ameya</u>   <u>heechi</u> <u>ir</u>   <u>ma</u> <u>riina</u>/ <u>yeerek</u>
      small   knife I   quickly left   went man him   yesterday

      Pred

      <u>har</u>.
      gave

      'I gave the small knife yesterday to the man who left quickly.'

(g)   Obj   Ind Obj

      <u>Nokwapa</u> <u>nokwapa</u> <u>kiiw</u> <u>siita</u> /<u>yeerek</u>   <u>ameya</u>   <u>heechi</u> <u>ir</u>   <u>mima</u>
      many   many   yam she   yesterday quickly left   went woman

                      Pred

      <u>siina</u>/ <u>har</u>.
      her   gave

      'She gave many yams to the woman who left quickly yesterday.'

(h)   Subj   Obj

Ada   /Madiwai akamak heechi diika yawa ma-ka/   yo
I   Madiwai village left   here came man-assoc.mar work

      Manner Method   Pred

      harapa eecha   otiir.
      large this way worked

      I worked hard with the men who left Madiwai and came here.'

The following two examples incorporate two Embedded Sentences.

(i)   Time   Subj   Instr   Obj

Iyavek   anapa /Wanio riita ana har woyi-k/   /kata
yesterday I.will Wanio he   me gave adze-instr.mar   that

                                          Pred

      harapa yesi tokor veyi/   taken   otiikiita.
      large Yesan sold.it canoe.obj carve.to work will

      'Tomorrow I will use the adze Wanio gave me to begin carving
      the canoe the Yesan people sold.'

(j)   Subj   Obj

/Yikapwa-ka   tawa Josi rii/ /riiti apoko kwishi-k
child-assoc mar be Josi he   his   father bush-loc.ma·

                   Pred

      otiir aka-n/   hik hayechi heechi amaba akii iwa.
      built house--obj fire set.fire left   ran afraid went

      'The child Josi set fire to the house his father built in
      the bush and ran away frightened.'

Examples with the verb ta- 'to be'.

(k)   /Madiwai tawa ma e/ iwa.
      Madiwai be   man they went

      'The Madiwai men went.'

(l)   /Harapa tawa mima ye/ mapo ato
      big   be   woman they first eating

      'The big women are eating first.'

(m)   /Kehapa tawa siik/ eeta kapasek.
      black   be   seed it   bad

      'The black seeds are bad.'

(n)   /Ada otii tawa boboy/ na yeechi yaya.
      I   do   be   thing imp fetch bring

      'That thing I made, bring it here.'

(o)   /Sii heechi tawa heebiya/ ii saka reekiiwa.
      she left   be   thing   it fell broke

      'The bowl she left broke.'

(p)   /Piir   otii tar veyi/ heechi iwa.
      they.two made be canoe left   went

      'The canoe the two made drifted away.'

When the Embedded Sentence is in future tense the marker -na is
used instead of -kiita 'indicative future.'

(q)   /Madiwai i-cha-na   ma ye/ heechi iwa.
      Madiwai go-cont-fut   man they left   went

      'The men that were to go to Madiwai left.'

(r)   /Otii-na boboyen   rii/ heechi yawa.
      do-fut   thing.obj.mar he   left   came

      'That which (he) was to work on he left.'

(s)   /Diika ya-na   ma ye/ kapo   nona kiyatayik.
      here   come-fut   man they probably us   help.will

      'The men who will come here will probably help us.'

(t)   /Nona ha-na   yan/ kapo   karakada.
      us   give-fut   money probably small

      'The money (he) will give us won't be much probably.'

(u)   /Ka sokwa-na me/ kapasek me.
      that rise-fut tree bad   tree

      'The tree that'll grow up will be bad.'

(v)   /Riipa   ba-na   maji/ kapo   woshepiikiita.
      he.will speak-fut word probably lie.will

      'What he tells (us) will probably be lies.'

5.12 Negative Evaluation Sentence = Neg Ev Sent

Neg Ev Sent = ± Evaluation   + Base   + Adversative
                                                      Inflection

opoche 'not good'	Simple Sent w/o Sent Mar	-nakech 'adversa tive future'

Rule:

> opoche permutes to somewhere inside the first clause of the
> manifestation of the Base. It may also be repeated in the
> clause or sentence.

Examples:

(a) /Opoche   i-cha-nakech/.
      not.good go-cont-adv.fut

     'It is not good that (he) goes.'

(b) /Yo   otii-ta-nakech/.
      work do-cont-adv.fut

     '(He) shouldn't work.'

(c) /Opoche   iyik   Buria rii yeebiiru ye-i-cha-nakech./
      not.good tomorrow Buria he   axe   take-qo-cont-adv.fut

     'Buria should not take the axe tomorrow.'

(d) /Ada riina opoche   woshepii maji ba-nakech./
      I   him   not.good lie   word speak-adv.fut

     'I shouldn't lie to him.'

(e) /Rii opoche   heechi inyak,   know   nobok saka-nakech./
      he not.good leave go.when mountain path fall-adv.fut

     'It is not good that he goes and falls down on the mountain
     path.'

(f) /Jon rii eena   hehar otiitawak, komas sii opoche
      John he it.obj.mar well make.past   later she not.good

      kapasek otii-ta-nakech.'
      bad   do-cont-adve.fut

     'She shouldn't destroy it after John has done well on
     making it.'

5.13 General Evaluation Sentence = Gen Ev Sent

The Gen Ev Sent consists of a Stative Clause whose Stative Complement is manifested by kepi 'good' or kapasek 'bad', and another Simple Sentence or Stative Sentence that describes the action or situation that is evaluated, e.g., 'It is good that you have come'.

Gen Ev Sent = + Evaluation Base   + Statement Base

Stative Sentence (with kepi 'good' or kapasek 'bad')	Stative Sentence Simple Sentence

Rule:

The two Bases permute freely.

Examples:

(a) Eeta kepi rii yawa.
    it   good he came

    'It's good he came.'

(b) Siita otiitawak, eeta kapasek.
    she did   it   bad

    'It's bad that she did it.'

(c) Eeta kapasek piir kata boboy yeechi kiyachi heechi ye ir.
    it   bad   they.2 that thing took carried left took went

    'That's no good that they took the things and carried them away.'

(d) Eeta kepi siikiitawak, ka   harapa.
    it   good be.will   that big

    'It'll be good that it's big.'

(e) Eeta kepi siirek, eeta veyin tatar.
    it   good was   it   canoe carved

    'It was good that the canoe was carved.'

(f) Eeta kapasek Bagwis yikapwa yechaka   mesh mesh eecha   tawa.
    it   bad   Bagwis child   they.with together this.way are

    'It is bad that the Bagwis children are playing together.'

(g) Mii way twedi dola yawak, miiti kopi, eeta kepi wey!
    you !   twenty dollar received your coffee it good very

    'You got twenty dollars for your coffee, that's very good.'

5.14 Unfulfilled Obligation Sentence = Un Ob Sent

This is a sentence which comments an action that did not happen but should have, e.g., 'He should have gone (but he didn't)'.

Un Ob Sent =   Base$_1$ + Un Ob Infl   + Base$_2$

Simple Sentence w/o Sent Mar	-nak @ nyak 'fut'	ta-nak 'be-fut'
Stative Sentence w/o Sent Mar		

Examples:

(a) Rii otii-nak ta-nak.
     he do-fut be-fut

     'He should have done it.'

(b) Madiwai ma ye   diika ya-nak   ta-nak, yeerek.
     Madiwai man they here come-fut be-fut   yesterday

     'The men of Madiwai should have come here yesterday.'

(c) Yeerek   yecha yechi kiiw chi-cha-nak   ta-nak.
     yesterday they their yams plant-cont-fut be-fut

     'They should have planted their yams yesterday.'

(d) Yeebiiru diika ta-nak ta-nak.
     axe   here be-fut be-fut

     'The axe should have been here.'

(e) Wanio rii wo-nyak ta-nak, "Buria rii ya-kiita."
     Wanio he say-fut be-fut   Buria he come-fut

     'Wanio should have said, "Buria will come."'

(f) Wanio rii wo-nyak ta-nak, riipa   ya-kiita.
     Wanio he say-fut be-fut he.will come-fut

     'Wanio should have said that he would come.'

Note: For negative unfulfilled obligation one way to say 'He shouldn't have sold it' is to use a General Evaluation Sentence:

       Eeta kapasek rii toko-r
       it   bad   he sold-past

       'It was not good that he sold it.'

(g) Rii saka toko-nak ta-nak. Karakada yan yar.
     he neg sold-fut be-fut   little   money received.

     'He should not have sold it. He received so little money (for
     it).'

5.15 Intensified State Sentence = Int St Sent

This sentence is used to state an intensified condition or
action, e.g., 'He was very, very angry'. It is constructed very much
like Unfulfilled Obligation Sentence. The Intensifier wayan changes
the sense completely.

Int St Sent = + Intensifier   + Base$_1$ + Int St Infl + Base$_2$

wayan very.much This permutes to position inside the following clause	AC1 w/o Sent Mar	-nak 'fut' -k 'antic'	ta-nak be-fut

Examples:

(a) Hisaw wayi wayan   va-nak   ta-nak.
     large rain very.much rain-fut be-fut

     'It was an extremely heavy downpour.'

(b) /Rii wayan   man   henokwo-nak ta-nak/ rii eeta akamak iwa.
      he very.much man.obj angry-fut   be-fut he it village went

     'He was very angry with them so he left for the village.'

(c) /Wayan   pi-nyak ta-nak/, eeta poyin.
     very.much hit-fut be-fut   it   pig.obj.mar

     '(He) shot many pigs.'

(d) /Wayan   akii-nak   ta-nak./
     very.much afraid-fut be-fut

     'He's very much afraid.'

(e) /No koba   ma wayan   ha-ta-nak   ta-nak,/ mija   maji
     we pathetic man very.much die-cont-fut be-fut   sympathy word

     eecha   ba-ta-r.
     this.way spoke-cont-past

     'We miserable men were dying (like flies) and we spoke pathe-
     tic words (to each other).'

5.16 Complement Sentence = Comp Sent

The Complement Sentence consists of two Bases, the first of which
is a semantic complement of the second; the complement clause may
function as a quotation, reason, purpose, etc. to the second.

Comp Sent = + Comp Base   ± Sentence Link   + Statement Base

Sentence with Sentence Marker -k 'antic' preferred, but other third and fourth order 'narrative' sentence markers are possible.	eena 'it-obj.mar/ that's why'	any sentence

Examples:

(a) Rii sokwa-na boboyen he-k-en   eena   eeka yichar.
     he rose-fut thing   see-to-obj.mar it.obj there sit.cont.past

     'He sat there to see what would happen.'

(b) Rii Mino akamak heechi iwak, eena   sii keyato.
     he Mino village left   went that's.why she crying

     'He went to Mino; that's why she's crying.'

(c) Sii heechi i-nyey, sii keya-ta-k,   eena   no siina maji
     she left   go-cond she cry-cont-antic that's.why we her   word

     bak.
     will.speak

     'If she goes, she'll cry; that's why we'll speak to her.'

(d) Rii heechi i-wak, eena   sii keya-to.
     he left   go-past that.why she cry-pres

(e) Rii yeerek   siina pi-ri, eena   sii amaba heechi ir.
     he yesterday her   hit-sice that's.why she ran   left   went

     'He hit her yesterday; that's why she ran away.'

(f) Sii saka yikapwan boboy sagii   toko-chi-cha-wak, eena
     she not child.obj thing produce buy-ben-cont-pres that's.why

     sii kwotayeto.
     she angry.pres

     'She wouldn't buy them for the children; that's why she's
     angry.'

5.17 Sentence Topic

A third order clause or link with -ri conseq past or -we conseq
pres may serve as a Sentence Topic for the subsequent clause. This
-ri or -we clause or link is readily transformable into an embedded
Sentence, but it tends to be used where the equivalent embedded
sentence would be too long or awkward. The -ri or -we @ wey clause
or link may also receive the -n object marker if the first nominal
in it corresponds to the object of the subsequent clause.

Examples:

(a) Harapa veyi niyik heechi i-ri,   Ambunti ma yechi.
     large canoe night left   go-conseq Ambunti man theirs

     'The large canoe which left at night belongs to the Ambunti
      people.'

(b) Ambunti ma ye diika yari,   eeta me   yechi.
     Ambunti man they here come-conseq it   carving theirs

     'That carving belongs to the Ambunti people who came here.'

(c) Eeta ma rii aka   otii-ri-n   ada her.
     it   man he house de-conseq-obj I   saw

     'I saw the house the man made.'

(d) Eeta veyi ma otii-ri-n   ada her.
     it   canoe man do-conseq-obj I   saw

     'I saw the canoe the man worked on.'

(e) Mino ma ye yeechi yaya-ta-we-n   eena   tokowa.
     Mino man they fetched brought-cont-conseq-obj it.obj bought.

     '(I) bought that which the Mino men brought.'

(f) Kata boboy ye heechi-wey, na yeechi yaya.
     that thing they left-conseq imp fetch bring

     'Those things they left, bring them here.' or
     'Bring the things here that they left.'

(g) Yeerek   yopu   toko-ri-n   ii kwopa siito.
     yesterday banana bought-conseq-obj it rot   is

     'The bananas which (I) bought yesterday are rotting.'

(h) Otiik ya-ri,   eeta hamawa.
     do.to come-conseq it   finish

     'That which I came to do is finished.'

5.18 Sentence Markers

In the article "Hierarchy of Washkuk (Kwoma) Clauses" we discuss more fully the cooccurrences of clauses based on First-Fourth order affixation, so here we will only summarize sentence markers. First order clauses have no sentence markers. Fourth Order Sentence Markers are Sentence Final Markers. First, Second, Third order markers are non Final Sentence Markers.

1. First order - # (no Sentence Marker)

2. Second order Sentence Marker

± Aspect	± Conjunctive Relators
-chi 'complete'	-niga 'cont'
-ta 'cont'	-k 'anticipatory' -nan 'neg desire'

Second order sentences are subordinate to (or included in) Third and Fourth order sentences.

3. Third order Sentence Markers

± Aspect	± Tense
-ta 'cont'	-rek 'past' -wak 'pres' -nak 'fut' -ri 'conseq past' -wey 'conseq pres' -yega 'cond past' -ney 'cond pres/fut'

Note: In an earlier paper we used -we and -ne in place of -wey and -ney.

Third order sentences are subordinate to (or included in) Fourth order sentences.

In practical orthography, not: when -ta 'continuous' is used, we sometimes place a word break space before it, e.g., otiitawak is sometimes written as otii tawak.

4. Fourth order Sentence Markers

± Aspect	± Tense-Mood	
-ta @ cha 'cont'	-r @ -re	'indic past'
	-rek	'neg past'
	-wa	'indic pres'
	-wak	'neg pres'
	-na	'fut (embedded)'
	-kiita	'indic fut'
	-kiitawak	'neg fut'
	-k	'anticipatory'
	-kech	'adverse pres'
	-nakech	'adverse fut'
	-ta	'emph'
	-no	'imp voc'
	-wo	'indic voc'
	#	'imperative'
	-kasakech	'neg'

Note: -ta -wa is contracted into -to @ -tu @ -cho @ -chu in the Kwoma
dialect, see 'Morphophonemic Changes'.

Fourth order sentences are independent sentences.

NOTES ON AGARABI GRAMMAR

Jean Goddard

0. Introduction

The Agarabi language is spoken by 12,000 people in the Kainantu
Sub-district of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. The data
upon which this paper is based was supplied primarily by Kómpa of
Punano village, and was collected between 1960 and 1968. The nature
of the analysis in this paper is tentative.

Key to abbreviations

abil.	abilitative mood	ref	referent ('for')
acq.	acquisitive suffix	sm	small
c. pot	clay pot	voc	vocative
cert.	certitive mood		
comp.	completive aspect		
cond.	conditional aspect		
cont.	continuative aspect		
dir.	directional		
emph.	emphatic mood		
fin.	final suffix		
fut.	future tense		
ger.	gerundive		
g.fa	grandfather		
g.mo	grandmother		
gr.g.fa	great-grandfather		
gr.g.mo	great-grandmother		
imp.	imperative mood		
int.	interrogative mood		
narr.	narrative aspect		
nt.	neutral tense		
p	person subject occurs with numerals 1,2,3 to indicate first, second and third person subjects		
pf.	perfect tense		
poss.	possessive		
p.r.	personal referent		
pred.	predicative		
pst	past tense		
pur	purposive		
pv.s	preview subject		
qu	question suffix		

1. <u>Discourse</u>   Certain features have been observed in Agarabi discourse, especially in narrative texts.

Titles may be given when a person deliberately sets out to tell a story.

<div style="text-align: center;">

<u>Waampeya</u>   "Bampeya" (a girl's name)

<u>Káwé Úwáran Wáayáá</u>   "Talk about making clay pots"
C.-pot making talk

<u>Yunin Wáayáá</u>   "Talk about darkness"
darkness talk

</div>

More often the narrator just begins his story. There are certain conventions for starting a story which may vary according to the speaker and, possibly, according to the subject matter. Some special fillers of the Time slot have been noted.

Some myths begin with the following clause.

<div style="text-align: center;">

<u>Peé tí - re - n</u>   "They said before and ..."
early   say-narr-3p

</div>

Narratives concerning events in the distant past may begin with the following openers.

<div style="text-align: center;">

<u>Peé - páh</u>   "Before"
early- at

<u>Peé - páh ti - naahu   ti - raaho - mpíŋ</u>
early- at   my- g. fa.   my - g. mo. - in

"In my grandparents' time ..."

</div>

If special emphasis is to be given to the fact that it took place a very long time ago the first syllable of peepah is drawn out and the tone change over the vowels is longer and higher than normal.

In the narrative entitled Yunin Wááyáá the short opening sentence is:

> Yun e - m - íh   "It was dark."
> ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
> dark be-3p-3fin

This type of summary may be used as an introduction.

Medial clauses often used to introduce narratives may refer to previous events not included in the actual text.

> Ínta - re - kú - n   "And when I finished he .."
> ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
> finish-narra- 1p-3pv.s

> Ór - e - rúh - na   "While going I ..."
> ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
> go-nt-while/1p-ger

Some texts have exhibited no special features of introduction.

A common feature of any discourse is the use of verbs as connectives. Many sentences begin with a medial form of the verb with which the previous sentence closed.

> ...ór - iyaa - m - íh, Ór - iyaa - í - n ...
> ‾‾‾
> go-cont-3p-   3fin   go- cont - 3p - 3 pv.s.
>
> " ...they were going. They were going (and) he ..."

Less frequently used connectives are time words such as tatoóre "later", or máiráh/máiráhkéh "then, next".

Another common feature of discourse is long sentences composed of numerous clauses. Repetition is also common in all types of discourse.

Other types of discourse also have special features. Court cases often are introduced with the statement:

> Wááyáá waa - m - íh   "There is talk."
> ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
> talk   stay-3p-3fin

Court cases and narratives are often terminated by the word:

> Ínka – íh   "It is finished."
> finish-pred.

or the phrase:

> Mái wááyáá – ih   "It is that talk."
> that talk – pred.

Conversations are often initiated by one arriving on the scene with the following sentences.

> Waa – p – ó.   "Are you there?"
> stay-int-2p

> Nahi iyaa – p – ó.   "What are you doing?"
> what cont-int- 2p

There are also certain sentence types which are more commonly found in narrative discourse than in conversation. Dependent sentences which end in medial verbs and followed by a sentence which begins with another form of the same verb are common.

Another type which is hard to classify as a different sentence type will be put under the discourse heading. Such sentences can be called alternative sentences expressing comparison. They are structurally like other sentences but when taken in pairs have a different meaning.

> Wehi   ayaah   e – m – íh.   Téhi   tihtoh   e – h – ú.
> He   tall   be-3p-3fin   I   small   be – 1p-1fin
>
>   "He is taller than I."

2. <u>Sentences</u> A sentence in Agarabi is a construction which may stand alone as a complete utterance. Sentences come above the clause level and below the paragraph (or discourse) level. Sentences are usually characterised by falling intonation on the final verb and by pause. Questions are not formally signalled; exclamations and vocatives are

characterised by rising intonation and pause. Sentences may range in
length from a single word (as in exclamation, responses or vocatives)
to a lengthy structure containing several clauses.

   Sentences in Agarabi may be independent, dependent or interdependent.
Independent sentences are those which may be uttered in isolation with
complete understanding, i.e. are not dependent on any kind of defining
context. Dependent sentences occur only in relation to either linguistic
or situational context and often show this dependence in their struc-
ture. Interdependent sentences are a sequence, usually of two, which
depend on each other. Structurally they may be both independent (as in
the previously mentioned alternate sentences) or one independent and
one dependent.

   2.1 Independent sentences are simple or compound.

   2.1.1 Simple sentences consist of one or more optional medial
clauses and terminate with an obligatory final clause. These are pro-
bably the most common amd may vary greatly in length.

$$\frac{\acute{O}r - e - m - \acute{\imath}h.}{\text{go-nt. -3p - 3fin}} \qquad \text{"He went."}$$

   Oreruhna Yawaauroh morah manaa taarareh arurehkun Manteh
pa waah Tunteh pa waah Tirinteh pa waareh Ponteh pa waah eken Paraan-
teh tihpi ano e tiwiren toru waraapin oriyaa oriyaa Mutohkah morah
yoriyaah waareh inteh erehu.   (See Agarabi Narratives and
Commentary, Pacific Linguistics A 13:1-25 for the breakdown and
translation. Tones were not recorded for this text.)

   2.1.2 Compound sentences consist of one or more optional medial
clauses plus an obligatory medial clause and terminating in an ob-
ligatory final clause. They may be coordinate, conditional or contrary-
to-fact.

2.1.2.1   Coordinate sentences are those in which the verbs of the
two obligatory clauses are closely knit structurally and semantically
(often translated as one verb in English). Few, if any, items can oc-
cur between the two verbs.

> War - e   ére.   "Bring it."
> get-nt   come

> Tohpe war - e - n   ór - e - m - íh.
> machete get-nt-3pv.s   go-nt-3p-3fin
>
> "He took the machete."

2.1.2.2   Conditional sentences consist of an obligatory medial
clause in which the conditional suffix **-ma** occurs one or more times
and an obligatory final clause (usually in the future tense) closes
the construction.

> Kiyaahpe - ma   óri - wí - nt - i - h   ti - ruwoó - nte -
> Kiap   -if/when go-comp-fut-3p-1pv.s. 1p.r.-fight-fut-

h - ú.
1p-1fin.   "If the kiap goes for good we will fight each other."

> Aáh - ma   ya - nti   í   oró - nte - h - ú.
> rain- if   do-fut   not go - fut - 1p - 1fin
>
> "If it rains I will not go."

2.1.2.3   Contrary-to-fact sentences also express a conditional idea
but are structurally different from conditional sentences as expressed
above. There seem to be several types.

2.1.2.3.1   Type A   In this type the first clause is a medial con-
trary-to-fact clause followed by a final clause expressing the reason.

> Kuru   uwaraah   naren   karamute   e - h - u.
> fence   make   would   jail   be-1p -1fin
>
> "I would have built (your) fence but I was in jail."

2.1.2.3.2 <u>Type B</u>   In this type the contrary-to-fact clause occurs finally.

> Kiyaahpe íhyaa éri – kaá – re – ínt – i – h   pá
> Kiap   not   come-pf   – narr-   3p-1pv.s just
>
> ti – ruw – iyaáh naré – m – íh.   "If the kiap had not come
> 1 p.r.-fight-cont. would-3p-3fin.

we would still be fighting."

2.1.2.3.3 <u>Type C</u> – 'Lest'   This may not be contrary-to-fact as the form is different, but it will be included here for lack of a better place.

> Érawi – naa – pó   kaáo,   "Lest it fall down, put (it
> go down-lest-cert   put   away)."

2.2 Dependent sentences are of four types: vocatives, responses, exclamatory and anticipatory. The first three may be fragmentary, non-clause utterances dependent upon preceding utterances or some situation.

2.2.1 <u>Vocatives</u> These are dependent in that they are only uttered under certain circumstances - those which require gaining some person's attention. They usually consist of a person's name plus the vocative suffix. Certain phrases of identification may also occur with the vocative suffix.

> Kómpa – oé   " O, Kompa."
> Kompa-voc.

> Mámán wáántá – oé   "O, man over there."
> over-there   man-voc.

2.2.2 <u>Responses</u> Responses may be less than a clause or may be comment clauses. The response may be provoked by some non-verbal form of behaviour or by a previous utterance.

2.2.2.1 Less than a clause: This type is given in response to a
visual stimulus, a question or vocative.

<u>Wáántá</u>   "Man"   (in response to "What
  man   is it?")

<u>Éeyo</u>   "Yes"
 yes

2.2.2.2 Comment clause: This type may also be given in response
to a visual stimulus or a question.

<u>Wáántá - ih</u>   "It is a man."
man - pred.

<u>Wáántá - p - i</u>   "Is it a man?"
man -int - 3fin

<u>Iye - p - i</u>   "Who is it?"
who-int - 3fin

2.2.3 <u>Exclamations</u>   An exclamation may be a response to an ut-
terance or a situation.

<u>Aí</u>   "Oh!" (expressing wonder, ad-
                                           miration or interest)
<u>Íye</u>   This has no exact translation;
                                     perhaps "You don't say" comes
                                     close.   It is usually long and
                                     drawn out.

2.2.4 <u>Anticipatory</u>   An anticipatory sentence terminates in a
medial verb and occurs non-finally in a discourse. The succeeding
sentence picks up the verb.

<u>... éeyo tí - re - n ór - e - n. Óri - ka - n ...</u>
    yes   say-narr-3pv.s go-nt-3pv.s Go-pf-3p
"...they agreed and went. Having gone (or "after they went")..."

3. <u>Clause Types</u>   Agarabi clauses are grammatical units of predication

containing, minimally, a predicate. This predicate may consist of only

one word or may optionally occur with other items. Long, complex

clauses do not often occur but strings of clauses making up one sen-

tence are common.

Clauses may be classified according to several different categories.

One major classification is into medial and final clause types and

another is independent versus dependent.

	Medial	Final
Independent		X
Dependent	X	X

This distinction at present is not proven, the matrix being in-

complete. Future investigation may reveal a filler for the independ-

ent medial box or may disprove the validity of these distinctions.

Independent final clauses occur in the final position in a sen-

tence and have no dependency on other clauses.

Dependent medial clauses occur in non-final position in a sen-

tence and contain verbs which show dependence as to subject and tense

on the verb of the final clause.

Dependent final clauses occur sentence finally but are dependent

on another clause expressed or understood from the context.

3.1   Any of the basic clause types may occur as transitive, in-

transitive or equational clauses. This further division provides the

following matrix.

	Transitive	Intransitive	Equational
Independ. Med.			
Independ. Final	X	X	X
Depend. Med.	X	X	X
Depend. Final	X	X	X

The distinguishing features between Transitive, Intransitive and Equational clauses are the different fillers of the predicate slot and the different obligatory and optional fillers of lateral slots.

3.1.1 Transitive clauses contain an obligatory predicate slot filled by a verb phrase which, in turn, contains a transitive verb. Optional lateral slots which may occur are Time, Location, Subject, Indirect Obj./Instrument, Object and Negative. The order of slots may vary but the above order is fairly common. The predicate occurs clause final unless there is an appositional phrase. It has been noted that though this occurs in speech the informant does not accept it in material being prepared for writing. The Negative slot may occur anywhere except clause final depending on what is being negated and the emphasis desired.

It is rare to find all these slots filled in any one clause though it might be possible to make such a sentence and have it O.K.'d by an informant. Three or four slots in one clause is more common, any other desired information being included in another clause.

The Time slot is filled by Temporals, temporal phrases or temporal clauses.

The Location slot is filled by locatives, locative phrases or clauses, all occuring with locative suffixes.

The Subject slot is filled by noun phrases, pronouns or clauses.

The Instrument slot is filled by noun phrases occuring with the instrument suffix, -póh.

The Indirect Object slot may be filled by noun phrases, pronouns, or clauses.

The Object slot is filled by noun phrases, pronouns or clauses, sometimes occuring with the object suffix, -n.

The Negative slot is filled by the negative, íhyaa or its shortened form, í.

There are two other slots that may be interpreted as clause level, directional and manner. They might also be interpreted as phrase level and I will put them there for the present.

The following clauses illustrate Transitive clause tagmemes.

> Aapehih - pah anaati pahk - e - m - ih.
> Afei   - at   woman   hold-nt-3p-3fin
>
> "They held a woman at Afei." (Possibly for marriage.)

> Manaa wuhku ti - m - e - m - ih.
> One   book   1p.r.-give-nt-3p-3fin
>
> "He gave me one book." (This verb has an obligatory obj.
>   prefix.)

Transitive clauses which contain an Interrogative word or phrase occur with the word or phrase immediately preceding the predicate.

> ... aahau inte - pah - ket - ah   e   un - iyaa - nap -
>   sun   where- at - from -int here rise-cont-int -
>
> i - no.
> 3fin-emph   "From where is the sun rising?"

A sub-type of transitive clause which is more restricted than the others is the Quotation. The Object slot is filled by the quote which may be a clause or less than a clause. The predicate slot is filled by the verb te "say" (or, possibly, by words like 'shout',etc.)

"Tehi oen waah - na, tatooreh waraa - nte - h - u - no.
     I   new stay-ger,   later   get - fut - 1p - 1fin-emph

Ehi waraa - noo." te - h - u.
You get(imp)-emph say/nt-1p-1fin   '"I, being young, will get (it)

later. You get it now!" I said.'

3.1.2 Intransitive clauses contain an obligatory predicate slot
filled by a verb phrase containing an intransitive verb. Optional
tagmemes which may also occur are Time, Location, Subject, Acquisition/
Referent, Negative. The fillers of these slots and their order are the
same as for Transitive clauses, including the possible occurence of
an interrogative word or phrase.

It should be noted, however, that the Object slot is obligatorily
absent and optional slot filled by either Acquisition or Referent are
obligatorily absent from the Transitive clause. To my knowledge these
last two tagmemes do not occur together so I have assigned them the
same slot.

Acquisition tagmas have only been observed in clauses in which the
predicate slot is filled by a verb of motion. They are filled by noun
phrases.

Examples of Intransitive clauses:

Tarehaa kamani er - e - i -n ... (medial intrans. clause)
   Now   gov't. come-nt-3p-3pv.s.

"Now the government came ..."

Mai - rah kumane.   "Sit down there."
this - on sit(imp.)

Aarinta kayo ira - ih - kon or - iyaa - m - ih.
  girl   group fire-pred-acq. go-cont-3p-3fin

"The group of girls is going for firewood."

<pre>
Taréhaa   Kómpa   tohpe - wan   yot - iyaa - m - ih.
Now   Kompa   machete-ref   look for-cont-3p-3fin
</pre>

"Kompa is looking for the machete now."

3.1.3 Equational clauses are of three types. Type 1 has an oblig-
atory predicate filled by the verb 'be'. Type 2 has an obligatory pred-
icate filled by a predicatized noun phrase. Type 3 has an obligatory
predicate filled by the verb 'stay'.

3.1.3.1 Equational clause Type 1. In addition to the obligatory
predicate filled by o 'be', this clause has an obligatory comment slot
filled by a noun phrase, modifier or pronoun phrase. The filler of the
comment slot normally occurs with the predicatizing suffix, -ih. There
is also an optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase or a pronoun.

<pre>
Wáantá - ih   e - m - ih.   "It is a man."
man - pred.   be/nt-3p-3fin   (or "He is a man.")
</pre>

The above is the simplest form of this clause, but is not as common
as some others.

<pre>
T - ih   iyaa - h - ú - no.   "I am sick."
1p.r.-sick be/cont-1p-1fin-emph
</pre>

<pre>
Káákan - ih   e - m - ih.   "It is big."
Big-pred   be/nt-3p-3fin
</pre>

<pre>
Weni   pon   kaakan - ih   e - m - ih.
His   pig   big-pred.   be/nt-3p-3fin
</pre>

"His pig is big."

<pre>
Tetih - na - ih   e - m - ih.   "It is mine."
my-thing- pred.   be/nt-3p-3fin
</pre>

3.1.3.2 Equational clause Type 2 has an obligatory predicate slot
filled by a predicatized noun, modifier or pronoun phrase. The filler
may be in the indicative, interrogative or emphatic mood (or possibly
certitive).

Waanta - ih   "He/it is a man."
man - pred.

Kaakan - ih   "It/he is big."
 big - pred.

Weih - na - ih   "It is his/hers."
his/her-thing-pred.

Tehi - u - no   "It is I!"
 I-pred-emph

Waanta - p - i   "Is it/he a man?"
 man-int. - pred.

3.1.3.3 Equational Type 3 can also be called 'stative'. The ob-
ligatory predicate is filled by the verb **waa** 'stay', 'remain'; but
it is often best translated as 'be'. This is an irregular verb.

Waanta   waa - m - ih.   "A man stays." (There is a man.)
 man   stay -3p - 3fin

3.2 Independent final clauses may occur in Imperative, Indic-
ative, Interrogative or Question moods.

	Transitive	Intransitive	Equational
Imperative	X	X	not observed
Indicative	X	X	X
Interrogative	X	X	X
Question	X	X	X

Distinguishing features are varying verb morphology, different
responses expected and different obligatory tagmemes in the clause.

3.2.1 Imperative clauses expect an action response from the hearer.
All optional slots for the respective types are possible, but usually
imperative clauses are short with only one or two optional tagmemes
occuring with the obligatory predicate. The verb which fills the pred-

icate. The verb which fills the predicate slot occurs in the imperative
mood.

$$\underline{\acute{O}ro}$$
$$go$$ "Go."

$$\underline{K\acute{u}r\acute{u} \; \acute{u}w\acute{a}raa}$$
$$fence \;\; make$$ "Make a fence."

$$\underline{A\acute{i}ne \;\; upo - n\acute{o}o}$$
$$quickly \; dig\text{-}emph.$$ "Dig quickly!"

3.2.2 Indicative clauses expect no response from the listener —
except, perhaps, that he listen. The indicative mood is unmarked.

This is probably the most common type of clause and has the great-
est potential for expansion.

$$\underline{Kainantu - p\acute{a}h \;\; \acute{o}r - e - m - \acute{i}h.}$$
$$Kainantu - at \;\;\; go\text{-}nt\text{-}3p - 3fin$$

"He went to Kainantu."

$$\underline{\acute{I}y\acute{a}mpon \;\; pon \;\; w\acute{a}hk\acute{u}r - iyaa - m - \acute{i}h.}$$
$$boy \;\;\;\;\;\; pig \;\; chase\text{-} cont\text{-} 3p - 3 \; fin$$

"The boy is chasing a pig."

3.2.3 Interrogative clauses expect a yes or no answer. The verb
which fills the predicate slot occurs with interrogative suffixes
(-rap, -p, -nap) and any of the optional tagmemes can occur.

$$\underline{W\acute{a}\acute{a}nt\acute{a} \;\; k\acute{a}yo \;\; \acute{o}r - e - nap - \acute{i}.}$$
$$man \;\;\;\; group \;\; go \text{-}nt \text{-}3p \; int\text{-} 3fin$$

"Did the men go?"

Ná – nte – p-o.   "Will you eat?"
eat-fut- 2p int -2fin

Táhkoh teteó – nte – rap – ú.
shelf   wash – fut – 1p int -- 1 fin

"Shall I wash the shelf?"

Questions expressing alternatives require two clauses, two inde-
pendent final clauses or one independent and one dependent.

Ori – nte – p – ó. Pá wá – nte – p – ó.
go – fut –2p int -2fin Just stay-fut-2p int – 2fin

"Will you go? Will you just stay?" ("Will you go or stay?")

Or – e – nap – í. Í – p – í.
go–nt-3p int-3fin not-int-3fin   "Did he go or not?"

3.3.4 Question clauses call for an oral response other than yes
or no. As in the interrogative clause the verb occurs with the inter-
rogative suffixes, but there is also an obligatory question word in
this clause that does not occur in indicative, interrogative or im-
perative clauses.

Inté – páh – két – áh ér – e – nap – í.
where-at-from-qu   come-3p int- 3fin

"Where did he come from?"

Iye ór – iyaa – nap – í.   "Who is going?"
who go-cont-3p int -3fin

Nahí – tah iyaa – p – o.   "What are you doing?"
what-qu   be/cont-int - 2fin

3.4 Dependent final clauses are contrary-to-fact clauses and
occur in the subjunctive mood. These need more investigation.

3.5   Independent medials I question.unless they link with the dependent final clauses.

3.6   Dependent medial clauses are of several types. Some express a time difference with the following clause; others express condition, purpose or, perhaps, other kinds of dependence. These have not been thoroughly investigated so the following is merely a collection of observations.

All medial clauses express relationship between the subject of the medial clause and that of the dependent clause. This is indicated by affixation on the verb of the dependent clause.   The affixation differs somewhat depending on whether the subject of the two clauses is the same or different.

If the subjects of both clauses is the same only the preview subject (pvs.) is marked on the dependent verb. These suffixes are as follows:

> 1st person   -h (glottal stop)
>
> 2nd person   # (zero or not marked)
>
> 3rd person   -n

> Téhi ér - e - h te - h - ú.   "I come and speak."
> I   come-nt-1pv.s speak-Ip-Ifin
>
> Ehi ér - e   te - o.   "You come and speak."
> You come-nt-   speak-2fin
>
> Wéhi ér - e - n   te - m - ih.   "He comes and speaks."
> He   come-nt-3pvs. speak-3p-3fin

If the subjects of the two clauses are different the dependent clause contains a verb which occurs with two person-subject suffixes, the first of which indicates the subject of the clause, the second that of the independent clause which follows.

Dependent subject suffixes:

1st person -ké

2nd person -ti

3rd person -i

(This may not hold true in all cases, more investigation is needed.)

$$\frac{\text{Téhi} \quad \text{ér - e - ké -\#} \quad \text{éhi} \quad \text{tí - no}}{\text{I} \quad \text{come-nt-1p-2pv.s.} \quad \text{you} \quad \text{say-may(2p)}}$$

"I come, you may talk."

$$\frac{\text{Éhi} \quad \text{ér - e - ti - h} \quad \text{téhi} \quad \text{teé - nte - h - ú}}{\text{You} \quad \text{come-nt-2p- 1pv.s.} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{say-fut-1p-1fin}}$$

"You come, I will talk."

$$\frac{\text{Wéhi} \quad \text{éri - nt - i - h} \quad \text{téhi} \quad \text{teé - nte - h - ú}}{\text{He} \quad \text{come-nt-3p - 1pv.s.} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{say- fut-1p - 1pv.s.}}$$

"He comes, I will say."

3.6.1 The various types of conditional medial clauses have been illustrated under Conditional sentences, section 2.1.2.2. It may be noted here that the simple conditional clause is the only one in which the dependence upon another clause is marked by suffixes on items other than the verb.

3.6.2 Time relationships: These are indicated by the tense suffixes occuring with the verb in the medial clause. If neutral tense or aspect suffixes occur with the medial verb it takes its tense from the succeeding clause.

$$\frac{\text{kur - e - n} \quad \text{na - nte - m - ih}}{\text{cook-nt -3p} \quad \text{eat -fut-3p - 3fin}} \quad \text{"He will cook and eat."}$$

$$\frac{\text{kur - e - ti - h} \quad \text{naá - nte - h - ú}}{\text{cook-nt -2p -1pv.s} \quad \text{eat - fut -1p-1fin}} \quad \text{"You cook, I will eat."}$$

These are close-knit sequences in which one action follows closely after the other.

When two or more clauses are in loose-knit sequence, the actions occuring with a separation in time or are unrelated, the dependent verb will occur with some type of tense or aspect suffixes.

3.6.2.1 Successive actions are indicated by the narrative suffix -re.

waa - re - h ínt - e - h ér - e - h - ú
stay-narr-1pv.s. finish-nt-1pv.s. come-nt-1p-1fin

"I stayed, finished (and) came."

3.6.2.2 Separation in time

a) The action expressed in the dependent clause takes place first. The dependent verb occurs with the past suffix -ke.

ori - ke - n   uwah   ya - ke - n ...
go-past-3pv.s. make   do-past-3pv.s.

"They went (and) made...."

b) The first action is completed before the second takes place. The dependent verb occurs with the suffix -we ～ -wi.

kiyaahpe - ma   ori - wi - nt - i - h   ti - ruwoo - nte -
kiap - if   go - comp -fut- 3p -1pv.s. 1p.r.-fight-fut-

h - u.
1p-1fin   "If the Kiap went we would fight." or "When
the Kiap goes for good we will fight."

3.6.2.3 Simultaneous action Simultaneous actions are indicated by the simultaneous suffixes -áne or -áke. The first occurs with verbs of motion and the second with others. (These were elicited; the suffix -áne has not been heard in normal speech. Nor do I have any examples in which the subjects differ in the medial and final clauses. More investigation needs to be done here.)

Téhi   ih   ya - áne - h   ér - e - h - ú.
I   song do-while-1p come-nt-1p-1fin

"I sang as I came."

Wéhi   ih   y - iyaa - áke - n   yáwéná áat - iyaa - m - íh.
He   song do-cont-while-3p drum   sound-cont-3p-3fin

"He is singing while sounding the drum."

3.6.3 Purpose clause: The purpose of an action may be indicated by
a dependent medial clause in which the predicate slot is filled by a
verb occuring with the purpose suffix -nto.

Wé - ánkáán óri - ntó - n úhtaa - iyaa - m - íh.
they-all   go -pur -3p prepare-cont- 3p-3fin

"They all are preparing to go."

3.6.4 Combinations of tense and aspect suffixes can also occur with
medial verbs as in the example in 3.6.2.3.

3.6.5 There are some changes of vowel in tense and aspect suffixes
which may indicate third person subject of the medial verb. This area
needs more investigation. Examples are narrative aspect where -re
changes to -ra; completive aspect, -we → -wi; past tense, -ke → -ka;
neutral aspect/tense, -e → -i. There may be others as well.

ínúran aráh óri - ka - n   t - íh
night bowels go-pst/3p-3pv.s 1p.r.-sick
iyaa - h - ú - no ..
be/cont-1p-1fin-emph ..   "..at night her bowels went,'I am sick..'.."

kaako war - e - n   óri - wi - n anaati kayo
cargo get -nt-3pv.s go-comp/3p-3pv.s women group

"they took cargo, went completely the group of women.."

In addition there other medial verb suffixes which have been ob-
served but the meaning of which has not been determined. Two that are
first person are -kuh and -ruh. They must also have some tense or as-

pect significance, but these have not been pinned down.

Paradigms These are included here just so that they
will not be lost. They are listed for same subject and for different
subjects in several tense combinations.

a) Neutral in medial verb, future in final

Same subject: 1-1 kureh naantehu "I cooked (and) I will eat."

2-2 kure nano "You cooked and you may eat."

3-3 kuren nantemih "He cooked (and) he will eat."

Different subjects:

1-2 kureke nano "I cooked, you may eat"

1-3 kureken nantemih "I cooked, he will eat."

2-1 kuretih naantehu "You cooked, I will eat."

2-3 kuretin nantemih "You cooked, he will eat."

3-1 kureih naantehu* "He cooked, I will eat."

3-2 kurei nano* "He cooked, you may eat."

3-3 kurein nantemih* "He cooked and he (another) will eat."

*these need checking

b) Future in both verbs

Same subj.   1-1 kuroonteh naantehu* "I will cook (and) eat."

2-2 kurinti nano "You will cook (and) you may eat."

3-3 kurintin nantemih "He will cook (and) eat."

Diff. subj. 1-2 kuroonteke nano "I will cook, you may eat."

1-3 kuroonteken nantemih "I will cook, he will eat."

2-1 kurintetih naantehu "You will cook, I will eat."

2-3 kurintetin nantemih "You will cook, he will eat."

3-1 kurintih naantehu "He will cook, I will eat."

3-2 kurinti nano "He will cook, you may eat."

3-3 kurintin nantemih "He will cook, he (another) will eat."

c) Neutral in both verbs

Same subj.	1-1	kureh nehu	"I cooked (and) ate."
	2-2	kure neo	"You cooked (and) ate."
	3-3	kuren nemih	"He cooked (and) ate."
Diff. subj.	1-2	kureke neo	"I cooked, you ate."
	1-3	kureken nemih	"I cooked, he ate."
	2-1	kureh nehu	"You cooked, I ate."
	2-3	kuren nemih	"You cooked, he ate."
	3-1	kurih nehu	"He cooked, I ate."
	3-2	kuri nepo	"He cooked, did you eat?"
	3-3	kurin nemih	"He cooked, he (another) ate."

Note: The third person different subject paradigm needs checking. Also note that the neutral tense may be translated present as well as past depending upon the context.

3.7 Included clauses are those which fill a clause level slot. They can fill most any slot, but most often are found in the Location slot or as a modifier in a noun phrase.

waa – ih – páh   "staying place"
stay-3fin-at

wáántá kaá – ih – páh   "man-putting place, i.e.
man   put-3fin- at   a cemetery"

káákán atíh – ma waa – in wáántá
big   nose-cond stay-ger   man
"the man who has a big nose"

.. kihpa – re – n yaa – rah – ke miyan e
   finish-narr-3p wood-on – from   pay   here

wara – nte – m – ih,   "..they will get here the money
get – fut – 3p – 3fin   from the wood which is finished."

4. <u>Verb Phrases</u> Agarabi verb phrases are of two major types,
modified verb phrases and compound verb phrases. Verb phrases fill
the predicate slot in clauses.

4.1 Modified verb phrases consist of an obligatory Head slot
filled by a verb and optional lateral slots, Directional and/or Manner.

4.1.1 Head plus directional:

<u>... ware   mo   a - me.</u>   "...take and give to him there."
take   dir   non-1 -give imp.
              p.r.

<u>yun   waa - p - ó</u>   "Are you up here?"
dir   stay-int-2fin

There are many directionals and they are very common with verbs
of motion.

4.1.2 The verb phrase which includes the Manner slot is more rare
but does occur.

<u>aine   óro</u>   "Go quickly."
quickly go(imp)

<u>tatoóre   te - nóo</u>   "Say it slowly!"
slowly   say-emph
          (imp)

these could be combined as follows:

<u>aine   ware   mo   a - me</u>   "take and give to him
quickly take   dir   non-1p.r.-   there quickly."
                     give/imp

4.2 Compound verb phrases consist of a verb plus an auxiliary,
both being obligatory. There seem to be many varieties of these, not
all of which have been investigated or defined.

There are several auxiliaries, two of which occur as main verbs in
other constructions though the meaning is different then. In the verb
plus auxiliary sequence the meaning is carried by the main verb and the
auxiliary carries the suffixes. These two are <u>yaa</u> "do" and <u>o</u> "be".

A third auxiliary looks like the verb <u>naa</u> "eat", but may be considered
a homophonous form as there is no connection in meaning with "eat".

The four types of compound verb phrases which have been identified
are Simple-auxiliary, Abilitative-auxiliary, Habituative-auxiliary and
Contrary-to-fact-auxiliary.

4.2.1 <u>Simple-Auxiliary</u> +V:mv$_1$ + Aux:<u>yaa</u> The nucleus is filled by a
verb which consists of a form or stem with vowel changes plus a final
glottal stop. The auxiliary which fills the lateral slot is filled by
<u>yaa</u> "do". The main verb carries most of the lexical meaning but no suf-
fixes. The auxiliary carries the tense, aspect and person-subject suffixes.
There often seems no difference in meaning from other non-auxiliary
forms of the main verb, but this type of phrase is very common.

<div align="center">

náh   y - e - m - íh   "He did eat."
eat   do-nt-3p -3fin

</div>

4.2.2 <u>Abilitatative-auxiliary</u> +V:mv$_2$ + Aux:<u>o</u>   Any verb may fill the
nucleus and the lateral slot is filled by <u>o</u> "be". Here, too, the aux-
iliary carries the tense, aspect and person suffixes. The main verb con-
sists of stem plus the abilitative suffix, <u>-ren</u>. The whole phrase ind-
icates abilitative mood.

<div align="center">

naa - rén   e - m - íh "He is able to eat."
eat-abil   be/nt-3p-3fin

</div>

4.2.3 <u>Habituatative-auxiliary</u> +V:mv$_3$ + Aux:<u>o</u> The main verb fills
the nuclear slot and consists of the verb in the neutral tense plus
glottal stop. The auxiliary, <u>o</u> "be", fills the lateral slot in the con-
tinuative aspect which replaces the stem-final vowel — in this case the
whole stem. Thus it consists of <u>-iyaa</u> "continuative" plus person-
subject suffixes.

$$\underset{\text{eat}}{\text{neh}} \quad \underset{\text{be/cont-3p-3fin}}{\text{iyaa - m - íh}} \qquad \text{"He eats (habitually)."}$$

(If this sentence occurred it would probably include an item of
food which is habitually eaten; this simpler form is unlikely.)

4.2.4 <u>Contrary-to-fact-auxiliary</u>   +V:mv₄ +Aux:<u>naa</u>   The main verb
fills the nucleus and consists of stem plus glottal stop. The auxiliary
which fills the lateral slot is <u>naa</u>, meaning unknown. This phrase
indicates contrary-to-fact mood.

$$\underset{\text{eat}}{\text{nááh}} \quad \underset{\text{subj-narr-3p-3fin}}{\text{na - re - m - íh}} \qquad \text{"He might have eaten."}$$

(Again the auxiliary carries the tense, aspect and person suffixes.
There is also a tone change on the stem which is normally low tone.)

4.3 Another commonly occurring verb phrase might be classed as a
close-knit phrase of verb plus verb, both of which add some lexical
meaning and combine to give a slightly different meaning than either one
would have alone. The first verb consists of <u>ti</u> a form of <u>te</u> "say"
and occurs with no suffixes. The second verb is <u>ame</u> "give" and occurs with
the tense, aspect and person suffixes. Together they mean "tell".

$$\underset{\text{other- at   dir   say non-1p.r. -give-3p-3fin}}{\text{éena - páh mo ti a -- me - m - íh.}}$$

"He told him at another place."

$$\underset{\text{say 1st p.r. -give-3p-3fin}}{\text{ti   ti - me - m - íh.}} \qquad \text{"He told me."}$$

4.4 Unidentified auxiliary phrases: There are two common forms
which occur that may later prove not to be separate words forming phrases.
What appears to be the auxiliary is <u>o</u> "be" occurring in different forms.
One is <u>íkan</u>, medially (I don't know if it occurs finally); the other is
<u>úren</u> medially, probably <u>uremih</u> finally.

$$\underset{\text{stay - narr-? be-pst/3p-3pv.s}}{\text{waa - re - h i - ka - n}} \qquad \text{"having stayed"}$$

ipaah u – re – n   "she put aside and .."
forget/ be-narr–3pv,s
put aside

5. Noun Phrases Agarabi noun phrases are of several types, modified,
co-ordinate, possessive, appositional and relator-axis. All but the
relator-axis phrases occur in Subject and Object slots in clauses. Re-
lator-axis phrases occur in lateral slots such as Location, Purpose,
Reason and Instrument.

5.1 Modified noun phrases: Formula: $\pm$ Mod$_2$:adj$_1$ $\pm$ Mod$_1$:adj$_2$/phrase/
clause + Head:Nphr $\pm$ Mod:adj$_2$/adj$_3$

Slot fillers: Adj$_1$ = limiter, pá pára 'just'; or demonstrative
mai 'this/these'; negative ihyaa 'not/no'. Adj$_2$ = an open class of ad-
jectives including those which indicate quantity, quality, etc; but not
including a few which always occur in post-modification slot. The phrase
which may occur in the first pre-modification slot is a numeral phrase;
included clauses may also occur in this slot. Noun phrases occurring in
the Head slot include single nouns which are potential phrases and var-
ious kinds of Noun phrases other than the modification phrase itself.
Adj$_3$ = a limited list of adjectives which never occur in a pre-modifi-
cation slot.

auyén káwé   'new clay pot'
new   clay pot

pára paaén yánáah   'just a small thing'
just small thing

tiyaamihkan tirantamihkan yanka   'twenty sticks'
 my-hands-two my-feet-two   stick

anaati káyo anáá 'only the group of women'
women   group only

minoh wáántá púmaaraa   'all the men and youths'
all   man   youth

mai iráran iyááhen wáántá   'this skirting man'
this skirting being   man

mahtáhe – má   éhyanaín yamúh   'the day the Master
master–cond.   come up   day   comes up'

5.2 Co-ordinate noun phrases: Co-ordinate noun phrases occur as
fillers of the Subject and Object slots in clauses and may fill nu-
clear or lateral slots in phrases. They may be divided into two types,
compound and alternate.

5.2.1 Compound   Formula: $+H_1$:Nphr $+H_2$:Nphr $\pm H_3$:Nphr, etc.

There is no limitation on the number of Head slots nor on the
nouns which may occur as fillers. The Noun phrases which may occur as
fillers are modified, possessor-item or relator-axis phrases.

itana úwé   'bow and arrow'
bow   arrow

tinaahu   tiraaho   tiyawehno   tikeko   tikaako
my–g.fa. my–g.mo. my–?   my–gr.g.fa my gr.g.mo

"my ancestors"

manaa   mahtáhe   mahta   Keti–namáh 'one Master and Mr.
one   master   master Casey–and   Casey'

anaati káyo   áárintá káyo   'women's group (and) girls'
woman   group girl   group   group'

tihkuru iyámpon   anohé   apohé 'school children's mothers
school children   mother father   (and) fathers'

When H is filled by single nouns one or both may optionally occur
with suffixes –wáh , –namáh 'and/with'. When filled by phrases the
nouns filling the H slots in the phrases may take these optional suf-
fixes.

itana – wáh   úwé – wáh   'bow and arrow'
bow – and   arrow– and

manaa   mahtahe – wáh   mahta Ketin – namáh
one   master – and   Mr.   Casey–with

'one Master (European man) and Mr. Casey'

There need not be the same suffix on each even when there is a long
list. This does not seem to change the meaning.

5.2.2 <u>Alternate</u>   Formula: + H:interr. com. sentence + H:interr.

com. sentence

These interrogative comment sentences occurring in clause level

slots are normally minimal, consisting of one word in each H slot.

<u>Ukarumpa - tapi</u>   <u>Punano - pa - tapi</u>
Ukarumpa - int   Punano - at - int

'at Ukarumpa or at Punano?'

5.3 <u>Possessive noun phrases</u> These may be just types of modified

phrases, but this is not definite. There are several sub-types of pos-

sessive noun phrases: possessor-alienable item; possessor-inalienable

item; specifier-item phrases.

5.3.1 <u>Possessor-alienable item</u>   Formula: +Poss:N/Pro + Al:N$_2$/RAphr

The nouns or pronouns occurring in Poss. slot are obligatorily

suffixed by <u>-i</u>, 'possessive'

wé - i   waru - páh   'at his place/village'
he-poss. place- at

wáántá - i yoran   'men's work'
man-poss   work

5.3.2 <u>Possessor-inalienable item</u>   Formula: +Poss:Nphr/Pro +I:N$_2$

Nouns occurring in I slot are either Class II which always occur

with personal referent prefixes or Class III B which occur with these

prefixes in this situation only.

pon   a - maah   "pig's house"
pig non-1st p.r.-house

té ti - waapu   "my husband"
 I 1p.r.-husband

pon   a - yo   "pig's bristle"
pig non-1st p.r.-hair

Mahmuninko   a - náayamun   "Matmuninko's chin"
Matmuninko non-1st p.r.-chin

mái waánta   a - wíh   "this man's name"
this man   non-1st p.r.-name

tihkuru íyámpon   a - nohé   a - pohé
school   children non-1st p.r. mother non-1st p.r.-
                                             father

"school children's mothers and fathers"

(It may be noted that in this type of possessive phrase the suffix
-i 'possessive' is not present.)

5.3.3 Specifier-item Formula: +Spec:Nphr + I:Nphr

Fillers of Specifier and Item slots may be single nouns or ex-
pansions. No obligatory affixes occur, order is significant, also in-
tonation.

anaati   kápínáá   'woman's skirt'
woman   skirt

uraa   ánú   'Pitpit hill'
pitpit hill

anoón   waántá   'adult men/elders'
elder   man

yóhtaa anoón ano   'the head doctor'
doctor elder the

Punaano ááríntá káyo 'Punano girl's group'
Punano   girl   group

káákan mónoh námún   'big church building'
big   religion house

These phrases may be distinguished from co-ordinate phrases by in-
tonation and by transform possibilities. Co-ordinate phrases may be
changed in order without changing the meaning. Possessive phrases change
in meaning (possibly to zero meaning) if the order is altered. Possessive
phrases normally have no more than two nuclear items whereas co-ordinate
phrases have been observed to have up to 14 nuclear items. For example,
the following co-ordinate phrase fills the nuclear slot in an apposition
phrase.

　　　　yaahun tire araná aamo túti yááh katapéh ayááraan

ampakúh ápuáán mahyan yánááh umánti owa   "sweet potato, corn, cucumber,

melon, pumpkin, sugar cane, banana type, banana type, banana type,

banana type, greens type, taro type, taro type, (and) yam"

　　5.4 Appositional noun phrases Formula: App₁:Nphr/clause +

App₂?Nphr/clause ± App₃:Nphr

　　When a single noun occurs in App₁, App₂ is usually filled by a

phrase. Noun phrases which have been noted to occur are modified noun

phrases, possessive, co-ordinate or R/A.

　　　　ánú - páh,　uraa ánú - páh   "on the hill, Pitpit hill"
　　　　hill -at,   pitpit hill-at

　　　　mínoh yánááh,　yunáán   "all things, food"
　　　　all thing　food

　　　　ti - naapu, ti - raaho, ti - yawehno, ti -
　　　　1st p.r.-g.fa, 1st p.r.-g.mo, 1st p.r.- ?,   1st p.r.-

keko ti - kaako, mái wé ánkáám - pín "our grandfathers, our
gr.g.fa, 1st p.r.-gr.g.mo, this their all-in

grandmothers, our (?), our great-grandfathers, our great-grandmothers,

in their time"

　　　　aruwin atiwin umoyanihin,　mái yánááh
　　　　fighting quarrelling stealing, this thing

　　　　"fighting, quarrelling, stealing, these things"

　　　　wáántá íyámpon,　káákan íyámpon,　tíhtoh íyámpon
　　　　man　　boy　　big　　boy　　small　　boy

　　　　"men (and) boys, big boys, small boys"

　　　　peepáh - ma érein,　mái kiyaahpe   "(the one) who came
　　　　before-cond coming, this kiap   before, that kiap"

　　Intonation, repetition of an item or the occurrence of the demon-

strative, mái, 'that/this', mark the occurrence of an appositional

phrase. Occasionally the appositional phrase becomes quite complex.

　　　　yunáán,　yááh,　tápo,　pon,　mái yánááh
　　　　food, sugar cane, greens, pig, this thing

'food, sugar cane, greens, pork, those things'

The above is an example of the double apposition. There is also a possibility of such a double apposition which refers back to yet another item.

<u>Péepáh manaa wáántá amín waarehín mái wáántá</u>
   before   one   man   giving staying this man

<u>nampitipáh ó waaren éreín mái wáántá ano</u>
coast-at   dir stay   came this man   the

'Before they gave her to one man; she stayed and this man (who) stayed at the coast and came, this man...'

5.5 <u>Relator-Axis phrases</u> Relator-Axis phrases in Agarabi are composed of a word, phrase or clause plus a clitic which relates to the whole phrase. They more often are composed of a single word plus clitic. The Time slot may be filled by a relator-axis phrase and Location, Instrument, Reason and Purpose slots are obligatorily filled by them.

5.5.1 <u>Locational R/A Phrases</u> These are probably the most common in occurrence. They consist of an Axis slot filled by an included clause, noun phrase, noun or pronoun, or question word and a Relator slot filled by a locative enclitic, <u>-páh</u> 'at/to/place'; <u>-táh</u> 'on'; <u>-pín</u> 'in'; <u>-téh</u> 'from'. Location relator-axis phrases obligatorily fill the Location slot in a clause.

<u>waru - páh</u   'at the village'
village-at

<u>áná - pín</u>   'in a bamboo'
bamboo-in

<u>nón   aru - páh</u>   'at the river bank'
water bank- at

<u>tihtuah woi waih - páh</u> 'at the store boy's place'
store   boy   staying-at

<u>inté - pah - ke - tah</u>   'from where?'
where- at - from -int

ti - rúh - káá - o - na - páh   'place where you hurt me'
1pr-hurt - pf -2p -ger-at

pon   á - rúah   yeih - páh   "place where they killed
pig   non-1stp.r.-kill doing-at   the pig'

5.5.2 Temporal R/A Phrases These consist of an Axis slot filled
by a noun phrase, noun, pronoun or demonstrative and a Relator slot
filled by the locative enclitics _-táh_ 'on' or _-pin_ 'in'. Time relator-
axis phrases optionally fill the Time slot in clauses.

manaa   órena - rah   'for one year'
one   year - on

Taarare - táh   'on Saturday'
Saturday-on

taréhaa   téhtim - pin   'now in our (time)'
 now   our - in

pée - páh ti - naahu ti - raahom - pin
before-at 1p.r.-g.fa 1p.r.-g.mo- in

'before in our grandparent's time'

5.5.3 Instrument Relator-Axis phrases   These phrases consist
of an Axis slot filled by a noun or a noun phrase and a Relator slot
filled by the instrument enclitic _-poh_ 'with' sometimes followed by
the location enclitic _-keh_ 'from'.

witukaa - póh   'with a small knife'
sm. knife-with

itana - póh - kéh   'with a bow'
bow - with - from

nún   aayo - póh - kéh 'with a bird feather'
bird feather-with-from

5.5.4 Reason R/A phrases These phrases consist of an Axis slot
filled by a noun or pronoun (possible phrases or clauses though there
are no examples of these at hand) and a Relator slot filled by the
reason enclitic _-an_. The Reason Relator-Axis phrase obligatorily fills
the Reason slot in clauses.

ápáán - an (peeh yen)   "(they are afraid) of the sor-
sorcerer-ref   fear   cerer"

a--- nohé - nan (ipih yiyaamih "(he is crying) for
non-1st p.r.-mo -ref crying-   his mother"

5.5.5 Purpose Relator-Axis phrases These phrases consist of an
Axis slot filled by a noun, a pronoun and a Relator slot filled by
the purpose enclitic -ton.

waa - ron (óremíh)   '(she went) for a man'
man- acq   went

ira - ih - kon (óriyaapó) "(are you going) for
firewood-pred-acq going-you   firewood?"

wéhi wén - ton (éremíh) '(she came) for him
she   him-acq   came

5.5.6 Likeness R/A phrases This type needs investigation as I
think it has only appeared in elicitation except for the following
example. It may fill an equational slot of some type.

epan - ten 'white'
cockatoo-like

5.6 Numeral phrases Numbers higher than five are formed by
phrases or clauses. Interpretation of some items in uncertain.

apahpah o kahyen 'six' (literal trans. uncertain)

ti -yaam - ih - kan ti - rantam - ih - kan "twenty"
1st p.r.-hand-pred-2 1st p.r.-foot-pred-2

6. Verb structure

Agarabi verbs exhibit several types of morphophonemic vowel
changes. One such change, which has a wide occurrence, will be briefly
dealt with here. Others with restricted occurrence will be described
in the sections dealing with the morphemes with which they occur.

All morphemes which occur immediately preceding vowel-initial aspect and tense/aspect suffixes drop their final vowel.

<u>naa</u> + <u>iyaa</u> 'Co.' + <u>hu</u> 1p.sg. > <u>niyaahú</u> 'I am eating.'

<u>naa</u> + <u>e</u> 'Ne' + <u>hu</u>   > <u>nehú</u> 'I eat.'

<u>naa</u> + <u>ra</u> 'Na' +<u>e</u> + <u>hu</u>   > <u>nárehú</u>*'I ate.'

*See 6.1.1.1.1 for explanation of the single a.

6.1 Independent verbs

6.1.1 <u>Verb stems</u>   Verb stems occur unaffixed as the 2nd person singular imperative and are divided into two morphological classes of reduction or non-reduction of the stem before certain suffixes.

6.1.1.1 <u>Class I Verb stems</u>. Class I verb stems are those which occur with the following morphophonemic changes and do not reduce.

6.1.1.1.1 <u>Stem-final vowel changes</u>. Stem-final <u>-aa</u> > <u>-a</u>; <u>-e</u> and <u>-o</u> > <u>-i</u> preceding <u>-nte</u> 'Fu' in 2nd and 3rd person forms, <u>-nto</u> 'Pu' and <u>-ram</u> 'De' in all forms.

naa + nte + mih '3p.sg.' > nantemih 'He will eat.'

naa + nto + mih   > nantomih 'He intends to eat."

naa + ram + mih   > naramih   'He wants to eat.'

ere + nte + mih   > erintemih 'He will come.'

oro +nto + mih   > orintomih 'He intends to go.'

The first person future form retains the stem-final vowel.

naa + nte + hu '1p.sg.   naantehu 'I will eat."

Preceding <u>-tinta/anta</u> 'B'; <u>-ke</u> 'P'; <u>-kaa</u> 'Pf' and <u>-ra</u> 'Na' stem-final <u>-aa</u> > <u>-a</u>; <u>-e</u> > <u>-i</u>; <u>C</u>(consonant) <u>o</u> > <u>oi</u>; <u>V</u>(owel) <u>o</u> > <u>Vu</u>; <u>Vho</u> > <u>Vhu</u>.

puhte + anta   > puhtíantaa* 'Blow for him.'

teteho + tinta	>	tetehútintaa	'Wash for me!'
pahkaa + tinta	>	pahkatintaa	'Hold for me!'
naa + ke +hu	>	nákehú	'I ate.'
oro + kaa + hu	>	órikááhu	'I have gone.'
ere + ra + e + hu	>	érirehú	'I came.'

*See 6.1.1.1.2 for explanation of the double aa.

6.1.1.1.2 The final -a of -tinta/-anta 'B' preceding lp.sg Fu suffix and 2p.sg imperative becomes -aa.

puhte + anta   > puhtíantaa 'Blow for him!'

puhte + anta + nte + hu >puhtíantáántehú 'I will blow

for him.'

6.1.1.2 **Class II Verb Stems** Class II verb stems are those which reduce. Those which have a nasal preceding the final vowel drop the vowel preceding benefactive, narrative, past and perfect suffixes. All others drop the final syllable preceding these same suffixes.

6.2 **Affixation.** Personal referent, tense, aspect, mood, voice, number and person-subject are expressed by affixation to the verb stem.

6.2.1 **Prefixation** The one order of prefixes which occurs with Agarabi verbs identifies the person or thing to which the verb refers. The referent is an obligatory bound form with some transitive verbs and an optional one with a few others. There are also some transitive verbs which never take this referent prefix.* The forms of the prefix distinguish only between the speaker and non-speaker (person or thing spoken to or about), remaining the same for all tenses, aspects and numbers. The relationship of referent to verb is that of object, there being no difference in form between direct and indirect object.

*If there were to be considered sub-classes it would lead to considerable confusion, cross-cutting the classes already established. These same personal referent prefixes occur with nouns.

                   Speaker: t-   ti-   (ti)me   'give me'
                                                 (t)aáraa   'call me'

       t- occurs before verbs beginning with a vowel, ti-
elsewhere.

                   Non-speaker: a-   (a)me   'give him'
                                           aáraa   'call him'

       a- does not occur preceding verbs which begin with
a vowel.

   6.2.2 Suffixation
   6.2.2.1. First order suffixes indicate benefactive aspect and dis-
tinguish only between speaker and non-speaker. The occurrence of the
benefactive suffix is optional and restricted only by the semantic
or cultural relevance of such a form.

       Class I verb stems add these and other suffixes directly to the
stem with only the changes mentioned in section 6.111.

                   Speaker: -tinta   puhti(tinta)a 'Blow for me.'
                                           tetehu(tinta)a 'Wash for me.'
                   Non-speaker -anta   puhti(anta)a   'Blow for him.'
                                           tetehu(anta)a 'Wash for him.'

       Class II verb stems exhibit certain changes after reduction
(cf. 6.1.1.1.2) before adding this suffix.

       a) Those Class II stems which have a nasal preceding the
final vowel have a nasal preceding the benefactive suffix.

               onaa + tinta   óntintaa   'Look for me.'
               onaa + anta   ónantaa   • 'Look for him.'

       The following verb stems which do not have a nasal in the stem
also take a nasal preceding the benefactive suffix.

               atéraa   'fell'   máhyaáraa   'pull down'
               kuraraa 'stand up'   púntáraa   'straighten'

taáraa   'prepare'   yaararaa   'cover'

úwáraa   'make'   yúhparaa   'hack'

waraa   'get'   kuro   'cook'

Ex.: taáraa + tinta   >   taántintaa 'Prepare for me.'

      taáraa + anta   >   taánantaa   'Prepare for him.'

b) The following Class II verb stems add a glottal stop
(symbolized h) onto the reduced stem preceding B.

      iyáraa 'block'   yápíte 'look after'

      kupéraa 'pour in'   yapo   'put on'

      peraa 'smear'   yoraa   'work'

      waéraa 'turn around'   úntáraa 'bite'

Ex.: peraa + tinta   >   péhtintaa 'Smear for me.'

      peraa + anta   >   péhantaa   'Smear for him.'

c) The following Class II stems add B directly to the re-
duced stem.

      kááo 'cut'   yápéraa 'sink'

      kátéraa 'deceive'   yiwo   'open'

      wáraa 'sleep'   apo   'put on top of'

      awoho 'find'   wuwo   'shave'

      wowo 'mumu'

Ex.: wuwo + tinta   wútintaa 'Shave for me.'

      wuwo + anta   wúantaa   'Shave for him.'

6.2.2.2 Second order The single member of this order of suffixes
occurs optionally indicating continuative aspect. -iyaa~-inaa. The
form -inaa occurs optionally with verb stems in which the C of the
final CV is a nasal; -iyaa elsewhere.

naa + iyaa + hu   >   n(iyaa)hú 'I am eating.'

onaa + inaa + hu   >   on(inaa)hú 'I am looking.'

This suffix never occurs contiguous to -e 'Ne' nor in combina-
tion with -kaa 'Pf'. When it occurs with no T/A suffix following it, it
indicates present continuous.

6.2.2.3 <u>Third order</u> The single member of this suffixial order
occurs optionally indicating narrative aspect, -ra.

naa + ra + e + hu   > ná(r)ehú 'I ate/eat.'

naa + ra + ke + hu > ná(ra)kehú 'I ate.'

A fourth order suffix is obligatory to the occurence of the
third order suffix.

6.2.2.4 <u>Fourth order</u> Fourth order suffixes occur optionally
indicating time and/or aspect.

    a) Neutral: -e   n(e)hú 'I ate/eat/'

This suffix occurs when neither specific time nor aspect
is being stressed. The context tells whether it is past or present; I
don't know if it would ever be future. It occurs with -iyaa 'Cont'
only in combination with -ra.

    b) Future: -nte   náá(nte)hú 'I will eat.'

This suffix refers to an action to take place in the future.

    c) Purposive: -nto   na(nto)hú 'I intend to eat.'

This also refers to action to take place in the future, but
also states intention, definite purpose.

    d) Past: -ke ~ -te   ná(ke)hú 'I ate.'

                                  ón(te)hú 'I saw.'

This suffix indicates time in the past, recent past or more
distant but not remote past.

e) Perfect: <u>-kaa</u> ᴎ <u>-taa</u>   na(káá)hu 'I have eaten.'

on(táá)hu 'I have seen.'

Class II verb stems which take a nasal preceding B also
take a nasal preceding P and Pf suffixes. These take the <u>-te</u> and <u>-taa</u>
allomorphs.

<u>wowo</u> 'mumu', <u>wuwo</u> 'shave' and <u>peraa</u> 'smear' add an /a/
preceding P and Pf suffixes. All other Class II stems add these suf-
fixes directly to the reduced stem. All these plus Class I stems take
the <u>-ke</u> and <u>-kaa</u> allomorphs of P and Pf suffixes.

6.2.2.5 <u>Fifth order</u> Fifth order suffixes occur optionally and
indicate number.

a) Singular: #

b) Dual: 1p: <u>-nta</u>   niyaa(ntá)u 'We two are eating.'

2p: <u>nt</u>   niyaa(nt)o   'You two are eating.'

Only one doubtful example of 3p dual has been found in the
data; the singular form is usually used.

c) Plural: 1p:<u>-ipe</u> ᴎ <u>-ipaa</u> niyaa(ipe)hú 'we are eating.'

2p: <u>-r</u>   niyaa(r)ó 'You are eating.'

No 3p plural form has been found to date.

<u>-ipaa</u> occurs preceding <u>n</u>; <u>-ipe</u> elsewhere.

6.2.2.6 <u>Sixth order</u> There are two members of this order; both
are rare.

a) Prohibitive: <u>-raa</u>   niyaa(raa)u 'I should not eat.'

This suffix indicates something that is not or should not
be done. The ordinary negative is expressed by a free form preceding
the verb. It is optional in occurrence.

b) Immediate: <u>-no</u>   náá(no)wamú 'I want to eat right

This morpheme has been found only in combination with
<u>-wam</u> 'De'. (Also optional)

6.2.2.7 <u>Seventh order</u> The one suffix which occurs in this
position is optional and indicates the desiderative mood. It is re-
stricted in occurrence, never occurring in conjunction with, tense or
aspect suffixes.

<div style="text-align:center">

-ram ~ -wam   na(ram)ú 'I want to eat.'

naáno(wam)ú 'I want to eat right

now.'
</div>

-ram occurs when contiguous to the stem; -wam elsewhere.

In forming the desiderative interrogative the nasal is re-
placed by the unidentified morpheme -ra which is then followed by the
interrogative suffix -p.

naáno(wárá)po 'Do you want to eat right now?'

This -ra also occurs with a few other 1p interrogatives,
meaning uncertain.

6.2.2.8 <u>Eighth order</u> - Eighth order suffixes occur obligatorily
and indicate mood. They can occur in conjunction with the seventh or-
der. (See last example under 6.2.2.7.)

a) Indicative: #   niyaaó 'You are eating.'

b) Interrogative: -p   niyaa(p)ó 'Are you eating?'

6.2.2.9 <u>Ninth order</u> Ninth order suffixes occur obligatorily
and indicate person-subject.

a) 1p: -hu ~ -u   niyaa(hú) 'I am eating.'

-hu occurs following vowels, -u elsewhere.

b) 2p: -o   niyaa(ó) 'You are eating.'

c) 3p: -ih ~ -mih   niyaa(míh) 'He is eating.'

-ih occurs with neutral prohibitive and permissive forms;
-mih elsewhere.

6.2.2.10 <u>Tenth order</u>   Tenth order suffixes occur optionally
and indicate emphasis.

    a) Ordinary emphasis: <u>-no</u>~<u>-noo</u>   naa(nóo)'Eat!'

                                      nehú(no) 'I ate!'

<u>-noo</u> is the 2nd person emphatic imperative; <u>-no</u> occurs
elsewhere.

    b) Certitive: <u>-mpo</u>   nehú(mpó) 'I certainly ate.'

<u>Residue</u>: Complex and compound forms have also been observed,
but have not been fully analyzed. Permissive and hortative moods have
also been observed and may prove to be forms of the imperative.

    In addition to these there are some idiomatic expressions in
which the sum of the parts does not equal the meaning of the whole.

                  <u>aah   yiyaahu</u> 'I am getting wet.'
                  rain doing-I

    Occasionally reduplication of the stem or a portion thereof
occurs expressing intensification of the action.

              <u>puhputiyaahu</u> 'I am blowing and blowing.'

    Footnotes for this section:

    1. Distinction between direct and indirect object is men-
tioned only because of the translation into English.

    2. <u>a</u> + <u>aa</u> becomes <u>aa</u>

    3. This alternation is explained in the section on verb stems.

    7. <u>Nouns</u>   Nouns occur in the Subject and Object slots in clauses,
as Head in Noun phrases. They may be modified by numerals and modi-
fiers. They may be sub-divided on the basis of their occurrence with the
personal referent prefix. Some nouns, such as kinship terms and body

parts, occur obligatorily with this prefix; others may optionally
occur with it and some never do. These prefixes are **ti-**, first person
referent, and **a-**, non-first person referent.

<div style="margin-left:2em">

ti - nohe   'my mother'
1pr -mother

a - pohe   'his father'(or her/your/their)
non-1-father
pr

a - tih   'his nose'
non-1pr-nose

</div>

The prefixes are obligatory in these case. In the following
it is optional.

<div style="margin-left:2em">

we a - maah   'his house'
his non-1pr-house

</div>

Most nouns would not occur with this prefix.

8. **Pronouns** Pronouns may also occur in the Subject and Object slots
in clauses, but seldom, if ever, in modified phrase in such slots. They
do not occur with as many affixes as nouns and are a closed class.

<div style="margin-left:2em">

tehi   'I/we'

ehi   'You'

wehi   'He/she/they'

ten   'Me/us'

en   'You'

wen   'Him/her/them'

</div>

The objective forms do not occur as often as might be expected
since some verbs occur obligatorily with personal referent prefixes
which express object or indirect object.

9. <u>Modifiers</u>   Modifiers occur in the Modifier slots in noun and verb phrases. They may be sub-divided into adjectives which occur as modifiers in noun phrases and adverbs which occur in verb phrases. At present I don't have enough evidence to justify separating them further.

9.1 <u>Adjectives</u>:

kaákan	'big'
epanten	'white'
auyen	'new'

9.2 <u>Adverbs</u>:

| aíne | 'quickly' |
| tatoóre | 'slowly/later' |

10. <u>Locatives</u>   Locatives normally occur in Locational slots in the second position in clauses. They occur often with locational clitics.

11. <u>Temporals</u>   Temporals normally occur in the Time slot, first position in clauses. They do not occur with any distinctive affixes with the exception of <u>pee</u> 'before' which often occurs with <u>-pah</u> 'at' unless this is merely a homophonous form.

taréhaa	'now'
ataréhaa	'later'
peé	'before'
inun	'yesterday/tomorrow'

12. <u>Directionals</u>   This is a limited class of words occurring normally immediately preceding the predicate in clauses. They indicate direction toward or away from the action and, also, up or down.

ó	'direction away from'
é	'direction toward'
ún	'up there'

KOBON PHRASES

Marcus & May Dawson

0.   INTRODUCTION

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

I.   VERB PHRASES.

1.1. Verb Phrase Margin Paradigms

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

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

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

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

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

1.1.1. General Morphophonemic Rules.

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

<u>hangg</u> + -<u>né</u> = <u>hanggéné</u>   'I spoke'

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

<u>wam</u> + -<u>mdin</u> = <u>wamémdin</u>   'I used to wrap, bind.'

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

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

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

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

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

faqné   'I struck'

fauné   'I struck'

faqun   'let us strike'

fauun   'let us strike'

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

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

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

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

1.2.   Final Verb Phrase Margin Paradigms

1.2.1. There are three types of main verb phrase margin

paradigms. Formulae for these types are based on Chart

C in section 1.2.4.   It will be seen that Chart C is

in turn derived from Charts A and B of the same

section (1.2.4.).

> Type 1 Final Verb Phrase Margin = + Tense:tense
>
> marker + Aspect, Person, Number: class A suff.
>
> + Mood: mood marker.
>
> Paradigms of this type are considered below:

1.2.1.1. Less Immediate and Distant Past (Perfect)

In this paradigm the past tense is indicated by

a zero morpheme in the first slot of the margin. This

is suffixed by a class A portmanteau morpheme which

indicates the verb's aspect, person, and number. A

further zero suffix then indicates the mood of the verb.

1 sing.	fu-∅-né-∅	'I broke'
2 sing.	fu-∅-na-∅	etc.
3 sing.	fu-∅-a-∅	
1 duo	fu-∅-lo-∅	
2 duo	fu-∅-lé-∅	
3 duo	fu-∅-lé-∅	
1 pl.	fu-∅-no-∅	
2 pl.	fu-∅-be-∅	
3 pl.	fu-∅-la-∅	

1.2.1.2. Past--Contrary to Fact.

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

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

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

han-bé-ne-f   'I would have rested'

Compare this with the paradigm just listed.

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

    hangg-éf-ne-f   'I would have spoken'

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

    faq-fé-ne-f   'I would have struck'

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

    There are four paradigms of this type.

1.2.2.1. Recent or Immediate Past--Stative.

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

1 sing.   fu-b-in   'I have broken'

2 sing.   fu-b-an   etc.

3 sing.   fu-éf-∅

1 duo   fu-b-ul

2 duo   fu-b-il

3 duo   fu-b-il

1 pl.   fu-b-un

2 pl.   fu-b-im

3 pl.   fu-b-al

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

(a)   -éb occurs following -r

       ar + -b = aréb   'he has gone'

(b)   -émb occurs following a nasal:

       néng + -b = néngémb   'he has perceived'

(c)   -éf occurs in all other environments. e.g.:

       lau + -b = lauéf   'he has cooked'

(d)   -umb occurs as an alternative to -éf in the

       environment just quoted, i.e. following -au . e.g.:

       lau + -b = lauumb   'he has cooked'

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

1.2.2.2. Iterative--Past and Present.

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

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

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

fu-ménd-in   'I used to break' (and still do)

etc.   etc.

1.2.2.3. Present Progressive

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

1 sing.	fu-amb-in	'I am breaking'	(trans.)
2 sing.	fu-amb-én	etc.	
3 "	fu-amb-∅		
1 duo	fu-amb-ul		
2 duo	fu-amb-il		
3 duo	fu-amb-il		
1 pl.	fu-amb-un		
2 pl.	fu-amb-im		
3 pl.	fu-amb-él		

1.2.2.4. Future

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

1 sing.	fu-namb-in	'I will break'
2 sing.	fu-namb-én	etc.
3 sing.	fu-namb-∅	
1 duo	fu-namb-ul	
2 duo	fu-namb-il	
3 duo	fu-namb-il	
1 pl.	fu-namb-un	
2 pl.	fu-namb-im	
3 pl.	fu-namb-él	

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

1.2.3.1.   Imperative.

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

1 sing.	fu-én	'let me break'
2 sing.	fu-∅	etc.
3 Sing.	fu-ang	
1 duo	fu-ul	
2 duo	fu-él	
3 duo	fu-él	
1 pl.	fu-un	
2 pl.	fu-im	
3 pl.	fu-lang	

Irregularities in two common verbs are:

ar-u   'you (sing.) go'

aw-e   'you (sing.) come'   (The alternative

                                form au is used

                                occasionally.)

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

1.2.3.2.   Hortative

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

 1 sing.   <u>fu-nam</u>   'I should, must, ought to,

 2 sing.   <u>fu-mén</u>   want to break'

 3 sing.   <u>fu-ném</u>   etc.

 2 duo   <u>fu-mil</u>

 2 pl.   <u>fu-mim</u>

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

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

1.2.4.   Final Verb Phrase Margin Paradigms Charted.

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

Chart A.   Final Verb Phrase Margins

Person-Number	Class A$_1$ Less Immediate and Distant Past (Perfect)	Class A$_2$ Past – Contrary to Fact
1 sing.	fu-∅-né	fu-bé-ne-f
2 sing.	∅-na	-bé-na-f
3 sing	∅-a	-bé-∅-f
1 duo	∅-lo	-bé-lo-f
2 duo	∅-lé	-bé-le-f
3 duo	∅-lé	-bé-le-f
1 pl.	∅-no	-bé-no-f
2 pl.	∅-be	-b -e -f
3 pl.	∅-la	-bé-la-f

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

(a)   /é/in 1st sing. and 2nd and 3rd duo changes to
      /e/ before being suffixed.

(b)   3rd sing. -a is elided in column 2.

(c)   2nd pl. -be from column 1 is fused with tense
      morpheme -bé in column 2.   The effect appears to
      be as follows, where the bracketed phonemes are
      elided:

      -b(é)   + -(b)e   =   -b-e

Since the two corresponding sets of morphemes
are basically the same they may be referred to as
subclasses A_1 and A_2 aspect, person, number morphemes.
On comparing the meanings of the paradigms in sections
1.2.1.1. and 1.2.1.2., it is evident that the aspect is
completive in each case.

Chart B.   Final Verb Phrase Margins

	Class B_1 Recent or Immediate Past - Stative	Class B_2 Iterative - Past and Present	Class B_3 Present Progressive	Class B_3 Future
Person -Number				
1 sing.	fu-b-in	fu-md-in	fu-amb-in	fu-namb-in
2 sing.	-b-an	-md-an	-amb-én	-namb-én
3 sing.	-éb	-md-éf	-amb	-namb
1 duo	-b-ul	-md-ul	-amb-ul	-namb-ul
2 duo	-b-il	-md-il	-amb-il	-namb-il
3 duo	-b-il	-md-il	-amb-il	-namb-il
1 pl.	-b-un	-md-un	-amb-un	-namb-un
2 pl.	-b-im	-md-im	-amb-im	-namb-im
3 pl.	-b-al	-md-al	-amb-él	-namb-él

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

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

(b) 3rd sing. zero morpheme in columns 1, 3, 4 is

manifested as -éf in column 2. It will be noted that

this is the same as the 3rd sing. tense morpheme

in column 1.

The four sets of morphemes are very similar and

it will in fact be seen that sets 3 and 4 are identical

and thus the sets may be referred to as subclasses

B_1, B_2, and B_3 aspect, mood, person, number morphemes.

The aspect of these four paradigms may be defined

as non-completive. In the case of the recent or immedi-

ate past tense, the person or thing is considered to

be still in the state of having performed the action

in question and so there is the possibility of the

action being continued. There is definitely no such

idea of finality as is found in the less immediate

and distant past tense.

The corresponding imperative and hortative sets

of morphemes are sufficiently different to merit being

treated separately and they are referred to as Classes

C and D respectively.

The formation of the various paradigms can now

be charted as follows:

Chart C

Paradigm	Stem	Tense	Aspect Person Number	Mood
Less Immediate and Distant Past (Perfect)	Stem	$\emptyset$	Class A_1	$\emptyset$
Contrary to Fact	Stem	$-b$	Class A_2	$-f$
			Aspect, mood, person, number.	
Recent or Immediate Past -- Stative	Stem	$-b$	Class B_1	
Iterative - Past and Present	Stem	$-md$	Class B_2	
Present Progressive	Stem	$-amb$	Class B_3	
Future	Stem	$-namb$	Class B_3	
	Stem			
Imperative	Stem		Class C	
Hortative	Stem		Class D	

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

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

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

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

(3b) Different Actor
     Indicator : -ai   The verb phrase to which this
                         morpheme is suffixed is still
                         considered a main verb phrase
                         since it may end a sentence. In
                         such cases, however, there clearly
                         are obvious inferences which the
                         speaker does not consider it
                         necessary to state.

(4) Tense : tense marker   (Already discussed)

(5) Aspect, Mood, Person,

     Number   (Already discussed)

(6) Mood : mood morpheme   (Already discussed) This

                              only occurs if mood is not

                              included in the portmanteau

                              morpheme filling the previous

                              slot (5).

(7) 'Slot' : -ar   The precise meaning of this

                              suffix is not yet known. At

                              present it is being translated

                              as 'thus'.

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

(a) Slots (4), (5), and (6) can, as a sequence, co-occur
     with any permissible combination of the other slots.

(b) Of the remaining slots -ha may not co-occur with
     either -aj or -ai, though all three may occur with
     the negative.

(c) -ar may not follow -ai but can co-occur with any
     other combination which results after the above
     rules have been applied.

Examples:

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

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

Main verb phrase Margin = $\pm$ Completive: -ha $\pm$ Neg: -angg $\pm$ Completed action: -aj $\pm$ Diff Actor Indicator: -ai $\pm$ Tense:tense marker + Aspect-Mood-Person-Number: portmanteau classes A - D $\pm$ Mood:mood marker $\pm$ Intensifier: -ar .

The completive: -<u>ha</u> isometimes occurs on the pen-ultimate verb stem instead of on the ultimate (but never on both), e.g.

<u>r**i**mb-ha</u>   <u>yu-∅</u>

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

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

<u>wénd</u>   <u>nyé-ha-b-an</u>

hold   give 'completive' recent you
                                 past

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

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

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

1.3.   Medial Verb Phrase Margin Paradigms

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

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

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

The various paradigms are considered below:

1.3.1.   Anticipated Action by the Same Subject

In this paradigm the slot is filled by class E_1 time, subject, person, number morphemes.

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

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

1.3.2. Anticipated Action by a Different Subject.

The slot in this case is filled by class E_2 time,
subject, person, number morphemes.

1 sing.	fu-ne	'...break...' (1st person sing.)
2 sing	fu-é	etc.
3 sing	fu-6	
1 duo	fu-lo	
2 duo	fu-lé	
3 duo	fu-lé	

1 pl.   fu-no

2 pl.   fu-be

3 pl.   fu-lé

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

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

rol   yand néf hangg-né   neng-mén
tomorrow I   you speak I (with further   perceive you
                         action anticipated (with further
                         by a different   action antici-
                         subject)   pated by the
                                            same subject)

wéngk   g-i-∅
work   do ↓ you (sing) (imp.)
             vowel assigned to aid pronunciation

'Tomorrow I (will) speak to you (and) you must under-

stand (and) do the work.'

It is easy to see that the tense of hangg-né is

taken from the time word in its own clause, especially

since the imperative verb phrase in the final clause

does not have a tense slot in any case.

Again it is easy to see that the speaker is

hardly likely to be commanding himself to speak and

thus the mood also is taken from context rather than

from the succeeding main verb.

1.3.3. Simultaneous Action by the Same Subject.

Here there is only one morpheme as filler of the

slot for all persons and numbers. It may be termed

class E_3 time, subject, person, number morpheme,

though in actual fact the person and number in this

case are taken from the margin of the following verb

phrase.

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

This filler of the slot indicates that the action

of the verb phrase of which it is the margin is per-

formed simultaneously with the action of the following

verb phrase and by the same subject. The person and

number is indicated in the margin of the second verb

phrase but it is not known apart from this.

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

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

Allomorph -él occurs elsewhere.

1.3.4. Purpose Action by the Same Subject

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

fu-ningk   '...in order to break...' (any

person or number)

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

1.4. Verb Phrase Formulae

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

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

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

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

Transitive Final

ràmb   wénd   ar-amb-Ø

cut   hold go pres. he
                 tense

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

Transitive Medial

wénd bo gɨ   yu-mén

hold └──────┘ remove you (sing.) This is a medial verb
      unwrap   suffix which anticipates
                              further action by the
                              same subject.

Intransitive Final

fa   gɨdé gɨ   lug-éf-∅

strike └─snap─┘ fall recent   it

                        past

'it has broken loose and fallen down.' (speaking of a
                              button which had been
                              insecurely attached
                              to a garment)

Intranstive Medial

af ran   jaq-é

come come up ascend it (Suffix anticipating succeeding
    (out of   action by a different subject)
    hiding)

'it (will) come up (out of hiding).'

This utterance was used in the context of the future

tense and thus "will" is inserted in parenthesis.

Ditransitive Final

wénd   ny-ha-b-an

hold give completed recent →you (sing.)

              action   past

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

Ditransitive Medial

wénd   ny-ém

hold   give he (suffix anticipating further action

                    by the same subject)

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

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

    VP_2 = +Aux_2:noun (a) or noun (b)/adj./verb (a) or
verb(b) + v.Head$_2$:v_3 + v.Margin:medial suff./final suff. ass.

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

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

Verb phrases with g as Head may be either transitive, intransitive, or stative; whilst verb phrases with $\underline{1}$ as Head may be either transitive or stative.

1.4.2.2.   Stative verb phrases with either g or $\underline{1}$ as Head have certain peculiar characteristics:

(a)   Verb phrases of this type could be termed "pseudo passive" in that the subject of the utterance is in a sense the recipient of the condition spoken about. This is seen from the fact that the person suffix on the verb g or $\underline{1}$ is always the third person singular. There would thus seem to be some imaginary actor involved.

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

Examples of VP_2

g with noun - Transitive

manggum   g-i-∅

pile   do-(vowel arbitrarily assigned   —you (sing.)

              to stem for purpose of   (imp.)

              pronunciation)

'You pile (them) up.'

    g with noun -- Intransitive

    rul   gé-namb-én

    hole do— future tense—you.(sing.)

'You will fall down (the hole).'

    g with noun -- Stative

    (bi iru)   ménya   g-éf-∅

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

'(Many men) are sick.'

    g with adj. -- Intransitive

    manjé   g-ém

    big   do—he (further action anticipated

                        by the same subject).

'He is trying hard (tense supplied).'

    g with adj. -- Stative

    (kanyém) aiinch   g-ef-∅

    (bananas) good   do — recent —it

                             past

'(The bananas) are good.'

1   with noun -- Stative

(yand)   wése   1-éf-∅

(I)   sores   / recent   it
                   /   past
                  /
            to be in an

            established condition

'(I) have some sores.'

1 with verb -- Transitive

(bi kaiin)   fa   1-éf-∅

(man dog)   strike   / recent   he
                     /   past
                    /
            to be in an

            established condition

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

fa, above, is a verb as it can occur in isolation.
An independent verb does not occur with g in this way.

1 with verb -- Stative

(ni bi)   ré | 1-éf-∅

(you man)   to | recent   it
                   |
          resemble | past
                   |
            to be in an established condition

'(You) resemble (the man).'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. NON-VERBAL PHRASES

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

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

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

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

2.1. Noun Phrases

2.1.1. Compound Noun Phrase.

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

Compound NP = + Supplement:n + Supplement:n

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

e.g.   <u>kali</u>   <u>ramé</u>

      nail, prick,   junction

         hook

              'a comb'

         <u>gafi</u>   <u>mangge</u>

         star   lump

              'a button'

         <u>wim</u>   <u>ru</u>

         bow   axe

         'bride price'

2.1.2.   Reduplicated Noun Phrase

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

      Reduplicated NP = + Head:n + Head:n

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

         (<u>nan</u>)   <u>ajéf</u>   <u>ajéf</u>

         (thing) rubbish rubbish

                   'much rubbish'   i.e.   much more than there

                              would be if one merely said

                                   '<u>nan ajéf</u>'

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

2.1.3.   Basic Noun Phrase

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

Basic NP = $\pm$ Attribute:Compound NP/Modified NP + Head:n/
          Compound NP/Reduplicated NP.

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

nanggɨ   réngg-ef   isu

rope to roll (adjectivizer) string figure

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

                                   of rolled rope.

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

Blendo ram

Blendo house

'Blendo's house'

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

according to the particular combination of words
involved:

kéfélt   asémen

weeds   organic matter

'organic matter consisting of weeds'

nyéngk   altÅng

water   bamboo

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

2.1.4. Modified Noun Phrase

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

Modified NP = + Head:Basic NP $\pm$ M$_1$:adj/Reduplicated Adj.P
$\pm$ M$_2$:adj/Reduplicated Adj.P/Noun Phrase
Characterizer P $\pm$ Possession:pro $\pm$ Quantity:
quantity adj. or Quantity Adj.P/numeral or
Numeral P $\pm$ Specifier:demonstrative or
Demonstrative P/locative w. $\pm$ Limiter:néf

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

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

kéfia   hel   nÌ   méhéf
rat   traps your two
'your two rat traps'

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

bÌ   anyÌ   af   néf
man   one   .some only
              (specifier)
'some man ── one only'

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

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

    (mamb) mélé   mélé

    (tree)   long   long

    '(a) very long (tree)'

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

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

    némbi   rénd   mélé

    woman   white   tall

    'the tall white woman'

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

> nyi   fro   rénd
>
> boy   small white
>
> 'the small white boy'

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

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

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

a possessive pronoun depicting the same owner as has

already been mentioned, but a pronoun referring to a

different owner is quite normal. e.g.

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

Concerning the quantity slot, the quantity adjec-

tive phrase and the numeral phrase are each dealt with

in their own separate sections (see 2.2.4. and 2.2.5.).

The modified noun phrase formula shows that the

specifier slot may be filled by a demonstrative phrase, and

this phrase type is considered in section 2.2.6. An alter-

native filler is a locative word such as <u>i</u> : 'here' and

<u>u</u> : 'there'. Words of this type have a dual role in that

they are in effect specifiers as well as being locatives.

2.1.5.   Interrogative Noun Phrase

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

n/Compound NP $\pm$ Q*:Interrog. pro/question

word/question phrase.

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

one phrase.

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

ban   meneng

which ground

man

'which man's ground'

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

néhén mané

what   talk

'what talk (speech)?'

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

némbi   an

woman   which

'which woman?'

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

nan mangge   aigek

thing lump   how much
⌊_____⌋
   food

'how much food?'

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

2.1.6. Coordinate Noun Phrase

The coordinate noun phrase functions in the sub-
ject, object or indirect object slots on clause level.
Coordinate NP = + Head:Bas. NP $\pm$ Linker:ambe + Head:
Bas. NP $\pm$ Linker:ambe $\pm$ Head:Bas. NP
$\pm$ Linker:ambe $\pm$ Head:Bas. NP $\pm$ Linker:
ambe etc.

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

némbi rénd bì rénd   (au-b-al)
women white men white (come recent they)

                                   past

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

mimor   ambe fénch ambe (ménd-angg-éf-∅)
beetles and hat   and (stay negative recent it)

                                   past

'beetles and hat (are not present)'

A free translation is as follows:

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

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

manch mɨ ambe kanyém bɨly agai   ambe yém-∅-né-∅
sweet taro and bananas sugar pitpit and plant \ I   indicative
potato   past
                                             tense   mood

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

2.1.7. Accompaniment Noun Phrase

The accompaniment NP fills the manner slot on clause level.

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

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

nyɨ némbi gau féngk (ar-amb-∅)
child women there with (go present he)
                              tense

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

2.1.8.   Additive Noun Phrase

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

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

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

mamb kumb   halé   (mend-éf-∅)

trees big   in (stay   recent it)

              ·addition   past

'(there are) some more big trees'.

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

nyéngk halé   (nyéng-∅)

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

        addition

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

méng   halé   (ar-u-∅)

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

        addition   to aid pronunciation

'(You go) in the rain.'

2.2. Modifier Phrases

2.2.1. Reduplicated Adjective Phrase

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

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

(ram) kumb kumb

(house) big big

(a) very big (house)

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

(nan) fro   fro   aiinch aiinch

(thing) small small good   good

'(something) very small and very good'

2.2.2. Noun Phrase Characterizer Phrase

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

be/hale

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

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

  (<u>nan</u>) <u>mengk</u> <u>bé</u>   (<u>yand</u>)
(thing) teeth with (my)
'(my thing) with teeth'

(<u>bë</u>) <u>kéfai</u>   <u>bé</u>
(man) skin disease   with
'(a man) with a skin disease'

(<u>ram</u>   <u>kumb</u>) <u>kaming</u> <u>bé</u> (<u>yand</u>)
(house big) green   with (my)
'(my big) green (house)'

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

2.2.4. Quantity Adjective Phrase

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

remnaf hale

·some   with, in addition

'some more'

The word remnaf may be abbreviated to af and then
the phrase becomes af hale.

2.2.5. Numeral Phrase

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

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

After the number twelve the body parts from the collar
bone down to the thumb have the word b́eng after them.
b́eng means 'the other side'. The forefinger and the
next two fingers have the word u̱   'there' following
them.   Then after the little finger is named the word
j̱u-́ef-∅̸ is said.   This means 'it has pulled' and
pull recent it

     past

denotes that the basic unit has been completed.

     From the above explanation it will be realized
that kanggolt : (the wrist) means 'six', and that there-
fore, according to the system, kanggolt b́eng (the op-
posite wrist) means 'eighteen'.

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

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

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

<u>wa nyéngk némbé</u>   <u>dang</u>   <u>ju-éf-Ø</u>

little finger   across   pull   recent   it
                                                   past

'forty-six'

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

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

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

nyén manggé béng béng

hand lump   side side
└──────────┘
    fingers

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

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

anyá   'one'

méhéf   'two'

méhéf nénggan

'two' 'one'   'three'

méhéf méhéf

'two' 'two'   'four'

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

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

kanoh méhéf nénggang néng-b-in

pigs two   one   see recent I

      three   past

'I have seen three pigs.'

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

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

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

    bé   meh-au
    men two there
    'two men there'

    bé   meh-au   nénggan
    men two there one
    'three men there'

    bé   meh-au   meh-au
    men two there two there
    'four men there'

The suffix -ai functions in precisely the same
manner:

bᵻ   méh-ai   méh-ai

men   two here two here

'four men here'

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

méhéf méhéng

two   only

'two only'

méh-au   méhéng

two there only

'two there only'

méh-ai   méhéng

two here   only

'two here only'

2.2.6. Demonstrative Phrase

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

mar   af

this, piece, thing

the one con-

cerned

'this thing (the one just mentioned)'

2.3. Locative Phrases

2.3.1. Locative Phrase

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

Locative P = $\pm$ Loc:loc$_1$ $\pm$ ($\pm$ Loc:loc$_2$ + Loc:Loc$_3$)

$\pm$ ($\pm$ Loc:loc$_4$ + Loc:loc$_5$) $\pm$ (Loc:loc$_4$

+ Loc:loc$_5$)

Locative words are grouped into five classes. These classes relate to the order in which the locative words occur as fillers of slots in the locative phrase. The locative words occur as stratified⁺fillers of the slots and do not modify each other in any way. Instead, each adds its own specific information as to the whereabouts of the subject under discussion.

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

Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 4	Class 5
Immediate relation to the feature concerned	Distance	Here and There etc.	Place	Position in three dimensional space	Place	Position in three dimensional space
andé above (in relation to the object concerned	_sel_ close to	_au_ there	_ga_ place	_lik_ a little above (in relation to where the speaker is situated)		

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

		ang in the middle		_lik_ a little above	_ga_ place	_yak_ a little below

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

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

2.3.2. Locational Noun Phrase

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

Locational NP = + Head:Modified NP $\pm$ Localizer:

Modified NP + M:Locative P

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

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

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

ram   yilt   g-lang
house area   place below

'The narrow margin of ground immediately surround-
ing the house below.'

andan   dum   mἀng

road   mountain downstream

'the road on the mountain downstream'

In the first utterance <u>ram</u> <u>yilt</u> fills the head
slot of the locational noun phrase whereas in the second
utterance <u>andan</u> fills the head slot and <u>dum</u> the local-
izer slot. The following examples illustrate the full
expansion of the locative phrase which fills the
modifier slot:

Head	Locative Phrase						
	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 4	Class 5
<u>ram</u> house	<u>hong</u> outside	<u>sel</u> close to	<u>au</u> there	<u>ga</u> place	<u>lἀk</u> a little above		

'the place outside the house close to there, a little above'

Head	Locative Phrase						
<u>ram</u> house					<u>yang</u> below	<u>gé</u> place	<u>dang</u> across

'the house in the place below and across'

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

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

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

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

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

<u>ram</u>   <u>gau</u>

house place there

'the house in the place there'

<u>némbi</u>   <u>gau</u>

women   place there

'those women there'

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

2.3.3. Compound Locational Noun Phrase.

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

<u>andan</u>   <u>fre</u>   i   <u>dum</u>   <u>lang</u>

road   small   here mountain on top

'on the small road here on the mountain top'

ram   raur   meltef   gau

house inside   dry   place there

'a dry place inside the house'

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

2.4.   Question Phrase

The question phrase fills the question slot fol-
lowing the head in the interrogative noun phrase.

The only question phrase found to occur is as
follows:

nehen   nehen

what   what

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

(wengk)   nehen   nehen

(work)   what   what

'what kinds of (work)'

(mani nɨ) nɵhɵn   nɵhɵn

(money your) what   what

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

varieus places.

6.8. Temporal Phrase

The temporal phrase fills the temporal slot on
clause level.

Temporal P = + Head:time word/Temporal Expression
            ± Limiter:nɵɨ

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

sɵmb   halɵ

darkness   in addition

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

dugɵf   yang

afternoon   below ?

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

sɵmb   i   ang

darkness here   the middle

'in the middle of the night'

wa nyéngk némbé   béng   lau
|_____|
    Monday   side   the other side

'next Monday'

wa nyéngk némbé literally means 'the little

finger'. This is the finger used for counting Monday

since the Kobons have chosen to call Monday the first

day of the week.

An example of the temporal phrase formula outlined

above is:

sémb   hale   néf

darkness   in addition   only/truly

'the actual morning time'